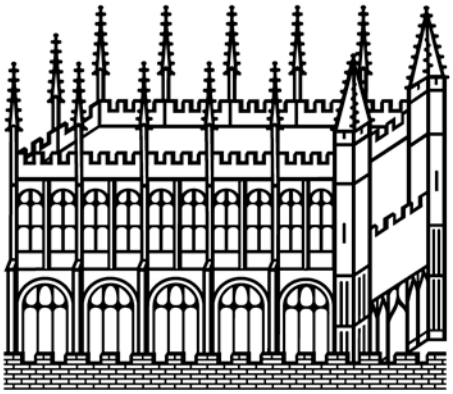

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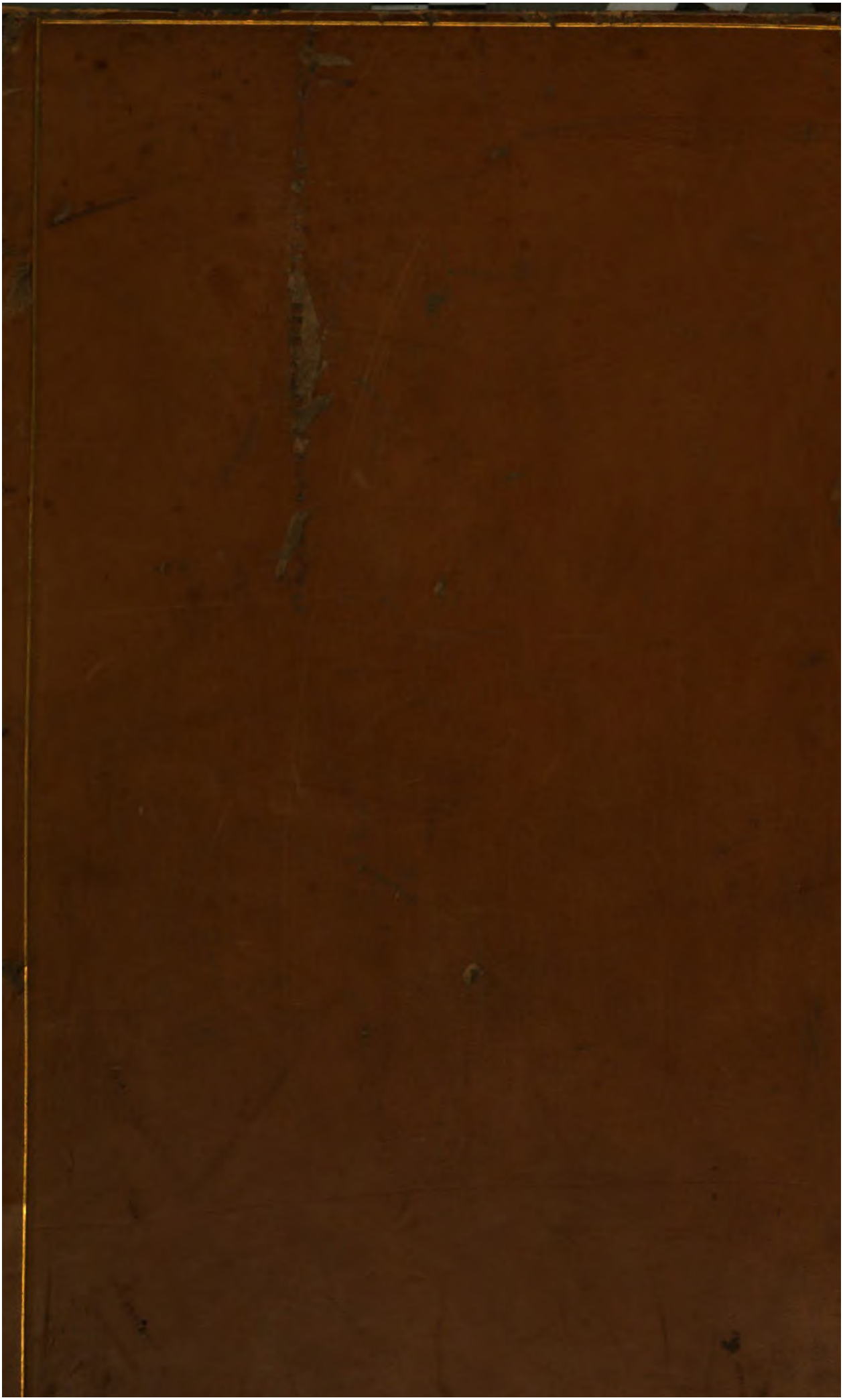

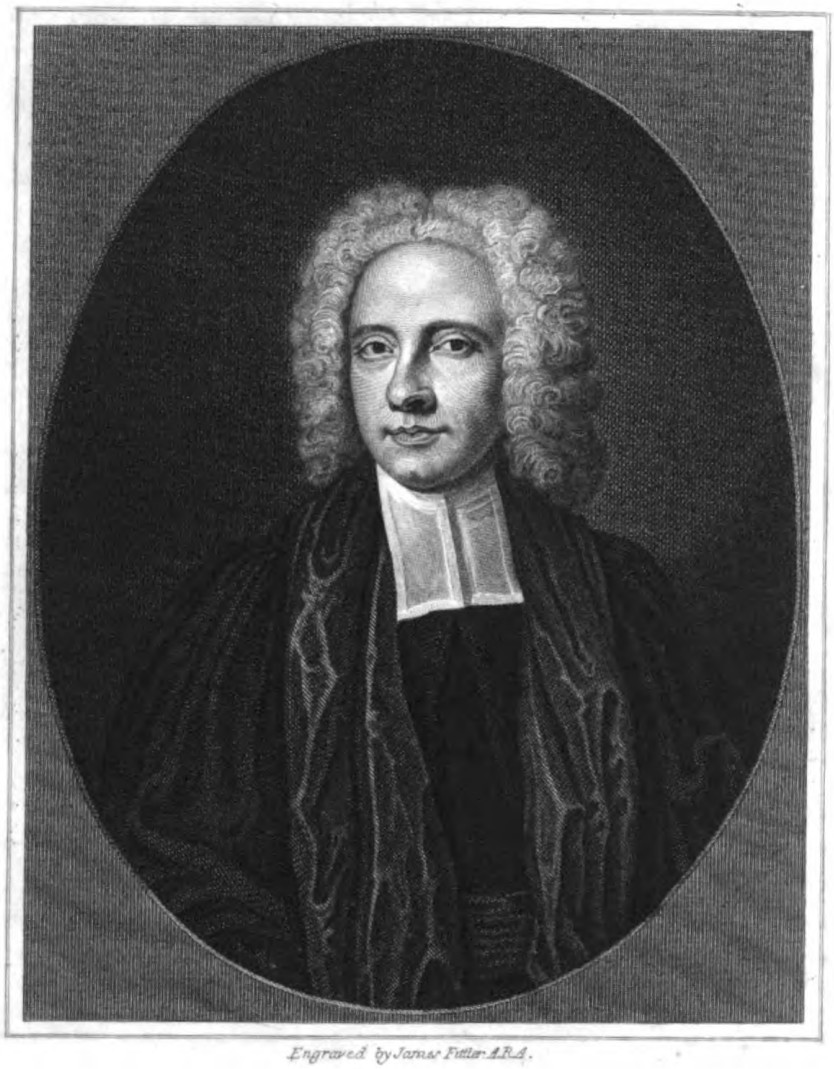

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DANIEL WATERLAND, D.D.

THE

WORKS

OF

THE REV. DANIEL WATERLAND, D.D.

FORMERLY

MASTER OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

CANON OF WINDSOR,

AND

ARCHDEACON OF MIDDLESEX;

NOW FIRST COLLECTED AND ARRANGED.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A REVIEW

OF THE

AUTHOR'S LIFE AND WRITINGS,

BY

WILLIAM VAN MILDERT, D. D.

LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF.

VOL. I. PART I.

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TABLE

OF

GENERAL CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

Review of the Author's Life and Writings.

Vindication of Christ's Divinity, being a Defence of some Queries relating to Dr. Clarke's Scheme of the Holy Trinity.

VOL. II.

Eight Sermons, in Defence of the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, preached at the Lady Moyer's Lecture.

An Answer to Dr. Whitby's Reply, respecting his book entitled *Disquisitiones Modestæ*.

The Case of Arian Subscription considered.

A Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription considered.

VOL. III.

A Second Vindication of Christ's Divinity, or a Second Defence of some Queries relating to Dr. Clarke's Scheme of the Holy Trinity.

VOL. IV.

A Farther Vindication of Christ's Divinity.

A Critical History of the Athanasian Creed.

An Answer to some Queries printed at Exon, relating to the Arian Controversy.

The Scriptures and the Arians compared.
Five Letters to Mr. Staunton.
A Dissertation upon the argument *à priori* for proving the Existence of a First Cause.

VOL. V.

The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity.
Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Church Catechism.
The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments considered.
Supplement to the Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments.

VOL. VI.

Scripture Vindicated; in answer to a book, entitled, Christianity as old as the Creation. In three parts.
A Defence of the Lord Bishop of St. David's. In answer to Jonathan Jones, Esquire.
Advice to a young Student. With a Method of Study for the first four years.
A Recommendatory Preface to the second edition of the Sermons of the Rev. James Blair, M.A.
Regeneration Stated and Explained, according to Scripture and Antiquity.

VOL. VII.

A Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, as laid down in Scripture and Antiquity.

VOL. VIII.

Charges and Occasional Sermons.

VOL. IX.

Sermons on several important Subjects of Religion and Morality.
A Summary View of the Doctrine of Justification.
An Enquiry concerning the Antiquity of the practice of Infant-Communion.

VOL. X.

Letters on Lay-Baptism.
Letters to the Rev. Mr. Lewis, Mergate, Kent.
Letters to John Loveday, Esquire.
Letters to the Rev. Dr. Zachary Grey, Browne Willis, Esq. and the Rev. Dr. Williams.
Letter to the Rev. Mr. Law.
Additional Notes by Dr. Waterland on some of his own Writings.

A REVIEW

OF THE

AUTHOR'S LIFE AND WRITINGS.

CONTENTS.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTORY. p. 1.

SECTION II.

DR. WATERLAND'S BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND ACADEMICAL LIFE, p. 8. Fellow, and afterwards Master of Magdalene college, Cambridge, p. 9. Divinity Act for his degree of B. D. p. 11. Elected Vice-Chancellor, p. 14. Occurrences during his Vice-Chancellorship, *ibid.* Political animosities at Cambridge, p. 17. Address to the King on the suppression of the rebellion, p. 18. Dr. Bentley's prelection on 1 John v. 7. p. 24. Degree of D. D. conferred on Waterland in the King's presence, p. 26. Proceedings against Bentley, p. 27. Votes of thanks to Bishop Gastrell and the Earl of Nottingham, p. 31. Contest for the Vice-Chancellorship between Dr. Mawson and Dr. Lambert, p. 33.

SECTION III.

DR. WATERLAND'S CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS IN VINDICATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY, p. 36. State of the controversy during the time of Bishop Bull, p. 36. Continuation of it in consequence of Dr. Clarke's publication of his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 44. Occasion of Waterland's engaging in the controversy, p. 55. His *Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, ibid. Clarke's *Modest Plea continued*, p. 62. Waterland's *Sermons at Lady Moyer's Lecture*, p. 65. Whitby's *Reply*, p. 69. Waterland's *Answer*, p. 72. Whitby's *Second Reply*, p. 74. Waterland's *Case of Arian Subscription*, p. 75. Sykes's *Case of Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 82. Waterland's *Supplement*, p. 85. Sykes's *Reply* p. 86. Jackson's *Reply to Waterland's Defence of his*

Queries, p. 88. Waterland's *Second Vindication, or Defence*, p. 91. Jackson's *Remarks on the Second Defence*, p. 95. Clarke's *Observations* on the same, ibid. Waterland's *Farther Vindication*, p. 100. Jackson's *Farther Remarks*, p. 105. Waterland's *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, p. 106. *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 112.

SECTION IV.

INCIDENTAL CONTROVERSIES ARISING OUT OF THE PRECEDING, p. 128. *Answer to some Queries printed at Exon*, p. 129. *The Scriptures and the Arians compared*, p. 133. *Letters to Mr. Staunton*, p. 134. *Dissertation upon the argument* à priori, p. 137. Jackson's *Christian Liberty asserted*, and his *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Waterland*, p. 151.

SECTION V.

DR. WATERLAND'S CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS IN DEFENCE OF CHRISTIANITY AGAINST DEISTS, p. 153. *Scripture Vindicated*, first part, p. 157. Tindal's *Remarks*, p. 160. Middleton's *Letter to Dr. Waterland*, p. 161. Dr. Pearce's *Reply to the Letter*, p. 163. Middleton's *Defence*, ibid. Pearce's *Reply to the Defence*, p. 164. Middleton's *Remarks on the Reply*, p. 165. Waterland's second part of *Scripture Vindicated*, and *Postscript*, p. 168. Sykes's *Answer to the Postscript*, p. 171. Waterland's third part of *Scripture Vindicated*, p. 172. *General Preface* to the 2d edition, *ibid.* Waterland's *Defence of the Bishop of St. David's in Answer to Jonathan Jones, Esq.* p. 173. *Advice to a young Student*, p. 178. *Preface to Mr. Blair's Sermons*, ibid. *Regeneration stated and explained*, p. 179.

SECTION VI.

CONTROVERSIES RESPECTING THE EUCHARIST, p. 183. Connection between these and his other controversies, *ibid.*

Waterland's *Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Catechism*, p. 185. Sykes's *Answer to these Remarks*, p. 189. Waterland's *Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments*, p. 192. Sykes's *Defence of the Answer*, p. 201. Waterland's *Supplement*, p. 205. Bishop Hoadley's *Plain Account of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, p. 208. Correspondence between Dr. Pearce and Dr. Waterland on certain points relating to the Eucharist, p. 213. Waterland's marginal observations on Dr. Brett's and Mr. Johnson's tracts on the Eucharist, p. 215. His *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, p. 218.

SECTION VII.

CHARGES AND OCCASIONAL SERMONS, p. 246. Primary Charge, in vindication of Christianity against infidelity, *ibid.* Second Charge in continuation of the same subject, p. 249. *Discourse of Fundamentals*, comprising the substance of the third and fourth Charges, p. 255. Fifth Charge on the *Doctrinal use of the Sacraments*, p. 264. Dr. Brett's *Remarks on Waterland's Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, p. 265. Waterland's sixth Charge, *The Christian Sacrifice explained*, with an *Appendix*, in reply to Brett's *Remarks*, p. 267. Seventh Charge, on *The Sacramental part of the Eucharist*, p. 271. Eighth Charge on *Distinctions of Sacrifice*, p. 273. Occasional Sermons, p. 278.

SECTION VIII.

POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATIONS, p. 281. Works published after his decease by Mr. Joseph Clarke: *Sermons on several important subjects of Religion and Morality*, p. 282. Tract on *Justification*, p. 286. Tract on *Infant Communion*, p. 290. Writings now first published: *Letters on Lay-Baptism*, p. 292. *Letters to Mr. Lewis*, p. 298. *Letters to Mr. Loveday, Dr. Grey*, &c. p. 299. *Additional Notes on his own Writings*, p. 300. Works unpublished:

Notes upon other writers, *ibid.* Annotations on the Bible, p. 303.

SECTION IX.

BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE RESUMED AND CONCLUDED, p. 305. Dr. Waterland's appointment to the Lady Moyer's Lecture, p. 307. Presented to the Rectory of St. Austin and St. Faith, *ibid.* Promoted to the Chancellorship of York by Archbishop Dawes, p. 308. Canonry of Windsor conferred upon him by the Crown, p. 310. Obtains the Vicarage of Twickenham, *ibid.* Collated to the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, *ibid.* Chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, but declines the office, p. 312. His extensive literary aid to other writers, p. 314. Offered the Bishopric of Llandaff, but declines it, p. 320. His last illness and death, p. 322. Story relating to his illness, told by Middleton, and his unseemly reflections upon it, p. 323. Dr. Waterland's family connections, p. 328. Archbishop Potter's eulogy of him in his address to the Convocation, p. 330. Other testimonies to his character, both by his friends and opponents, and also by foreign Divines, p. 331. Character of his writings, p. 336. Of his temper and disposition, p. 342. Arrangement of his works in the present edition, p. 345. Conclusion, p. 346.

A REVIEW

OF THE

AUTHOR'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTORY.

FEW names, recorded in the annals of the Church of England, stand so high in the estimation of its most sound and intelligent members, as that of Dr. Waterland. During a period remarkable for literary and theological research, and fruitful in controversies upon subjects of primary importance, this distinguished writer acquired, by his labours in the cause of religious truth, an extensive and solid reputation. Nor did the reputation thus acquired die away with those controversies in which he bore so large a share. It has survived the occasions which gave them birth, and still preserves its lustre unimpaired. His writings continue to be referred to by divines of the highest character, and carry with them a weight of authority never attached but to names of acknowledged preeminence in the learned world.

Yet, notwithstanding this strong impression in their favour, it is remarkable, that during the period of more than eighty years, elapsed since his decease, no entire collection of his writings has hitherto been made; and several of them have never been reprinted. The increasing avidity with which, of late

years, they have been sought for, is a proof, however, that their intrinsic worth has obtained for them a more permanent character than usually belongs to polemical productions; and the scarcity of the far greater number of them has long been a subject of general regret. No apology, therefore, appears to be necessary for calling the attention of the public to the revival of productions, which can hardly but be acceptable to every theological student.

But, to enable the reader to peruse with greater interest and satisfaction a collection so copious, it is the design of this preliminary essay, not only to give some account of the author himself, but also to take a comprehensive view of his writings, both with reference to the subjects of which they treat, and to the occasions on which they were composed;—a design, which, in more efficient hands, might contribute to throw considerable light upon a very interesting period in our ecclesiastical annals.

With respect to the merely *personal* history of Dr. Waterland, the materials are fewer and more scanty than might be expected, considering how active a part he took in matters of general literature, as well as in theological discussions. His station and pursuits necessarily brought him into contact with the most distinguished of his contemporaries, academical and ecclesiastical; and his correspondence with them was probably extensive. Yet little more intelligence of this kind has been obtained, than that which was communicated to the public in the first edition of the Biographia Britannica. The article drawn up for that work is stated to have been com-

piled from materials supplied by his brother Dr. Theodore Waterland. Of its general correctness, therefore, there can be little reason to doubt, although in some unimportant particulars it may be found not altogether unimpeachable. The notes subjoined to it contain also some interesting matters relative to the controversies in which he was engaged.

Mr. Seed, in a Funeral Sermon on Dr. Waterland, has left a well-merited and well-executed elogium on his character and writings; but has inserted few circumstances of his history.

To the Sermons and Tracts of Dr. Waterland published soon after his death by Mr. Joseph Clarke, Fellow of Magdalene college, was prefixed, by the Editor, a preface, containing very just commendations of him, but no additional memoirs of his life; its design being chiefly to give a summary illustration of the two short Treatises annexed to the Sermons.

These are the chief *printed* documents, of good authority, from which any authentic memoirs of our author may be collected. Casual notices may be also gleaned from the biographical accounts of some of his contemporaries; such as Whiston's Life of Dr. Clarke, the Life of John Jackson, and Dr. Disney's Memoirs of Dr. Sykes; together with a few scattered passages in Mr. Nicholls's Literary History of the 18th Century, in his Life of Bowyer, in the Gentleman's Magazine, in Mr. Masters's History of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, and in his Memoirs of Mr. Baker[a].

[a] The article in Mr. Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary is professedly taken from that in the Biographia Britannica, and from Mr. Seed's Funeral Sermon.

A work was, indeed, published in the year 1736, (four years *before* the death of Waterland,) entitled, "Memoirs of the life and writings of Dr. Water-"land, being a summary view of the Trinitarian "controversy for twenty years, between the Doctor "and a Clergyman in the Country, &c. By a Clergy-"man." But this is nothing more than a tissue of the coarsest railing and invective against Dr. Waterland's writings, containing not one single article of biographical information. It was well known to be the work of the above-mentioned Mr. Jackson, one of his most frequent and most virulent opponents; who was himself the "Clergyman in the "Country," so designated in the title-page. In substance it is merely an angry vindication of one of his own tracts in that controversy, written in consequence of some strong animadversions upon it by an able advocate of Waterland.

What further information has been obtained respecting our author, is derived chiefly from the following sources.

Among Mr. Cole's very curious manuscript collections for the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, deposited in the British Museum, have been found some few original letters by Dr. Waterland, addressed to Dr. Zachary Grey and others, with occasional observations subjoined to them by Mr. Cole; which throw some light upon his history. Most of these letters will be found inserted in this collection.

A somewhat larger portion of his correspondence has been obligingly communicated by Mr. Loveday, Fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford; in whose family the originals still remain. It consists of sixteen

letters addressed to John Loveday, Esq. formerly of Magdalen college, Oxford, from the year 1735 to the year 1740, containing many incidental observations upon the theological controversies and literary transactions of that period. These also will be found, almost entire, in the present edition.

Respecting Dr. Waterland's academical life several interesting particulars have been communicated by Professor Monk, of Trinity College, Cambridge, now Dean of Peterborough; who, in the course of his investigation of documents for a life of Dr. Bentley, occasionally met with some in which Waterland was, more or less, concerned. These will be interwoven in the present narrative.

From the records of his own college it was hoped that some valuable information might be obtained; and no pains were spared by the present Master, the Hon. George Neville, in searching them for that purpose. But, excepting some few dates extracted either from the Master's private book, chiefly in Waterland's hand-writing, or from the college books; and a letter from Archbishop Dawes, which will be found in these memoirs, scarcely any circumstances relating to him have been there discovered. Mr. Neville took also the trouble to examine several books belonging to the Master's library, in which it was thought probable that Dr. Waterland might have inserted notes, or marginal observations. Of these, however, but few occurred.

Farther inquiries were made also in the University of Cambridge, by the present Bishops of Peterborough and Bristol; but few additional materials have been met with, except some letters and papers in

the library of Sidney college, relating to transactions between the University and the Company of Stationers; for the ready communication of which the Editor is obliged to the Master, Dr. Chafy, and to Mr. Todd, the Archbishop of Canterbury's librarian, by whom they were casually discovered in searching for other documents. They do not, however, appear to be of sufficient importance to meet the public eye.

To several other individuals of distinction in the Church, as well as in the Universities, similar acknowledgments are due; particularly to the Bishop of Worcester, who searched the library at Hartlebury for information which might connect Waterland's history with that of Warburton; to the Bishop of Chester, whose father, late Bishop of Carlisle, was well acquainted with Waterland; and to Dr. Goodall, Provost of Eton, who examined the Collegiate library at Windsor, (though without success,) for some memorials of our Author. To Mr. Archdeacon Pott, the Editor is specially indebted for the original manuscript of the Commemoration Sermon at Cambridge by Waterland, now first published; and for several manuscript notes in Waterland's hand-writing, on two of his Charges and his tract on Regeneration. At Twickenham and at York search was also made, by Archdeacons Cambridge and Wrangham; but no documents were found.

In the University of Oxford, acquisitions of some value unexpectedly occurred. In the libraries of Christ Church and St. John's College are deposited manuscript copies of the letters on Lay-Baptism, added to this collection, besides very copious notes

on Wheatly's Illustration of the Common-Prayer. Among Dr. Rawlinson's manuscripts in the Bodleian library was also found a large collection of letters from Dr. Waterland to Mr. John Lewis, vicar of Mergate, Kent, concerning the lives of Wickliffe and Pecocke, and Lewis's History of English Translations of the Bible; together with a great variety of marginal observations on other works.

No endeavours, therefore, have been omitted, to obtain access to every probable source of intelligence, public or private; nor in any instance has the disposition been wanting, to afford such information to the fullest extent: and although the acquisitions have not been very abundant, yet are they not wholly unimportant.

The most valuable illustrations, however, of our author's character and conduct, must be sought in his own writings, and in those of his friends and his opponents, who took part in the discussions to which his labours were directed. These will afford the most indubitable evidence of his principles and sentiments, of the extent of his attainments, of his temper and disposition, of his habits and pursuits.

SECTION II.

DR. WATERLAND'S BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND ACADEMICAL LIFE.

DR. DANIEL WATERLAND was born at Walesby, in the Lindsey division of Lincolnshire, on the 14th of February 1683, being second son, by a second wife, of the Reverend Henry Waterland, rector of that parish, and also of Flixborough, not far distant from it[a].

In his earliest years, he appears to have discovered hopeful talents. He was taught to read by his father's curate, Mr. Sykes, at Flixborough; and is said to have read surprisingly well, when only four years of age. After this, he was instructed by his father in the first rudiments of grammar; and was then sent to the free-school at Lincoln, at that time in great repute. Under the two successive masters of that school, Mr. Samuel Garmstone and Mr. Anthony Read, he made great proficiency, and was highly esteemed for his uncommon diligence and talents. Besides the ordinary exercises required of

[a] By the following extracts from the register of Magd. Coll. Cambridge it appears, that this Mr. Henry Waterland was also a scholar of that college, on Wray's foundation, son of a Lincolnshire Clergyman, and educated at Kirton in that county. "June "28, 1656. Henricus Waterland filius Johannis Waterland, Presb. "de Braughton in com. Lincoln. annum agens 16. e schola "publica Kertonensi admissus est pensionarius. Tutore Magistro "Hill."—"June 1657. Ego Henricus Waterland electus et ad-"missus fui in discipulum hujus collegii pro domino Christophero "Wray."

him, he frequently performed others, at the request of his preceptors, with such success, that they were "handed abroad for the honour of the school."

With the learning thus acquired, he was admitted at Magdalene college, Cambridge, March 30th, 1699, having then but recently completed his 16th year[b]. Mr. Samuel Barker was his tutor, of whom nothing more is recorded by Waterland's biographer, than that he was "a very worthy gentleman[c]." Here Waterland obtained a scholarship, December 24, 1702[d]; proceeded to the degree of A. B. in the Lent term following; and was elected Fellow of the college, February 15, 1703-4. He then took pupils, and became, it is observed, "a great support to the "Society." From this period he was alternately Tutor or Dean, and resided constantly in term time; and the number of admissions is stated to have increased very much about this date. In 1706, he commenced A. M. and, on the death of Dr. Gabriel Quadring, Master of the college, in February, 1713, the Earl of Suffolk and Bindon, by virtue of his

[b] "Daniel Waterland filius Henrici Waterland Presb. de Wails-"bey in com. Lincoln. annos natus circiter 16, e Schola publica "Lincoln. admissus est sizator, tutore Mag°. Barker."—*Magd. Coll. Reg.*

[c] "Samuel Barker filius Johannis Barker defuncti civis West". "e schola Etonensi. admissus sizator, tutore Mro. Millington, "Aug. 11mo. 1675." Elected scholar of Magd. Coll. 1678, fellow on Dennis's foundation, 1682, a foundation fellow, 1689, steward of the College from 1691 to 1697, and bursar 1699 and 1700. *Magd. Coll. Reg.*

[d] "Ego Daniel Waterland electus et admissus fui discipulus "hujus collegii pro domino Christophoro Wray, Decemb. 24. "1702, Gabr. Quadring, Coll. Præfect."

hereditary right, conferred the Mastership upon him[e], and presented him also to the rectory of Ellingham in Norfolk. He continued, however, to hold the office of Tutor several years after this promotion, devoting his attention to the work of tuition, and giving up almost the whole revenue of his living, which was but small, to his curate. His tract entitled, "Advice to a Student," written while he was engaged in that service, though not published till many years afterwards, is a proof how diligently he applied himself to this laborious duty. It is evident, however, that even at this period he must have been scarcely less indefatigable in the studies belonging to his sacred profession; and that he was then laying the groundwork of that splendid reputation which classed him among the most distinguished Theologians of his time.

Judging from the fruits of these studies, it will easily be supposed that but little of his time was spared for recreation and self-indulgence. Few have laid in such ample stores of knowledge, who have not borrowed largely from the accustomed hours of rest; and it is told of him, that the lights in his study frequently bore witness to his habits in this respect[f]. His biographers also have intimated, that

[e] The Mastership of this College is in the gift of the possessor of the estate at Audley End, Essex, who is also Visitor of the college. The estate has now descended to Lord Braybrooke, by whom the present Master, the Hon. George Neville, was appointed.

[f] The late Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Cyril Jackson, used to relate, that his father, who was an under-graduate at Magdalene college, whilst Waterland was Master, had often mentioned this circumstance.

his health was much impaired, and probably his life shortened, by too intense application to his studies.

With such talents and energies of mind, he could hardly fail of becoming an useful and distinguished member of the academical body. In October 1710, we find him appointed an Examiner of the students proceeding to the degree of Bachelor in Arts; and, in the following year, a Moderator in the Philosophical Schools. Not long afterwards, the privileges and jurisdiction of the University having been called in question, and certain litigations, in consequence, arisen, he was appointed one of a Syndicate, to ascertain their rights; and to institute such proceedings as might be necessary to maintain them. About the same period, he appears to have been a member of several other Syndicates for different purposes; a proof, that while he was yet a junior member of the Senate, he was regarded as a man of business, qualified to take a leading part in its transactions. In November 1712, he was selected to preach the Commemoration Sermon at St. Mary's, now first printed among his occasional Sermons; and in July 1713, the Assize Sermon before the University, which stands first of the posthumous Sermons, published by Mr. Joseph Clarke. These are indications of his growing reputation in the University.

Waterland's appointment to the Mastership of his college took place before he had graduated in Divinity. He did not, however, apply (as is usual with Heads of Houses in that University) for a degree by *mandamus;* but proceeded in the following year to the degree of B. D. by performing the ac-

customed exercises[g]. Whether this was done to avoid the heavy expences of a *mandamus*, or whether he deemed it more creditable to go through the ordinary process of keeping a public act, we are not told. But certain it is, that he acquitted himself on that occasion with uncommon credit. Mr. Seed thus relates the circumstance.—"In the year 1714, at "the Commencement, he kept a Divinity Act for his "Bachelor of Divinity's degree. His first question "was, *Whether Arian Subscription was lawful;* "a question worthy of him, who had the integrity "to abhor, with a generous scorn, all prevarication; "and the capacity to see through and detect those "evasive arts, by which some would palliate their "disingenuity. When Dr. James, the Professor, "had endeavoured to answer his *Thesis*, and em- "barrass the question, with the dexterity of a person "long practised in all the arts of a subtle disputant; "he immediately replied, in an extempore discourse "of above half an hour long, with such an easy flow "of proper and significant words, and such an un- "disturbed presence of mind, as if he had been read- "ing, what he has since printed, *The case of Arian* "*Subscription considered*, and the *Supplement to* "*it*. He unravelled the Professor's fallacies, rein- "forced his own reasonings, and shewed himself so

[g] He took the degree, June 11, 1714, being the statutable day in that degree: but it is mentioned in his Grace, that he had not kept his Act; that exercise being postponed till the ensuing Commencement-day, when it was to form part of the usual solemnities, the Commencement in that year being a public one. It was therefore not till the beginning of the following month that this celebrated disputation took place.

" perfect a master of the language, the subject, and " himself; that all agreed, no one ever appeared to " greater advantage. There were several members " of the University of Oxford there, who remember " the great applauses he received, and the uncom- " mon satisfaction which he gave. He was happy " in a first opponent, one of the greatest ornaments " of the Church, and finest writers of the age, who " gave full play to his abilities, and called forth all " that strength of reason, of which he was master." This opponent was Dr. Thomas Sherlock, afterwards Bishop of London. It has been observed, that probably the account of this performance having reached Dr. Clarke's ears, gave occasion to his omitting in the *second* edition of his Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity, the passage in his first edition, respecting Subscription to the Articles, which had given offence.

In January 1714-15, Dr. Sherlock being then Vice-Chancellor, the thanks of the Senate were unanimously voted to Dr. Bentley, for his Reply to Collins's Discourse on Free-thinking. The following Grace for this purpose appears to have been drawn up by Waterland, and was presented by him, with two other distinguished friends of Bentley, Roger Cotes, and Mr. Bull of Queen's College:—" Whereas " the Rev. Dr. Bentley, Master of Trinity College, " besides his other labours, published from our press, " to the great advancement of learning, and honour " of our University, has lately, under the borrowed " name of *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, done eminent " service to the Christian Religion and the Clergy of " England, by refuting the objections and exposing

" the ignorance of an impious set of writers that call " themselves Freethinkers, May it please you, That " the said Dr. Bentley, for his good service already " done, have the public thanks of this University; " and be desired by Mr. Vice-Chancellor, in the " name of the whole body, to finish what remains of " so useful a work."

Mr. Waterland was elected Vice-Chancellor, according to the usual rotation, on Nov. 14, 1715, and during the whole time he was in that office, he proceeded to no higher degree than that of Bachelor in Divinity. He was now called upon, however, to take the lead in several important concerns, affecting the interests of the University.

Bishop Moore's valuable library had been recently presented to the University by His Majesty, King George the First. To convey this munificent gift of royal bounty to its place of destination, and to provide a fit place for its reception, were among the first cares that devolved upon the new Vice-Chancellor; who is stated to have exerted himself, during his continuance in office, in making various arrangements for their proper and convenient disposal; and although these were not actually completed till some time after, all the preliminary steps were taken during his administration [h].

[h] The extent of Bishop Moore's library is stated to have been above 30,000 volumes, and the price paid for it 6000 guineas. It occupies two of the four rooms, of which the public library at Cambridge consists. It was given to the University during Dr. Sherlock's Vice-Chancellorship; and the University returned their thanks in an eloquent Address to the King, probably composed by Sherlock; of which the annexed copy is extracted from the London Gazette, 1st October, 1715:

A matter of a very different kind engaged also his almost immediate attention. The College of Physi-

" *St. James's, September* 29. The following Address was pre-
" sented to his Majesty by the Rev. Dr. Sherlock, Vice-Chancellor
" of the University of Cambridge, accompanied by several Masters
" of Colleges, with divers other members of that University, intro-
" duced by the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend,
" one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, in the absence
" of his Grace the Duke of Somerset, Chancellor of the said Uni-
" versity.

" ' To the King's most Excellent Majesty,

" The humble Address of thanks from the Chancellor, Mas-
" ters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge.

" Most Gracious Sovereign,

" We beg leave to approach your Majesty with our most hum-
" ble thanks for the gracious mark of Royal favour which your
" Majesty has bestowed on your ancient University of Cambridge.

" There never was an occasion when we were either more de-
" sirous to express our sentiments of gratitude, or less able to do
" it to our own satisfaction. The Genius of learning which has
" for many ages so happily presided in this place, cannot furnish
" us with language to utter what we feel. There is nothing to
" which even the wishes of your University extend that is not
" fully contained in the happiness she now enjoys of calling your
" Majesty her King and her Patron: one is the common blessing
" of every Briton, the other the peculiar privilege of the sons of
" learning.

" The noble collection of books and manuscripts gathered in
" many years by the great industry and accurate judgment of the
" late Bishop of Ely, though in itself exceeding valuable, is upon
" no account so welcome to your University, as that it is a testi-
" mony of your Royal favour: the memory of which will be con-
" stantly preserved by this ample benefaction, worthy to bear the
" title of the Donor, and to be for ever styled The Royal Library.

" Liberty and learning are so united in their fortunes, that your
" Majesty's known character of being the great Protector of the
" liberty of Europe led us to expect what our experience has now
" confirmed, that you would soon appear the patron and encou-

cians in London had assumed a power to prohibit the University graduates in Medicine from practising in the metropolis, or within seven miles of it, without first obtaining a licence from that collegiate body. This assumption of privilege the Doctors of Medicine in Cambridge strenuously resisted; and a Grace

" rager of learning. Such Royal qualities must necessarily produce " the proper returns of duty and affection: your University will " endeavour, as she is bound to do by the strongest ties of inte- " rest and gratitude, to promote the happiness of your govern- " ment. And it is with the greatest pleasure she observes, that " some there are whose youth was formed under her care, of " whose abilities and fidelity your Majesty has had the fullest ex- " perience.

" Your Royal progenitors, the Kings and Queens of England, " moved by their regard to virtue and learning, have conferred " many large privileges and donations on this place; those who " shine with the greatest lustre in story, appear the foremost in " the list of our patrons and benefactors; and as your Majesty's " name will be an ornament to the annals of Britain, so shall it " stand through ages to come a perpetual honour to the records " of this University.

" It shall be our incessant prayer to God for your Majesty, that " he would long preserve you to reign over us in peace and tran- " quillity, that he would extend your empire over the hearts of your " subjects, a dominion for which he then designed you, when he " adorned you with so much goodness and clemency.'

" To which his Majesty was pleased to make the following " most gracious answer.

" ' It is great satisfaction to me that this first mark of my favour " has been so welcome and agreeable to you. The dutiful and " grateful manner in which you have expressed your thanks upon " this occasion, will oblige me to take all opportunities of giving " farther proofs of my affection to my University of Cambridge, " being very sensible how much the encouragement of learning " will always tend to the security and honour of our Constitution, " both in Church and State.' "

was obtained from the Senate, on the 29th of November in this year, to assist them, by a pecuniary grant of fifty pounds from the University, in maintaining their rights against this supposed aggression. The University of Oxford took a part in this contest, which equally affected their own interests, and contributed a similar sum towards carrying on the suit. Several other concerns, of considerable local interest, seem to have rendered the time of Waterland's Vice-Chancellorship a year of active service. But towards the latter part of it still weightier matters;—matters, at least, of more general concern, and of more than ordinary difficulty;—called forth his exertions.

Political animosity was now at its height, and raged with considerable fury throughout the University. The enmity between Whigs and Tories was no where more vehement; and it required great discretion, good-temper, and self-possession, to enable a person, holding so high and responsible a station in the academical body, to escape obloquy, and to carry himself firmly, yet temperately, betwixt the contending parties. Waterland appears in this respect to have been eminently successful. He was a stedfast supporter of the Hanoverian succession; which was by no means the prevailing sentiment at that time in Cambridge; the Tories having been, on several occasions, the strongest party. On the night of King George's birth-day in 1715, considerable disturbances had been made by the young men; and the preceding Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Sherlock, (whose politics, as well as those of some other Heads of Houses, were somewhat suspected to be of the same cast,)

was accused of conniving at their excesses. Waterland took measures to allay these animosities; and was aided in his endeavours by powerful coadjutors. On the day after his election, Nov. 5, 1715, Dr. Bentley preached his celebrated Sermon against Popery at St. Mary's. Another Sermon against Popery, preached before the University, on Jan. 25, 1715-16, by Peter Needham, the editor of Theophrastus, was printed by desire of Waterland, the Vice-Chancellor. In April 1716, an Address of Congratulation to the King, on the suppression of the rebellion, was proposed in the Caput, and through the influence of the Jacobites, (two especially, Mr. Tyson and Mr. King, both of Pembroke Hall,) it was stopped in the Caput. Bentley is supposed to have framed the Address; and he presented the Grace for its admission. Here the matter rested during the long vacation. But at the beginning of the next term, it met with better success. Bentley, with two of his personal friends, having been brought into the Caput, he proposed the Grace a second time; when it passed without opposition; and being offered in the Senate, it passed also in the Non-Regent House by a majority of 36 to 15, and in the Regent by 34 to 14[i]. Dr.

[i] No Copy of this Address is preserved in the University Register. The following is extracted from the London Gazette, October 23, 1716, deposited in the British Museum.

"*Hampton Court, October* 22. This day the following Ad-
" dress to his Majesty was presented to His Royal Highness the
" Prince of Wales, by the Vice-Chancellor of the University of
" Cambridge, attended by several of the Heads of Houses and
" Members of the said University, introduced by the Right

Bentley alludes to this occurrence, in a Letter to

" Honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend, one of his Majesty's
" Principal Secretaries of State.

" ' The Humble Address of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scho-
" lars of the University of Cambridge.

" Most Gracious Sovereign,

" As we once had the peculiar honour to attend your
" Majesty with our thanks for a most eminent instance of your
" Royal favour and beneficence; so we had been among the
" earliest messengers of the common joy and congratulation for
" your victory over rebels, had not our intention been frustrated
" by an unforeseen and unexampled impediment, which being re-
" moved, we take the first opportunity to show to your Majesty
" and the world, that it was not the want of our duty or affection,
" but our misfortune and calamity.

" This we hope will excuse and justify our impatience, that we
" wait not for your Majesty's return to Great Britain, but hasten
" to address you, even while absent. And indeed we can scarce
" esteem it absence, while you only cross your own seas to visit
" your own hereditary countries; while we see the influence of
" your mind and counsels pervade and animate all your domi-
" nions at once; while you still seem to reside among us, in that
" lively image of your person and virtues, as well as of your So-
" vereign power, His Royal Highness, your Son.

" 'Tis with diffidence that we now mention to you a Rebellion
" so speedily suppressed, subdued, and extinguished, and which
" your princely magnanimity and clemency seems already to have
" forgot. But our own concernments, our late fears, and present
" joys oblige us to remark, that as no rebellion, in all our annals,
" appeared in its designs and consequences more terrible and de-
" structive, so none ever went off and vanished in shorter time,
" with less detriment, and more propitious event; serving only to
" display your Majesty's superior wisdom and fortitude, the weak-
" ness and rashness of your infatuated enemies, the firmness of
" your Ministry, and the faithfulness of your people. For even
" the few wicked actors, and just sufferers in it, that were not
" professed Papists, have done the justice to the Church esta-

Dr. Samuel Clarke,[k] published in Dr. Burney's Collection of his Letters, p. 258; where he says, "The "fury of the whole disaffected and Jacobite party "here against me and Mr. Waterland, is unexpres- "sible: one would think that the late Address had "given them a mortal blow, by the desperate rage

"blished, to declare they first deserted her communion, before "they could imbibe the principles of treason and rebellion.

"In an age of such distraction, such unaccountable folly as "may seem rather imputable to the anger of Heaven than to the "passions and interests of men, your University dare not answer "for every individual. But in the whole, we crave leave to assure "your Majesty of our heartiest endeavours, both by precept and "example, to instill into our youth the warmest sentiments of "loyalty and allegiance, of veneration and gratitude to your Royal "Person and Family; to inculcate to them, that whatever is dear "to the good, or valuable to the wise, our religion and literature, "our possessions and liberties, do principally subsist (under God) "upon the present happy Establishment.

"May the same good Providence that has hitherto protected "and guarded you, and has bound up the fate of the whole Re- "formation with the fortune of your illustrious House, bring "your Majesty back to us in peace and safety, with increase of "your health, and new acquests to your glory; and (if we may "aspire to so high a wish) accompanied with your beloved Grand- "son, that third security and pledge of Great Britain's felicity.'

"To which Address His Royal Highness was pleased to return "the following Answer:

"'I will transmit this affectionate address to the King, my "father; who, I am sure, will be very well pleased with this in- "stance of your duty and loyalty; and it is with great satisfac- "tion I lay hold of this opportunity of assuring you, that I shall "upon all occasions countenance and encourage the Univer- "sity.'"

[k] The Letter, by some mistake, bears date, in Dr. Burney's Collection, Nov. 1719: it ought to be 1716.

" they are in. I suppose you have seen a virulent " lying paper printed at London about the Address, " wherein Mr. Waterland and I are described as " objects of their universal hatred. Nothing now " will satisfy them, but I must be put by the Pro- " fessor's Chair; and the Church is in great danger " from my New Testament."

Waterland's moderation and good temper appear, however, to have protected him in this affair, against much of that obloquy and ill-will which were so strongly shewn towards Bentley. And, probably, it was in consequence of his conduct on this occasion, that he was, in the following year, 1717, appointed to be one of the Chaplains in ordinary to the King. Bentley, in his above-mentioned letter to Dr. Clarke, had intimated how necessary it was at that juncture, that the court and government should give their public sanction and countenance to those who had strenuously laboured in the University to uphold the interests of the House of Brunswick, and to defeat the unremitting efforts of the opposite party. He represented, with his usual tone of confidence, the almost certain effect which would be produced, if those who had the patronage of the Crown at their disposal would openly shew their approbation of the adherents to the existing monarchy, by bestowing some portion of it upon such men as Waterland and himself. This he urged, regardless of being sneered at as a self-interested adviser, and apparently with a consciousness of the rectitude of sentiment which dictated the advice.

It is not, perhaps, ascribing too much to the weight of such advice, from such a man, if we sup-

pose that it gave occasion to the conferring of this mark of royal favour upon Waterland. But notwithstanding the political considerations which might have an influence in this appointment, it seems hardly probable that he would have been selected in preference to others of the same principles with himself, had not his reputation as a scholar, a divine, and a leading member of the University, given him still stronger claims. Middleton's unworthy insinuations on this occasion scarcely deserve attention. They betray the fretful spirit of a jealous and implacable rival, who found in Waterland a competitor more formidable than he was willing to acknowledge[1]. After all, there is no evidence that Waterland was actuated either by vehemence of party, or by a time-serving policy, in the political contests at Cambridge. It was undoubtedly his sincere desire to uphold the public tranquillity against those,

[1] Whether the foundation of Middleton's hostility to Waterland was laid at this, or at an earlier period, is not certain; nor whether it had its rise in political, rather than in literary or personal jealousy. In the Harleian Collection, there is a Letter without a name, but which, it is said, the hand-writing determines to be Middleton's, addressed to the Earl of Oxford, in 1716, and giving an account of the motives of his Lordship's friends, the Cambridge Tories, in opposing the *Address*. The Tories, he maintains, were not actuated by disaffection to the Hanover family, but by a conviction that the Address was a *job*, intended to procure preferment for Waterland, and impunity for Bentley, who had written and promoted it. Middleton almost always speaks of Waterland with most unbecoming asperity. Perhaps, however, the grudge might have been of older date, as competitors for academical fame, nearly of the same age and standing in the University. Waterland's personal regard for Bentley might also give a keener edge to Middleton's resentment.

who, with whatever purity of intention, were pursuing an object utterly unattainable, without the hazard of involving the nation again in civil war, and incurring evils of which none could calculate the extent, or foresee the termination. The operation of such evils upon the interests of religion and morals he earnestly deprecated, and particularly as affecting the University. Adverting to these, he observes [m], "As there are none more sensible of these things than "ourselves, or more likely to suffer by them; so I beg "leave to intimate, how becoming and proper a part "of our profession and business it is, to do what in "us lies to prevent the growth and increase of them. "While animosities prevail, arts and sciences will "gradually decay, and lose ground; not only as "wanting suitable encouragement, but also as being "deprived of that freedom, quiet, and repose, which "are necessary to raise and cherish them. As divi-"sions increase, Christian charity will decline daily, "till it becomes an empty name, or an *idea* only. "Discipline will of course slacken, and hang loose; "and the consequence of that must be, a general dis-"soluteness and corruption of manners. Nor will the "enemy be wanting to sow tares to corrupt our "faith, as well as practice, and to introduce a "general latitude of opinions. *Arianism*, *Deism*, "*Atheism*, will insensibly steal upon us, while our "heads and hearts run after politics and parties."

These wise and moderate sentiments might well recommend the author to the favour of Government, as a person whose example should be held up for imitation to the Academical body; nor could distinc-

[m] Thanksgiving Sermon in 1716, vol. viii. p. 406.

tion so obtained be justly attributed to any excess of party zeal.

Early in the following year, 1717, Dr. Bentley was elected Regius Professor of Divinity, on the death of Dr. James. It is stated, in the Biographia Britannica, that on this occasion, Waterland was generally pointed out as the fittest person to fill the chair; but that he was prevented from exerting his interest to obtain the situation, by his esteem for Dr. Bentley. This does not appear improbable. But it has been said also, that, notwithstanding his acknowledged ability to fill the station, no interest that he could have exerted would have been likely to avail, against that which Bentley, by his extraordinary address and boldness, had, for some time before the vacancy, secured in his own favour; so that no candidate but himself came forward. Both accounts, however, are consistent with each other; and both were probably well founded. It might be the general wish, and even expectation, that Waterland should succeed to the appointment; and Waterland might willingly have concurred in that wish, had he not been restrained by motives of personal regard towards Bentley; whose pretensions he would be foremost to acknowledge, and desirous to promote, whether or not he had any reason to believe that his own interest could have prevailed against him.

Connected with this part of our author's academical history, is an anecdote, which has passed current in most of the accounts given of him, respecting Dr. Bentley's famous prælection, delivered on the day before he became Professor, on the disputed verse in St. John's first Epistle, Τρεῖς εἰσι μαρτυροῦντες

ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, κ. τ. λ. in which exercise Bentley argued against the genuineness of the text; and it is said that Waterland, who was present, being asked whether he was convinced, answered, "No, for I "was convinced before." The correctness of this anecdote, to which much importance has been attached by those who relate it, appears to be somewhat questionable. It is asserted with great confidence, and with some degree of triumph, by Whiston, in his memoirs of Dr. Clarke; and probably has been repeated after him by others, without further inquiry. Few authorities, however, on a matter like this, are less to be depended upon than that of Whiston; who readily caught up any current story which might furnish a ground of sarcasm on those who opposed his own opinions. Waterland has not, in any of his writings, disputed the genuineness of this text. On the contrary, in his Sermon on the Doctrine of the Trinity, published many years afterwards, he says, "that though a disputed text, it is "yet not without very many and very considerable "appearances of being truly genuine [n]." And in one of his letters to Mr. Loveday, now first printed, he takes notice of this anecdote related by Whiston, and treats it as a weak device or misrepresentation, for the purpose of charging him with inconsistency [o]. But even if the statement were correct, it can be of little weight, unless the occasion and circumstances were more distinctly known. It might be, that the arguments used by Bentley were such as Waterland was already well acquainted with, and brought no more conviction to his mind than what he had re-

[n] See vol. viii. p. 439.

[o] Vol. ix. p. 411.

ceived before: and it might also be, that Bentley himself went no farther than to state the considerations which rendered the matter *questionable*, without inferring a positive conclusion that the text was spurious; to all which Waterland might accede, and yet deem the evidence insufficient to warrant its omission. And this is the more probable, since it appears that Bentley himself, in his proposal for a new edition of the Greek Testament, about four years afterwards, considered the point as still open to discussion.

In the latter part of this same year, the King visited the University of Cambridge; and, in the presence of his Majesty, Waterland had the degree of D.D. conferred upon him. This circumstance is stated in the Biographia Britannica as a special mark of favour; and it is said, that the King "honoured him "with this degree without application." But, however deserving he might be of this, or of any other honour, it seems to have occurred only in the ordinary course of proceeding. There were thirty-two Doctors of Divinity created at the same time, *regiis comitiis*, by order of the King. The three at the head of the list were those *Heads of Houses* who had not already attained to that degree; namely, Grigg, Master of Clare Hall, and Vice-Chancellor; Davies, President of Queen's; and Waterland, Master of Magdalene. These were the only persons who were created Doctors in Divinity on that day, in the royal presence; and they were presented by Dr. Bentley, who made the speech on the occasion. The day being Sunday, there was not time for conferring the other degrees; and the remainder were postponed. There

is no proof, therefore, that Waterland had any higher compliment paid to him, in this instance, than that which the two other Heads of colleges received at the same time[p].

This was the memorable occasion which gave rise to the most vehement attacks upon Dr. Bentley, and brought him, for a time, into public disgrace. His extraordinary claim of a large additional fee from each of the twenty-nine remaining Doctors in Divinity, brought on a controversy which continued for nearly a year; when Bentley was first suspended by the Vice-Chancellor, and then actually degraded by a vote of the Senate. In these proceedings Waterland seems to have avoided, as much as possible, taking any active part. Perhaps, he was absent

[p] It is stated also in the Biographia Britannica, that soon after he had received his degree of D. D. at Cambridge, "he was *incorporated* in the same degree at Oxford; being presented, with "a large encomium, by Dr. Delaune, President of St. John's College in that University." In this, again, there seems to be some mistake; Dr. Waterland's name not being found in the list of Oxford Graduates; where it would hardly have been omitted, if he had become an *incorporated* member. Probably, he was admitted only *ad eundem*; an honorary admission, not carrying with it the privileges of an incorporated member. Dr. Delaune was at that time the Margaret Professor of Divinity; and might, perhaps, officiate in the absence of the Regius Professor, whose duty it is to present to Degrees in that faculty; and he would, no doubt, gladly avail himself of such an opportunity to do justice to Waterland's merits. Dr. Delaune is eulogized by Waterland's biographer, as "a Divine of distinguished learning "and eloquence, and author of an excellent Sermon on Original "Sin." This Sermon was first published singly, and afterwards in a volume of discourses by the same Author, in 1728; and it well deserves the commendation bestowed upon it.

during a part of the time when they were carrying on; or, if present, might be unwilling to join those who were eager to lower the pretensions of one whom they regarded with envy or with dread; while a conviction of some impropriety, at least, in the part which his friend had acted, would not suffer him to come forward in his vindication. It was scarcely possible, however, to observe a strict neutrality between parties whose impetuosity was so little under the restraint of personal decorum. Bentley hastily, and unjustly, attacked Dr. Colbatch, as the supposed author of an anonymous tract against him, which was soon avowed to be the production of Conyers Middleton. Dr. Colbatch's friends, and Dr. Waterland among the rest, united to rescue him from so unworthy an imputation. The paper to which Dr. Waterland's signature was affixed, contained a strong declaration against Bentley's treatment of Colbatch, and was issued by the Heads of colleges, upon a formal complaint having been made to them by the party aggrieved. Yet it by no means follows, from his concurrence in this single measure, that Waterland approved of the persecuting spirit which marked the other proceedings of Bentley's adversaries.

This contest, which was carried on, with more or less vehemence, from the latter end of the year 1717, to the early part of 1724, ended at last in Bentley's restoration. Waterland was one of a Syndicate appointed, in the long vacation of 1723, (when the issue in favour of Bentley was, perhaps, anticipated,) to take such measures as might be deemed best for the interests of the whole body. The Grace for the appointment of the Syndicate runs thus:—"Sept.

" 26, 1723. Whereas the cause between you and the " Master of Trinity college is drawing near to a de- " termination, and there may be occasion for resolu- " tions to be taken, without sufficient time to consult " the University, may it please you that the Vice- " Chancellor, Dr. Sherlock, Dean of Chichester, (who " has taken a great deal of useful pains in the cause,) " Dr. Gooch, Dr. Waterland, Dr. Colbatch, Mr. Ar- " cher, Mr. Green, and Mr. Heald, or any three of " them, (whereof the Vice-Chancellor to be one,) may " have the power to do any act or acts that may be " necessary or convenient, in carrying on, prosecut- " ing, and finishing the said cause, in such way or " manner as they in their judgment shall think most " for the benefit of the University:—and that what " they may do therein may be confirmed, ratified, and " held good, as the act or acts of this University." Dr. Bentley was restored on the 26th of March following.

Upon reviewing these circumstances, it is still difficult to determine how far Waterland really favoured Bentley's cause. When the violent and bitter *Remarks* upon Bentley's proposals for a new edition of the Greek Testament were published, anonymously, in the year 1721, it is said that the public voice in the University fixed, at first, upon Waterland as the author: and some loose papers have been found in Dr. Colbatch's hand-writing, intimating that Bentley himself was of that opinion, and that he thought there was no other of his opponents *capable* of such a performance. It is said also, that when Middleton, within a few days, avowed himself to be the author, Bentley affected not to believe him. Perhaps, the real state

of the case might be, that Waterland's personal regard for Bentley suffered some abatement from that sense of public duty which led him to disapprove, if not openly to censure, the conduct so strongly reprobated by a large and respectable portion of the University; and that Bentley, quick and keen in his resentments, would ill bear any diminution of his friend's esteem. But that Waterland still continued earnestly desirous of seeing him restored to his well-earned honours and distinctions, may be inferred both from the share he had in at last effecting that restoration, and also from his apparent reluctance to join in the clamour against him, or to give any countenance to the virulent invectives that issued from his opponents.

During these disputes, indeed, we find Dr. Waterland more profitably occupied, not only in those writings, hereafter to be noticed, which stamped his character as an author and a Divine, but also in matters of special importance to the interests of the University. In the year 1721, the question was agitated between Bishop Gastrell and Mr. Samuel Peploe, respecting the comparative validity of Lambeth degrees and University degrees. The dispute arose out of the appointment of Mr. Peploe, then only Master of Arts in the University of Oxford, to the wardenship of Manchester college, in Bishop Gastrell's diocese of Chester: and it being a necessary qualification that the Warden should be a Bachelor in Divinity, Mr. Peploe, instead of taking this degree (as he might have done) regularly and statutably at Oxford, procured a faculty for it from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Gastrell, as the Diocesan, refused to admit him; and, in vindication

of his refusal, published a tract, in folio, entitled, "The Bishop of Chester's case, with relation to the "wardenship of Manchester: in which is shewn that "no other degrees but such as are taken in the Uni- "versity, can be deemed legal qualifications for any "ecclesiastical preferment in England." But the matter being brought into the Court of King's Bench, it was decided in favour of Mr. Peploe: and, not long after, on Bishop Gastrell's death, Mr. Peploe succeeded him in the see of Chester. The University of Cambridge took an active part in favour of the Bishop. A Syndicate was appointed to maintain the Academical privileges in this case, and on the 22d of April, 1721, the following Grace was passed:—"Cum Reverendus admodum in Christo Pa- "ter Franciscus Episcopus Cestriensis privilegia ves- "tra in Gradibus conferendis strenue propugnave- "rit; Placeat vobis, ut dicto Reverendo Patri hu- "jus Academiæ nomine Gratiæ agantur, et ut vene- "rabiles viri, Dr. Lany[q] et Dr. Waterland, sint ad "hoc præstandum vestra authoritate deputati et as- "signati."

On the same day there was also passed another Grace, in which Dr. Waterland could not but take a special interest, and feel a particular gratification in being one of the persons deputed to carry it into effect. The Earl of Nottingham had distinguished himself as a strenuous defender of the doctrine of the Trinity, against Whiston's heterodox opinions. Two tracts written by him in answer to this vehement and eccentric controversialist, shewed very considerable

[q] Master of Pembroke Hall.

learning and ability. That a layman, so distinguished by birth and station, and whose legal eminence had obtained for him the offer of the highest professional honours, [r]should successfully have engaged in a theological warfare, was undoubtedly a circumstance which claimed from the University to which he belonged some extraordinary notice. And as those thanks were well deserved, so they could hardly have been presented through a channel which would render them more acceptable, than that of a person whom the public already regarded as foremost in the ranks of orthodoxy, and whom the Earl himself had noticed with becoming respect. The Grace was as follows:—"Placeat vobis, ut viro perquam honora-"bili Daneli Comiti de Nottingham, propter egre-"giam suam fidei Christianæ, nominatim vero "æternitatis Filii Dei et Spiritus Sancti, defensio-"nem, hujus Academiæ nomine Gratiæ agantur, et "ut venerabiles viri Doctores Lany et Waterland, "ad hoc præstandum sint vestra authoritate depu-"tati et assignati."

Two years after the termination of the proceedings respecting Dr. Bentley, Dr. Waterland was actively concerned in a transaction considerably affecting the rights and interests of the University Press. This related to the renewal of a lease for printing, granted by the University to the Company of Sta-

[r] This Earl of Nottingham (who was son of the Lord Chancellor Nottingham) was, on the accession of King William and Queen Mary, offered the post of Lord High Chancellor of England, which he excused himself from accepting, alleging his unfitness for an employment that required a constant application; but was appointed one of the Principal Secretaries of State. See Chalmers's Biograph. Dict.

tioners in London. Much difference of opinion, not without some warmth of altercation, occurred in the arrangement of this concern; in which Waterland's advice and assistance were freely given, and ultimately prevailed. Throughout the negociation, his efforts were directed to guard against any misconstruction or misconception, on either side: and his letters (which were written from London) shew that he entered upon the discussion with the most upright and equitable feelings. His residence at that time in the metropolis afforded him an opportunity also of personally mediating between the parties, so as to prevent occasion being given for subsequent litigation. His correspondence on this matter was chiefly with the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Craven, Master of Sidney college; his letters to whom, with other documents relating to them, are now in the possession of the college, and were obligingly communicated by the present Master, Dr. Chafy, on the application of Mr. Todd, Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury; who discovered them in searching for some other papers.

In the year 1729, the University was agitated by another political struggle; the two great parties vehemently contending to place each a favoured candidate of their own in the office of Vice-Chancellor. Dr. Mawson, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Lambert, Master of St. John's, were the competitors. Lambert had already served the office; but was now again unexpectedly nominated by the Tory party. Waterland is mentioned as one of those whom this manœuvre of their opponents had taken

by surprise; and he is said to have made great efforts to bring votes to Cambridge for Mawson. Dr. Gooch, and others of the Heads, did the same; but they were defeated, by a majority of 84 to 83. The successful party exulted exceedingly in the result of this hard-fought contest; and many pasquinades were circulated, in ridicule of the leaders on the other side: but the general respect entertained for Waterland's character appears to have secured him against the attacks of these petty assailants.

After this affair, Dr. Waterland's name is not often mentioned in the University records. It occurs at a subsequent period, on the occasion of maintaining the rights of the University against some magistrates in the town, who had bailed a person committed by the Vice-Chancellor; and afterwards, as one of a Syndicate appointed to revise and correct the list of benefactors to the University; which is the last memorial of him in these public documents. It should not, however, be passed over here without due commendation, that in the year 1733 (as is recorded in the register of his college) he subscribed twenty guineas towards beautifying the College chapel.

The foregoing particulars, whether of greater or less importance, may serve to prove the high estimation in which Dr. Waterland stood among the leading characters of the University, his unremitting zeal for its best interests, and the active services which he rendered to it upon several occasions. They place him in the light of a person generally looked up to by his contemporaries, as one whose

judgment, temper, and talents for business, as well as his learning and zeal, entitled him to the fullest confidence.

The correspondence subjoined to this edition of his Works will throw still further light upon this part of his history, and tend to confirm this representation of his academical character. Several passages in them shew the lively interest which he took, not only in the literary concerns of the University, but also in the ecclesiastical and parliamentary proceedings connected with its rights and privileges.

This attention, on the part of Dr. Waterland, to academical concerns, may be deemed so much the more deserving of notice, when it is considered, that a very large portion of his time, during the last twenty years of his Headship, was necessarily occupied elsewhere, and his attention required to other professional engagements of high importance. For we have now to trace his progress in a wider field of action, and to view him distinguished both by his honours and his labours in the Church; the one opening the way to the other, as they who had the means of rewarding merit, and were desirous of upholding the interests of sound learning and pure religion, discovered in him one preeminently deserving of their patronage. It is necessary, however, for this purpose, to suspend in some measure the continuation of the *biographical* part of this narrative, that a more distinct and uninterrupted view may be presented to the reader of the services he has rendered, as an author, to the cause of religious truth, and which have handed down his name to posterity with such distinguished credit.

SECTION III.

WATERLAND'S CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS IN VINDICATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

IT was not until some time after Dr. Waterland had attained to academical distinction, that he established his more extensive reputation as an author. The only pieces he had hitherto published were an Assize Sermon preached at Cambridge, July 21, 1713, and a Thanksgiving Sermon preached before the University, June 7, 1716, on the Suppression of the Rebellion. In the year 1719, appeared his first considerable work, entitled, *A Vindication of Christ's Divinity, being a Defence of some Queries relating to Dr. Clarke's scheme of the holy Trinity, in answer to a Clergyman in the Country.* This being the commencement of the chief polemical contest in which he engaged, and that in which truths of all others the most important were at issue, some account of the previous state of the controversy may not be unacceptable to the reader.

For nearly thirty years of a long and laborious life, Bishop Bull had taken the lead in defence of the doctrines of the Trinity and our Lord's Divinity, against the chief assailants of those doctrines, at home and abroad. Many publications, tending rather to Socinianism than Arianism, were put forth towards the latter end of the 17th century, in Holland and in England. Petavius a Jesuit, Zwicker a Socinian, and Sandius an Anti-Trinitarian, were foremost among foreign writers of this description; against whom Bishop Bull's first great work, his *De-*

fensio Fidei Nicenæ, was principally directed. His subsequent tract, *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, had more immediate reference to the lax opinions of Episcopius and his disciple Curcellæus, and was intended to shew, (as supplementary to his former work,) that the Nicene Fathers held the belief of our Lord's true and proper Divinity to be one of the indispensable terms of Catholic communion. His last great treatise, *Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio*, in continuation of the same subject, was written expressly against Zwicker; whose extravagant assertions, that the doctrines of our Lord's Divinity, Pre-existence, and Incarnation, were entirely inventions of some of the early heretics, led Bishop Bull to a more full investigation of that part of the subject.

The writers who, at the same time, advocated these heterodox opinions in our own country, were not men of considerable eminence, and were little more than mere importers of these foreign novelties. The names of Biddle, Firmin, and Gilbert Clerke, now scarcely retain a place in our recollection. Yet, excepting some few anonymous writers, these were the chief abettors of Anti-Trinitarianism in England. Some of the anonymous tracts were not, indeed, contemptible productions. One of them, entitled, *The Naked Gospel*, was written by Dr. Bury, Rector of Exeter college, Oxford, and obtained extensive circulation. Another, called, *An Historical Vindication of the Naked Gospel*, was ascribed to Le Clerc, an author unquestionably of high literary character. But the labours of these writers would probably not have called forth the powers of

Bishop Bull, had not continental adversaries of still greater reputation taken a prominent part.

It is unnecessary to detail the particular points in debate between this great writer and his several opponents. The reader may find them fully stated in Mr. Nelson's Life of that venerable Prelate. It was Bishop Bull's main object, to take a comprehensive *historical* view of the subject; and, upon an accurate investigation of the doctrines maintained by the Nicene and Ante-Nicene Fathers of the Church, to establish a convincing argument, that those doctrines must have been the true *primitive* articles of the Christian faith, handed down by the Apostles to their successors in the Church; and from which no important deviation, no essential difference, could reasonably be supposed to have gained admittance into the Catholic Creed. This argument had been, by some, contemptuously neglected; by others, insidiously perverted. The authority of the primitive Fathers had become a sort of by-word of reproach among many writers of that period. The *Socinians* were disposed wholly to set aside their testimony as of no real value. The *Arians* professed some respect for it, and endeavoured to press it into their own service. Great misrepresentations had obtained currency among the learned, as well as the unlearned, who applied their minds to the subject; and in no instance, perhaps, have profound learning and vigorous intellect been more successfully directed towards correcting such errors, than in these masterly performances of Bishop Bull. To his transcendent merits in this respect, not only the most eminent British and foreign Divines

of his own time have borne testimony; but Theologians in every succeeding period have ascribed to him the credit both of obtaining a complete victory over his opponents, and of having furnished an inexhaustible armoury of weapons for those who came after him in defence of the truth.

But, however decisive this victory might be, it had not the effect of extinguishing the controversial spirit which had become so generally prevalent. The phalanx of adversaries endeavoured to supply by numbers what they wanted in individual strength; and when driven from one untenable position, sought refuge in another. Bishop Bull adhered to his main purpose, that of applying his labours to proofs drawn directly from Scripture or from antiquity; not entering further into *metaphysical* disquisitions, than was necessary for the illustration of those writings of the primitive Fathers, which he adduced in support of his argument. But it unavoidably occurred, that many subtle and difficult points were brought under discussion, arising out of the peculiar notions started by early heretics, and against which many treatises of the orthodox Fathers had been more immediately directed. The chief heresies they had to combat, were those which led to *Tritheism*, *Sabellianism*, or *Arianism*. In maintaining the great points of our Lord's *pre-existence*, *eternity*, and *consubstantiality* with the Father, the discordant opinions of these several opponents were to be refuted, so as to give neither of them the advantage. In discussing also the *subordination* of the Son to the Father, more than ordinary precision was necessary, to guard against misconception or misrepresentation.

All these difficulties this zealous defender of the Catholic faith had to encounter; and with what admirable skill and prudence he conducted himself, even in the most perilous of these researches, it is needless here to describe.

Disquisitions, however, of this kind, afforded temptation to minds of a certain stamp, to perplex the subject still farther; and to place a doctrine, confessedly mysterious, in such a light, as to make it appear still more difficult of acceptance. Unhappily, too, persons of better dispositions, and earnestly desirous of vindicating the established Creed, were induced to attempt *explanations* and *illustrations* of the doctrine *itself*, grounded upon *hypothesis* rather than *proof*, and hardly admitting of demonstrative evidence, either from reason or from Scripture. They were laudably anxious to repel the charges of absurdity and contradiction, so pertinaciously alleged by their adversaries; and to exonerate themselves and others from the imputation of believing that which was, *per se*, irrational or incredible. They were induced, therefore, to overstep the boundaries of scriptural proof and historical testimony, and to push their inquiries into the dark recesses of metaphysical speculation. Here their opponents gladly followed them; well aware with how much greater advantage they might uphold the contest, where the very ground on which they stood was favourable to the promoters of perplexity and confusion, and where the main points at issue could never be decided by a victory, either on the one side or on the other.

Dr. William Sherlock, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, (father of Bishop Sherlock,) engaged strenu-

ously in this hazardous warfare. He was incited to it by two anonymous Socinian pamphlets, entitled, the one, *Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius;* the other, *A brief History of the Unitarians, or Socinians;* the former of which consisted chiefly of *metaphysical* objections to the doctrines of the Creed. Against these tracts Dr. Sherlock wrote his *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, published in the Year 1690. In this elaborate work, he proposed a new mode of explaining that "great "mystery;" by an hypothesis, which (as he conceived) "gave a very easy and intelligible notion of "a Trinity in Unity," and removed the charge of "*contradictions.*" His mode, however, of doing this was much disapproved, not only by Socinian writers, but by men who were no less sincere advocates of the doctrine than himself. Dr. Wallis, Savilian Professor of Geometry, one of the most profound scholars of his time, though he approved of much of Dr. Sherlock's treatise, yet regarded some of his illustrations as approaching too nearly to *Tritheism.* Dr. South, a man of no less powerful intellect, opposed it, upon similar grounds, with great vehemence, and with unsparing reproach. Both these distinguished writers substituted, however, for Dr. Sherlock's hypothesis, theories of their own, far from being generally satisfactory; and were charged by the opposite party with leaning towards *Sabellianism.* In the University of Oxford, Sherlock's view of the doctrine was publicly censured and prohibited. This produced further irritation; and such was the unbecoming heat and acrimony with which the controversy was conducted, that the Royal Authority was at last exercised, in re-

straining each party from introducing novel opinions respecting these mysterious articles of faith, and requiring them to adhere to such explications only, as had already received the sanction of the Church.

These unhappy disputes were eagerly caught at by Anti-Trinitarians of every description, as topics of invective or of ridicule; and the press teemed with offensive productions of various description, calculated to agitate the minds of the people, and to bring the doctrines of the Church into disrepute. The advocates of the established Creed were represented as being now divided into two distinct and irreconcileable parties, the *Tritheists* and the *Nominalists*, or (as they were sometimes called) the *real* and the *nominal* Trinitarians; the former intended to denote those who maintained *Sherlock's* hypothesis; the latter, those who espoused the theories of *South* and *Wallis*. These terms of reproach were readily adopted by Socinian writers, whose policy it was to represent all Trinitarians as implicated in the errors either of Tritheism or Sabellianism, and to deny that any intermediate theory of Trinitarian doctrine could consistently be maintained. To follow up this supposed advantage over their adversaries, the tracts of Biddle were now collected and republished; and, together with several others by authors mostly anonymous, formed three small quarto volumes, printed in 1691—1695. Thomas Firmin, a disciple of Biddle, was particularly active in the circulation of these productions.

Bishop Bull took no public part in this warfare, though it was carried on, with more or less vehemence, for a considerable time, and even while he

was engaged in controversy on these subjects with Episcopius, Zwicker, and others. Among his posthumous works, however, there is a *Discourse on the Doctrine of the Catholic Church for the first three Ages of Christianity concerning the Trinity, in opposition to Sabellianism and Tritheism*, which is stated to have been drawn up at the request of a person of quality, (Lord Arundell,) who had been perplexed by the controversy betwixt Sherlock and South. But this appears to have been intended merely for private use. The learned Prelate's dignity, and probably his inclination, were better consulted, by abstaining from these subordinate points of litigation, while he pursued steadily his purpose of establishing the main articles in question upon a more solid basis, and felt not the necessity of calling to its aid any less substantial proofs than those which Scripture and tradition supplied. His increasing age and infirmities also, as well as the burden of his episcopal cares, would doubtless indispose him for superfluous exertions.

Other distinguished persons had some share in these discussions; among whom were Cudworth and Stillingfleet. The former, in his *Intellectual System*, chiefly imbibing his philosophy from Plotinus and other disciples of the Platonic school, incurred the charge of giving too much countenance to the Arian hypothesis. The latter, in his *Vindication of the Trinity*, steered a safer course, by avoiding unnecessary subtleties, and adopting more solid grounds of reasoning in defence of the received Confessions and Creeds of the Church. Neither of these, however, carried on the controversy to any considerable length.

The best view, perhaps, that can be taken of Dr. Waterland's labours, will be to regard them as a continuation of those of Bishop Bull. This Prelate died in 1709; and his last controversial treatise on our Lord's Divinity was published in 1703. Waterland's first publication on the same subject appeared in 1719. This brings them nearly into contact with each other. Waterland, however, is not to be considered as precisely occupying the same ground, or engaged in the same personal warfare as his venerable predecessor. Bishop Bull had completely vanquished the opponents of his day; and so far the combat was at an end. But scarcely had his career terminated, when fresh ground was entered upon by an opponent of far more imposing character, and of much greater consideration, than any or even all of those against whom the learned Prelate of St. David's had maintained so good a warfare.

In the year 1712, Dr. Clarke published his *Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity.* This was the commencement of a new æra in polemics. Dr. Clarke was a man of far too great importance, from the strength of his understanding, the depth of his knowledge, and the extent of his learning, to content himself with retailing trite arguments already advanced and reiterated by the Anti-Trinitarians of the day. Indeed he disclaimed the character of an *Anti-Trinitarian;* and appears to have been firmly persuaded, that the doctrine of the Trinity was a true Scripture-doctrine. His labours were directed entirely to the *proof* of this doctrine, in the sense in which he himself embraced it, and which he laboured to prove was the sense both of Scripture and of the Church

of England. He stands distinguished, therefore, from such writers as Biddle, Firmin, Clendon, Emlyn, and Whiston, in many prominent features of the doctrine he advanced; and consequently, the controversy with him assumed a very different aspect from that in which Bishop Bull had been engaged.

The professed design of Dr. Clarke's book was indisputably good. A full and digested collection of all the texts relating to the doctrine of the Trinity, with a critical interpretation of them, was a *desideratum* in theology, and could hardly fail to be of advantage to the biblical student. It served also to call off the attention of those who had hitherto chiefly derived their notions of the subject from teachers who rested more upon metaphysics, than upon the pure word of God; and to bring the whole matter of dispute into a train of more legitimate discussion.

Dr. Clarke, however, in this undertaking, set out upon a latitudinarian principle, which did not augur very favourably of the purpose which it might be intended to serve. With reference to the Liturgy of the Church of England, and to public formularies of faith in general, he assumed it as a maxim, "That "every person may reasonably agree to such forms, "whenever he can *in any sense at all* reconcile them "with Scripture[s]." He also virtually, if not expressly, disclaimed the authority of the primitive Christian writers, as expositors of the doctrines in question; desiring it to be understood, that he did not cite their works "as *proofs* of any of the propositions,

[s] Introduct. p. xxi. 1st Edit.

" but as *illustrations* only;" moreover, that his purpose in citing them was oftentimes to point out their inconsistency with the doctrine they professed to hold, and thus " to shew how naturally truth sometimes " prevails by its own native clearness and evidence, " even against the strongest and most settled preju- " dices[t]." These were suspicious declarations, and would naturally lead to an expectation, that the author might find occasion, in the course of his work, to exemplify his principles in a way not quite conformable either with the sentiments of the primitive defenders of the faith, or with those of the Church in which he was himself an accredited teacher.

Accordingly, the work was no sooner published and read, than he was accused of applying these principles to the introduction of opinions irreconcileable with the received doctrines of the Church Catholic in general, and with those of the Church of England in particular; and the work was reprobated as an indirect revival of the *Arian* heresy. Among the writers who thus arraigned it, were men of high character and respectability in the Church. Dr. Wells, Mr. Nelson, Dr. James Knight, Bishop Gastrell, Dr. Edwards, Mr. Welchman, Mr. Edward Potter, Dr. Bennett, and Mr. Richard Mayo, distinguished themselves, with considerable ability, by their animadversions on this work. On the other side, Dr. Whitby, Dr. Sykes, and Mr. John Jackson, appeared in favour of Dr. Clarke, and upheld his cause with zeal and talent. The weight, however, of public opinion, (so far, at least, as related to members of the Church of

[t] Ibid. pp. xvii. xviii.

England,) preponderated greatly against him; and the subsequent proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation proved, that the persuasions of the Clergy in general were decidedly adverse to those which he had espoused.

Some account of the labours of these opponents of Dr. Clarke may be not unacceptable.

Dr. Wells published, in 1713, his *Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Introduction to his Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity.* These remarks, for the reason he assigns in his Preface, were confined to the *Introduction* only, as containing principles which might mislead unwary or unskilful readers, with reference to other controversies in religion, as well as to that of the Trinity. The points he objects to are these;—that although Dr. C. professes to state the *Scripture-doctrine* upon this article of faith, he takes no notice whatever of the *Old* Testament, but cites all its authorities from the *New*;—that while he affirms that *Scripture* is the *only* rule of truth in matters of religion, he has not satisfactorily shewn how the true *sense* of Scripture is to be ascertained, nor has guarded against that perversion of it, by which men, disposed to put what sense they please upon it, may pretend that they are vindicating *the sole authority of Scripture*, when, in effect, they are substituting for it *the sole authority of their own reasonings*;—that he argues inconsistently, in acknowledging, that in order to find the true sense of Scripture, we are bound to use *the best assistance* we can procure; and yet insisting that we are to have recourse to *no other authority* whatever but that of *Scripture* only;—that he has greatly misrepresented the principles of

the *Church of England* in this respect, as declared in her 6th, 20th, and 21st Articles;—that he has disrespectfully treated the writings of the *early Fathers*, charging them with prejudice and inconsistency; and disparaging their Creeds and Confessions of faith;—that his *directions to Divines* for studying these subjects are very loosely and unguardedly laid down, and, in particular, his cautions not to be misguided by the *sound* of *single texts* of Scripture are insidious, and liable to lead men from the simplicity of truth;—that his notions respecting the *assent* to *forms by law* appointed, and to all words of *human institution*, are inconsistent with that Christian sincerity which he professes;—and lastly, that he has covertly traduced *our Church*, by insinuating that she requires her ministers to receive the doctrine of the *Trinity* in *that* sense which the *popish* schoolmen had introduced for the sake of maintaining their doctrine of *transubstantiation*. To this pamphlet Dr. Clarke speedily replied, and, with more polemical skill than his antagonist, availed himself of some indiscreet, and perhaps untenable positions, which Dr. Wells had advanced. But he is more successful in pointing out his adversary's defects, than in vindicating his own assertions; and, not unfrequently, an undue bias may be discovered against Church-authority, even in its mildest character, and a strong predisposition to such unbounded freedom, as can hardly consist with any *established* system of faith whatever. Dr. Wells followed up his attack by a *second* letter to Dr. Clarke, written evidently under impressions of irritation, and with a consciousness of having given his adversary

some advantage; but not without shrewdness and ability. To this second letter Dr. Clarke made no reply.

Mr. Nelson had, in his Life of Bishop Bull, made some strong animadversions on the object and tendency of Dr. Clarke's book. With that truly Christian courtesy which distinguished every thing that came from the pen of this excellent man, he had complained of something like unfair treatment of Bishop Bull's writings on the part of Dr. Clarke. He prefixed also to an anonymous tract, entitled, *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity vindicated from the misrepresentations of Dr. Clarke*, a short letter to Dr. Clarke, expostulating with him upon the dangerous tendency of his book, and the unsoundness of some of its principles. The anonymous author of the tract published by Mr. Nelson (Dr. James Knight) does not go through the whole of Dr. Clarke's treatise, but selects about forty of the chief texts therein discussed, in order to shew the erroneous *principle of interpretation* which generally pervades the work. He particularly censures Dr. Clarke's position, that whenever the terms ONE and ONLY GOD are used in Scripture they invariably mean God the FATHER, to the exclusion of the *other* Persons of the Godhead. He complains also of his using the term *being*, as synonymous with *person;* his deducing inferences from the terms *self-existent* and *unoriginated*, derogatory to the true Divinity of the SON; and combats several other positions of a similar kind, which form the groundwork of Dr. Clarke's treatise. This was a learned, acute, and well-digested performance, written with

candour and good temper; and Dr. Clarke put forth his full strength in answering it. It was followed by a still larger tract in continuation of the subject; to which Dr. Clarke again replied in a letter to the author, printed, together with two other tracts, in 1719.

Another publication, written about the same time, and entitled, *Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*, was the work of Dr. Gastrell, afterwards Bishop of Chester. This contains a clear and candid statement of Dr. Clarke's opinions; concerning which, the author remarks, that "in Dr. "C.'s 55 Propositions, there is but one single expres- "sion, (viz. Proposition 27.) which any of those who "now profess themselves *Arians* would refuse to "subscribe to." The contrast between these propositions and the received doctrine of the Church is distinctly set forth in the beginning of the tract; and the last twenty pages contain an excellent summary of the whole controversy, as it then stood, concerning the Divinity of our Saviour. Dr. Clarke published an answer to this tract; which he acknowledges to be the production "of a *very able and* "*learned writer*," and "*proposed with a reasona-* "*ble and good spirit.*" The answer is subtle and acute; and the author evidently feels that he is encountering no ordinary antagonist. It is written also with a degree of irritation which indicates a consciousness of not having victory fully at command; and in many passages Dr. C. labours more to convict his opponent of heresy or absurdity, than to acquit himself of the charges alleged against him.

In the same year with the above-mentioned tracts,

appeared Dr. Edwards's *Brief Critical Remarks* on Dr. Clarke's reply to Mr. Nelson and Dr. Gastrell. This is an attack, and a very powerful one, on Dr. Clarke's skill in critical theology. Dr. Edwards rallies him also upon his affected dislike to *metaphysical* terms in divinity; and animadverts with keenness on his use of the words εἷς, θεότης, and θεὸς; the last of which Dr. C. usually interprets in a *relative*, rather than an *absolute* sense, as denoting *office* only, not *essence* or *nature*. This notion Dr. Edwards very successfully refutes, and charges the author with having borrowed it from Crellius and other Socinian writers.

Another able tract on the same side was written by Mr. Edward Welchman, the well-known author of an illustration of the Thirty-nine Articles. The tract is entitled, *Dr. Clarke's Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity examined.* In the Preface, he charges Dr. C. with endeavouring to accommodate the Scriptures to his own notions, and with misrepresenting the opinions of the Fathers. In reply to Dr. C.'s position, "that *particular expressions* in any work are "so much the *more* to be depended upon, and the "*more* to be regarded, when the author from whom "they are cited was, *upon the whole, more different* "in his opinion from what those particular citations "seem to express;" Mr. W. justly observes, "that "chief regard ought always to be had to the *main* "*end* and *design* of the *writer*, and the *particular* "*expressions* interpreted, if possible, according to "that end; and that if any appear to be inconsistent "with it, it should be regarded as a slip of the au-"thor's pen, and no greater stress laid upon *that*,

" than upon the general tendency of the work." Some other violations of the established rules of interpretation are also charged upon Dr. Clarke, in this Preface. The body of the tract consists of a detailed examination of Dr. C.'s fifty-five Propositions; in which Mr. Welchman professes to acknowledge what is true, to explain what is ambiguous, and to reject what is false. Dr. C.'s quotations from the Fathers are but slightly noticed; the Fathers being, in Dr. C.'s estimation, of little moment, and his quotations, from them, in Mr. Welchman's opinion, of much less. At the end is subjoined " A brief Ex- " plication of Dr. Clarke's view of the subject, by " way of Question and Answer, from the Doctor's " own writings;" exposing the inconsistencies and fallacies of his theory.

Another, and perhaps one of the ablest of these answers, was written by Mr. Edward Potter, M. A. of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and entitled, *A Vindication of our Blessed Saviour's Divinity, chiefly against Dr. Clarke.* This tract comprised the substance of a series of discourses delivered by the author in the college chapel. After glancing at some of Dr. C.'s insinuations against Creeds and Articles of Faith imposed by human authority, he prepares the way for a *scriptural* view of the subject, by removing several preliminary objections grounded on the supposed incredibility of the doctrine, and its contradiction to human reason. The distinction between the appropriate attributes of the Father, *self-origination* and *self-existence*, and the appropriate attributes of the Son, *eternal* and *necessary existence*, is admirably cleared. It is further shewn, that

this distinction does not derogate from the true and perfect Divinity of the Son; and that it neither makes him the same Person with the *unoriginated* Being, on the one hand, nor infers a *plurality of Beings*, on the other. On this ground, the doctrine of the Athanasian Creed is well defended. The great point of the honour and worship due to our Saviour is then considered, as a proof of his absolute Divinity; and this is succeeded by a full consideration of several texts of Scripture, ascribing to Him titles and characters, which imply that he is really and essentially God. The application of the terms JEHOVAH and LOGOS in the Old and New Testament, and the equivalent force of each, as denoting the essential and incommunicable character of the Deity, are strongly urged. The general purport of the tract is to prove, that our Lord's Divinity was not merely an arbitrary *communication* of the Divine nature by the *power* and *will* of the Father; but was *inherent* in himself, essentially and necessarily, as one with the Father, co-eternal and co-equal. Some few plain and convincing proofs are selected in the conclusion of the tract, to shew that the compilers of our Liturgy held these tenets, and could not possibly intend that the doctrine should be interpreted in any other way. The greater part of this tract may be read with advantage as a didactic treatise, without reference to Dr. Clarke's book; and, in that point of view, it is more especially valuable [u].

Mr. Richard Mayo's tract (which was published with his initials only) is entitled, *A plain Argument*

[u] There is no answer extant, by Dr. Clarke, either to this tract by Mr. Potter, or to those by Mr. Welchman and Dr. Edwards.

against Dr. Clarke's Doctrine concerning the ever-blessed Trinity. The design, as set forth in the Preface, was to guard the common people against being misled by *the pretence of Scripture* for Dr. Clarke's new scheme of the doctrine of the Trinity, and "to give a plain Scripture-argument for the "truth that they had been taught." The tract consists of three letters interchanged between Mr. Mayo and Dr. Clarke, with a few additional pages of observations upon the correspondence. It turns chiefly upon one simple argument, deduced from Scripture, namely, "that the Supreme Independent Being "has declared, that there are *no other beings*, infe-"rior or dependent, to whom Divine titles, attri-"butes, or worship, do or ought to belong, or to be "ascribed: and by consequence, that the *Son of* "*God* (to whom it is confessed that Divine titles, "attributes, and worship do belong) is indeed *a dis-*"*tinct Person* from the Father and the Holy Ghost, "*in the same essence;* but is not another *Being*, "but *of one* and the same *substance* with the *Fa-*"*ther* and the *Holy Ghost.*" This point is enlarged upon with considerable ability; and unquestionably it is one, which, when firmly established, completely overthrows Dr. Clarke's theory. Of this Dr. C. seems to have been fully aware, since, though in the private correspondence, here published, he had declined pursuing the controversy with the author, he deemed it expedient afterwards to enter into a fuller discussion of it, in a *Letter to Mr. R. M.* printed together with a letter to another of his opponents[x]; and

[x] A letter to the author of a book entitled, *The true Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity continued and vindicated,* &c. 1719.

both appended to another tract, *A Modest Plea for the Baptismal and Scripture-notion of the Trinity.* This *Modest Plea* was the production of Dr. Arthur Ashley Sykes, one of Dr. Clarke's most able and strenuous advocates; of whom, and of his other chief supporters, Dr. Whitby and Mr. Jackson, occasion will soon arise to take some further notice.

From the foregoing sketch it is evident, that Dr. Clarke's book had undergone a pretty severe scrutiny, and had occasioned no small dissatisfaction. It had also been examined so fully under all its aspects and bearings, and the main positions on which it rested had been so successfully refuted, that any further notice of it might have been deemed almost superfluous. At this period of the controversy, however, Dr. Waterland was induced to take the field; and the circumstances which led to his doing so are briefly stated in the Preface to his *Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, published (as has already been stated) in the year 1719.

Certain *Queries* had been drawn up, a few years before, by Dr. Waterland, at the request of some friends, without any intention of their appearing in print, and chiefly for the purpose of pointing out to *a Clergyman in the Country*, who had espoused Dr. Clarke's notions of the Trinity, the errors into which he had unguardedly fallen. The Clergyman was personally unknown to Dr. Waterland; and it was through the medium of some common friend that the Queries were submitted to his consideration. A correspondence ensued between the parties, carried on for a while in an amicable manner, with unreserved freedom, and (on the part of Dr. Waterland,

at least,) without any design of engaging in public controversy. At length, however, the Country Clergyman unexpectedly announced to Dr. Waterland, that, having been *over-persuaded* to do so, he had actually committed these Queries to the press, together with his own Answers to them; and that thither Dr. W. must follow him, if he intended any thing further.

This Clergyman was Mr. John Jackson, first of Jesus college, Cambridge, then Rector of Rossington and Vicar of Doncaster, and afterwards more generally known by his various polemical writings. A person of greater delicacy might have felt some scruple in thus forcing an opponent into public notice, without his consent, and without such previous intimation as might have led him to prepare himself more carefully for the press. Waterland justly complains of this treatment, and intimates that he would still have declined coming forward, had not copies of his manuscript *Defence of the Queries* already got into several hands; which determined him to revise his papers, and send them into the world in a less imperfect state.

Jackson's own representation of this matter does not materially differ from Waterland's; but he excuses himself on the ground, that the Queries had got into extensive circulation before they fell into *his* hands, and were become of too great notoriety to be concealed. He adds also, that the manuscript of Waterland's *Defence*, in reply to Jackson's *Answer* to the Queries, had made its way into other hands before he was permitted to see it. But he chiefly shelters himself under the sanction and ad-

vice of Dr. Clarke, who suggested to him, "that "he might print them as anonymous objections "which he found, and which no one had owned; "and so Dr. W. might either own them, (if they "were his,) or let them pass unregarded." This explains what Jackson had written to Dr. Waterland, on announcing the publication, that he had been *over-persuaded* to it[y].

From these accounts it is pretty evident, on the one hand, that Dr. Waterland was by no means desirous, in the first instance, of taking a conspicuous part in this controversy; and, on the other hand, that Jackson was (perhaps not very reluctantly) induced by Dr. Clarke to press the matter forward. Dr. Clarke appears, indeed, throughout the whole of the controversy, at this and at subsequent periods, to have had a great ascendency over Jackson, and to have made free use of him, whenever it was more suitable to his purpose to speak *per alium* than *per se:* and from the correspondence between them, inserted in the Memoirs of Jackson's Life and Writings, there can hardly be a doubt, that in this Answer to the Queries, Dr. Clarke bore a considerable part[z]. If either party, however, had afterwards cause to regret the publication of these papers, it was that which had been most eager to promote it. From the time that Waterland took the field, the reputation and authority of Dr. Clarke perceptibly declined; while his new antagonist advanced rapidly in the estimation of the public, and obtained marks of distin-

[y] See Memoirs of Jackson, pp. 19—23; and Jackson's Memoirs of Waterland, pp. 17—20.

[z] See Jackson's Memoirs, pp. 23—27, and pp. 82—86.

guished favour from persons the most eminent in character and station.

To give an extended analysis of this important work of Dr. Waterland's, would occupy too large a portion of these pages. The texts compared, and the Queries grounded upon a comparison of them, are arranged under distinct heads, so as to exhibit, in striking contrast, the system maintained by Dr. Clarke, and that which has generally been received as the standard of the Catholic faith. The Queries are so clearly and unequivocally drawn up, that they seem almost to suggest their own answers, and scarcely admit of a diversity of solution. That Mr. Jackson, however, did in many instances, and even in those of the greatest moment, *evade* a direct and distinct answer to them, will hardly be denied by any who shall give Dr. Waterland's book and that of his opponent an impartial reading.

Take, for example, his answers to the first and second Queries proposed by Dr. Waterland.

The first Query is, "Whether all other BEINGS "besides the one Supreme God be not excluded by "the texts of Isaiah," [therein referred to,] "and "consequently, whether Christ can be God at all, "unless he be the same with the Supreme God?" —In answer to this, Jackson endeavours to establish, or rather assumes as established, the following positions:—that the texts cited relate to one *person* only,—that the Father is that one person,—that when it is said, There is no GOD besides me, the meaning is, there is no SUPREME GOD besides me, —and that our Lord cannot be the one Supreme God, because he is not the same Person as the

Father. Thus the real question, Whether if Christ be not Supreme God, he be not excluded from being God at all, remains still unanswered.

The second Query is, "Whether the texts in the "New Testament" [there referred to] "do not shew "that he (Christ) is not excluded, and therefore "must be the same God?" Here again, instead of a direct answer, Jackson sets up an arbitrary distinction between the word GOD in a *supreme*, and in a *subordinate* and *inferior* sense; the latter (it is said) being applied to Christ, the former to the Father only; whilst the main point, whether, being *not excluded* by these texts, he must not be *the same God*, is left wholly untouched.

These may serve as specimens of the disingenuous and sophistical mode of argument, with which this writer encounters the plain and almost self-evident propositions, couched under the several queries proposed to him;—an attempt to mislead the reader, which Waterland has not failed to expose in the fullest manner.

The main points laboured throughout this Vindication, are those which lie at the root of the controversy. The *Arian* distinction between an *absolute* and a *relative* Deity, is proved to have no foundation in Scripture. It is shewn, that, in the sacred writings, there is no ambiguity in the term GOD; no difference between GOD and the SUPREME GOD; —that if the Son be not God in the full Scripture-notion of God, he cannot *truly* be called God; and if he be so, he must be *one* with the Father, since else there would be more Gods than one; —that the divine attributes, omniscience, ubiquity,

and eternity, and also the divine powers, and divine worship ascribed to both Father and Son, cannot reasonably be understood as bearing a different meaning, when referred to the one or the other, but must be substantially the same in both;—that there is no medium between being *essentially God*, and being a *creature*;—that though the *subordination* of the Son to the Father, *in some sense*, may be proved from many texts of Scripture, yet there is no plain text to be found that disproves his *eternity*, or his *consubstantiality* with the Father;—and that when it is asserted, in opposition to this doctrine, that there is no distinction between *being* and *person*, and no medium between *Tritheism* and *Sabellianism*, the question becomes no longer a *scriptural*, but a *metaphysical* inquiry, from which no certain or satisfactory conclusions can be drawn. In addition to these considerations, the 23d Query places in a strong point of view the perplexities and inconsistencies of the Arian hypothesis. The remaining Queries have more especial reference to Dr. Clarke's treatment of the Nicene and Ante-Nicene Fathers, and of our Church Liturgy; and the treatise concludes with cautions as to the danger of trusting to private judgment, rather than to Scripture, reason, and antiquity.

It is a further recommendation of this work, that the author has conducted it in strict conformity with Dr. Clarke's professed design. Its general line of argument is purely *scriptural;* being deduced, by fair inference, from a collation of Scripture-evidence. The *arrangement* also is more skilful and more lucid than that of Dr. Clarke. Dr. Clarke, though he

classes his texts under certain general heads, arranges them under each head, in the progressive order in which they occur in the New Testament; so that each text appears in a detached, insulated form, unconnected with the rest. Consequently, their mutual bearing, their effect in strengthening or in modifying each other, is not immediately perceived. Dr. Waterland, on the other hand, by his collecting together a number of texts relating to the same point, exhibits, at one view, the contrast or the concord between them; and thus materially assists the reader in forming a judgment, how far the doctrines deduced from them are borne out by Scripture-authority. Nor should we omit to notice the additional advantage of bringing together a variety of texts from the Old Testament, cited, referred to, and sometimes expounded in the New; by which a great accession of light is obtained; and the want of which cannot but be regarded as a great defect in Dr. Clarke's performance.

This commencement of Dr. Waterland's labours brought him into high estimation. It manifested a vigorous understanding, acute discernment, laborious research, a clear conception even of the most intricate points, and a complete mastery of his whole subject. It obtained for him general confidence as a fit *leader* in the cause he had undertaken; and notwithstanding the acknowledged ability of many who had already entered the lists on the same side, it seemed as if all were now willing to transfer to *him* its chief direction.

To this work Dr. Clarke soon afterwards replied,

in a short tract, entitled, *The Modest Plea continued, or a brief and distinct Answer to Dr. Waterland's Queries relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity.* 1720[a].

In the Preface to this tract, Dr. C. complains, that Dr. Waterland had "wholly neglected the only "just method of refuting his work, by shewing that "he had mistaken or misinterpreted the *Scriptures*, "or by disproving the truth of his *propositions*;" and that he had grounded his defence either upon the metaphysical opinions of the Fathers, or upon the supposed mistakes of Dr. C. in his translation of some few passages of their writings, not at all affecting the merits of the cause. Yet is it remarkable, that of Dr. W.'s thirty-one Queries, twenty-

[a] The *Modest Plea*, of which this professes to be a continuation, has already been mentioned as the production of Dr. Sykes, under the designation of *a Country Clergyman*. Its professed object was to compare Dr. Clarke's and Dr. Bennet's notions of the Trinity, in refutation of the latter; and no notice is taken in it of Dr. Waterland's work. The reason, therefore, of Dr. Clarke's publishing his own tract as a sequel, or continuation of Dr. Sykes's, is not, at first, apparent. But from a passage in Disney's Life of Sykes, p. 88, and another from the Memoirs of Jackson, p. 55, it appears probable that Dr. C. himself had some share in the *Modest Plea;* since, in a letter from him to Mr. Jackson, he says, "The *Country Clergyman*" (meaning the author of the *Modest Plea*) "is *really* a person who was convinced just in "the manner you were, *and I have just the same relation to his* "*performances as to yours.*" What that relationship was, has already been noticed, in speaking of Jackson's Answer to the Queries. The publication of *The Modest Plea*, together with the two letters by Dr. Clarke, strengthens the probability that it was, in some measure, a joint concern between him and Dr. Sykes.

four are exclusively grounded on *Scripture*, or on Dr. Clarke's own *propositions;* and that almost the whole of Dr. Clarke's Answer consists of endeavours to refute Dr. Waterland's expositions of *Scripture*.

Dr. Clarke's replies to each Query are ingenious, subtle, and acute. But the great and (as it seems) *insuperable* difficulty he had to contend with, was that of allowing to our Lord the title of GOD, in any legitimate acceptation of the term. It is a vain attempt, to disguise the absurdity, upon the *Arian* principle, of ascribing *real Divinity* to the Son. Whenever Dr. C. finds this express term given to him, he is evidently perplexed and troubled how to evade its force. Generally he is under the necessity of either adding to the text some expository word or phrase, or of expressing it by some mode of circumlocution, which may confine it to the particular signification his system requires. Where he conceives the term God to denote the Father, he inserts *supreme* before it, that the Divinity of the Son may appear to be inferior: where it is predicated of the Son, some qualifying terms are introduced from other texts of Scripture, to give it a *dependent* and *subordinate* meaning: and again, when it is used absolutely, denoting the *essence* or *being* of the Deity, the personal pronouns, *I* and *me*, *he* and *him*, are insisted upon as proofs that it relates individually and exclusively to the Father;—thus *assuming* the very points in question. Dr. Clarke's system, indeed, necessarily supposes a *supreme* God and a *subordinate* God; and upon this principle rests his interpretation of every text which cannot otherwise be made to accord with his views.

Dr. W.'s Queries, and the arguments grounded upon them, tend to shew, on the other hand, that this is neither consistent with the true Scripture-notion of the divine *Unity*, nor with that of the *Trinity*, as understood by the Church, or even as professed to be received by Dr. Clarke himself. "I do not "charge you," says Dr. W. "with asserting two *su-* "*preme* Gods: but I do charge you with holding "*two* Gods, one *supreme*, another *inferior*; two "real and true Gods, according to the Scripture-no- "tion of the word *God*, as explained by yourself[b]." To this charge *The Modest Plea* gives no specific answer. The author contents himself with recriminating, that his opponent also asserts two *supreme* Gods.

The reputation which Dr. Waterland obtained by this important work did not fail to attract the notice of persons eminent in the Church. Dr. Robinson, Bishop of London, had recently expressed his disapprobation of an innovation which some of the *Arian* party were endeavouring to introduce into his diocese, in substituting for the accustomed form of *doxology* in the singing psalms, another more conformable to their own persuasions. Mr. Whiston, in his Memoirs of Dr. Clarke, states, that "Dr. "Clarke attempted this *small* alteration for his pa- "rish of St. James's." Dr. Disney, in his Memoirs of Dr. Sykes, mentions the same circumstance. The Bishop deemed it necessary to address a letter of caution to his Clergy, admonishing them to discountenance these irregular practices. The letter

[b] Defence. Query v. vol. i. p. 57. See also, more at large, his arguments in defence of Query xxiii. pp. 243—262.

brought upon him some rude attacks from Whiston, Sykes, and others; but it gave occasion also to a more full investigation of the primitive doxologies, as bearing testimony to our Lord's Divinity; and thus became a seasonable and useful topic of discussion[c].

Soon after Dr. Waterland had published his *Defence of the Queries*, the Bishop took the opportunity of testifying his high opinion of the author, by appointing him to preach the Lady Moyer's lecture, then recently founded[d]. Lady Moyer's will bears

[c] The two ablest tracts in this short controversy were supposed to be written by Dr. Wm. Berriman, and were entitled, 1. *A seasonable Review of Mr. Whiston's Account of primitive Doxologies.* 2. *A second Review in answer to Mr. Whiston's second Letter.* 1719.

[d] The following is an extract from the will of the Lady Moyer, or, as she is therein styled, "Dame Rebecca Moyer, late "of the parish of St. Andrew Holborn, in the county of Mid-"dlesex, widow.

"My now dwelling house in Bedford row or Jockey field I "give to my dear child Eliza Moyer, that out of it may be paid "twenty guineas a year to an able Minister of God's word, to "preach eight sermons every year on the Trinity, and Divinity of "our ever blessed Saviour, beginning with the first Thursday in "November, and so the first Thursday in the seven sequel "months, in St. Paul's, if permitted there, or, if not, elsewhere, "according to the discretion of my executrix, who will not think "it any incumbrance to her house. I am sure it will bring a "blessing on it, if that work be well and carefully carried on, "which in this profligate age is so neglected. If my said daughter "should leave no children alive at her death, or they should die "before they come to age, then I give my said house to my niece "Lydia Moyer, now wife to Peter Hartop, Esq. and to her heirs "after her, she always providing for that sermon, as I have "begun, twenty guineas every year."

date, Dec. 16, 1722, and was proved, Feb. 21, 1723. It appears, therefore, that she had endowed this lecture about three or four years before her death, Dr. Waterland being the first who was appointed to it; and as his sermons were published in

There is a list of the preachers of this lecture at the end of Mr. John Berriman's *Critical Dissertation on* 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. (which is the substance of the lectures he preached) down to the year 1740-1; and in a copy of that book in Sion college library, there is a continuation of the list, in MS. by Mr. John Berriman, to the year 1748. In the year 1757, they were preached by Mr. Wm. Clements, librarian of Sion college, but he did not publish them till 1797. In the year 1764, or thereabouts, the preacher was Benjamin Dawson, LL. D. who printed them under the title of, *An Illustration of several Texts of Scripture, particularly wherein the Logos occurs.* 1765. Dr. Thomas Morell, author of the *Thesaurus Græcæ Poeseωs*, is supposed to have been the last. Mr. Watts, the present librarian of Sion college, (to whom the reader is indebted for the information here given,) heard him preach one of them in January 1773. One of these lectures Dr. M. published, *without his name*, in April 1774. It was written against Lindsey, and entitled, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity justified.*

In the Gentleman's Magazine for 1804, p. 187, mention is made of a Mrs. Moyer, who "died at Low Layton, Feb. 1804, "the widow of Benjamin Moyer, Esq. son of Lawrence Moyer, "merchant, who succeeded as heir of his uncle, Sir Samuel "Moyer, a rich Turkey merchant, Sheriff of Essex, in 1698, "Bart. 1701. died 1716. His widow Rebecca, sister of Sir Wm. "Jolliffe, Knt. founded the lecture, *for a limited number of* "*years.*" This does not however appear to have been the case; no *limitation* being mentioned in Lady Moyer's will. But since there is no compulsory obligation in the will to perpetuate the lecture, the probability is, that in course of time (perhaps immediately after Dr. Morell's turn expired) the property fell into other hands, and the lecture was no longer continued.

1720, it is probable that they were preached in the preceding year. No mention is made in the will of vesting the appointment of the preacher in the Bishop of London. But from Dr. W.'s expression in his dedication to the Bishop, that the sermons were "drawn up and preached under his Lordship's in-"fluence," it may be inferred, that Lady Moyer herself had consulted with the Bishop, and requested his recommendation of a fit person. Certainly, no appointment could be better suited to Dr. W.'s pursuits, or better calculated to reflect credit upon the institution.

In the dedication of this work, the author takes occasion to compliment the Bishop on his "truly "primitive zeal against the adversaries of our com-"mon faith;" and speaks of "the attempt to intro-"duce, by a private authority, new forms of dox-"ology, in opposition to these now in use, as "justly to be abhorred by all that have the honour "of our blessed Lord, and of our common Chris-"tianity, near at heart."

The Preface contains remarks upon two pamphlets; one entitled, *Modest Plea continued*, &c. the other, *Unity of God not inconsistent with the Divinity of Christ*, &c. Of the *former* of these it is observed, that the author does not offer any particular scheme of his own, though he evidently adopts that of the Arians; that he constantly avoids coming to the pinch of the question between Catholics and Arians; that he never attempts any proof of God the Son's being a *creature*, never undertakes to justify *creature-worship*, nor endeavours to clear the Arian scheme of the difficulties with which it is

charged. His ambiguous use of the term *necessarily-existent* is also noticed; as well as several evasive modes of expression, by which the reader is left in doubt what the author's real sentiments and persuasions may be, although the general tendency to Arianism is manifest. The *latter* of these pamphlets hardly seems to have been worthy of notice, nor such an one as Dr. Clarke himself could have read with satisfaction. Dr. Waterland treats its absurdities with good-humoured pleasantry, as the reveries of "a grave, sober writer, who ingenuously "speaks his mind, without any doublings or dis-"guises."

The eight sermons contained in this volume, Dr. W. says, "may be looked upon as a *Supplement* to "his Vindication of Christ's Divinity, before pub-"lished;" avoiding, as far as possible, repetitions of former arguments, unless for the purpose of giving them additional strength; omitting also entirely the argument from *worship*, as having been before distinctly and fully considered. The topics, however, which are brought forward, are of the first importance. With the exception of that of the divine worship paid to our Saviour, they comprise every thing requisite to establish his true Divinity, and to shew that this doctrine does not impugn the *Unity* of the Godhead. The work, therefore, though regarded by its author as supplementary only to his former volume, is in itself an entire and perfect treatise, didactic rather than polemic, and such as may be read with advantage by every student in theology; exhibiting, within a moderate compass, a luminous and comprehensive view of the subject.

It has accordingly obtained a more extensive circulation, perhaps, than any of the author's other writings; and within these few years has been reprinted from the University press at Oxford; circumstances, which render it less necessary to dwell upon its particular merits.

Scarcely had Dr. Waterland completed this portion of his labours, than he was again called into action by an opponent of no ordinary powers. Dr. Whitby, to whose earlier studies in theology the public had been indebted for an excellent commentary on the New Testament; and who, at that period, had shewn no bias to sentiments at variance with the established Creed, became a convert to Dr. Clarke's opinions, and advocated them with considerable warmth. Besides other tracts of this tendency, he published, in the year 1718, a small volume, entitled, *Disquisitiones modestæ in clarissimi Bulli Defensionem Fidei Nicenæ.* This work he dedicated to Dr. Clarke; acknowledging, however, that he had not yet entirely satisfied himself as to the correctness of Dr. C.'s view of the doctrines in question; but was desirous of shewing that the controversies then agitated on the subject of the Trinity could not be decided by any clear and certain evidence from the *writings of the Fathers;* and that Bishop Bull, in endeavouring to prove the conformity between modern orthodox believers and the *Ante-Nicene* Fathers, had wandered from the truth, and laboured in vain. This position he purposed to establish, by proofs that many of the opinions adduced by Bishop Bull from these Fathers, in defence of the Nicene faith, differed not from those of persons

who were *adverse* to that faith; and that the learned Prelate had brought in aid of his cause some writings evidently spurious. But before he enters upon these proofs, he lays down, in his Preface, two preliminary maxims, which he regards as the proper foundation of all inquiries into these subjects; —1st, That nothing can be revealed or proposed as an article of faith, which the human mind cannot understand;—2dly, That Scripture is the only rule, by which the truth of any article of faith can be determined; because faith is an assent to the testimony of God.

Bishop Bull died in 1709. His *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ* was published in 1685. Why Dr. Whitby so long delayed his animadversions on this book, and thought fit to reserve them till the author was laid in his grave, it might be difficult satisfactorily to explain. The tone and temper of his *Disquisitions* do not, indeed, perfectly correspond with the candour and deference towards that venerable Prelate, which the title-page seems to indicate. This did not escape Waterland's notice; and accordingly, in the defence of his 26th Query, he comments with some severity upon Dr. Whitby's book. He charges him with some general *fallacies* running through the whole work;—1st, His making no distinction between *essence* and *person*, but always subjoining to the term *essence* the words *individual* or *numerical*, so as to identify it with *person*, and to make the Nicene faith appear to be mere Sabellianism; 2dly, His assuming, that because the Arians did not scruple sometimes to use the same high and strong terms to denote the Divinity of Christ, therefore the Ante-

Nicene Fathers, when they used such expressions, meant no more by them than the Arians;—3dly, His assuming, on the other hand, that because the Ante-Nicene Fathers distinguished God from Christ, or the Father from the Son, and called the Father, God, absolutely, and without any distinguishing appellation, therefore they intended thereby (as the *Arians* did) to exclude the Son from that title, in its unqualified acceptation. Dr. Waterland then proceeds to the next general charge of *defects, misquotations, misconstructions,* and *misrepresentations;* which is pursued somewhat more in detail, though not extended to any considerable length.

Dr. Whitby's Reply is keen and acrimonious. In repelling the *general fallacies* charged upon him, he is certainly not successful; neither explicitly denying, nor satisfactorily defending them; but lightly passing them over, as of minor importance. On the charge of *misquotations, misconstructions,* &c. he is more diffuse and more vehement; always bold and confident, sometimes dexterous and acute; but, in general, much inferior, in point of wariness and discretion, to his friend Dr. Clarke; whom, indeed, he seems less anxious to defend, than to heap obloquy upon Bull and Waterland. Towards the conclusion, he more openly drops the defensive character, and assumes that of the assailant; retorting the charges of fallacies, misrepresentations, and misconstructions; accusing his opponent of not clearly defining the meaning of the words *person* and *personality,* nor confirming the doctrine of the *consubstantiality* and *co-equality* of the Holy Spirit by any authorities among the Ante-Nicene Fathers. He also accuses

Dr. Waterland of "a perpetual fallacy, in using the "word *hypostasis* to signify neither a *general* es- "sence, that is, an essence common to all the three, "nor an *existent*, or an *individual* essence."

To this angry pamphlet Waterland returned a speedy Answer; in which he again notices the author's general fallacy of making *essence* and *person* to signify the same, and his unfair application of the term *individual* or *numerical* essence, in order to fix upon the Trinitarian doctrine the appearance of Sabellianism. This, he contends, was raising a dispute, not upon what Bishop Bull himself had maintained, but upon something which his opponent presumed to be his opinion. "The question with Bishop Bull," says Waterland, "was, whether the Ante-Nicene Fathers "believed the Son to be of an *eternal, uncreated*, "and strictly *divine* substance. But with *you*, it is, "whether they believed him to be the same *numeri-* "*cal intellectual essence* (that is, as you interpret it, "*person*) with the Father. Thus you have changed "the very state of the *general* question."—"Your "*excuses* for this," he adds, "are reducible to three "heads. 1st, That you did not know what Bishop "Bull meant. 2dly, That you had interpreted *nu-* "*merical essence* as all the present *orthodox* do, "whose cause Bishop Bull is supposed to have "espoused. 3dly, That numerical essence does and "must signify what you pretend, and nothing else: "—taking it for granted, that there is no medium "between *numerical*, in your sense, and *specific*; "that is, no medium between *Sabellianism* and *Tri-* "*theism*. This, indeed, is the πρῶτον ψεῦδος, the prime "falsehood, which you set out with, and proceed

" upon; and which makes all your discourses on this " head confused, and wide of the point." Upon these fallacies our author enlarges with great effect; and since they lie at the root of *Arianism*, extend to all its ramifications, and equally apply to Dr. Clarke and Mr. Jackson, as to Dr. Whitby; the exposure of them may be regarded as of more general importance, than the proofs he again urged, and confirmed by additional evidence, of Whitby's misquotations and misconstructions of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. Adverting also to Dr. Whitby's peremptory assertion, that *his* sense of the phrase *numerical essence* is the only *proper* sense that it will bear, Waterland takes occasion thus to expostulate with him, in terms equally applicable to every other rash attempt to dogmatize *metaphysically* upon the nature and essence of the Godhead:—" I will give " you a plain reason why you can never prove " your sense of the words to be the only *proper* " sense: it is because you can never fix any *certain* " *principle of individuation*. It is for want of this, " that you can never assure me, that three *real* per- " sons may not be, or are not, one *numerical*, or *in-* " *dividual* substance. In short, you know not, pre- " cisely, what it is that makes *one being*, or *one es-* " *sence*, or *one substance*. Here your *metaphysics* " are plainly defective: and this it is that renders " all your speculations upon that head vain and " fruitless. Tell me plainly, is the *divine substance* " present in every place, in *whole*, or in *part?* Is the " *substance* which is present here upon earth, that " very *individual numerical substance* which is pre-

" sent in heaven, or is it not? Your answer to these " questions may perhaps suggest something to you, " which may help you out of your difficulties relat- " ing to the *Trinity;* or else the sense of your ina- " bility to answer *either*, may teach you to be less " confident in matters so much above you, and to con- " fess your ignorance in things of this nature, as I " do freely mine." To the charges retorted upon him by Dr. Whitby, Waterland postponed any answer, until they should assume a more tangible character. In the mean while, he concludes with warning him against a recurrence to certain *presumptions* in argument, which run through the whole of his writings in this controversy, and which betray him into continual sophistries, easy to be detected.

Dr. Whitby, with great alacrity, resumed the contest, and published *The second Part of a Reply to Dr. Waterland's Objections, with an Appendix in defence of the first Part of the Reply.* In this he reiterates and enlarges upon the several charges of *fallacy* before imputed to Waterland, with respect to the terms *person* and *personality;* vindicates his own application of the terms, *nature, essence,* and *substance;* and lays down ten metaphysical " *postu-* " *lata,* or propositions, confirmed" (as he asserts) " by the clearest evidence of reason," to serve as criteria by which the several points in dispute should be determined. Had these *postulata* been admitted as indubitable truths, they would indeed have superseded any further discussion; since, in substance, they included almost every point for which Dr. Whitby had contended. But with respect to any

weight of authority, or argument, that could be claimed for them, they were nothing more than the mere *placita* of Dr. Whitby himself; opinions, already controverted by his opponent, and which he had been called upon to establish by satisfactory proofs. Upon such gratuitous assumptions almost the whole reasoning of this pamphlet is founded. It amounted, therefore, to little more than a repetition of the former Reply; and this was probably the reason that Waterland, for the present, suffered it to pass unnoticed. His attention, indeed, just at this period, was drawn off in another direction.

Dr. Clarke, in the *first* edition of his *Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*, had laid it down as a maxim, that in complying with any formularies or confessions of faith imposed by *Protestant* communities, who professed to be guided solely by *Scripture-authority*, "every person may reasonably agree to such forms, "*whenever he can, in any sense at all, reconcile them* "*with Scripture.*" Upon this extraordinary proposition severe animadversions had been made by some of his opponents. Several of his personal friends had also expostulated with him, upon the danger of giving such encouragement to insincerity and prevarication. In consequence of these censures, and probably from some secret misgivings in his own mind, he, in the *second* edition of his book, omitted this passage with some others of a similar tendency. Still there was reason to suspect that this was his real opinion, and that he only forbore to repeat it in consequence of the obloquy it had brought upon him. The ill effect therefore was not done away. Some would gladly take advantage

of an authority so respectable, to allow themselves still greater latitude than he had done, in the interpretation of Creeds and Articles of Faith. Some, who held all religion in contempt, would seize the opportunity of scoffing at those who, while professing the most reverential regard for it, could thus tamper with its most sacred obligations. Others, though coinciding with the author himself in his doctrinal view, would either lament his want of consistency and firmness, or endeavour, for the sake of the cause itself, to give him countenance and support.

In no other point, perhaps, was this generally excellent and conscientious man so vulnerable to others, or so dissatisfied with himself. If we may credit his own personal friends and biographers, he must have suffered more even from the censures of those who highly esteemed him, than from the keenest sarcasms of his declared opponents. Many strong passages occur in Whiston's Life of Dr. Clarke, reproving him, in direct terms, for his disingenuous and prevaricating conduct in vindicating Arian subscription to the Articles of our Church. Whiston was of too resolute and unbending a disposition to approve of such compromising expedients; and his endeavours were sedulously exerted, in conversation and in correspondence, by public and by private remonstrance, to prevail with Dr. Clarke to abandon so untenable a ground of defence. The subject, indeed, became a matter of warm controversy between several distinguished writers, both for and against Arianism. Dr. Sykes laboured to defend Arian subscription. Whiston and Emlyn indignantly disclaimed it. All these, however, joined in endeavouring to prove, that those

who had subscribed some of our Articles in an *Anti-Calvinistic* sense, were no less chargeable with prevarication than they who had subscribed other Articles in an *Anti-Trinitarian* sense.

Under these circumstances, Dr. W. published his tract, entitled, *The Case of Arian Subscription considered, and the several Pleas and Excuses for it particularly examined and confuted.* He states the immediate occasion of his writing it, to have been the publication of certain *Remarks* (probably by some anonymous writer) "against a *clause* contained in a "bill brought into the House of Lords, for the more "effectual suppressing of *blasphemy* and *profane-* "*ness*;"—in which publication it had been observed, "that the *clause*, being intended as a *test* against "*Arianism*, would be of little use or significancy as "to the end designed by it; because those who are "now understood to be Arians are ready to sub- "scribe any *test* of that kind, containing nothing "more than is already contained in the XXXIX "Articles." The *Remarker* (Dr. W. adds) "takes "notice, that these gentlemen make no scruple of "subscribing to our Church's forms: it is their "*avowed principle* that they may lawfully do it in "their *own* sense, agreeably to what they call Scrip- "ture. This is proved from their declared senti- "ments, not only in common conversation, but in "print; and from their constant practice of late "years, since the year 1712;" that is, since the date of Dr. C.'s *first* edition of his Scripture-doctrine.

Upon this subject Waterland's thoughts had been long before occupied; as appears from the Divinity Act which he had kept for the Degree of B. D. in

the year 1714, on the question, *Whether Arian subscription was lawful;* and the great applause he received on that occasion, though opposed by a most able antagonist, is a farther testimony that he had thoroughly considered and digested whatever might be urged on either side. As a reason, however, for not having enlarged upon this point in his late *Defence of the Queries,* he states, that the offensive passages in Dr. Clarke's *first* edition having been omitted in the *second,* he was willing to hope that Dr. C. " had given, or was giving up his former principles, " relating to subscription;" and he " thought it " would be ungenerous now to attack him in his " *weakest hold,* after he had himself betrayed a sus- " picion, at least, that he could no longer maintain " it." Some anonymous writer, however, had rashly ventured to take Dr. Waterland to task, even for the gentle admonition he had given upon this point, in his former work: and had also stated his belief, that Dr. C.'s omission of these passages in his second edition " was *not* for the reason Dr. W. insinuated, " viz. *that such subscription is not justifiable.*" Dr. W. therefore wishes to be understood " as not dis- " puting this point with *Dr. Clarke* himself, so much " as with his *disciples,* who laid a greater stress " upon what he had said, than he himself now " seemed to do."

This is one of our author's ablest productions, and may be read with great advantage for the soundness and importance of its general principles, on a question deeply affecting moral integrity as well as purity of doctrine; independently of the particular case to which it more immediately relates.

The defence of Arian subscription "rests (says " Dr. Waterland) upon *two suppositions*:—1. That " every expression in our public forms is *capable* of " a sense consistent with the *new scheme*. 2. That " their being *capable* of such a sense is enough; " without regard had to the more plain, obvious, and " natural signification of the *words* themselves, or " to the *intention* of those who first compiled the " forms, or who now impose them. If either of " these suppositions, (much more if both,) prove false " or groundless, their whole defence of *Arian sub-* " *scription* drops of course." Dr. W. proceeds, therefore, to shew, " 1. That the sense of the *compilers* " and *imposers* (where certainly known) must be *re-* " *ligiously* observed; even though the words were " *capable* of another sense. 2. That whatever has " been pretended, there are several expressions in " the *public forms*, which are really not *capable* of " any sense consistent with the *Arian hypothesis*, " or *new scheme*."

On the first proposition he argues, that as in the case of *oaths* imposed by the State, so in the case of *subscriptions* required by the *Church*, to *pretend* one sense in which the terms of the covenant are entered into, and to *mean* another, is manifestly a violation of the agreement, and a direct prevarication; that subscriptions so made are *fraudulent*, because contrary to the very purpose for which they are required to be made, which is, that *pastors* may be *sound in the faith*, that no doctrines be taught but such as the Church and State approve, and that *diversity of opinions* may be *avoided*;—also that

such practices cannot but bring scandal upon religion, and be attended with pernicious influence.

Our author next considers the several *pleas* (sixteen in number) alleged in behalf of the new latitudinarian notions of subscription; and these are cited chiefly from Dr. Clarke's Introduction to his Scripture-doctrine, his Reply to Mr. Nelson, Sykes's Modest Plea, Bishop Hoadley's Postscript, and one or two other writings of inferior note. In sifting these pleas, Waterland carefully discriminates between the right of the Church to *impose* Articles of Faith, and the obligation of those who subscribe them, to subscribe in the same *sense* which the Church intended. Many of the pleas alleged, go to the extent of denying to the Church the right of affixing any determinate sense to Articles of Faith professedly founded upon Scripture; and presume that the subscriber himself is to judge what that sense shall be. This, Dr. W. shews, is subverting the very principle on which the authority of all Creeds and Articles of Faith must depend; and, "if it proves any thing, proves "the *unlawfulness* of *imposing* any forms, not the "*lawfulness* of subscribing in a sense different from "that of the *imposers*." Other pleas, again, do not rightly distinguish between the rule for *understanding* these formularies, and the rule for *receiving* them. They argue, that if the sense intended by the framers and imposers of such articles is not that in which our understandings concur, we may receive and subscribe to them in some other sense which we ourselves approve: whereas the plain and obvious inference should be, that, in such case, we ought not

to *receive* them or subscribe to them. To another plea, that the Church of England, in her 6th, 8th, 20th, and 21st Articles, declares, that the Creeds are to be received and believed, because "*they may* "*be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scrip-* "*ture;*" and that, consequently, they are to be received only *in such a sense* as *Scripture* will warrant;—Dr. Waterland replies, that the Church having determined that *nothing is to be received but what is agreeable to Scripture*, for this very reason requires subscription in her *own* sense, because she judges no other sense to be *agreeable to Scripture:* and if any judge otherwise, let them not *subscribe*. But it was further contended, on the other side, that unless this liberty were allowed, no one could subscribe the Articles, Creeds, and Liturgy of the Church of England; because they contain things which, if taken in their *obvious* sense, would contradict one another. To this it is answered, that, so far as relates to *Arian* subscription, their *obvious* sense is clearly opposite to the Arian hypothesis; and that the Arians, however they may be inclined to *subscribe* to these formularies in a sense conformable to their own doctrine, are never found, when they write or speak for themselves, to use terms so irreconcileable with their tenets, as those which they thus endeavour to wrest from their plain signification. Again; it was strenuously maintained, on the other hand, that they who held the doctrines of Predestination and Original Sin in the *Arminian* sense, made no scruple of subscribing Articles which, on those points, are *Calvinistic;* and that *Arians* are not chargeable with greater prevarication, in

subscribing articles usually thought to be *Athanasian*. In answer to this plea, Dr. Waterland shews that the cases are by no means parallel; the former doctrines being laid down only in *general* terms, without any *specific* interpretation, and therefore left, in some degree, indefinite, as to the particular sense in which they are to be received;—whilst the latter are guarded most carefully and explicitly against any other interpretation, than such as is utterly inadmissible by Arian expositors.

These several *pleas* being dismissed, the tract concludes with a more detailed examination of Dr. Clarke's attempts to reconcile our public formularies with his own expositions of Scripture on the doctrine of the Trinity, and demonstrates how entirely his labours had failed.

To this tract an answer was soon after published by Mr. Sykes, entitled, *The Case of Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles considered, occasioned by Dr. Waterland's Case of Arian Subscription*. The main object of this answer was, to retort upon Dr. Waterland, and other writers on the same side, the charge of subscribing to the Articles in a private sense of their own, different from that of the framers or imposers of the Articles; and to vindicate the Arian party, upon the same ground on which Waterland had vindicated those who, in certain *particular* explications of doctrine, might differ from each other, though they subscribed to the same *general* propositions. This mode of recrimination was far from being generally approved by Dr. Clarke's friends. Mr. Whiston, Mr. Emlyn, and afterwards Archdeacon Blackburn, author of the *Confessional*, and Dr.

Disney, the biographer of Dr. Sykes, expressed much dissatisfaction at an attempt, which only tended to inculpate others, without acquitting the parties who had been put upon their defence. Moreover, the whole force of such reasoning depended upon satisfactory proof, that the differences in the one case were as irreconcileable as those in the other. To give it due effect, Mr. Sykes should have shewn, on the one hand, that the respective opinions of Bishop Bull, or Drs. Wallis, South, Sherlock, and Bennet, were no less at variance with the Creeds, Articles, and Liturgy of our Church, than those maintained by Dr. Clarke and Mr. Whiston; or, on the other hand, that, on the points disputed between Arminians and Calvinists, our Church had laid down the *sense* in which those points should be received, with the same precision and authoritative injunction, as in those which related to the doctrine of the Trinity. Such an attempt, however, had been already anticipated by Dr. Waterland, and successfully obviated, in his *Case of Arian Subscription.* He had there clearly stated what extent of latitude the compilers or imposers of the Articles had actually given in these respective cases: and he argued, that in proportion as the terms in which any proposition is expressed are *general, comprehensive*, or *indefinite*, in that same proportion there is room left for *diversity* of sentiment in the explication of the proposition; but that where the particular sense is given in *plain, distinct*, and *specific* terms, there the same latitude could not possibly have been intended. On this solid ground of distinction his objections to Arian subscription were founded; objections, appli-

cable only to tenets irreconcileable with *essential* articles of faith, distinctly propounded, and not to *minor* differences of opinion, on which no such express declarations had been made.

Upon this point Mr. Sykes avoids, as much as possible, coming into close quarters with his antagonist. Waterland had said, "*both sides* may subscribe to the same *general* proposition, and both "in the *same sense*, which sense reaches not to the "*particulars* in dispute." This Mr. Sykes treats as a *concession* of principle, by which his own cause may be defended. "Is there more difference," he asks, "between two men who both acknowledge "the *Trinity*, but differ in the particular explication of it, than there is in two men, who both "acknowledge *predestination*, but differ in the particular explication of that doctrine?" And again; "There is not a greater difference in point of the *Trinity*, betwixt a man that is allowed to be *orthodox*, and one that is called an *Arian*, than there "is in the point of *predestination*, betwixt a *Calvinist* and an *Arminian*." But this was not the real question in debate. It might be true, that there is no greater *difference* in the one case than in the other. But the point in question was this: Had the Church in her Articles, Creeds, and Liturgy, left the points in dispute equally *undecided;* and *allowed* a similar diversity in the explication of them? Had she not left those between Calvinists and Arminians more open to an acceptation of them in either sense, than those between Arians and Trinitarians? Mr. Sykes does not fairly grapple with the question, as thus stated by Waterland; and therefore his ge-

neral reasoning upon this *supposed concession* is fallacious. This error runs through his whole performance. Much of his reasoning tends also rather to shew that the Church ought not to exercise any authority in imposing articles of faith, or in restricting the interpretation of them to her own sense; than to justify those persons who receive them in a different and contrary sense. Two questions are thus blended together, which ought to be kept asunder; since neither of them essentially depends upon the other. Nor should it pass unobserved, that Mr. S. assumes throughout, that our Articles were framed by *Calvinists*, and were *intended* to be taken exclusively in a *Calvinistic* sense;—assumptions which both Bp. Bull and Dr. Waterland had strenuously controverted, and which in later times have been still more thoroughly examined and disproved.

Dr. Waterland deemed it expedient to reply to this pamphlet, in a tract entitled, *A Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription considered.*

After briefly noticing that Mr. Sykes had "taken "for granted, and reasoned all the way upon the sup- "position, that the Articles of our Church, so far as "concerns the Trinity, are *general, indefinite, un-* "*determinate*, not *particular, special,* or *determi-* "*nate*;" and had also manifested a disposition to exclude the *Liturgy* from being taken into consideration with the *Articles;* he proceeds to a fuller explanation of what had been advanced in his former tract. He exhibits, in contrast, the Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity, *according to Dr. Clarke;* and the Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity, *according to the Church of England* in her public forms;

—two schemes palpably irreconcileable with each other. He demonstrates, also, by several of the plainest inferences, that the abettors of Dr. Clarke's scheme do, in reality, make God the Son a *creature*, however they may verbally disclaim it. They speak of Him as *finite, precarious* in existence, *dependent* on the will of another; they avoid nothing but the *name* of *creature*, while they inculcate the *thing*. This strange incongruity between Dr. Clarke's sentiments and those of the Church of England is still further exposed, by shewing how they appear when blended together in one profession of faith. Dr. W. then proceeds to answer, *seriatim*, Mr. Sykes's objections to the positions laid down in the *Case of Arian Subscription;* more particularly with reference to what had been said on the supposed *Calvinistic* Articles. This part of the work is executed with admirable spirit and vivacity, as well as with sound and solid judgment. Nothing can be more satisfactory than his vindication of our Church against those who insist that her Articles will admit of no other construction, or were intended to admit of no other, than such as favours the abettors of Calvinism. He abundantly proves that no such conclusion can fairly be drawn from the words of the Articles themselves; much less from an historical view of the intent with which they were framed. The argument, therefore, in favour of Arian subscription, grounded upon this pretext, is shewn to be utterly untenable, and the attempt at recrimination, resulting from it, evasive and futile.

Mr. Sykes, however, would not thus be driven from the field. He soon put forth a *Reply to Dr.*

Waterland's Supplement; of which his biographer, Dr. Disney, thus speaks:—"The design and aim of "this *Reply* is to argue specially, that the Articles "and phrases usually called Trinitarian, will bear an "Arian sense; an assumption that was denied by "Dr. Waterland. That scholastic terms, used with "much subtilty, may twist and distort some expres- "sions, which in themselves are certainly unscriptu- "ral, may be admitted; but it is one thing to con- "found, and another to convince the understanding. "And it yet remains to be proved, that the Articles "will, in their usual grammatical meaning, bear an "Arian sense." According to this ingenuous confession, Mr. Sykes failed in his main purpose. The secondary purpose, that of retorting the charge upon his adversary, Dr. Disney seems to think he has fully accomplished. More impartial readers, however, will probably be of opinion, that he has equally failed in this. Considerable talent and ingenuity are undoubtedly displayed in both attempts; but that he has in neither satisfactorily refuted Waterland, is a conclusion, upon which it may safely be left to the judgment of unprejudiced men to decide. The other point, respecting the *Calvinistic* tendency of our Articles, is less laboured by Mr. Sykes, than the former; nor would it be difficult to shew, that his reasoning is, in many respects, sophistical and disingenuous. This topic, however, has been, of late years, much more amply discussed; and the accession of historical evidence which has been adduced in illustration of it, has more and more strongly confirmed Dr. Waterland's statement.

Waterland pursued this part of the controversy

no further. His time and attention must, indeed, have been very fully occupied in other matters, from the publication of his *Defence* in 1719, to the year 1722, when his *Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription* appeared; since besides the works already mentioned, some lesser pieces (hereafter to be noticed) were the fruit of his labours during this short period. Nor was he even now allowed a respite. His first opponent, *The Clergyman in the Country*, again challenged him to the combat; and he was not slack in taking up the gauntlet.

In the spring of 1722, this Clergyman (Mr. Jackson) published *A Reply to Dr. Waterland's Defence of his Queries;* a volume of considerable bulk, *wherein*, according to the title-page, *is contained a full state of the whole controversy; and every particular alleged by that learned writer is distinctly considered.* This elaborate performance is the work of which notice had been given at the end of Dr. Clarke's *Modest Plea continued;* and in which, there is reason to believe, Dr. Clarke himself had no inconsiderable share[e].

[e] The writer of Jackson's Memoirs, speaking of this work, says, "In this our author received considerable assistance from "Dr. Clarke, as he has acknowledged to me." He subjoins also extracts of two letters from Dr. Clarke to Jackson, in one of which, dated June, 1719, he says, "I have interleaved *W—d*, and "am making short notes for you throughout. I believe you need "do little more than *transcribe* all the places I have marked, "with the *remarks I have made upon them;* and then range them "in some proper method, under *distinct* heads, such as they will "naturally fall under."—In the other letter, dated April 1722, he says, "The large book is just finished; and upon the whole, I "think it contains so full and clear an answer to every thing "that Dr. W. has alleged, that you may with reason expect every

In the Preface to this Reply, the author censures Dr. Waterland, for entitling his Defence of the Queries, *A Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, as implying that those who opposed him *denied* that Divinity; "whereas," says Jackson, "the question is "not indeed at all concerning *the Divinity of Christ*, "but concerning *the particular manner of explica-* "*tion of that doctrine*," and whether "the true no- "tion of the Divinity of God the Father Almighty "does not imply, that He ALONE is supreme in autho- "rity and dominion over all." He complains also of Dr. Waterland's "perpetual *unrighteous* use of the "term *Arians* and *Arianism*," with reference to his opponents, "though they never assert" (says Mr. J.) "any of the peculiar tenets of *Arius*." He moreover charges Dr. W. with "artificially conceal- "ing from the reader throughout, from the begin- "ning to the end of his book, the *true* and indeed "the *only material point in question*, viz. That "WHATEVER *be the metaphysical nature, essence,* "*or substance, of the Son; whatever be his un-* "*limited past duration; whatever divine titles,*

"scholar, who can find leisure to read it carefully through, should "be convinced by it."—Jackson himself, however, in his Memoirs of Waterland, (pp. 23, 25,) denies that Dr. C. was "called in to "assist him in it;" but owns that when he had drawn it up, "he thought it prudent to leave it to Dr. Clarke's judgment to "*correct*, *alter*, or *add* any thing, as he thought fit; and that the "*Reply*, on the whole, was rendered much better, and more un- "answerable, for the corrections and additions made to it by Dr. "Clarke."—Taking both accounts together, therefore, it appears probable that Dr. C. at first supplied the author with *materials* for his Reply, and afterwards gave him the benefit of his suggestions and corrections for its improvement, when finished.

" *greatness, or dignity, be ascribed to him in Scrip-*
" *ture; still, there being confessedly in the mo-*
" *narchy of the universe but one authority, origi-*
" *nal in the Father, derivative in the Son; there-*
" *fore,* THE ONE GOD (*absolutely speaking*) *the one*
" SUPREME *God, always and necessarily signifies*
" *Him, in whom alone the power or authority is*
" *supreme, original, and underived; and on whom*
" *alone, consequently, all honour and worship pri-*
" *marily or ultimately terminates.*"

It is not easy to give a compendious view of such a work as this. Every one of the Queries discussed in the former work is here reexamined, the objections to them restated, the principles on which they had been drawn up and defended by Dr. W. again reviewed, and vehemently contested. On the other hand, the author reiterates all his former positions; assumes, as indisputable, points which his adversary had denied, and called upon him either to prove or to retract; and dilates upon arguments the very same in substance as those which had already been controverted.

Thus, on Query 1st, the very first sentence is a repetition of what had been affirmed in the former work, that the texts in Isaiah, and others, relating to the one Supreme God, " do all of them *most ex-*
" *pressly and uniformly* speak of a *person*, and " not of a BEING, as distinguished from a person;" and " therefore, not only *all other* BEINGS, but all " other *persons* whatsoever are *expressly* excluded, " besides the *person* there speaking;"—" which per-
" son is *the one God and Father of all.*" So again, on the 2d Query, the real point in dispute is never

fairly met, whether Christ can be God at all, unless he be the same God with the Father; but the distinction is still assumed as unquestionable between the Father as *supreme* God, and the Son as an *inferior* God. In like manner, in reply to the charge of "holding two Gods, one supreme, another infe- "rior," instead of any direct answer, an attempt is made, as before, to retaliate upon Dr. W. the charge of holding "two *supreme* Gods." It is obvious, that answers and replies so conducted may be extended *ad infinitum*, and no nearer approach made to any satisfactory decision.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that this is, upon the whole, a much more elaborate and able performance than that which had preceded it under the denomination of the Country Clergyman. In many parts it bears strong internal evidence of a more powerful pen than Jackson's: and had the author attended to Dr. C.'s advice to be as "*short*" as possible, and to "do little more than *transcribe* the "places Dr. C. had marked, with the *remarks* upon "them," it would probably have produced considerably greater effect.

Early in the following year, Dr. Waterland published his *Second Vindication of Christ's Divinity, or a second Defence of some Queries relating to Dr. Clarke's scheme of the holy Trinity, in answer to the Country Clergyman's Reply: wherein the learned Doctor's scheme as it now stands, after the latest correction, alteration, and explanation, is distinctly and fully considered.*

Our author, well knowing the importance attached to Jackson's Reply by Dr. Clarke and his

friends and the extraordinary pains that had been taken to render it as complete as possible, deemed it necessary to leave no part of it unnoticed or unrefuted. "The book," he says, "which I here pro-"fess to examine, may be allowed to contain, in "a manner, the whole strength of the *Arian* cause, "*real* or *artificial*; all that can be of any force "either to *convince* or to *deceive* a reader." Among the *artificial* means resorted to by that party, he notices, "their disclaiming the *name*, while they are in-"culcating the *thing*" objected to;—"their wrap-"ping up their doctrine in *general* and *confused* "terms;"—their elaborate and studied prolixity in "proving such points as nobody calls in question, and "then slipping upon the reader, in their stead, some-"thing very different from them, without any proof "at all;"—"their avoiding as much as possible the "*defensive* part, where the main stress lies, and keep-"ing themselves chiefly to the *offensive*; perpe-"tually objecting to the *Catholic* scheme, instead of "clearing up the difficulties which clog their own;" —their bending their main force against our "*con-"sequential* doctrine, of *three Persons being one* "*God*, instead of directly attacking our *premises*, "that the *divine titles and attributes belong equally* "*to every one*; as to which the Scripture is very "full and *express*." "But," he adds, "their master-"piece of subtilty lies in contriving a set of *ambi-"guous* and *equivocal* terms, to put the main *ques-"tion* into; such as may be capable of a *Catholic* "sense, or at least look very like it, in order to "claim some countenance from Catholic antiquity; "but such as may also be drawn to an *Arian* mean-

" ing, that so they may secure the point which they " intend."—The remainder of Dr. Waterland's Preface is employed in " obviating two objections of " very different kinds, which had lately been made by " men of very opposite principles;" one, by Mr. Whiston, who, in his Reply to Lord Nottingham, seemed to think it *singular* that the suffrage of the *Ante-Nicene* Church should be claimed in favour of the *Athanasian* doctrines;—the other, by the anonymous author of two letters to Lord Nottingham and Mr. Whiston, who was " for entirely waving all " searches into *antiquity*, in relation to this contro- " versy, as being either *needless* or *fruitless*."

Dr. W. proceeds to examine in detail the whole of the Country Clergyman's Reply; beginning with a distinct answer to the Preface; and then going over the objections to the Queries in regular order. The animadversions on the *Preface* touch upon most of the leading topics of the controversy. Among others which are very happily illustrated, is that of the alleged supremacy of the Father; which, according to Dr. Clarke's scheme, is equivalent to declaring that the *Father alone* is *supreme* God, to the exclusion of God the *Son*. Dr. W. shews, that this fallacy arises from making no distinction between supremacy of *dominion*, and supremacy of *order*, or *office*. " Let the reader," he says, " carefully distin- " guish *three* things, and he will then be able of him- " self to unravel all your pretences, and to throw off " that studied confusion which you are labouring to " introduce in a *plain* thing. 1. *Supremacy* of *na-* " *ture*, or *supremacy* of *perfection*, is to be pos- " sessed of all perfection, and the *highest* excel-

" lency possible: and this is to be GOD. There is " nothing of this kind but what is *common* to Father " and Son; who are therefore *one God supreme.* " And as supremacy of *dominion* and *sovereignty* " (properly so called) over all creatures (as soon as " they exist) is included in it, and consequent upon " it, Father and Son have one *common* and *undi-* " *vided sovereignty* over all;- the constant doctrine " of *antiquity.* 2. *Supremacy* of *order* consists in " this; that the Father has his *perfections, do-* " *minion,* &c. *from none;* but the Son *from the* " *Father,* and not *vice versa.* This kind of supre- " macy is of the Father *alone:* and the Son's *sub-* " *ordination,* thus understood, is very consistent " with his *equality* of *nature, dominion, perfection,* " and *glory,* according to all antiquity. 3. *Supre-* " *macy* of *office.* This, by mutual agreement and " voluntary *economy,* belongs to the *Father:* while " the Son, out of voluntary condescension, submits to " act *ministerially,* or in capacity of *mediator.* " And the reason why the condescending part be- " came God the *Son,* rather than God the *Father,* " is because he is a *Son,* and because it best suits " with the *natural* order of Persons, which had " been inverted by a contrary *economy.* These " things being fixed and settled, there will be no " difficulty in replying to any thing you have offered, " or can offer, in this cause."—This distinction between a supremacy of *nature* or *perfections,* and a supremacy of *order* and of *office,* is ever to be kept in view. It solves many difficulties in our apprehension of this mysterious and inscrutable subject. It makes the language of Scripture, as ap-

plied to the several persons in the Godhead, consistent and intelligible: and though it still leaves us uninformed as to that which is no where revealed, the *mode* in which the Persons thus subsist under one undivided substance; yet it preserves their united as well as their distinctive properties unimpaired. This was a point, which Bishop Bull had particularly laboured to establish, and had confirmed by the general concurrence of the Nicene and Ante-Nicene Fathers.

For many other important points discussed in this second Vindication, the reader must be referred to the work itself; a work, in which the whole force of our author's great intellectual powers, and of his extensive and profound erudition, appears to have been collected, for the purpose of overwhelming his adversaries by one decisive effort. Scarcely could it be believed, were not the fact avouched by his personal friend, Mr. Seed, that a production, the result of so much labour and research, was "in two months "finished, and sent to the press."

His opponents, however, would not suffer the controversy thus to terminate. In the following year, Mr. Jackson, under the newly-assumed title of *Philalethes Cantabrigiensis*, put forth his *Remarks on Dr. Waterland's second Defence of some Queries.* Not long after, Dr. Clarke also published, anonymously, a pamphlet with a similar title, *Observations on Dr. W.'s second Defence.* Dr. Clarke was perhaps not thoroughly satisfied with his friend's performance; nor chose again to hazard his reputation jointly with him, in a matter so critical.

Yet still, as heretofore, he appears to have shrunk from openly encountering Waterland, and thought it prudent to conceal his name.

Jackson, in the commencement of his *Remarks*, professes to leave the rejoinder, on the part of Waterland's adversary, to be managed by the same able hand that had replied to his first Defence; which makes it probable that he was aware of Dr. Clarke's intention to undertake the rejoinder himself. Jackson therefore proposes only to consider briefly the *three questions* under which Dr. W. "had re- "duced and comprised the doctrine of the Trinity," towards the conclusion of his second Defence.

The three questions were these:—"1. *What* the "doctrine to be examined is?—2. Whether it be "*possible?*—3. Whether it be *true?*" The first question, Dr. W. states to comprise these particulars. "1. That the Father is *God*, (in the strict sense of "*necessarily existing*, as opposed to *precarious* ex- "istence,) and the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, "in the *same* sense of the word *God*. 2. That the "Father is not the Son, nor the Son the Father, nor "the Holy Ghost either Father or Son: they are "*distinct*, so that one is not the *other*; that is, as "we now term it, they are three distinct *Persons*, "and two of them *eternally* referred up to *one*. "3. These three, however *distinct* enough to be "*three Persons*, are yet united enough to be *one* "*God*."

The question, whether this doctrine be *possible*, Dr. W. shews, must depend upon whether the points included in it can be determined in the *negative*

with sufficient *certainty*. If they can, the doctrine then will be proved to be *impossible*; if they cannot, it must be allowed to be *possible*. Some short and plain reasons are added, to shew that the *negative* of these positions never has been, nor can be, clearly and satisfactorily proved.

The third question, whether the doctrine be *true*, is to be resolved by *Scripture* and *antiquity*, not by arguments drawn from the *nature of the thing*; because such arguments belong only to the other question, whether the doctrine be *possible*; and the *possibility* is *presupposed* in all our disputes from *Scripture* or from the *Fathers*.

Thus it appears, as Dr. W. observes, that the controversy of the Trinity may be easily brought to a short issue. The strength of the adversaries lies in the question of the *possibility*: and if they have any thing considerable to urge, it may be despatched in very few words; *one demonstration* (if it can be found) being as good as an hundred. If none can be found, the proofs from Scripture and antiquity cannot be overthrown.

The method here proposed is acknowledged by Jackson to be "rational and fair;" and he sets himself to debate the subject upon these grounds. But, instead of debating it on these "fair and rational" terms, or demonstrating the *impossibility* of the doctrines, in the sense in which they are proposed by Waterland, he affixes to them a sense or interpretation of *his own*, and then argues to shew their falsehood and absurdity. Thus Dr. W. in explaining the different acceptations of the word *person*, had said, "A single person is *an intelligent agent*; having

" the distinctive characters of I, Thou, He; and not " divided, or distinguished into more intelligent " agents, capable of the same characters." This was stated as a *general* definition, including not only human individuals, but the Persons in the Godhead also, so far as one has any characters *distinct* from the others. " But," says Dr. W. " to clear this mat- " ter a little farther, we must next distinguish per- " sons into several kinds; and first, as *divided* and " *undivided.* All persons, *but the three divine Per-* " *sons*, are divided and separate from each other in " nature, substance, and existence. They do not " mutually include and imply each other: therefore " they are not only distinct *subjects*, *agents*, or " *supposita*, but distinct *substances* also. But the " divine Persons, being *undivided*, and not having " any *separate* existence independent on each other; " they cannot be looked upon as *substances*, but as " *one substance* distinguished into several *suppo-* " *sita*, or intelligent agents." Notwithstanding the express distinction here made between the personality in the *undivided* substance of the *Godhead*, and the *divided* substance, as well as personality, of all *other* beings, Mr. Jackson has the effrontery to say, " You will give me leave to understand you to " mean, that as one person is an acting *substance*, " an agent in the *singular* number, so *three* are " the *plural* number, i. e. *three acting substances*, " or, as you expressly admit, *three agents;* and " that you really mean three acting substances *dis-* " *tinct*, though not *separate* or *disunited:*" and having thus assumed a meaning absolutely *disclaimed* by Waterland, he proceeds to reason upon the *im-*

possibility of the thing, as involving a direct contradiction.

Again; Waterland, in order to shew that the *subordination* of one Person in the Godhead to the other does not affect the real *divinity* of that Person, had said, "If it be pleaded, that such *subordination* is "not consistent with the *unity*, though it might be "with the *equality* of *nature*, our ideas of the *unity* "are too imperfect to be reasoned solidly upon: nor "can any man prove that every kind of unity must "be either *too close* to admit of any *subordination*, "or else *too loose* to make the Persons ONE GOD. "How shall it be shewn, that the *distinction* may "not be great enough to answer the *subordination*, "and yet the *union* close enough to make the Per-"sons *one God?* Our faculties are not sufficient for "these things." Elsewhere he had said; "When I "apply *supreme* to the word *God*, I mean, as I "ought to mean, that the Son is God *supreme*, "(knowing no *superior* God, no *divine nature* "greater, higher, or more excellent than his own,) "not that he is the *Supreme Father:* who, though "superior in *order*, is not therefore of *superior* "*Godhead;* for a supremacy of *order* is one thing, "a supremacy of *nature*, or *Godhead*, another." Yet Mr. Jackson says, "I conclude you must mean "a *subordination* of some sort of *prerogative, dig-*"*nity, precedence*, and *authority*, on which to found "the *mission* and the *economy* (which you allow) "of the Son's *acting a ministerial part;* being *an-*"*gel or messenger to the Father*, by the Father's "*voluntary appointment*, and *executing his orders* "*and commands:*" and upon this supposed admis-

sion on the part of his opponent, he grounds all his subsequent observations.

With such an adversary it would have been useless further to contend. Dr. Waterland accordingly passed over this production in silence, until Dr. Clarke thought fit to take the matter into his own hands, by publishing the anonymous *Observations* already mentioned.

To this latter pamphlet Dr. W. replied in a short tract, entitled, *A Farther Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, 1724; in the Introduction to which, he observes, that since the publication of his *second Defence*, he had waited to see what farther attempts might be made by the Arians; that the first effort to renew the contest appeared under the title of *Remarks* &c. by one *Philalethes Cantabrigiensis;* but that having no acquaintance with the author under that name, and finding little in the piece but tedious *repetition* and studied *confusion*, he thought himself not obliged to take notice of it. But upon the appearance of these *Observations*, stated to be by the author of the *Reply* to his first Defence, he conceived it to be incumbent upon him again to come forward. "Whether it be Dr. Clarke," he adds, "or whether it be Mr. Jackson, (for though it be "doubted which, all agree that it lies between them,) "they are both men whom I must attend to: one, "as he is the *principal* in the cause, the other, as "he is *second*, and had the first hand in committing "my *Queries* to the press, engaging me ever after "in the *public service*." Probably, however, Waterland was well aware, that Dr. Clarke was in this instance his real opponent.

In animadverting upon the *Observations*, Dr. W. takes notice, that Dr. Clarke's friends had not cleared his scheme of the charge of making *two Gods;* one *supreme*, and another *inferior;* that they had not removed the difficulty of supposing God the Son and God the Holy Ghost to be *two creatures;* had not been able to defend *creature-worship;* had not invalidated the proofs of *divine worship* being due to Christ; nor accounted for divine *titles, attributes,* and *honours* being ascribed to a *creature;* nor given satisfaction as to Christ being both *Creator* and *creature;* nor established Dr. Clarke's pretences to *Catholic* antiquity. Having thus failed in the *defensive*, the writer of the *Observations* (says Dr. W.) had now undertaken the *offensive* part; and, unable to vindicate his *own* scheme, sought to retaliate upon his opponent by false and injurious charges, by misrepresentations, or by invective and declamation.

The first charge relates to the *supremacy* of the Father. The *Observer* accuses Dr. Waterland of asserting, what the Ante-Nicene Fathers would have deemed the *highest blasphemy*, viz. that the Father "*has no natural and necessary supremacy of* "*authority or dominion at all; has no other su-* "*premacy of authority and dominion, than what is* "*founded in mutual agreement and voluntary con-* "*cert; but has, naturally and necessarily, a pri-* "*ority of order only.*" To this Waterland replies, that he had repeatedly and plainly declared, "that "provided the Son's *necessary existence* be secured, "that he be acknowledged not to exist *precariously*, "or *contingently*, but *necessarily*, that his *co-eter-*

" *nity* and *consubstantiality* be maintained, his *crea-*
" *tive* powers, his *infinite* perfections, his being no
" *creature*, but *one God* with the Father, and the
" like; that then the *supremacy* should be no mat-
" ter of dispute with him. Any supremacy of the
" Father," he adds, "that is *consistent* with these
" *certain, plain, Catholic* tenets, always and univer-
" sally believed by the Churches of Christ; I say,
" any *supremacy* consistent herewith, I hold, assert,
" and maintain; any that is *not consistent*, I reject,
" remove, and detest, with all the Christian Churches,
" early and late." Dr. Clarke's notion of *supre-*
macy, he contends, is not consistent with an *equality* of nature; it makes God the Son *naturally* subject to the *Father*, and, consequently, makes him a *crea-*
ture, "a being that might never have existed, and
" might cease to exist, if God so pleased[f]." Again;

[f] Mr. Charles Butler, in his *Historical Account of Confessions of Faith*, chap. x. sect. 2. relates a remarkable anecdote of Dr. Clarke, concerning this point. Dr. Clarke, he says, "met a powerful op-
" ponent in Dr. Hawarden, a celebrated Clergyman of the Roman
" Catholic Church. By the desire of Queen Caroline, the consort of
" George the First, a conference was held by them, in the presence
" of her Majesty, of Mrs. Middleton, a Roman Catholic lady, much
" in her confidence, and the celebrated Dr. Courayer. When they
" met, Dr. Clarke, at some length, in very guarded terms, and
" with great apparent perspicuity, exposed his system. After he
" had finished, a pause of some length ensued: Dr. Hawarden
" then said, that he had listened with the greatest attention to
" what had been said by Dr. Clarke; that he believed he appre-
" hended rightly the whole of his system; and that the only re-
" ply which he should make to it, was, asking a single question:
" that, if the question should be thought to contain any ambi-
" guity, he wished it to be cleared of its ambiguity before any an-
" swer to it was given; but desired that, when the answer to it

Dr. Clarke, he observes, urges the *supremacy* "to "destroy the *equality:* I stand by the *equality*, and "insist upon it, that it is consistent with all the *su-* "*premacy* that either *Scripture* or Catholic Fathers "taught." This charge Dr. W. more particularly takes pains to refute, "because it runs in a manner "through the book."

Another charge the Observer states thus: "When "Dr. W. says, that *many supreme Gods in one un-* "*divided substance are not many Gods, for that* "*very reason, because their substance is undivided,* "he might exactly with the same *sense* and *truth* "have affirmed, that many supreme persons in one "undivided substance are not many persons; for "that very reason, because their substance is undi- "vided." To this, as well as to a similar charge by the author of the *Remarks*, Dr. W. replies; "The "answer, in short, is this: though the union of the "three persons (each person being *substance*) makes "them *one substance*, yet the same union does not

"should be given, it should be expressed either by the affirmative "or negative monosyllable. To this proposition Dr. Clarke as- "sented. 'Then,' said Dr. Hawarden, 'I ask, Can God the Fa- "ther annihilate the Son and the Holy Ghost?—Answer me, Yes "or No.' Dr. Clarke continued for some time in deep thought, "and then said, 'It was a question which he had never considered.' "Here the conference ended. A searching question," adds Mr. Butler, "it certainly was; and the reader will readily perceive its "bearings. If Dr. Clarke answered, Yes, he admitted the Son and "the Holy Ghost to be mere creatures; if he answered, No, he "admitted them to be absolutely Gods." This conference Mr. Butler states to have given rise to a publication of Dr. Hawarden's, entitled, an *Answer to Dr. Clarke and Mr. Whiston, concerning the Divinity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Spirit; with a summary Account of the Writers of the three first ages.*

" make them *one person;* because *union* of *substance* " is one thing, and *unity* of *person* is another: and " there is no necessity that the same kind of union " which is sufficient for one, must be sufficient for " the other also. There is no consequence from one " to the other, but upon this *supposition*, that *per-* " *son* and *acting substance* are *equivalent*, and *re-* " *ciprocal:* which the author of the *Remarks* had " acuteness enough to see, and therefore fixes upon " me, unfairly, that very supposition."

In the next chapter, on the " *misreports* and *mis-* " *representations* contained in the *Observations*," many similar instances are alleged of unfairness, or of carelessness, in citing Dr. W.'s statements and opinions. This gives occasion to our author to restate, to amplify, and to elucidate certain points of special interest and importance. One striking instance may be noticed in section ix. of this chapter, respecting *subordination of order* as consistent with perfect *equality of nature;* which, for clearness and strength of reasoning, as well as pure reverential feeling, dignified and sublime expression, is not, perhaps to be exceeded. Another instance occurs in section xv. where he refutes Dr. C. by reference to his own *Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God.* Sections xvi. and xvii. are also deserving of particular attention, as affording similar proofs of great acuteness and powers of reasoning.

In the third chapter there are some excellent observations on the signification of the terms *supreme* and *independent*, when applied to the Persons of the Godhead; also on attempts to prove the existence of a First Cause, *à priori;* and on the ques-

tion, whether, according to Dr. C.'s hypothesis, the existence of God the Son be not *precarious*[g].

The fourth chapter relates to *quotations from the ancients.* The fifth contains *a summary view of the judgment of the ancients, upon the question, whether God the Father be naturally ruler and governor over God the Son.*

In the Conclusion, the author briefly retraces the progress of the controversy between Mr. Jackson, Dr. Clarke, and himself; again notices his having been at first *forced,* in a manner, into *public* controversy; and complains of the unworthy treatment he had experienced. Some animadversions are also made on both these opponents having concealed their names; and they are advised, for their own sakes, as well as for the cause they had undertaken, to withdraw from the contest.

Here, indeed, on the part of Dr. Waterland, the controversy *did* terminate. Dr. Clarke made no reply to this *Farther Vindication.* Mr. Jackson put forth in answer to it, *Farther Remarks on Dr. Waterland's Farther Vindication. By Philalethes Cantabrigiensis.* 1724. To this feeble pamphlet, Waterland (for the same reasons probably that induced him to pass over the former *Remarks* in silence) returned no answer.

Notwithstanding these continual calls upon Dr. Waterland for his exertions as a controversialist, he found an interval of leisure, between the publication of his *Second Vindication* and his *Farther Vindication,* for a work of a less polemical description; though immediately connected with the doctrines he

[g] Sections xiii. xv. xix.

had so ably and successfully defended. This was his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed;* the first edition of which was published in the latter end of the year 1723, and a second edition, corrected and improved, in 1728.

The design of this treatise (as stated by the author in the Introduction) "is, to inquire into the "*age, author,* and *value* of that celebrated *confes-* "*sion,* which goes under the name of *the Athana-* "*sian Creed.*" The treatises which had before appeared on this subject, he observes, were "mostly in "*Latin,* and some of them very scarce." He conceived, therefore, that an *English* treatise, laying before the English reader all that had "hitherto been "usefully observed upon the subject," and not only referring to other authors, but "supplying, as far as "his materials, leisure, and opportunities enabled "him, what they had left undone," might be generally useful; "and the more so at a time when the "controversy about the *Trinity* was spread abroad "among all ranks and degrees of men, and the *Atha-* "*nasian* Creed become the subject of common and "ordinary conversation."

The *method,* by which this object is pursued, is clear and simple.

1. First, the opinions of the learned *moderns* concerning this Creed are briefly stated; beginning with Gerard Vossius, in 1642, and ending with Casimirus Oudinus, in 1722: and an useful table is subjoined, representing, at one view, the different conclusions of these several writers, as to the author of the Creed, the time when it was composed, and the date of its reception in the Church. Of these writers,

(32 in number,) a great majority date its composition from the 5th or 6th century, and its general reception in the Church at a later period; *five* ascribe it to Athanasius himself; *eight* reject that opinion, and believe it to have been the production of some Latin author, between the 5th and 8th centuries; *eight* regard it as the work of Vigilius Tapsensis, in the 5th century; the rest hold different opinions as to the author of the Creed, but with no great variation as to the *date*. Dr. Clarke considers the author as doubtful, and brings down the date, both of its composition and its reception in the Church, to a much later period than most of the other writers.

Dr. Waterland next examines the *ancient testimonies* to this Creed; discarding as "*spurious*, or "*foreign* to the point," those which have been pretended from writers of the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries, and beginning with that of the Council of Autun, in 670. From this period, down to the year 1439, he cites a series of authorities, (36 in number,) to shew at what time it was publicly received and used. Sixteen of these authorities are earlier than the year 1000, at which time Dr. Clarke inclined to place its first admission into the Church. A table is subjoined also to this chapter, similar to that of the preceding.

The ancient *commentators* and *paraphrasts* of this Creed form the next subject of inquiry; beginning with that of Venantius Fortunatus in the year 570, whom Muratori supposed to have been the author of the *Creed*, as well as of the *comment;* an opinion which Waterland rejects. These are valuable additional testimonies as to the early composition

and reception of this summary of the Christian faith.

This is followed by an account of the *Latin MSS.* of the Creed; the Creed itself being generally supposed to have been originally a *Latin* composition: and the succeeding chapter is devoted to a consideration of the ancient *versions* of it, (whether printed or manuscript.) From these it results, that *Latin* manuscripts, chiefly in the Gallican and Roman Psalters, are extant, from the 6th century to the end of the 14th. The *versions*, as might be expected, are of more recent date. The earliest *written* version is the *German*, of the 9th century. Of the *French*, there are none extant earlier than the 11th; but there is evidence to prove, that so far back as the 9th century, this Creed was "interpreted out of Latin into the *vulgar* tongue, for the "use of the people, by the Clergy of France, in "their *verbal* instructions." *Anglo-Saxon* versions are found of the 10th century. The *Greek* versions are late, in comparison with the others. It is doubtful whether there were any earlier than the 12th or 13th centuries; but it is pretty evident, that the Creed was not *unknown* to the Greek Church before that time, since it appears to have been pleaded by the Latins against the Greek Churches, in the disputes about the *procession* of the Holy Ghost, during the 9th century. There are also *Sclavonian*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *Irish*, *Welsh*, and (according to Fabricius) *Hebrew* and *Arabic* versions; but of uncertain date and authority[h].

[h] In the first page of Waterland's Hist. of the Athanasian

Pursuing a similar course, in order to ascertain when this Creed was admitted into the Christian Churches, our author inclines to believe, that it was received in France so early as the year 550; in Spain, 630; in Germany and England towards the close of the 8th century; in Italy about 880; in Rome, 930. Among the Greeks, it has been doubted whether it ever obtained admission. But Dr. W. is of opinion that it has been received by them, as well as by the Latins, throughout *Europe*, though not, perhaps, in Africa or Asia; and probably also, not without some alterations.

These inquiries are preparatory only to the main object of his dissertation, which is to determine, as nearly as possible, the *time* when, and the *place* where the Creed was composed, and also the *author* of it. The decision of these points depends, 1st, "upon *external* testimony from ancient citations, "manuscripts, comments, versions, and the like;" 2dly, upon "the *internal* characters of the Creed." The *MSS.* now extant carry us up as high as the 7th century; and one *comment* upon the Creed as far back as the year 570. This affords *presumptive* evidence for still greater antiquity. From the *internal* evidence, Dr. W. is confident that

Creed, in the library of Magdalene college, Cambridge (2d edition, 1728) is the following note in Waterland's own handwriting, and probably transcribed from a letter of Bp. Gibson's; which proves the admission of the Creed into the Church of *Sweden*:—"A Swedish Minister assures me to-day, that the "Athanasian Creed is read constantly in the public service on "Rogation and Trinity Sunday, and that all children are obliged "to get it by heart. *Edmund London*, Whitehall, Jan. 21st, "1730-1."

it could not be earlier than the rise of the *Apollinarian* heresy; against which it is particularly directed, and which first appeared about the year 360; but he sees reason also to think that it was not made till after St. Austin's writings upon the Trinity and Incarnation were made public, and therefore not before the year 420. On the other hand, from the absence of expressions specially directed against the *Eutychian* errors, he is convinced that it was not of so late a date as 451; and since there is the same silence with respect to the *Nestorian* heresy, it is probable that it was written before the *Ephesine* Council in 431. Having thus brought its supposed date within the compass of ten years, (viz. between 430 and 420,) our author finds good reasons further to conjecture, "that this Creed was "made in *Gaul;*" the *Gallican* Church appearing to have been the first that received it, and to have regarded it with the highest respect and estimation. And since it also appears that St. Austin was in close correspondence with the Gallican Churches, about the year 426, respecting some false doctrines then spreading in Gaul on the subject of the *incarnation*, it may be inferred, "that the Creed was, in "all probability, composed in *Gaul*, sometime be-"tween the year 426 and the year 430." The *author* of the Creed is supposed by Dr. W. to have been "Hilary Bishop of Arles, a celebrated man "of that time, and of chief repute in the Gallican "Church;" being made Bishop in Gaul about the year 429, and recorded to have written an admirable exposition of the Creed. He was therefore, in his time, "a man of the greatest authority in the Galli-

" can Church, without whose advice or privity at " least such a Creed would hardly have passed; " and actually was the author of *such a work* as " this, which must either be this, or else is lost." A few brief observations, for the removal of objections to the hypothesis here offered, close this part of the inquiry.

Our author then proceeds to illustrate this Creed by a selection of parallel passages from authors who lived and wrote before 430, and principally from St. Austin. To this he subjoins an entire chapter, containing *his own commentary* upon it; and concludes the work with a *vindication* of the Church of England, both in receiving and retaining it. The *commentary* would in itself form a most useful tract for general circulation. The *damnatory* clauses are explained in that modified acceptation, which, there can be no doubt, was intended by *our Church*, and probably by the composer of the Creed. The main difficulty in the expository part of the Creed, that of acknowledging each Person to be *eternal, almighty*, &c. and yet not *three*, but *one*, is very successfully encountered. Every thing else is made clear and convincing.

The *vindication* has more especial reference to the objections made by Dr. Clarke, in his *Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*. These are distinctly answered; and many observations are interspersed on the utility of Creeds in general, as well as of this in particular, for the preservation of sound doctrine, and for preventing the people from being misled by insidious or erroneous teachers. This is the only part of the treatise which wears a *po-*

lemical aspect. The dissertation, in general, is purely *didactic;* having no immediate reference to any of the controversies in which the author was personally engaged; but pursuing the object of investigation with the temper and calmness of an unprejudiced critic and historian; indulging no acrimonious spirit; seeking no ostentatious display of superiority.

From the time of publishing his *Farther Vindication*, in 1724, Dr. Waterland ceased to take a prominent part in the Trinitarian controversy, until the year 1734, when he published one of his largest and most valuable productions, entitled, *The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity asserted, in reply to some late pamphlets.* The pamphlets he adverts to are now little known. The chief of them appears to have been one entitled, *A sober and charitable Disquisition concerning the Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity;* intended to shew, that *those in the different schemes should bear with each other in their different sentiments, and should not separate communions.* The tract, Dr. W. observes, "appears to "be written in a good manner, and with a Chris- "tian spirit;—and the question debated in it is "undoubtedly important in every view, whether "with regard to *peace* in this life, or *happiness* in "the next. And (he adds) as I have formerly spent "some time and pains in discussing the *truth* of "that high and holy doctrine, from *Scripture, rea-* "*son*, and *antiquity*, so now I think it concerns me "the more, to debate, in like manner, the *import-* "*ance* of it."

This work, however, must not be regarded merely as an answer to an obscure, anonymous pamphlet, or even to any considerable number of such pamphlets which might then be in circulation; but as a dispassionate, and well-digested treatise, on a subject at all times momentous in the highest degree, and more especially called for, when writers of high name and reputation were found to incline towards that laxity of principle, which, scarcely acknowledging the obligation of contending even for the most essential and fundamental Articles of Faith, seemed to encourage a general indifference to religious truth. Bishop Bull had already encountered certain works of this tendency, in his *Judgment of the Catholic Church*. [i] His course of argument, however, led him to confine his observations chiefly to the sentiments of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, which had been most unjustly represented by Episcopius and others. Dr. W.'s purpose was more comprehensive. The persons, he observes, who deny the *importance* of the doctrine, are reducible to three kinds; such as *disbelieve* the doctrine itself; such as are in some *suspense* about it; or such as really *assent* to it, as *true* doctrine. They who *disbelieve* the doctrine, will join others in decrying its importance, from motives of policy; as a surer, though slower method of attaining their object; "less shocking, and more "insinuating." They who are only *sceptical* as to the doctrine, and regard it as a matter of *uncertainty*, not yet satisfactorily proved, will naturally contend that no stress ought to be laid upon it. But they who *believe* the *truth* of the doctrine, and

[i] See his Preface to the *Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*.

yet demur to its *importance*, are the persons whom this treatise is intended to convince, or to refute: persons, who make the *truth* and the *importance* of the doctrine two distinct questions; with a design, as it appears, either of reconciling parties who differ essentially in their opinions on the points in dispute, or of bringing them to a mutual *neutrality* in maintaining those opinions, whatever may be their disagreement or contrariety.

There are certain *general* principles, however, principles clear and indisputable, which are entirely at variance with the notions of these respective parties, and particularly with the last of them. Some Scripture-doctrines are evidently of greater importance than others, from the relation or connection they bear to *practice*, to *worship*, and to the whole economy of man's *salvation*. Hence some are called *essential, fundamental;* others, *non-essential, non-fundamental.* Some, more than others, affect the very *vitals* of Christianity; and judging from the nature and reason of the thing, and from the analogy of faith, it will, in general, be easy to distinguish what doctrines are thus important, and what are not so. In *slighter* matters, Christians are to bear with one another, and not to hazard the peace of the Church by unnecessary contests. In *weightier* matters, the desire of *peace* must give way to the higher interests of *truth* and *charity*, to the honour of God, and the eternal welfare of mankind.

Having farther observed, in his introduction, that the arguments of those who question the *importance* of the Trinity rest upon three main suppositions, viz. that the doctrine is not *clear* enough to be in-

sisted upon as a fundamental, or that it is merely *speculative*, and not so *practical* as to be important, or that it is not sufficiently insisted upon in *Scripture*, as of *necessity* to salvation;—our author proceeds to a distinct consideration of these several points, and in the course of the three first chapters establishes the contrary positions, by a series of close, argumentative reasoning, and with a variety of happy illustration.

First, he shews that the doctrine is sufficiently *clear* to be admitted as a *fundamental* article;—clear, with respect to the *matter* of it, and with respect to the *proofs* upon which it rests. Though *mysterious*, it is clear as to its *general* purport. "We understand the *general* truths concerning the "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; we understand the "general nature of an *union* and a *distinction*; and "what we understand, we believe. As to the mi-"nute *particulars* relating to the *manner*, or *modus* "of the thing, we understand them not: our *ideas* "reach not to them, but stop short in the generals, "as our *faith* also does." The doctrine, thus viewed, is as clear, even to common and unlettered Christians, as most other high and divine things can be: perhaps it is even clearer to *them*, than to the more inquisitive; "because they are content to rest in "*generals*, and to stop at what they *understand*, "without *darkening* it afterwards by words without "knowledge." The doctrine is also clear, as to the *proofs* on which it rests, which are purely *Scripture*-proofs. "*Scripture*, in its plain, obvious, unforced "meaning, says it; and *reason* does not gainsay it. "The Anti-Trinitarians, says Bishop Bull, can never

" produce a *demonstrative* reason to prove that it " *cannot be*, and divine revelation assures us that " *so it is*." These proofs cannot be evaded by any established rules of language or criticism; but only by resorting to some *philosophical* hypothesis, irreconcileable with the obvious and apparent sense of holy writ.

The first objection being thus removed, it is next shewn that the doctrine is not merely *speculative*, or *notional*, but strictly *practical*, and closely interwoven with the principles of the Christian life. If God be *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, there will be duties proper to be paid to each; " duties correspon- " dent to their distinct offices and personalities, beside " the duties common to all, considered as one God." Worship also is a *practical* duty of the highest importance; and with this the doctrine of the Trinity is directly concerned. If the doctrine be *true*, it is sacrilege and impiety to refuse to worship either of the Persons; if it be *false*, it is polytheism and idolatry to worship any but the *Father* only. *Creature*-worship is wholly irreconcileable with Scripture. Again; our *motives* to Christian practice are greatly heightened and strengthened by the influence of this doctrine. The love of God the Father in sending his Son to redeem us, and the love of God the Son in condescending to take this office upon him, appear in a much stronger light upon *Trinitarian*, than upon *Anti-Trinitarian* principles. The all-sufficiency of the *satisfaction* or *propitiation* made for the sins of the world, is no less dependent upon this doctrine. And the same may be said of our reliance upon the divine grace conferred by the Holy

Ghost; concerning whose *universal* presence and assistance we can form no satisfactory conception, without ascribing to him those attributes of *infinity*, which belong essentially to God, and to God only. Thus inseparably is the doctrine of the Trinity "in-" terwoven with the very frame and texture of the " Christian religion."

The remaining objection, that this doctrine is not insisted upon in *Scripture*, as of *necessity to salvation*, is shewn to be equally fallacious. If Scripture has clearly *revealed* this doctrine, its *necessity*, or its *importance*, follows as a direct consequence. If it be a *true* doctrine, intimately connected with the whole economy of man's redemption and salvation, with divine worship, and with the most powerful motives to faith, love, and obedience; " men need " not be *expressly* told that such a doctrine is *im-* " *portant* and *weighty*, and *worth* the contending " for: let but Scripture once ascertain its *truth*, " and every man's common sense will supply the " rest." The institution of baptism, however, in the name of the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, may be regarded as an *express* declaration of the *importance* of the doctrine; since " our blessed Lord himself has " thus recommended it as the prime and leading " doctrine, without the explicit mention whereof " a man cannot be made a *Christian*."

Admitting, then, that " the received doctrine of " the Trinity is both *clear* and *practical*, and suffi- " ciently inculcated in *Scripture* to be esteemed an " article of high *importance*, an *essential* of Chris- " tianity, a *fundamental* doctrine of the gospel, dif- " fusing itself through the whole of our religion,

" and being, as it were, the very life and spirit of it; " it remains to be inquired," says our author, " how " we ought to behave towards those who openly re- " ject or impugn it, or take part with them that " do."

This point is argued, in chapter the fourth, as a *general* question, in order to shew, from *Scripture*, and from the *nature* and *reason* of the thing, " that communion ought not to be held with men " that openly reject the fundamental doctrines of " Christianity, and persist in so doing." Several texts of Scripture are particularly discussed, to establish this position; and some important observations are made upon the true " nature and notion of " *heresy*, and what properly denominates a man an " *heretic*;" in answer to certain loose and indefinite notions of Dr. Whitby. Our author understands by these terms, " not merely a *mistake of judgment*, " (though in fundamentals,) but *espousing* such erro- " neous judgment, either teaching and disseminating " it, or openly supporting and assisting those that " do;" and this, he shews, brings those who adopt such errors clearly under that description of persons, whom the Scriptures enjoin us to *avoid*, as heretics. Moreover, from the *nature* and *reason* of the thing, this is evidently our duty. The honour and reverence due to God, and to his sacred word; charity towards the offenders themselves, and towards the rest of mankind; justice to ourselves, and a prudential care and caution respecting that which concerns our own sincerity and safety;—these are considerations, which render it hardly possible for us to hold communion with such persons, without

becoming, in some measure, partakers in their offence.

The objections to this view of the subject are refuted in the succeeding chapter. The necessity of *moderation* and *forbearance;* the *harmlessness* of error in belief, if it be not productive of a *vicious* life; the respect due to conscientious *sincerity*, however erroneous; the *fallibility* of human judgment; the *persecuting* and *domineering* spirit implied in requiring men to conform to established Creeds and Articles of Faith; the *provocation* thus given to a reciprocation of censures, and to continual violations of Christian peace and charity; the right also of every one to be admitted to Church-communion, who is ready to acknowledge *Scripture* as his rule of faith, or to admit any Creeds or Confessions drawn up entirely in the very *terms* of Scripture;—all these plausible arguments are carefully and candidly considered. In answer to them, our author maintains, that true moderation does not require us to forbear insisting upon the *truth* and the *importance* of doctrines essential to Christianity itself;—that to spread and propagate opinions contrary to these, and to subvert the faith of others, is *evil* in itself, and may be as mischievous even as *immoral* practice;—that *sincerity* in error or falsehood is not excusable, unless it be free from *prejudice* and *partiality*, or arise from invincible *ignorance*, and, even then, it does not lessen the evil resulting from corrupt doctrine, nor render it less incumbent upon us to uphold the truth;—that there is a manifest difference between *certainty* and *infallibility;* since we may have such *sure* grounds of belief as to remove

all doubts from our mind, although we pretend not to an *infallible* judgment; and upon that moral certainty and conviction we are bound, in conscience and integrity, to frame our conduct, as well as our opinions;—that in pursuing this plain and upright course, there is nothing that savours of a *domineering* spirit, nothing that gives encouragement to *intolerance* or *persecution*, nothing that can justly *provoke* those who differ from us to hostility or offence;—that to admit all, whatever their tenets may be, to Church-communion, who merely acknowledge the authority of *sacred writ*, and who will assent to no Creeds or Articles of Faith, but such as are drawn up entirely in *Scripture-terms;* would be nugatory and ineffectual; since opinions the most erroneous, and the most contradictory to each other, are either believed, or pretended, to be deduced from Scripture, by those who maintain them; therefore, "if any persons are found to pervert the *sense* of "Scripture in any notorious manner, so as thereby "to undermine the *essentials* of faith, their pre-"tending a high regard for the *authority* of sacred "writ, or for the *letter* of it, is not reason sufficient "for receiving them as *fellow-Christians*."

In the sixth chapter, the author takes "a sum-"mary view of the judgment and practice of the "primitive churches" with reference to this subject; deducing from the most ancient *Creeds*, what were then deemed the most *important* Articles of Faith; observing what doctrines they condemned as *impious* and *heretical;* and examining the testimonies of the *Fathers* individually as well as of the *Church collectively*, upon both these points. Here the author

professedly follows Bishop Bull, in his treatise against Episcopius; contenting himself, as he states, "with giving a summary view of the main things, "interspersing here and there a few slight observa- "tions, which may be, as it were, supplemental to "that great work." The author's own researches and observations, however, are not inconsiderable; and he moreover vindicates Bishop Bull against certain writers of more recent date, particularly Le Clerc and Crellius, who, after the death of that distinguished Prelate, sought to obtain admission for Socinianism within the pale of the Christian Church, by arguments intended to prove that in the primitive ages it would not have been excluded.

The next chapter, "shewing the *use* and *value* "of ecclesiastical antiquity with respect to contro- "versies of faith," is one of the most important in the whole work, and would form in itself a detached treatise of superior excellence. The principles on which this inquiry is grounded are laid down with great precision; the extremes of irreverent disregard, on the one hand, and of undue confidence on the other, being carefully avoided. "There is no "occasion," says Dr. Waterland, "for magnifying "*antiquity* at the expense of *Scripture;* neither is "that the way to do real honour to either, but to "expose both; as it is sacrificing their reputation "to serve the ends of novelty and error. *Antiquity* "ought to attend as an handmaid to Scripture, to "wait upon her as her mistress, and to observe her; "to keep off *intruders* from making too bold with "her, and to discourage *strangers* from misrepre- "senting her. *Antiquity*, in this *ministerial* view,

" is of very great use." Its use is then pointed out, in ascertaining the true import of Scripture *words* and *phrases*, in letting us into the knowledge of ancient *rites* and customs alluded to in the sacred writings, in giving us an insight into the *history of the age* in which the books of the New Testament were written, and also in enabling us with more confidence to fix the *sense* of Scripture in controverted texts, by that *traditional* knowledge, which some of the earliest Fathers may be supposed to have received, of what the Apostles themselves had said and taught to their disciples and immediate successors in the Church. These considerations serve, at least, as " an " useful *check* upon any *new* interpretations of Scrip- " ture affecting the *main* doctrines;" and they may even be extended to establish what doctrines are really *necessary* and *true;* since it is scarcely conceivable that they who lived so near the times of the Apostles, and of Christ himself, should be unacquainted with any essential article of belief taught by them, much less that they should wilfully have corrupted, or suffered others to corrupt, that which they had received, upon such authority, as the revealed will of God.

A candid examination ensues of the considerations usually urged on the contrary side. The Scriptures, it has been said, are a perfect rule of faith; they are plain enough in all necessary points; Scripture is its own best interpreter; the sixth Article of our Church discountenances any other interpretation; and an appeal to antiquity is fruitless, because all parties lay claim to this, as well as to Scripture. These were arguments pressed by Dr. Whitby in the

Preface to his Dissertation *de Scripturarum interpretatione*. Waterland admits these positions, so far as the perfection, fulness, and clearness of the Scriptures are concerned; but denies the inferences deduced from them. Scripture is perfect in itself; but the more perfect it is, the greater care and circumspection are requisite, to preserve it entire, both as to its *words* and *meaning*. We do not resort to the *Fathers*, "to superadd *new* doctrines to "Scripture, but only to secure the *old*:" and he shrewdly adds, "it is much to be suspected, that "many pretend a zeal for *Scripture*, who mean "nothing by it, but to have its *fences* taken down, "that they may deal the more freely or rudely "with it. They would exclude the *ancients*, to "make room for *themselves*; and throw a kind of "slight upon the *received* interpretations, only to "advance *their own*." The Scriptures also are *plain* in all *necessary* articles of faith; but there is nothing so plain, that it may not be obscured and perverted by those who endeavour to evade its meaning; and the judgment of ancient writers of high authority is among the means of most effectually guarding against such injurious consequences. The same reasoning applies to the maxim, that Scripture is its own best interpreter. Unquestionably, it is so. But this does not supersede the use of ancient authority, of Fathers and Councils, to diminish the weight and influence of private gainsayers, who would set up their own opinions of the sense of Scripture against the general sentiment of the Christian Church. Neither does our Church receive this maxim to the exclusion of all authoritative interpretation, but recog-

nizes the expediency and utility of having recourse to the Catholic Fathers of the primitive ages, as the safest expositors of primitive truth.

But it is further urged, not only that the appeal to the Fathers is useless, because all parties lay claim to it; but that the Fathers are incompetent biblical critics, that they contradict each other, are full of obscurity, full of errors. Dr. Whitby, to a certain extent, had joined in this vituperative strain: but the chief partisans whom our author had here in view were Daillé and Barbeyrac; the former, in his well-known treatise on *the right Use of the Fathers;* the latter, in the *prefatory Discourse to his French Translation of Pufendorf, de Jure Naturæ et Gentium*, and in his *Traité de la Morale des Pères de l' Eglise.* Against these distinguished writers Waterland contends with great success; particularly against Barbeyrac, whose rude and petulant invectives were far more offensive than the comparatively guarded animadversions of Daillé and Whitby. A part of Barbeyrac's French Preface had been translated into English, and published separately under the title of *The Spirit of Ecclesiasticks in all ages*, 1722. and it was ably answered by Dr. Zachary Grey, in a pamphlet, entitled, *The Spirit of Infidelity detected; By a Believer;* 1723. Waterland convicts Barbeyrac of great unfairness and misrepresentation; of taking many of his reports of the Fathers at second-hand; and of aggravating every error or oversight to an unwarrantable extent. He shews also, that this prejudiced and uncandid writer continually argues, as if those who entertained a respect for the early Fathers regarded

them as *infallible*, and entirely rested their faith upon them as expositors of Scripture. In refuting this gross accusation, Dr. W. draws the line with great accuracy and judgment between an implicit reliance upon these venerable guides, and that deference which is justly due to them, as the earliest and most unbiassed *witnesses* of the truth. The proper use of the Fathers, in ascertaining any apostolical doctrine or practice, is in the way of *testimony*, rather than of personal *authority*. They certify us of the *received doctrine* of the Church in their times. Hence arises a strong *presumptive* argument, at least, that such must have been the truth delivered by the Apostles themselves; since we cannot otherwise account for the general harmony of Scripture-interpretation prevailing at a period immediately succeeding the apostolical age; nor can we conceive it possible that, on any essential point of Scripture truth, errors of real magnitude or importance should have so soon and so universally prevailed. In ascribing this degree of weight to their sentiments, whether individually or collectively declared, no claims to *infallibility* are allowed them, nor any other regard paid to their statements, than that which is due to the testimony of persons who were not placed in circumstances either to deceive others, or to be deceived themselves. "As to *autho-* "*rity*," says Dr. W. "in a strict and proper sense, "I do not know that the *Fathers* have any over us. "They are all dead men. Therefore we urge not "their *authority*, but their *testimony*, their *suffrage*, "their *judgment*, as carrying great force of *reason* "with it; and *reason* we should all submit to.

" Taking them in here, as *lights* or *helps*, is doing " what is *reasonable*, and using our *own understand-* " *ings* in the best manner, and to the best purposes: " it is judging *rightly* for ourselves." In conclusion, he adds, " The sum of what I have been endeavour- " ing is, that *Scripture* and *antiquity*, under the " conduct of *right reason*, are what we ought to " abide by, for the settling points of doctrine. I have " not put the case of Scripture and antiquity inter- " fering, or clashing with each other; because it is " a case which never will appear in points of *im-* " *portance*, such as that is which we are now upon. " ... If ever they clash, or appear to clash, then un- " doubtedly there is an error somewhere.... In such " a case, a wise man will not rest satisfied, (if the " thing be of moment,) till he finds out, if possible, " the reason of the difference, and discovers where " the *error* lies. For either it must lie on the " *Scripture-side*, (when a man takes that for *Scrip-* " *ture* which is not Scripture, or that for true inter- " pretation which is not true interpretation,) or it " must lie on the *tradition* side, through some *mis-* " *report* made of the ancients, or some mistake of " the ancients themselves. Then the question will " be, which of the two suppositions is most likely to " be true in that instance."

To this chapter is added a short one, in conclusion of the treatise, shewing the Arian interpretation of John i. 1, and Hebr. i. 1, by the author of the *Sober and Charitable Disquisition*, to be of no force or validity.

From the foregoing outline of this work, some notion may be formed of its general excellence and uti-

lity. Its value is far beyond that of a merely *polemical* treatise; and it may be read with almost equal benefit by persons conversant, or not, with the several controversial writings of that period. Its principles and its reasonings are, indeed, just as applicable to many party-writers of the *present* day, as they were to Episcopius, to Whitby, to Daillé, Le Clerc, or Barbeyrac. Accordingly, this is one of the very few of our author's performances which has hitherto been reprinted in modern times. A new edition of it issued from the Cambridge University press in the year 1800. In the year 1815, a new edition of his *Sermons at the Lady Moyer's Lecture* was printed at the Clarendon press at Oxford. These two volumes, together with *Dr. Glocester Ridley's Sermons at Lady Moyer's Lectures on the Divinity and Offices of the Holy Ghost,* (also reprinted at Oxford in 1802,) may be recommended to all Divinity Students, as forming together a compendium of all that is necessary to establish them in the truth of that fundamental article of our faith, the doctrine of the Trinity. To these the *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed* may be considered as a valuable supplement. And for such as are desirous of going further into the discussion of these subjects, the *three Vindications of our Lord's Divinity* will supply irrefragable arguments upon almost every point that has hitherto been contested.

SECTION IV.

INCIDENTAL CONTROVERSIES ARISING OUT OF THE PRECEDING.

THAT the account given, in the foregoing section of Dr. W.'s larger works in vindication of the doctrine of the Trinity, might proceed without interruption, no notice has yet been taken of some of his minor productions connected with that subject, which, in point of time, preceded several of the treatises already mentioned. His reputation was, indeed, chiefly established by successfully encountering such opponents as Clarke, Whitby, Sykes, and Jackson; whose united powers were exerted to the utmost, to put him to silence. The inferior antagonists, who occasionally called him forth, are now almost unknown by name or reputation; and are no otherwise deserving of attention, than from the notice our author deemed it expedient to take of their endeavours to disseminate opinions which he had laboured to counteract. Probably, he perceived that some danger was to be apprehended even from the weakest of these attempts, when the public mind had been already so much agitated by persons eminent in station and in learning; and that even if they gained no very extensive circulation, they might locally and individually produce considerable mischief. His short intervals of leisure from weightier undertakings were therefore not unfrequently employed in providing for the less instructed some convenient antidotes against works of this description.

Accordingly, in the year 1721, soon after he had published his *Case of Arian Subscription*, our author committed to the press a short tract, consisting only of a few pages, and entitled, *An Answer to some Queries printed at Exon, relating to the Arian Controversy.* As there is no prefatory introduction to this short piece, nor any thing in the body of the tract which gives the slightest intimation of its history, some information respecting the circumstances which probably gave rise to it may not be unacceptable.

It is not undeserving of notice, that when controversies of considerable moment have at any time agitated our Established Church, the impulse has frequently extended to the leaders of those who separate from our communion. Thus when Bishop Bull was engaged in dispute with Dr. Tullie, Dr. Barlow, and other eminent Divines, on the subject of *justification by faith*, similar dissensions took place among the Separatists of that time. In like manner the numerous writings occasioned by Dr. Clarke's *Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*, being circulated among the Dissenters of that period, were debated between them with at least equal asperity. The city of Exeter, in particular, was distinguished by busy and zealous partisans of *Arianism*, who were encountered by opponents no less zealous in maintaining the *Catholic* faith. Two eminent Dissenting Teachers in that place, Mr. Joseph Hallet and Mr. James Peirce, with some others of inferior note, gave great offence to their respective congregations, by espousing, first covertly, and then openly, the tenets of the *Arians*. These tenets soon spread so rapidly, as to give alarm

to the majority of the Dissenting Ministers in that neighbourhood; and created much dissatisfaction and uneasiness. In consequence of these divisions, several Ministers in and near Exeter deemed it expedient to draw up a statement of what had occurred, and to transmit it to some leading Dissenting Teachers in the metropolis, requesting them to confer upon it, and to give their advice as to the best course to be pursued, previous to an *assembly* being held upon the subject among those at Exeter. The result of these deliberations was, that at a general meeting of the Dissenting Ministers in the western parts of England, at Exeter, in September 1718, the matter was fully discussed; and, after much debate, "it was "agreed to make a *declaration of faith*, every one "in his own words, *viva voce*. Several delivered "their confessions entirely in *Scripture-terms*, with-"out declaring their sense and constructions of them. "Others, and those the *most*, freely declared their "sentiments in their *own terms*. After which it "was moved, that the general sense of the confessions "there made appeared to amount to this article;— "*That there is but One living and true God, and* "*that the Father, Word, and Holy Ghost, are* "*that One God*. This, after much struggle, was put "to the vote again, and was carried to be the col-"lected sense of a great majority, and accordingly "was entered as a *minute*[i]."

In these local dissensions, it is not to be supposed that Dr. Waterland felt any personal interest. But

[i] In the Bodleian library at Oxford, there is a large collection of tracts relating to the controversies respecting Arianism at Exeter. Among them are two, which contain a clear and succinct ac-

since they had excited much fermentation elsewhere, as well as at Exeter; and means had been used, by the Arian party, to give the greatest possible publicity to their proceedings; it became a matter of importance to counteract the intended mischief. Dr. Waterland, however, took no further part in the dispute, than by publishing the above-mentioned tract, called, *An Answer to some Queries printed at Exon.* The Dissenters had, indeed, many learned, pious, and able Divines, well qualified to guard their congregations against these innovators, and who proved themselves faithful to their charge. Dr. Edmund Calamy particularly distinguished himself by the publication of an excellent volume of *Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, preached at Salters' Hall,* 1722; in the Preface to which is given a perspicuous account of the opposition made to this doctrine, and of the unhappy differences which had lately arisen among his brethren with reference to the Arian controversy. It is a work of great learning and ability, as well as of candour and moderation; and the author bears hand-

count of what had passed: one entitled, *A plain and faithful Narrative of the Differences among the Dissenters at Exeter, relating to the Doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity, so far as gave concern to some London Ministers. Lond.* 1719: the other, *An Account of the Reasons why many Citizens of Exon have withdrawn from the Ministry of Mr. Joseph Hallet and Mr. James Peirce, being an Answer to Mr. Peirce's State of the Case. Published by order of the Committee. Lond.* 1719. *Written by Mr. Josiah Eveleigh.* There is also another work which throws considerable light upon these disputes among the Dissenters, entitled, *The Grounds of the present Differences among the London Ministers. By John Cumming, M. A. Minister of the Scots-Church in London.* 1720.

some testimony to the services which Dr. W. had rendered by his labours in so important a cause[k].

The *Queries* printed at Exeter (to which Dr. W. published this Answer) were originally subjoined to a pamphlet, entitled, *The Innocent vindicated, or*

[k] Dr. Calamy's work is dedicated to the King; and he ventures to assure his Majesty, that "how much soever his subjects in the "southern part of this happy isle may in other respects differ in "their sentiments about religious matters, yet as to the great doc- "trine of the TRINITY, they that are excluded the national esta- "blishment do very generally agree with those that are under it, "and cannot be charged with an inclination to vary from the "common faith, without being greatly misrepresented." In his Preface, he says, "As to the Sermons here published, they were "delivered to as public an auditory as any among the Dissenters, "about the same time that Dr. Waterland was engaged upon the "same argument to so good purpose, as the Lecture supported "by the generosity of the Lady Moyer, at St. Paul's; in which "Dr. Knight has since so worthily succeeded him. And though "the subject has been so much insisted on, as that it may seem "exhausted, yet I am in hope that these Discourses, together "with a good number of tracts lately published, may help to pre- "vent its being hereafter said, that the Dissenters did not at that "time appear against *Arianism*, when it so much threatened us."

There is reason, however, to believe, that Dr. Clarke's opinions had taken deep root among several communities of Protestant Dissenters, and that to this cause may be traced some of the multifarious schisms into which they were subsequently divided. Hence, at least, appear to have arisen the several *Unitarian* congregations, which succeeded to the *Arian*, and which are now for the most part, become *Socinian*. In the West of England these opinions have ever since continued to have numerous abettors. The *Arian* Meeting-house at Exeter retained its appropriate designation long after other congregations of the kind had dispersed, and were forgotten. It has now, however, passed into other hands: and the Unitarians of the present day, who still abound in that district, would probably be almost as reluctant to subscribe to Dr. Clarke's Creed, as to that of Dr. Waterland.

Arians defended, and formed an *Appendix to it.* They appear *verbatim* in Dr. W.'s tract, and are answered with perspicuity and brevity. Most of them turn upon points of *metaphysical* subtlety, particularly upon the assumed position that there can be no real difference between an *intelligent being* and a *person;* similar to the objections before raised by Clarke, Whitby, and Jackson, and afterwards examined and refuted in Dr. W.'s *second Defence.* But many readers may find it advantageous, to refer to the compendious answers in this little tract, which, together with the Queries, comprises the substance of much larger treatises on each side of the question.

Another small tract of a similar kind was published by our author in 1722, entitled, *The Scriptures and the Arians compared, in their accounts of God the Father and God the Son: by way of rejoinder to a pamphlet, entitled, The Scripture and the Athanasians compared,* &c. This pamphlet, like many others of that period, has long since sunk into oblivion. But Dr. Waterland's tract has reference also to several other publications of a similar tendency. In the first part is laid before the reader "the *plain* account of Scripture in one co-"lumn, and the *true* account of what the modern "*Arian* scheme is in the other." The statement of the *Arian* scheme is drawn from the writings of Whiston, Clarke, Sykes, Whitby, Emlyn, Jackson, Peirce, Morgan, and some anonymous authors. In a series of short paragraphs, each relating to some main point in the controversy, the contrast is exhibited in very striking colours; and is so wrought as to con-

vey a keen satire upon the opinions against which it is directed. The second part contains short remarks upon certain *preliminary propositions* in the pamphlet, with strictures upon the author's frequent misrepresentations of the sense of Scripture, and upon his attempts to oppose certain metaphysical subtleties to the express declarations of holy writ. This tract, therefore, derives additional importance from its being, in substance, directed against the whole phalanx of Arians of that day; though, in the form and mode of attack, it seemed to aim more particularly at one inconsiderable writer.

At a somewhat earlier period than the publication of these two short pieces, Dr. W. had been engaged in a private correspondence with a person of the name of Staunton on the subject of the Trinity; the occasion of which correspondence appears to have been as follows.

Mr. Staunton published, anonymously, in the year 1719, a tract entitled, *The sincere Thoughts of a private Christian, touching the Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Doctrine of the Apostles, humbly offered in abatement of the Socinian and Trinitarian Controversies.* The title-page bears the motto, *An Christianus ero? An Christicola?* —pretty clearly indicating the author's opinion, that *divine worship* is not due to Christ. This is, in truth, the main purpose of the tract; in which the author labours to prove, that the titles, Son of God, the Word, &c. are not expressive of his *Divinity*, and that there are no sufficient evidences in Scripture of his being the proper object of worship.

In the year 1721, this same author published another tract, entitled, *A Packet of Letters to Dr. Waterland, being a Proposal of a fourth Scheme, supported by Scripture and Demonstration. Also a modest Inquiry touching the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the manner of our blessed Saviour's Divinity, as they are held in the Catholic Church, and in the Church of England.* In a long Preface to this publication, Mr. S. represents himself to have been very desirous of having his doubts and scruples, respecting what are called orthodox opinions of the Trinity, removed; and states that he had published his thoughts with that view: and he adds, that hearing of Dr. W.'s *Defence of his Queries,* and his *Sermons* at Lady Moyer's Lecture on our *Lord's Divinity,* he fully expected conviction; but being disappointed, he resolved to unbosom himself to Dr. W. upon the subject. He then commenced a correspondence with Dr. W. and this pamphlet contains the packet of letters sent by *him* to Dr. W. but *not* those which Dr. W. sent in return. The remainder of the tract consists of a delineation of the author's peculiar notions, differing, as he conceived, from most other systems.

In the following year, 1722, Mr. Staunton brought out another tract, entitled, *Reason and Revelation stated,* &c. *by the same hand that wrote the Packet of Letters to Dr. Waterland. To which is added, a true Copy of Dr. Waterland's several Letters by him sent in Answer to the Packet of Letters wrote to him by W. S. and the printing whereof was at first forbidden by the Doctor, who now consents to the publication of them.* This pamphlet is chiefly

levelled at Dr. Young, Dean of Sarum, animadverting on two sermons of his, entitled, *The Wisdom of believing;* and has but little bearing on the points in dispute between himself and Dr. Waterland.

It does not appear from any of these publications what was Mr. Staunton's profession, education, or habits of life. In his first letter to Dr. W. he says modestly of himself, "As to *learning*, I am a mere "*schoolboy*, and a dull one too I was in 1673, and "am now in the 63d year of my age. I was bred "to the desk, and about six years ago quitted my "employment for want of breath to follow it: but "since, in my country retirement, not willing to be "idle, I spend some *few hours*, now and then, in "studying the Scriptures." He adds, "You see *what* "*authors* I converse with; neither *Arians*, nor *So-*"*cinians*, nor any *Dissenters* from the Church of "England: however it comes to pass that in this "point I do now *dissent* from it, I can at present "only impute it to the *voice of God*, both of *reason* "and of *Scripture*, in answer to my daily *prayers* "that God would be pleased to teach me *what He* "*is*, and to give me a right judgment therein: "which if it be not *yet* obtained, may now be set "right by your kind assistance."

These, with other expressions of humility and of personal respect towards Dr. W. probably induced this learned divine to enter into a discussion otherwise of very unpromising aspect, and hardly worthy of his labour. For it is evident that Mr. S. was not only a man of mean literary attainments, but that there was a sort of obliquity in his understanding which totally disqualified him for unravelling

the difficulties and perplexities he had himself raised upon the subject. His exposition of his own theory is confused, and scarcely intelligible. Dr. Waterland well observes, that "it seems to be *Socinian* "in the main, only taking in the pre-existence of "Christ's human soul, excluding from worship, and "interpreting some texts in the *Sabellian* way, and "not after *Socinus*."

Any notice of such an author, whose name and writings never excited any general interest, would be superfluous, were it not for the occasion it affords of noticing an amiable feature in Dr. Waterland's character. His readiness to give satisfaction to so very inferior a disputant, in whom he thought there were indications of an honest love of truth; his civility and forbearance towards him in the course of the correspondence; and the unaffected frankness and good-humour with which he declines pursuing the contest, when it became utterly hopeless as to any good effect; may go far to redeem his character from the charge of asperity and moroseness, with which some of his opponents have reproached him.

Another short treatise of Dr. Waterland's is so far connected with these controversies, that it may most conveniently be considered in this part of our inquiry. It was published a short time before his greater work on the *Importance of the Trinity*, as an *Appendix* to Mr. Law's *Inquiry into the Ideas of Space and Time*; and is entitled, *A Dissertation upon the Argument à priori for proving the Existence of a First Cause: in a Letter to Mr. Law.*

The discussion of this question arose out of some passages in Dr. Clarke's *Demonstration of the Being*

and Attributes of God; a work, published some years before his *Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity.* Dr. Clarke's purpose was, to demonstrate by arguments *à priori,* the being and attributes of the Deity. "There are but two ways," he observes[1], "by which the *being,* and *all* or *any* of the *attri-*"*butes* of *God,* can possibly be proved: the one *à* "*priori,* the other *à posteriori.* The proof *à poste-*"*riori* is *level* to *all* men's capacities: because there "is an endless *gradation* of *wise* and *useful* phe-"nomena of nature, from the most *obvious* to the "most *abstruse;* which afford (at least a *moral* and "*reasonable*) proof of the being of God, to the *seve-*"*ral capacities* of *all unprejudiced men,* who have "any probity of mind. And this is what (I suppose) "God expects (as a *moral* governor) that *moral* "*agents* should be determined by. The proof *à* "*priori* is (I fully believe) strictly *demonstrative;* "but (like numberless *mathematical demonstra-*"*tions*) capable of being understood by only a *few* "*attentive minds;* because it is of *use,* only against "*learned and metaphysical difficulties.* And there-"fore it must never be expected, that this should be "made obvious to the *generality* of men, any more "than *astronomy* or *mathematics* can be."

Dr. Clarke undertakes to prove, not only the *attributes,* but the *existence* of the Deity, by demonstrating what he calls the *antecedent necessity* of his being. He assumes it as a general axiom, that "of every thing that *is,* there is a *reason* which "now does, or once or always did, *determine* the

[1] Answer to the 6th Letter, added to the 6th and subsequent editions of the *Demonstration.* pp. 31, 32.

" *existence* rather than the *non-existence* of that " thing:" and that " when once a thing is known, by " reasoning *à posteriori*, to be *certain*, it *unavoidably* " *follows* that there is *in nature* a reason *à priori* " (whether we can discover it or not,) of the exist- " ence of that which we know cannot but exist. " Since therefore, in that which derives not its being " from any other thing, the *ground* or *reason why* " it *exists*, rather than *not exists*, must be *in* the " thing itself; and it is a plain contradiction to sup- " pose its own *will*, by way of *efficient* cause, to be " the reason of its existence, it remains that *absolute* " *necessity* (the same necessity that is the cause of " the unalterable proportion between *two* and *four*) " be, by way of *formal* cause, the *ground* of that " existence. And this necessity is indeed *antece-* " *dent*, though not in *time*, yet in the *order of na-* " *ture*, to the *existence* of the being itself."

Upon this supposed axiom Dr. C. frames his demonstration: and his chain of argument runs thus: *Something must have existed from all eternity:* otherwise every thing that now exists must have been originally produced out of nothing, absolutely, and *without cause;* which is a plain contradiction in terms. That which has existed from eternity must also be *some one unchangeable and independent being*, from which all other beings in the universe have received their original; else there has been an infinite succession of changeable and dependent beings produced one from another in an endless progression, without any original cause at all; which is plainly impossible, and contradictory in itself. Moreover, the being that has thus existed from all eternity, without

any external cause of its existence, must be *self-existent*, that is, *necessarily existing*. Now to be *self-existent*, is, not to be *produced by itself*; since that would be an express contradiction. It is also to *exist by an absolute necessity originally in the nature of the thing itself:* and this necessity must be *antecedent*, not in time, but in the natural order of our ideas, to our *supposition* of its being. For, when we endeavour to suppose, that there is *no being* in the universe that exists necessarily, we always find in our minds some ideas of *infinity* and *eternity*; and to suppose that there is *no* being to which these attributes or modes of existence are necessarily inherent, is a contradiction in the very terms. Farther; this *self-existing* Being must be *eternal*. The Being, which has no other cause of its existence, but the absolute necessity of its own nature, must of necessity have existed from everlasting, without beginning; and must of necessity exist to everlasting, without end. For the same reason, this Being must be *infinite* and *omnipresent*; these ideas being inseparably connected with *self-existence*. Moreover, this Being must also of necessity be but *one*. Absolutely *necessary* existence admits of *no variation* in *any kind or degree*, and cannot be the *ground* of the existence of a *number* of beings, however *similar* and *agreeing*. To suppose *two* or more *distinct beings* existing *of themselves*, necessarily, and *independent* of each other, implies this *contradiction*, that they may *either of them* be supposed to exist *alone*; so that it will be no contradiction to imagine the other not to exist; and consequently, *neither of them* will be necessarily-

existing. Whatsoever therefore exists necessarily, is the one simple essence of the self-existing Being; and whatsoever differs from that, is not necessarily existing. The other attributes of the Deity are deduced in like manner from these principles.

Notwithstanding the high reputation of the author, and the acknowledged ability and good intention manifested in the work itself, this attempt was far from being received with general satisfaction. Its main principle was, by many, deemed questionable, if not fallacious; and some of the inferences deduced from it, not only doubtful, but of dangerous tendency. The more cautious and considerate inquirers after truth judged it expedient rather to rely upon the well-established proofs of the Divine being from arguments *à posteriori*,—those which resulted from the actual phenomena of the universe,—than to rest so great and fundamental a truth, the very ground of all moral and religious conduct, upon abstract metaphysical speculations, above the reach, perhaps, of any finite understandings, and confessedly not adapted to general apprehension. Even among those who were favourable to the general design of the work, considerable doubts were entertained as to the solidity of certain parts of it, on which doctrines of such importance were made to depend.

Doubts of this kind were advanced with great modesty, and with much personal respect towards Dr. Clarke, by an anonymous correspondent, "a gentle-"man in Glocestershire," in a series of five Letters written privately to the author, and which, together with Dr. Clarke's answers, were subjoined to the fourth and subsequent editions of the work.

They relate to some arguments in Dr. C.'s *Demonstration*, to prove the *infinity*, *omnipresence*, and *unity* of the Deity. The discussion, which was carried on very amicably on both sides, led to the consideration of some other metaphysical difficulties, concerning *substance*, *space*, and *necessary existence*; but it seems to have terminated without producing conviction, or change of sentiment, on either side[m].

To these Letters and Answers were added, in the *sixth* edition of the *Demonstration*, Dr. Clarke's Answers to two other Letters, from different correspondents; one urging nearly the same objections as the foregoing; the other shewing the argument *à*

[m] The author of these Letters was the celebrated Bishop Butler, then a very young man, only 21 years of age; who, while he was at an academy in Glocestershire, studying divinity to qualify himself for a Dissenting Teacher, addressed these Letters to Dr. Clarke; and treated the subject with so much penetration and knowledge, that Dr. C. thought them worthy of particular notice. It is remarked in the *Biographia Britannica*, that in Mr. Butler's objections to Dr. C.'s notions of space and duration, which include his dissatisfaction with the argument *à priori*, he raised the first battery against that argument; and though, through modesty, considering his youthful age, he forbore to push it to the utmost, yet he was followed therein by others of more strength and assurance, who played upon it so effectually as actually to demolish it: for instance, Mr. Gretton, Mr. Law, and Dr. Waterland; who have likewise shewn the inconclusiveness of Dr. Clarke's argument *à priori*. "It is observable," (adds the writer of that article,) "that Dr. C. evidently raised the hint for erecting that argument "from Sir Isaac Newton's general *scholium* at the end of his *Prin-*"*cipia*; and had he kept within the bounds which that great "master never transgressed, he might have avoided this metaphy-"sical chimæra, to demonstrate the necessary existence of the "Deity." See Biogr. Brit. vol. vii. pp. 20, 21, and *note* B.

priori to be inapplicable to such a subject. The Letters themselves are not inserted; but the objections contained in them appear to be fully and fairly stated in the Answers.

Dr. Clarke's Answer to the *seventh* of these Letters gave occasion to Mr. Gretton's larger and more elaborate treatise, printed in 1726, and entitled, ***A Review of the Argument à priori, in relation to the Being and Attributes of God: in reply to Dr. Clarke's Answer to a seventh Letter concerning that Argument.***

In the Preface to this work, the author points out the hazardous tendency of Dr. Clarke's undertaking, and its untoward aspect as affecting revealed religion, particularly the doctrine of the Trinity; since it would follow, upon Dr. C.'s reasoning, that if no *antecedent necessity* could be shewn for more than *one* Person in the Godhead, the true Divinity of the *other* Persons could not be established; and "if we cannot "demonstrate *à priori* that there are three Divine "Persons, it will be pretended, in virtue of these no-"vel positions, that there cannot be three such Per-"sons; and so we shall be put upon proving an ar-"ticle of faith from natural reason, which we freely "own is a point of pure revelation, not discoverable "by reason, nor to be proved by our natural light." This, he further observes, is confirmed by the use Dr. C. himself afterwards made of these principles in his *Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*; "in "which the positive *self-existence*, and *prior ne-*"*cessary existence*, of the *Father*, was drawn out "at its full length, and largely insisted on with all "its train of consequences;" whilst it was plainly intimated, that, in whatever sense the *Son* and *Holy*

Ghost may be called Divine Persons, they are not *metaphysically* so, neither is the unity between them and the Father an unity of *nature* and *substance*, but only an unity of *government*, or, rather, a *metaphorical* union.

In reply to Dr. Clarke's main position, that "*there* "*must be in nature a permanent ground, or reason,* "*of the existence of the First Cause; otherwise its* "*existence would be owing to mere chance;*"—Mr. Gretton observes, that "such *internal ground* or "*reason* cannot be *prior*, though it may be consi- "dered as subsequent to the Divine being, as a per- "manency flowing from the Divine existence; that "to argue from the Divine perfections to the Divine "being is not an argument *à priori;*" but is a contradiction, "as it supposes the Divine nature before the "Divine being; something internal before any thing "to which it may be internal; and the first cause "springing up from its own substance and self;" in short, that the *internal reason* alleged by Dr. C. "can only be regarded as a mode, or attribute there- "unto appertaining," and "presupposes existence," and "therefore can give us no right to argue there- "from to the Divine being." It is also observed, that if the existence of the Deity must be demonstrated *à priori* by some *antecedent necessity* of its existence, then must that very necessity "have a "reason *à priori* why it is, rather than why it is not; "and after that, another; and then a third; and so "on *in infinitum.* And thus we may always be "seeking a first cause; but, by such an endless pro- "gression, shall never be able to find one, whereon "to fix ourselves, or such our restless and unprofita- "ble inquiries." And again: "If we ask you of the

" antecedent necessity, whence it is? why it is? what " prior ground was there for it? You must content " yourself with saying, So it is, you know not why, you " know not how. Please to resolve me, therefore, whe- " ther your prior necessity be necessary because it ex- " ists? or whether it is, because its existence is neces- " sary? and your answer, I presume, in one case, will " be as pertinent and useful as in the other." The author pursues this train of reasoning through the several different acceptations of the term *necessity*, ideal or physical; and contends that Dr. C.'s endeavours to establish upon that principle the eternity, infinity, immensity, and unity of God, are unsatisfactory and fallacious. Some extracts are subjoined, in an Appendix, from Letters between Mr. Locke and his friends; tending to shew, that neither Locke nor Limborch could satisfy themselves as to the possibility of demonstrating the Divine *unity* by any such arguments.

Dr. Waterland had incidentally animadverted on this work of Dr. Clarke's, in his first and second *Defences*. Dr. Clarke, in his *Observations* on the *second* Defence, noticed this with some asperity; and Waterland, perceiving how sensibly his adversary felt the attack, renewed it still more forcibly in his *farther Vindication*.

But if we may give credit to Mr. Jackson's pretended *Memoirs of Dr. Waterland*, the commencement of this dispute was of earlier date. Jackson says, " Soon after the controversy of the Trinity was " begun between the Doctor and the Country Clergy- " man, another debate arose between them, relating to " Dr. Clarke's Boyle's Lecture Sermons. Dr. W. first

" suggested, and soon took upon him to shew the " Country Clergyman, that Dr. C. had failed in the " proof of the *being* and *attributes* of God, drawn " from arguments *à priori*." He then adds, that a correspondence took place between Waterland and Jackson, " in a *private* manner;" and it was agreed, " that neither side should print without mutual con- " sent;" but afterwards, "the Country Clergyman pro- " posed to the Doctor to have their papers printed," in order that Dr. Clarke might have an opportunity, if he pleased, of " taking the cause into his own hands:" to which Dr. W. would not consent, though the debate was generally known amongst the learned in the University; till at length, within a year or two after Dr. Clarke's death, Dr. W.'s principal objections were published at the end of Mr. Law's book.

This narrative (similar in its circumstances to the account before given by the same author, of the publication of the *Queries* relating to Clarke's *Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*) renders it probable, that Waterland's correspondence with the Country Clergyman on the argument *à priori* was communicated by the Country Clergyman to Dr. Clarke himself: and that the *Answer* to the *seventh* Letter, annexed to the 6th edition of his work, is an Answer to what Dr. W. had thus *privately* written to Jackson. This seems to be adverted to by Mr. Gretton, in his Preface above-mentioned; where, after observing how much Dr. Clarke had been irritated by Waterland's severe censures of his *Demonstration;* he adds, " the first opportunity which pre- " sented itself, he sends forth *a Letter without a* " *name, directed to a person who could not well be*

" *misunderstood*, in maintenance of the argument *à* " *priori*." If this were the case, the transaction differed little from that relating to the *Queries*, excepting in this circumstance, that Dr. C. kept back Waterland's Letter, and committed the *Answer* only to the public eye.

After all, the question respecting the argument *à priori* to prove the existence of a First Cause, was only a collateral point in the Arian controversy; and this may account for Waterland's unwillingness to make it a matter of public debate. But Dr. Clarke having thus attempted a refutation of his objections, an opportunity was not to be lost of discussing the subject more at large; and this opportunity was offered, not very long afterwards, when Mr. Law (Waterland's intimate friend[n]) published his *Enquiry*, and added to it, as a Supplement, the *Dissertation*, which, though anonymous, was well known to be our author's performance.

Dr. W. begins this Dissertation with observing, " that those who had appeared as advocates for that " argument *à priori* seemed to have had no clear no- " tion of the thing itself, or of the terms they made " use of; that the *thought*, however, was not a *new* " *thought*, though perhaps it might be justly called a " *new tenet*, as having been constantly exploded for " many centuries upwards, and never once maintained " by *metaphysicians* or *divines;* that moreover it was

[n] Dr. Paley, in a short Memoir of Bishop Law, states, that " his acquaintance, during his first residence in the University, " was principally with Dr. Waterland, the learned Master of " Magdalen college; Dr. Jortin, a name known to every scholar; " and Dr. Taylor, the editor of Demosthenes."

" absolutely untenable, yea and carried its own con-
" futation along with it, as soon as understood; and
" lastly, that such principles might be prejudicial, in
" some measure, both to *religion* and *science*, if they
" should happen to prevail."

To establish these positions, our author proceeds, first, to give an *historical* account of the matter; 2dly, an *argumentative* consideration of it; 3dly, a view of its bearing and *tendency*, with respect to *religion* and *science*.

The *historical* inquiry shews great research into the scholastic writings of the middle ages, and some earlier productions in theology and metaphysics. The authorities adduced are of high reputation; and the quotations from most of them are decisive against attempting to rest the proof of the Divine existence and attributes upon such precarious grounds.

The *argumentative* view of the subject is conducted with equal ability. It proves that the term *necessity*, as applied to these discussions, is comparatively of recent date; and that the improper introduction of it into Christian theology made it requisite to distinguish carefully the several senses commonly affixed to it; of which, *one* only can properly be applied to God, as opposed to *mutable, precarious, contingent, dependent* existence; but in no sense can it be predicated as *antecedent*, in the order of nature or of reason, to that Being who is *self-existent, necessarily existent*, and emphatically, the *First Cause* of all things. In some of these arguments, our author does justice to the able reasoning of Dr. Gretton in his *Review*, and professes his obligations to him. The *pleas* alleged by Dr. C. in

his Answer to the seventh Letter are also considered *seriatim*, and shewn to be of insufficient weight.

In the third section, on the hurtful *tendency* of insisting so much on *à priori* reasoning, Dr. W. strongly deprecates the "ill consequence of resting "any *important* and unquestionable truth upon *pre-* "*carious* principles too weak to support it. This "tends," he observes, "to *expose*, rather than to "*serve* the cause so pleaded; to render it *suspected*, "rather than to bring *credit* to it; and to give the "adversaries a handle for ridicule or triumph." "Still worse," he adds, "is it to rest such a cause "upon principles, which are not only too *weak* to "bear it, but which also in their obvious natural "tendency threaten to *overturn* it: such is really "the case with respect to the argument *à priori;* "which is so far from establishing the *existence* of "a *First Cause*, (the point aimed at,) that it pro- "ceeds upon such premises as admit no *First Cause* "at all. The *pleas* made for it directly strike at the "very notion of a *First Cause*, proving (if they "proved any thing) that there can be no such thing "as a being *uncaused*."

From the summary view which has thus been taken of Dr. Waterland's labours in the Trinitarian controversy, his claims to that distinction and preeminence which, both by his contemporaries and by eminent Divines of later date, have, for the most part, been readily acceded to him, may be deemed unquestionable. He has shewn the unsoundness and fallacy of the *Arian* hypothesis; that it is neither reconcileable with Scripture nor with the faith of the primitive Church; that it is inconsistent with the Divine *unity*, properly un-

derstood, while it derogates from the Divine *perfections* ascribed in holy writ equally to each Person in the Godhead; that it involves the absurdity and the impiety of acknowledging a *supreme* and an *inferior* God as distinct objects of Divine worship; that it, in effect, reduces the Son and the Holy Ghost to the rank of *created* beings, notwithstanding the titles and attributes of the Godhead acknowledged to belong to them; and thus, instead of rendering this inscrutable mystery more consonant to reason, or more accessible to our finite understandings, surrounds it with additional difficulties and perplexities, incapable of any satisfactory solution. His opponents, after vainly endeavouring to parry these attacks, changed their mode of warfare, and became, in their turn, assailants of the received notions of the Trinity. Their chief reliance was either upon metaphysical arguments to prove the *impossibility* of the doctrine; or upon detached texts of Scripture declaratory of the *supreme* Godhead of the Father, to the exclusion, as they maintained, of the other Persons of the Godhead. They assumed, on the one hand, that every text of Scripture in which the Supreme God is mentioned is to be understood of the *Father* only; and, on the other hand, that the terms *person* and *being*, when applied to the Godhead, are of one and the same signification; and consequently, that the believers of the doctrine, in its ordinary acceptation, must be either *Tritheists* or *Sabellians*. The discussion of these points necessarily engaged our author in *metaphysical* distinctions; which, otherwise, he was inclined to avoid. But it was always in *subservience* to the authoritative word of *Scripture*,

that he ventured into this field of argument; in which, nevertheless, he proved himself fully competent to meet even the most powerful of his antagonists: and seldom, perhaps, have the keenness and dexterity of the polemic been more under the discipline and regulation of this reverential feeling, than in the writings of Dr. Waterland.

His persevering adversary, Jackson, suffered hardly any of our author's labours to pass uncensured. He had eagerly espoused Dr. Clarke's *à priori* demonstration, before the appearance of the *Dissertation* appended to Mr. Law's work: and now he again came forward to animadvert upon the Dissertation with his usual petulancy and coarseness. In answer to Waterland's *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, he also put forth a work, called, *Christian Liberty asserted, and the Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity vindicated*, 1734: and not long after, he sought to take farther revenge on his adversary, by publishing what he strangely miscalled, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Waterland.* To neither of these did Waterland think fit to return an answer. After the death of Dr. Clarke there was not the same inducement to notice Mr. Jackson's performances, as there had been whilst he was living, and might be supposed to approve and even to aid his labours. From the time that Jackson lost this support, he became more and more regardless of the restraints of decorum and the ordinary courtesies of well-trained disputants. To such scurrilities, indeed, as this last piece abounded with, Waterland could not, with any regard to his own personal respectability, condescend to reply. Jackson, however, met

with a pretty sharp rebuke for his *Christian Liberty asserted* from a writer of great learning and ability, at that time anonymous, but known soon afterwards to be Mr. Horbery, of Magdalen college, Oxford; a writer, whose reputation has since been established by other theological writings of great excellence.

There is yet another controversy, in some degree connected with these, since it arose out of some passages in Dr. Clarke's *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, published soon after his decease, which appeared to Dr. Waterland to call for animadversion. But as this controversy turned chiefly upon a different subject, the relative importance of positive and moral duties, and the nature and obligation of the Christian sacraments, it may more conveniently be considered, in conjunction with our author's other writings upon the Eucharist, reserved for a future section.

SECTION V.

WATERLAND'S CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS IN DEFENCE OF CHRISTIANITY AGAINST DEISTS.

THE period in which Dr. Waterland lived was strongly marked by a spirit of hostility, not only against some peculiar doctrines of Christianity, but against Christianity itself. Infidelity and heresy grew and flourished together, as if of kindred natures; and the soil congenial to the one, was found to be no less favourable to the other. Both, perhaps, owe their origin to that overweening pride of intellect, which disdains to receive, as necessary truth, any doctrine not discoverable by its own excogitative powers, or not, at least, in unison with its own preconceived notions of rectitude and fitness. In both also the process of reasoning is similar. The inquirer in each case usually assumes certain positions as the basis of his argument, for which he claims the privilege of indisputable axioms; and then proceeds to try the weight and credibility of Revelation, whether in whole or in part, by this criterion of his own devising. Physics, ethics, metaphysics, are, with him, paramount in authority to any thing which rests on *faith*; and independently of the testimonies by which that faith may be supported, an appeal is made to the arbitrary tribunal of human judgment. In the case of *infidelity*, this, for the most part, is unhesitatingly avowed. In that of *heresy*, though a certain degree of deference may be professed, and even sincerely entertained, for Revelation itself, and

for Scripture, its written voucher; yet the bias of a similar prepossession is almost always apparent. Faith is not absolutely discarded; but is brought into subjection to a domineering spirit, which will never rest until it has made every other authority bend to its decrees.

It appears to have been owing to the prevalence of this spirit, that the course of Deism in this country, for a considerable length of time, ran nearly parallel with that of heterodoxy. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the philosopher of Malmesbury, and Toland, the follower of Spinosa, were contemporary with Biddle, Firmin, and the host of Anti-Trinitarians who poured forth their lucubrations as a counterpoise to the labours of Bishop Bull. In the next generation, Chubb, Morgan, Collins, and Tindal, united their forces against revealed religion; while Whiston, Emlyn, and Clarke were maintaining tenets at variance with some of its essential doctrines. Whoever is conversant with the Anti-Trinitarian writers of the former period will perceive that they wantonly, or inconsiderately, put weapons into the hands of the infidel party; who would hardly fail to render them available to their purpose. So little reverence did they sometimes shew for sacred writ, and so bold and unqualified were their assertions of the supremacy of human judgment in matters of religious belief, that scarcely could the most determined unbeliever desire to have principles conceded to him, better adapted to his own views. The same charge does not, indeed, apply, in an equal degree, to those of the succeeding generation, who controverted some of the received doctrines of the Church.

Whiston, with a strange obliquity of understanding, and some unaccountable prepossessions peculiar to himself, had a strong vein of piety within him, and a certain degree of reverence for Scripture and antiquity, which led him to think somewhat meanly of metaphysical and abstract reasonings upon theological subjects. Dr. Clarke, too, must not be reckoned among those who presumptuously opposed reason to faith, or intentionally undervalued the sacred writings. In the writings also of Emlyn, there is a cast of seriousness, sobriety, and modesty, which indicates a disposition abhorrent of profaneness or irreverence. Yet in all these, and still more in Dr. Clarke's supporters, Whitby, Sykes, and Jackson, the right of human reason to sit in judgment upon Articles of Faith, and to found their credibility or incredibility upon abstract metaphysical truths, is too often either virtually or expressly assumed. Of this, several instances have already been produced in the foregoing pages; and it is manifest, that a considerable part of Dr. Waterland's opposition to their tenets was grounded upon the danger to be apprehended from thus placing the doctrines of Christianity upon a footing which might endanger Christianity itself. He justly deprecated any arguments which might tend to weaken the authority of Scripture, upon points beyond the reach of human faculties, and on which the light of Revelation only could give us adequate information. These he maintained to be the distinct province of *faith* only; and not to be encroached upon by any pretensions of human wisdom.

Among the deistical writers above-mentioned,

there were several who affected not only great regard for natural religion, but so much good-will towards Christianity also, as to be desirous of rendering it conformable to that standard of perfection which human reason would prescribe. Lord Herbert of Cherbury led the way in these insidious professions. Morgan took infinite pains to confound Revelation with reason, and to reduce them both to the same standard. Yet he did not so openly avow his unbelief as some of his coadjutors; and he had taken a part with the Arians in the controversy against Waterland. Chubb, afterwards one of the coarsest and most virulent opponents of Christianity, began his career as a defender of *Arianism*, and was one of those who sought distinction by writing against Waterland[o]. For a while, he appears to have been much in favour with some of Dr. Clarke's friends; who could not, however, give him countenance in the part he subsequently undertook. But the most popular writer of this description was Tindal; who, to give the greater plausibility to his designs, called himself a *Christian deist*, and published his work, entitled, *Christianity as old as the Creation*, for the purpose of proving, that whatever had been revealed either in the Old or the New Testament, which had any pretensions to credibility,

[o] It is said, that his inclination leading him chiefly to theological inquiries, he formed a little society at Salisbury, under his own management and direction, for debating upon such subjects; and the controversy between Clarke and Waterland being brought under the cognizance of this theological assembly, he drew up, at the request of its members, his sentiments upon it, in a dissertation, entitled, *The Supremacy of the Father asserted.*

was merely a republication of the religion of nature; and that no otherwise were men obliged to accept or to believe it, than as derived from that source, the only legitimate authority to which rational beings could be bound to submit.

Soon after this work appeared, in the year 1730, Dr. Waterland published, in answer to it, the first part of his *Scripture vindicated;* in the introduction to which, he observes, that Tindal's book "is "a declamatory libel against *revealed* religion, under "colour and pretence of setting up *natural* religion "in its place;" and that "the author probably had "no more regard for natural religion than he had "for revealed;" the latter being in reality necessary to the support and perfection of the former; which, separated from this, is "without lights sufficient to "explain it, or guards to fence it, or sanctions to "bind it." Dr. Waterland farther remarks, that two purposes are visibly intended in this performance; "one to *vilify the holy Scriptures,* which the author "does very frankly, and without disguise; the other, "to *magnify the law of nature,* which is the artifi- "cial part, and can pass for nothing else but hy- "pocrisy." Dr. Waterland's design was "only upon "the *scriptural* part, to rescue the word of God "from misrepresentation and censure, from the re- "proaches and blasphemies of foolish men."

The texts of Scripture which Dr. W. undertakes to vindicate against this unprincipled scoffer are limited to the Old Testament only; and they are arranged, not in the desultory way in which Tindal introduces them, to give point to his jests and sarcasms; but as they stand in holy writ, so as to

form a regular series of expository illustrations. This *first* part extends no farther than to the end of the book of Genesis.

A work of this description hardly admits of analysis or of abridgment. Its chief requisites are perspicuity, acuteness in the detection of sophistry, and judgment in the selection of such interpretations as are least liable to misconstruction. That Waterland's talents were well suited to such an undertaking, was attested by the general opinion passed upon his former productions; and that they were successfully applied in the present instance may be inferred from this, among other tokens, that few vindications of a similar kind have since been attempted, without borrowing from his stores. He himself, indeed, did not affect novelty or originality in the execution of the design; but referred frequently to the best authorities in our own Church, and among foreign divines, in confirmation of his remarks. Not only was an additional weight and sanction thus given to his Vindication; but the ignorance or perverseness of the infidel writer whom he opposed became so much the more evident, from the proof that his trite and superficial objections had been before repeatedly advanced and refuted. Waterland has clearly shewn, that several of his most pointed sarcasms were the result of no deeper reading or inquiry than the writings of men almost his own contemporaries, and of his own persuasion; particularly those of Lord Shaftesbury, to whom he had evidently been indebted not only for the substance, but the expression, of many of his sentiments.

The matters considered in this first part, though not numerous, are of high importance. The points most largely discussed are the literal interpretation of the fall, the origin of circumcision, and Abraham's offering up of Isaac. The remaining topics relate chiefly to other parts of the history of Abraham, to the origin of language, the institution of sacrifices, the token of the rainbow, the blessing surreptitiously obtained by Jacob, and the history of Judah and Tamar.

It was not to be expected that Dr. Waterland's *mode* of defending Scripture against the attacks of an infidel, who pretended to set up *reason* against Revelation, would pass uncensured either by the Deists themselves, or by those advocates of revealed religion who had given countenance to the favourite maxim, that nothing ought to be enforced as an article of belief, which could not be domonstrated to the satisfaction of every man's private judgment. In opposition to this principle, Waterland, though always disposed to give human reason its full scope upon matters fairly within its reach, hesitated not to vindicate, upon *other* grounds, those which were beyond its sphere. He contended, that *faith* in God's word and *obedience* to His will were sufficient *reasons* for our reliance upon their truth, whether or not it were given us to discover their absolute fitness and expediency. He maintained also, that the actions even of the most exemplary characters in holy writ were to be judged of by their conformity to this rule; that it was sufficient for their justification, if the proof were clear that they acted under

the special injunctions of the Almighty, or were sanctioned by his approval; and that to heap obloquy and ridicule upon them for their conduct in these respects, was not to uphold moral rectitude upon its just and proper principles; but was virtually to cast the imputation of iniquity upon the Divine Lawgiver himself, the Moral Governor of the universe, and thus to undermine the very foundation of all practical religion, obedience to the Divine will.

Sentiments so adverse to the prevailing opinions of most of his opponents did not escape severe animadversion; and charges were heaped upon him of giving advantage and triumph to the cause of infidelity, by placing the vindication of Scripture on untenable ground. Tindal himself, having already smarted under the animadversions of Bishop Gibson's two pastoral Letters, took the opportunity, in a reply to the second of those Letters, to subjoin some *Remarks on Dr. Waterland's Scripture vindicated.* This publication Dr. W. deemed unworthy of reply. Adverting to it, in the opening of his second part of *Scripture vindicated*, he observes, "There has appeared a pamphlet, called, *A second* "*Address*, which pretends to make some exceptions "to what I had written upon the former texts. But "the performance is so low, that my readers would "not excuse my stopping one moment about it. "The author, I perceive, had exhausted himself in "his *great work*, and it is but very little reinforce-"ment we are to expect from him. He has shewn "that he can *rail*, which nobody doubted of: and

" so he might as well have spared himself this new " trouble. He shall say what he pleases, for the pre- " sent, of the *Vindicator*."

A much more considerable adversary, however, now took the field. Dr. Conyers Middleton, from an early period of their academical history, had manifested much personal ill-will towards Waterland, his too successful competitor in literature and in public esteem; and had also already discovered symptoms of a disposition far from favourable to revealed religion. Scarcely could the first part of *Scripture vindicated* have got into general circulation, before it was assailed by this eager disputant, in an anonymous pamphlet, addressed as *A Letter to Dr. Waterland, containing some Remarks on his Vindication of Scripture, in answer to a book, entitled, Christianity as old as the Creation; together with a sketch or plan of another answer to the said book.* 1731. The attack is vehement, but unguarded; offensive in its personalities; rash in its principles and its positions; regardless of consequences that might flow from them; and directed, at all hazards, to the inflicting of a wound upon his adversary, whatever injury might incidentally accrue from it even to religion itself.

After deprecating any disrespectful treatment of deistical writers, and intimating that the most effectual mode of rendering them favourable to Christianity would be to concede to them the principles on which they reason, and to detract somewhat from the entire perfection of the Scriptures, he proceeds to the discussion of those points in which he conceives the sacred writings to be most vulnera-

ble, and Dr. Waterland's Vindication to have most completely failed. The Mosaic account of the fall he treats as a *mystical fable;* and ridicules, in every variety of contemptuous expression, its *literal* interpretation. The institution of *circumcision* he conceives to rest upon no satisfactory proof of *Divine* authority; but to have been evidently borrowed by Moses from the Egyptians. In touching upon this topic, he recommends "moderate and qualified senti-" ments concerning the *Divine origin* of the *Jewish* " *religion*, and the *Divine inspiration* of its *founder*, " *Moses;* which will otherwise prove a stumbling-" block to men of understanding." The account of the confusion at Babel is also given up, as unworthy of credit. Having dwelt at considerable length upon these subjects, and protested against the *plenary* inspiration of the Scriptures, he proceeds to his plan of *another* answer to Tindal's book. This plan consists almost entirely of arguments grounded upon *hypothetical concessions* to the Deists; in order to convince them, that "should we allow *Christianity* " to be a *mere imposture*, on a level only with all " the *other impostures* that have obtained in the " world, it would not be difficult to shew from the " *dictates of reason*, that an attempt to overturn it, " as it is now established by *law, derived* from *our* " *ancestors*, confirmed by the belief and practice of " *so many ages*, must be *criminal and immoral.*" Upon this notable plan, the author would undertake to build the only defence of Christianity, that men of reason and understanding can approve!

It was unnecessary for Waterland himself to undertake the castigation of this performance. Though

anonymous, its author was sufficiently known; and that the sentiments it contained should issue from such a quarter, was deeply felt as a discredit reflected upon the Church, and upon religion itself. The foremost among those who animadverted upon its contents was Dr. Zachary Pearce, who published, but without his name, *A Reply to the Letter to Dr. Waterland, setting forth the many falsehoods, both in the quotations and the historical facts, by which the Letter-Writer had endeavoured to weaken the authority of Moses.* This tract is very dispassionately, ably, and successfully argued. Its design was not so much to defend Dr. W. or to enter into the dispute betwixt him and Tindal, as to expostulate with the *Letter-Writer* on the gross mistatements in his pamphlet. This was done with so much spirit and effect, that Middleton felt it necessary to put forth (though not till nearly a year afterwards) *A Defence of the Letter to Dr. Waterland.* Here he evidently betrayed a consciousness of having rashly committed himself upon certain points vitally affecting the credibility of the Mosaic history, and of having hazarded opinions, or insinuations, at least, exceedingly difficult to reconcile with the Scripture-records. He endeavours to shake off the imputation of scepticism, and of prejudice against revealed religion, by declaring himself to be "*a true friend to* "*Christianity*," and by reiterated and vehement complaints, that any suspicions to the contrary should have been entertained of him. He expresses, however, a wish to "explain himself more clearly in "some points, where, contrary to his intention, he "might perhaps have given offence." Yet on these

points no such explanation as might remove the suspicions is to be found. His *Defence* is chiefly confined to matters of criticism, and to the falsifications charged upon him in the *Reply*. His dexterity in repelling or evading his adversary's blows, his spirit and vigour in seizing the opportunity of any fresh assault, his undaunted ease and effrontery under every advantage or disadvantage in the contest, discover talents and attainments of a superior order. But the unfortunate bias his mind had probably received at an earlier period was undoubtedly increased by acrimonious *personal* feelings; and this, together with a disdain of control, and a contempt for received opinions on matters where individual judgment ought least confidently to be trusted, rendered him captious, inconsiderate, and overbearing. Dr. Pearce had the advantage of qualities better suited than these to the purpose he had taken in hand. His abilities were solid, his acquirements extensive and highly respectable, his temper firm and even, his learning sound, his sentiments under the regulation of the purest religious principles. He felt accordingly a proper degree of confidence in the cause he had espoused; and was not deterred by the contumelies heaped upon him by his opponent, from returning to the conflict. This he did in *A Reply to the Defence of the Letter to Dr. Waterland*, published in 1732.

In this *Reply* fifteen charges of misquotation before alleged are re-considered, and Dr. Middleton's defence of them is shewn to be evasive and inefficient. But the *Defence* having more fully disclosed the author's sentiments upon some points affecting

the *authority of Moses*, the latter part of the *Reply* examines at large what had been offered upon these two questions; *Whether Moses's account of the creation and fall of man is to be understood literally, or not;* and *whether the religion and laws which he delivered to the Jews had a Divine origin and authority:* and Dr. Pearce clearly shews that Dr. M. had at last reduced himself to the dilemma, of either retracting some of his opinions, or of ranging himself on the side of those who deemed the authority of Moses to be scarcely better substantiated than that of any legislator, real or fabulous, of heathen antiquity.

Dr. Middleton's character as a believer in revealed religion being thus at stake, he again came forth with *Some Remarks* on the Reply; *wherein* (as the title-page states) *the author's sentiments, as to all the principal points in dispute, are fully and clearly explained in the manner that has been promised.* This pamphlet, therefore, may fairly be regarded as the author's *ultimatum* upon these points; and accordingly, after again going over much of the same ground as before, in repelling the charge of misquotations and falsifications, he takes up the main question of the *authority of Moses.* He acknowledges *a general belief of the Divine origin and inspiration of the books of the Old and New Testament;* which he thinks ought to have been presumed from his having before declared himself to be *a sincere Christian.* Respecting Moses, he allows him to "have been *a great* "*prophet and lawgiver*, who in an *extraordinary* "*and miraculous* manner was *favoured, assisted,*

" *and inspired by God in the institution of his laws* " *and religion*, and consequently had a *Divine au-* " *thority*, which is frequently appealed to and con- " firmed *in the New Testament.*" He asserts, nevertheless, "that we are under no obligation of *rea-* " *son* or *religion*, to believe that *the Scriptures are* " *of absolute and universal inspiration;*" and the contrary opinion he holds to be " *necessary to a ra-* " *tional defence of religion.*" He alleges the attention of Moses to the suggestions of his father-in-law Jethro respecting the appointment of judges over the Israelites, and some supposed inconsistencies in the narratives of the evangelists, in refutation of the received opinion, that Moses and the Evangelists were under *the perpetual influence of a Divine unerring Spirit.* After more to the same effect, he states the general result of his own view of the subject to be as follows. " 1. That the *Jews* borrowed some " of their ceremonies and customs from *Egypt.* " 2. That the *Egyptians* were in possession of arts " and learning in Moses's time. 3. That the primi- " tive writers, in order to vindicate Scripture, thought " it necessary in some cases to recur to *allegory.* " 4. That the Scriptures are not of *absolute and uni-* " *versal inspiration.*" In conclusion he adds, " If " *religion* indeed consists in what *our modern apo-* " *logists* seem to place it, the *depreciating moral* " *duties*, and the *depressing natural reason;* if *the* " *duty of it* be, what their practice seems to inti- " mate, to *hate*, and *persecute for a different way* " *of thinking*, in points where the best and wisest " have never agreed; then I declare myself an *infi-* " *del*, and to have no share of *that religion.* But if

" to *live strictly* and *think freely*; to practise *what* " *is moral*, and to believe *what is rational*, be con- " sistent with *the sincere profession of Christianity*; " then I shall always acquit myself like one of *its* " *truest professors*." In this statement there is undoubtedly much that is less exceptionable, or more plausible at least, than in what had before dropped from his pen; conveyed also in a tone and temper somewhat subdued, though still reluctant to yield. Throughout the tract, considerable anxiety is shewn, to stand better than he had done in the estimation of the public. But there is still a great want of ingenuousness and fair dealing, in the representation both of his own sentiments and of those of his opponents. No line of distinction is drawn between the *authority* which attaches to every part of a generally inspired writing, whatever its subject may be, and the absolute *dictation* of every part by the direct interposition of the Holy Spirit. All his opponents are presumed to contend for the *latter*; and he himself, he would pretend, never disputed against the *former*. Yet the advocates for the *plenary* inspiration of Scripture are driven to no necessity of maintaining more than the absolute and universal *authority* of *every portion* of it, as written under that Divine superintendence which guarded the writers from error and falsehood; whilst, on the other hand, on Dr. M.'s hypothesis, of an occasional and partial superintendence only, an opening is left, (of which he shewed a most ready disposition to avail himself,) to get rid of the *Divine authority* of any part of the sacred word, which did not approve itself to his judgment. Thus he might take what liberties he pleased in culling from Scripture so

much only as would accord with *his* system, and regard the rest as of no more weight than mere human writings. In like manner, if religion were allowed to *depress natural reason*, he would have *no share* in it, and was ready to declare himself an *infidel*. If it would allow him to *think freely*, and to believe only *what is rational*, he was content to act like one of its *truest professors*. Who does not see the purpose and tendency of this contrast; that it is meant to represent all who repose *faith* in Revelation upon the ground of its Divine authority and inspiration, as *irrational* believers; and those only as *rational*, who pay *no other* deference to it, than that which they would yield to any *human* compositions which agreed with their own sentiments and persuasions?

Here this controversy terminated, so far as Dr. Pearce was concerned in it; though Middleton, in the following year, published his *Remarks on some Observations*, addressed to him by another writer, respecting the foregoing pamphlets. No new matter was, however, brought forward; nor any thing remarkable, except the increased solicitude shewn by the author, to clear himself from the imputations which were now so generally fastened upon him.

During the above dispute, Dr. Waterland, not at all diverted from his purpose, proceeded in his design, without taking any share in these collateral discussions. The *second* part of his *Scripture vindicated* was published in 1731, not long after the first. It carries on the examination of texts objected to by Tindal, from the book of Exodus to the second book of Kings. These are much more numerous, than in the first part; and of not less importance. The per-

sonal character and conduct of Moses, the destruction of the Canaanites, the miracles of Joshua, the narratives of Balaam, of Jael, of Jephthah, and other incidents in the Book of Judges, the history and character of David, the conduct of Elijah and Elisha, with many other occurrences familiar to infidel writers, as standing subjects for the exercise of their malicious ingenuity, are touched with a masterly hand, and cleared from that odious colouring with which Tindal had disguised them. A strong and affecting expostulation is then addressed to the author himself, on the wickedness and folly of his attempts to bereave mankind of their best hopes and their most salutary fears, by undermining the only effectual *sanctions* of morality itself, and the expectation of a future state; and his conduct in this respect is likened to the most flagitious of the ancient Epicureans, in their endeavours to root out every sentiment of religion and virtue from the human mind.

To this *second* part of our author's work is subjoined a *Postscript, in answer to such as pretend that the bulk of mankind, for* 4000 *years, were without Revelation, and had no other guide but reason.* This was occasioned by a tract which Dr. Sykes had then recently published, entitled, *The true Foundations of Natural and Revealed Religion asserted,* in answer to Dr. Waterland's Supplement to his treatise, on the Nature and Obligation of the Sacraments. The matter of the *postscript,* however, extends only to the point above stated, as having a more immediate connection with his *Scripture vindicated;* in the first part of which it had been

briefly noticed, in refutation of one of Tindal's cavils. The point itself is certainly of considerable importance, and has often been satisfactorily cleared, for the removal of any prejudice that may arise from it to the credibility of revealed religion. Dr. W. briefly, but fully, considers the question; and shews that the objections raised upon it by Dr. Sykes and others are not warranted, either by the facts of the case, or by the reasoning grounded upon them; since there is no conclusive evidence, that, during the 4000 years before the coming of Christ, "the bulk "of mankind, or any considerable number of them, "were ever left so destitute of *opportunities*, or so "barred from all access to divine *Revelation*, as the "objection supposes." Nor can it be proved that during that time "either the religion or the *mora-* "*lity* which the Pagans had, (so far as it was *true* "and *right*,) was wrought out by mere *reason*, or "that it was not in a great measure the remains of "ancient *Revelation*, handed down by *tradition*." To ground an argument, therefore, upon this, for the *sufficiency* of mere *natural light*, or unassisted *reason*, is supposing what is incapable of proof, and what is, more probably, contrary to *fact*. There is also another fallacy in thus pleading the *sufficiency of reason*. To speak of it as *absolutely* sufficient, is to contradict its own suggestions, since it perpetually makes us sensible of its *insufficiency* in matters of religious truth. This is one of its first lessons. That it may be *sufficient*, where there is *nothing else*, to excuse *invincible ignorance*, we may hope and believe; but not to excuse *neglect* or *disregard* of the *light* and *knowledge* superadded by *Revela-*

tion. And, after all, it is only through the merits of Christ, that the *honest endeavours* even of the most blind and ignorant will be mercifully accepted.

Dr. Sykes published a short *answer* to this *post-script*, complaining that he had been misrepresented as "*depreciating the use of Revelation*;" restating his former argument, that "*if reason* be not a *suffi-* "*cient guide* in matters of religion, a great part of "mankind had *no sufficient guide* to direct them in "their duties;" and inferring from thence, "*the suf-* "*ficiency of reason* to direct men to all that was ne- "cessary for them to know;" since "God would be "*unjust* and *cruel*, if he required *duty* where men "had not *sufficient* means to acquaint them with "it." Against the evidences adduced by Waterland, to shew the probability that mankind had not in general been so destitute as Dr. Sykes had presumed them to be, of any aid but that of their own reason and the light of nature; he insists, that there being no positive proof from Scripture that Revelation had been vouchsafed to any but a small portion of mankind, and not even to *them*, for the purpose of instructing them in the knowledge of God and of moral duties; all such conjectures are of no avail; and therefore, it is still to be maintained, that reason alone might be, and must have been sufficient, to teach the *immortality of the soul*, to shew them *how* to serve God acceptably, and also *how* a sinner might be reconciled to God after he had offended him. This he asserts must have been the case even with Adam, with Noah, with Abraham, and with all the Patriarchs; to whom it is not expressly said, that the doctrine of the soul's immortality, or any mode

of religious worship, or any code of moral duty was taught by *Revelation*. Such is the substance of the argument by which the author thinks he has established the *sufficiency of reason*; meaning, as he declares, by that term, "that men are enabled, in virtue "of the powers they have to think and judge, to "discover every duty that is required of them, in "order to their being accepted by God." Yet is he indignant beyond measure, that he should be charged with *depreciating the use of Revelation*.

Dr. Waterland pursued this controversy no farther; but went on to the completion of his *third* part of *Scripture vindicated*, published in 1732, and which extends through the remaining books of the Old Testament. Various passages in the Book of Job, the Psalms, and the Prophets, charged by infidel writers with inconsistency, injustice, or absurdity, are here examined; and occasionally some collateral topics are entered into, tending to their further elucidation. No extraneous matter, however, is attached to this part, either in the way of preface or of appendix. The author only intimates, in the last paragraph of the work, that "there remained still some "texts of the *New Testament*, which the objector "had been tampering with, in the same way, and "which," (he adds,) "if God grants me life and "health, will be all distinctly considered in a *fourth* "*part*, to follow this in due time." This fourth part, however, was never published. Whether it was ever taken in hand, or why it was laid aside, does not appear.

The above three parts of *Scripture vindicated* were afterwards republished in one volume; and to

a subsequent edition of them was prefixed a *general preface*, or preliminary dissertation "concerning the "*various kinds* of interpretation of Scripture, and "of the *several names* which they have or may go "under." These are distinguished into three kinds, *literal*, *figurative*, and *mystical*. The *literal* admits of a subdivision into two main branches, *historical* and *doctrinal*. Of the *figurative*, there may be as many kinds as there are *tropes* or *figures* of rhetoric. *Mystical interpretation* (whether of words or things) is distributed into four several kinds, *parabolical*, *symbolical*, *typical*, and *allegorical*. All these are explained with our author's accustomed accuracy, and are illustrated by apposite examples; the whole forming an excellent elementary treatise for theological students, as well as for more general use. At the time when it was written, this subject had not been *systematically* treated by any of our English Divines. Glassius's *Philologia sacra* was the chief work of the kind among foreign writers; and to this work Dr. Waterland acknowledges his obligations.

Another production, of a lighter kind, but executed with much spirit and vivacity, was published by our author about the same time, entitled, *A Defence of the Lord Bishop of St. David's; particularly in relation to the charge of persecution: in answer to Jonathan Jones, Esq.* 1730. This was written, in consequence of a virulent attack upon the Bishop (Dr. Smalbroke) by an obscure infidel writer; of whom, or his pamphlet, no farther information has been obtained, than that which is supplied by Waterland's answer. It bore the

title of *Instructions to the Right Reverend Richard, Lord Bishop of St. David's, in Defence of Religious Liberty, by Jonathan Jones, Esquire.* Whether this was a real or a fictitious name is doubtful. Probably, it was assumed for the purpose; the pamphlet being nothing more than a railing accusation against the Bishop, as an instigator to persecution, and an enemy to religious liberty; and the *gravamen* of the charge consisted in the Bishop's having recommended, that some restraints should be imposed upon licentious infidel writers, and the laws more strictly enforced against them.

The usual topics brought forward by writers of this description, in claiming the unlimited right of private judgment, appear to have been pressed by Mr. Jonathan Jones with no small portion of flippancy, conceit, and confidence. But, as Dr. Waterland observes, "it is not merely liberty of "*private judgment*, that the fraternity are con- "tending for, but liberty of setting up as apostles of "infidelity, in opposition to the Christian guides, and "to draw away people from paying any respect or "deference to CHRIST and his religion:" and when they clamour against the laws which punish blasphemy and profaneness, irreligion and immorality, they confound *persecution* with *prosecution;* as if there were no difference between being punished "for *religion*, for *conscience*, for *truth*," and being punished "for *no religion, no conscience, no truth.*" The author had vehemently charged the Bishop with taking vengeance out of the hands of the Almighty, with maintaining religion by fire and sword, and calling upon the sovereign to "cease to be the Father

" of his people, that he may become defender of the " faith," and to " force them, against their consent, to " become orthodox believers." In which, says Waterland, there is not one word of truth. " What is " desired is, that petulant, blaspheming libellers may " be prosecuted according to law; may be forced, " against their will, to become modest, quiet, inoffen- " sive, and may no longer fly in the face of the Esta- " blishment, and defy all laws, sacred and civil." Mr. Jonathan Jones was no less indignant, it seems, with the *judges* also, for having authoritatively declared Christianity to be a *part of the common law of England*, and that *all attempts to subvert it are punishable by common law;* whilst the advocates for Christianity maintained, that " the more freely it is " discussed, the more firmly it will stand." But, replies Dr. W. these judgments " may both be very " right, and very consistent with each other: for the " one speaks of the *natural* and *general* tendency of " a thing; the other of the *accidental* effect. Rebel- " lion often serves *accidentally* to strengthen a go- " vernment, while its *natural* or *general* tendency is " destructive of it. For which reason a rebel, though " accidentally serviceable to the crown, yet deserves " to be hanged for rebelling." But Mr. J. Jones insists, that this would be " a total restraint upon all religi- " ous inquiries, and all arguments in general, on any " subject, whether pleasant or grave." As to which plea, that all *religious inquiries* would be restrained, D. W. observes, " he should have said, *irreligious*, " which is quite the contrary, and alters the whole " state of the argument. For he must not bear us in " hand, that libelling Christ Jesus, flouting his mira-

" cles, running riot against both Testaments, and poi-
" soning the minds of the people, can come under the
" soft name of *religious inquiries*. Mere inquiries
" do not satisfy these gentlemen, but they deal
" abroad their instructions, obtruding themselves as
" guides, listing proselytes, and forming a sect;
" which is something more than making inquiries."
Again; to the common-place objection, that the advo-
cates of Christianity betray a want of confidence in
their arguments in defence of it, by endeavouring to
deter others from answering them, Dr. W. replies,
" that be their arguments or replies ever so full and
" unanswerable, yet possibly they may not spread
" fast enough, nor far enough, to undo the mis-
" chiefs which infidels have been doing;"—that "ar-
" guments are feeble artillery against insults;"—that
" if infidels escape with impunity, they will pre-
" sently renew the same wicked calumnies, though
" abundantly before confuted;"—that others also
" may revive the same calumnies, or invent greater, if
" not deterred by some exemplary severities;"—" that
" libels against Christianity should not be thrown
" among readers of every description, though answers
" immediately be sent after them; for where a con-
" stitution is infirm, the antidote may be insufficient
" to expel the poison;" and that it were " endless to
" permit every ignorant impertinent disputant to
" pelt Christianity, and impose upon weak readers,
" only that wiser and good men, who could employ
" their time better, may be constantly exercised in
" answering their scurrilities." " If," he adds, " it be
" reasonable to suffer men to be assaulted and
" wounded, because surgeons may heal; or poison

" to be administered, because physicians may cure;
" or firebrands to be thrown abroad, because some-
" body may quench them; then may it be reasona-
" ble to permit infidels to propagate irreligion, be-
" cause the pious Clergy may (if perchance they
" may) stop the effect of it. In all other cases of
" like nature, wise men are used to trust more to
" early precautions than to after remedies."

In a similar strain, many other petulant objections of this writer are repelled; and the whole answer, short as it is, excites an interest far beyond that of a temporary and fugitive publication. Almost every part of it is as perfectly applicable to the conduct of the low infidels of the present day, and their incessant outrages against the religion and the laws of their country, as if it had been written for that purpose; and, perhaps, a better exposure of their views and principles could hardly be desired, than is contained in these few pages.

This Defence of the Bishop of St. David's appeared just before our author's publication of the *first* part of his *Scripture vindicated.* Two of his *Charges* upon the subject of *infidelity* intervened also between the *second* and *third* parts of that work. But these will be noticed, together with his other Charges, in a subsequent section.

To the foregoing account may here be subjoined some brief notice of two or three of Dr. Waterland's minor productions, of a miscellaneous description; which, in the present edition of his Works, form a part of the same volume with those which have just been mentioned.

The first of these is entitled, *Advice to a young Student;* a short essay, drawn up, as the author states, for the private use of his pupils, while he was an University Tutor, and not intended for publication; but having, without his knowledge or intention, found its way to the press, in an incorrect state, and altered for the worse, he thought it necessary to reprint it more than twenty years after it had been first written. So slight a performance, and appearing under circumstances so disadvantageous, is hardly to be made a subject of criticism. It contains, however, some excellent hints for a course of studies and of conduct; and although its utility may in a great measure be superseded by the improved state of academical education and discipline in later times, it is valuable as a standing memorial of the author's diligence, zeal, and qualifications, as a College Tutor.

The next piece is a *recommendatory Preface to the second edition of Mr. Blair's Sermons;* giving a short account of the author and his writings. Mr. Blair, in the stations he filled, first as Missionary, and then as the Bishop's Commissary, in Virginia, appears to have been a most useful and exemplary man, and highly esteemed by Bishops Compton, Robinson, and Gibson, under whom he held the above-mentioned office for upwards of fifty years. Archbishop Wake and other persons of distinction in the Church are mentioned as encouraging the publication of these Discourses, which comprise a full explanation of our Lord's sermon on the mount. Dr. Waterland, after speaking of them as "a valuable treasure of "*sound divinity*, of *practical Christianity*," makes

some just observations upon the importance and the *difficulty* of becoming a complete *practical Divine*, able "to bring down the most important "truths to the level of a *popular audience*; to "adapt them properly to *times, persons*, and *circum-* "*stances*; to guard them against *latent* prejudices "and *secret* subterfuges; and to enforce them with "a becoming earnestness, and with all the prudent "ways of insinuation and address. A person (he "adds) must have some knowledge of *men*, besides "that of *books*, to succeed well here; and must have "a kind of *practical sagacity*, (which nothing but "the grace of God, joined with recollection and wise "observation, can bring,) to be able to represent "truths to the life, or to any considerable degree of "advantage." Mr. Blair's Sermons correspond well with this description. They are much above the ordinary level of popular discourses, though remarkably plain, familiar, and unaffected.

The last of these publications is a tract entitled, *Regeneration stated and explained*, being the substance of two Sermons delivered at Twickenham and at Windsor, upon the text, Titus iii. 4, 5, 6, which Dr. W. shews is to be interpreted of *water-baptism*, and is nearly parallel to our Lord's declaration to Nicodemus, John iii. 5. "The general "doctrine," he observes, "both of our Lord and of "St. Paul in those texts is, that *water* applied out- "wardly to the body, together with the *grace* of "the Spirit applied inwardly to the soul, *regene-* "*rates* the man: or, in other words, the Holy Spi- "rit, in and by the use of water-baptism, causes the "*new birth*." This is the doctrine here maintained

by Dr. Waterland; who explains at large "the "name and notion of *regeneration*," and also of the "*renewing*" spoken of by the Apostle as distinct from *regeneration;* the former comprising all that relates to the nature and efficacy of the sacrament of Baptism; the latter whatsoever is further necessary towards securing the benefits obtained by that sacrament.

About the time that this tract was written and published, (in the year 1739,) Wesley and Whitfield had begun to make proselytes to their new modes of preaching, and had succeeded in drawing multitudes after them, by their fanatical views of the gospel system. *Regeneration* was one of their most frequent and favourite topics; and served, according to *their* acceptation of it, as the groundwork of that delusive scheme of *spiritual experiences*, or *inward perceptible motions of the Spirit*, which, in common with some other enthusiastic sects, they strenuously inculcated. The necessity of being *born again* and made *new creatures*, is, indeed clearly the doctrine of Scripture. But, separating this *spiritual* regeneration from the *baptismal*, they "en- "deavoured to explain away the *outward* part, re- "solving all into the *inward* part, or thing signified, "namely, the grace of the Spirit;" and thus, while they rendered Baptism, in effect, a nugatory and unavailing ordinance, they necessarily led the believer to seek for some *other* proof that he was actually regenerated. This proof their disciples were taught to expect in the perception of certain divine impulses, or impressions *immediately* proceeding from the Spirit of God, and the influence of which it would be im-

possible for them to resist. In this fundamental error, it will be found that the opinions of Wesley and Whitfield nearly coincide, whatever difference might subsist between them on other points. The one as a Calvinist, and the other as an Arminian, might and did very materially differ in their respective views of *predestination:* but as to the necessity of *personal election*, they were both agreed; and also as to the kind of *evidence* by which this was to be ascertained, to the infallible conviction of the favoured individual. Their harmony of opinion on this point seems to be still the main bond of union between the two great parties of Wesley's and Whitfield's followers; and when such a persuasion has once got possession of the mind, it sets reasoning at defiance. It opens an inlet to every wild imagination; and by making the whole of vital religion to depend only upon internal feelings, renders it amenable to no higher authority than that of the individual himself.

A thorough investigation of the whole subject was therefore peculiarly seasonable at the time when Dr. Waterland turned his attention to it; nor could the discussion have fallen into abler hands. Without any personal notice of these new enthusiasts, not only *their* errors, but those of less exceptionable writers, are refuted; not in the spirit of controversy, but by a plain and lucid exposition of the doctrine, as deducible from Scripture, reason, and antiquity, and in connection with the whole system of our redemption. The tract itself being brief and comprehensive, to attempt an abridgment of it, would be doing it injustice. The recent controversies, however, which unhappily have arisen on

this essential point of doctrine, render a recurrence to such a treatise as this almost imperative upon every one sincerely and impartially desirous of forming an accurate conception of it. Nothing can be more simple and intelligible than the exposition here given; nothing more exactly conformable with the Scriptures, and with the Articles and Formularies of our Church: nor does it appear that any direct attempts to controvert it have been made, either at the time of its appearance, or by those who have lately revived, with so much zeal and vehemence, opinions of an opposite tendency.

This was almost the last of our author's works which he lived to publish.

SECTION VI.

CONTROVERSIES RESPECTING THE EUCHARIST.

WE have already had abundant proof of Dr. Waterland's great versatility of talent, and of the extraordinary extent of his acquirements, in his polemical writings against the Arians and Deists. His depth of knowledge in Scripture and in ecclesiastical antiquity, his judgment in discriminating between what was essential and what was non-essential to the questions brought under discussion, and his stedfastness, as well as skill and prudence, in confining his labours to the former, and not unnecessarily wasting his strength upon the latter, were continually put to the trial, by opponents of consummate dexterity and of determined perseverance. By these his spirit was continually excited, his energies called forth; and his inexhaustible vigour and vivacity disposed him to take an active part in the prevailing discussions and disputes on matters of religion, whenever they were such as he deemed likely to affect any of the vital interests of Christianity.

But, besides these general incitements to the exertion of his talents, an evident *connection* may be observed between the several controversies in which he bore a part, which would naturally lead him on from one to the other, as they successively arose. His Arian opponents (as has been already observed) not unfrequently betrayed sentiments, of which infidels would hardly fail to take advantage in support of their own views. If human reason were set up as

sole or chief arbiter in deciding upon matters of faith, the Deist would readily perceive that a first principle was conceded to him, which might greatly facilitate his endeavours to establish the all-sufficiency of the religion of nature. If unbelievers saw that even Christian Divines were labouring to distort the language of Scripture from its plain, obvious, and generally received signification, in order to avoid the admission of doctrines which they treated as contradictory to reason; it was but a step farther, to question the credibility of Scripture itself. If, again, some of these speculative theologians had formed mean and unworthy conceptions, not only of the mysterious *doctrines* of Revelation, but also of its peculiar *rites* and *institutions*, and had held them up as insignificant and worthless, when compared with those *moral* duties which (as it was contended) reason, of itself, might discover and dictate; in this strain also would the sceptic and the scoffer most readily join; well aware, that they were thus furnished with some of the most plausible pretexts for discarding altogether a system, reduced so greatly in value and estimation, even by its professed advocates, as to present scarcely any thing worth acceptance, which might not be obtained without it.

In this point of view Dr. Waterland seems to have contemplated the progress of those opinions which he most zealously controverted. It was not only their own inherent errors or defects, but their tendency to weaken the general faith of Christians, and to injure the very foundations of revealed religion, that he so earnestly deprecated. The probability of these consequences was indeed, on the other hand,

confidently denied; and the apprehension of them was treated as weak and ridiculous: nor did the parties forbear to express their strong resentment, that any such surmises should be harboured against them. But that these were not merely imaginary fears, the writings of the enemies of revealed religion too clearly proved. Nor was Waterland himself a man disposed to charge such consequences lightly upon his opponents. He was capable of taking enlarged and rational views of every subject of his inquiry. No indications of superstitious weakness, of credulity, or enthusiasm, are discoverable in any of his writings. On the contrary, he guarded, most carefully, against extremes on either side.

The circumstances which first led him to publish his sentiments upon the doctrine of the Eucharist, arose out of a controversy with Dr. Sykes, in its commencement more immediately connected with that which he had maintained against Dr. Clarke's view of the doctrine of the Trinity.

Dr. Clarke died in 1729, leaving, revised and prepared for the press, an *Exposition of the Church Catechism;* "which was published," says Bishop Hoadley, "according to his own express desire, the "same year of his death." In the following year came forth Dr. Waterland's *Remarks* on this *Exposition;* animadverting upon several passages which he deemed likely to mislead incautious readers. These censures relate rather to *omissions* of certain points which ought to have been brought forward, or to some heterodox opinions obscurely insinuated, than to any express declarations of exceptionable doctrine. Dr. Clarke studiously inculcated, that re-

ligious *worship* should be paid to the *Father* only, *through* the Son, and *in* the Holy Spirit; implying, that it is not paid to either of these as their own due, but only through or by them, ultimately to the *Father*. He represented also the work of *redemption*, and that of *sanctification*, to be from the *Father* only, *by* the Son and the Holy Ghost; as if *these* were merely *instruments* in *His* hand; and that, consequently, to HIM, and not to them, is the glory exclusively to be ascribed. Other passages of similar tendency occur in this treatise, more or less derogating from the essential Divinity of our Lord and of the Holy Spirit; passages, which our author illustrates by reference to others in Dr. Clarke's *Modest Plea*, expressing more fully and unreservedly what is covertly advanced in this *Exposition*.

Dr. Waterland observes farther, that Dr. Clarke, in explaining that answer in the Catechism which states our belief in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, "says nothing of GOD the Son, "or GOD the Holy Ghost: he never asserts the *Di-* "*vinity* of either, never so much as gives them the "title of GOD:"—moreover that the titles and attributes ascribed to the Son and the Holy Ghost, as well as to the Father, were so interpreted by Dr. C. as to adapt them to those *lower* notions of their Divinity, which he had elsewhere maintained. Even the form of *baptism*, in the name of each Person in the Trinity, he explained in such a way as to denote that we are dedicated to the *service* and *worship* of God the *Father* only.

These were points which had already been debated between Dr. Clarke and Dr. Waterland, in

their former controversy. The subsequent *Remarks* introduced a fresh topic, not, indeed, unconnected with the others, but which had not before been brought into discussion, though in itself of no inconsiderable importance.

On the sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*, Dr. W. objects that the *Exposition* is by no means full and satisfactory; since the account given of the *atonement* by Christ seems to place all its efficacy in our Lord's pure and spotless character, not in any inherent *propitiatory* virtue belonging to it; nor, as Dr. W. observes, is it conceivable, that, "supposing Christ to "be a *creature* only, he could have such a degree of "merit, by any thing he could do or suffer, as "thereby to purchase pardon for a whole world of "sinners."

Again; the *Exposition* imperfectly stated the sense in which the Eucharist may be called a *sacrifice*; ascribing to it that character in no higher acceptation than might be ascribed to any other service of praise and thanksgiving; not taking into account that it is a solemn commemoration and representation to God of the sacrifice offered on the cross, and an act of covenant also, in which we lay claim to that, as our *expiation*, and feast upon it, as our *peace-offering*.

The same inadequate representation is charged upon the *Exposition*, respecting the *benefits* of this holy sacrament; which Dr. Clarke represented to be nothing more than that assurance of blessing and assistance from God which accompany *all* religious and virtuous habits; benefits arising naturally from the good dispositions of the recipient, and not from

any special gifts of grace, or spiritual advantages, communicated through the medium of the sacrament itself. Dr. Clarke, indeed, expressly says "of "the two *sacraments*, in common with other posi- "tive institutions, that they have the nature only of "*means to an end*, and that therefore they are never "to be compared with moral virtues." On the contrary, Dr. W. contends, that "*moral virtues* are "rather to be considered as means to an end, be- "cause they are *previous* qualifications for the sa- "craments, and have no proper efficacy towards pro- "curing salvation, till they are improved and ren- "dered acceptable by these Christian performances." He asks, "What is the exercise of *moral* virtue, but "the exercise of *obedience* to some law, suppose of "charity or justice? But the worthy receiving of the "sacrament of the Lord's Supper is at once an "exercise of *obedience* to the law of Christ, and of "*faith*, of *worship*, and of *repentance*, and carries "in it the strongest incitement, not only to all *mo-* "*ral virtues*, but to all *Christian graces*." Neither is there good reason "for slighting *positive institu-* "*tions* in general, in comparison with *moral* vir- "tue." Man's first offence was breaking a *positive precept*. Abraham's obedience to a *positive command* obtained for him the special favour of God. Obedience to *positive* institutions is an exercise, and sometimes the *noblest* and *best* exercise, of that *love of God*, which is the *first* and *great* commandment: and there may be, in some cases, greater excellency and more real virtue in obeying *positive* precepts, than in any *moral* virtue. Not that these should be opposed to each other; since both are necessary,

and perfective of each other. "But," he adds, "if "they must be opposed and compared, I say, *moral* "*virtue* is but the handmaid leading to the door of "salvation, which the use of the sacraments at "length opens, and lets us in."

Dr. Sykes, who had already distinguished himself as a warm friend of Dr. Clarke, and a strenuous advocate of his opinions, immediately stepped forward, in defence of the *Exposition*, against these *Remarks*. "The *Remarks*," says Dr. Disney, in his Memoirs of Dr. Sykes, "appear to be the effusions of a cap- "tious and impatient adversary, more attached to "the defence of the notions of an established theolo- "gical system, than to that fair and candid reasoning "which so well become the inquirers after, and ad- "vocates of truth, and to which the very name of "Dr. Clarke was justly entitled." And Dr. Sykes, he tells us, not only "from having been many years "united with him in general sentiment and personal "friendship," but "from an ardent desire to draw "aside that veil, which others were eager to throw "over every liberal inquiry into Scripture-truth, was "readily induced to examine these Remarks on the "catechetical lectures of Dr. Clarke." Such reflections may come with characteristic propriety from Dr. Disney, an open seceder from our Church, and avowedly hostile to her doctrine and her establishment. But it was matter of just complaint, with respect both to Dr. Clarke and Dr. Sykes, that, professing adherence to the Church, and to hold communion with her in faith and practice, they yet laboured to introduce their own individual opinions,

in opposition to those of the "established theolo-" gical system;" and that, therefore, whatever claim they might have, in their own estimation, and in that of others, to the character of "liberal inquirers " after Scripture-truth," they were, in effect, undermining the system which, as ministers in that Church, they were pledged to uphold. And though, perhaps, it may be allowed, that, in some instances, Dr. Waterland's remarks are pushed further than the very expressions of the *Exposition* may seem at first to warrant; yet, when the intent and purpose of the writer is judged of by his *former* writings in conjunction with *this*, there can hardly be a doubt in the mind of any impartial reader, that the *Remarks* impute to the *Exposition* no more than it was really intended to convey.

This indeed might be inferred from the line of defence chiefly taken by Dr. Sykes. Here and there a charge is rebutted with considerable effect. But, for the most part, the omissions or insinuations noted by Waterland are *vindicated*, rather than *disproved*. Much is also said in derogation of the authority of the Church, of the primitive Fathers, and of Creeds, and Confessions of Faith; the same in substance with Dr. Clarke's memorable rule, in the first edition of his Scripture-Doctrine, and with Dr. Sykes's own notions of *Arian-subscription* to the Articles of our Church. The same laxity is contended for respecting *fundamental* doctrines; and the old arguments are again urged, to lessen the force of the Divine character ascribed to our Lord. It is therefore not unfair to argue, that such, even in Dr. Sykes's own

opinion, was the direct tendency, at least, if not the real purpose of the *Exposition* itself.

But the most important, and perhaps the most exceptionable part of Dr. Sykes's *Answer*, is that which relates to the design and efficacy of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. After expressing great abhorrence of the terms *satisfaction*, *merit*, and *sacrifice*, usually applied to our Lord's death upon the cross;—which he regards as *unscriptural*, and unworthy of a *just* and *merciful* God;—an attack is commenced upon what Dr. Waterland had said respecting the *benefits* which Christians receive from that sacrament. The sum of Dr. Sykes's assertions (for they are scarcely supported by a semblance of proof) is this. He affirms, that there is not a word in Scripture to shew, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper *unites us to Christ*, or has a *life-giving virtue* annexed to it, or supplies the defects of moral virtue; on the contrary, that in Scripture positive institutions "are treated as mere nothings, "as things not *required* at all, compared with mo- "ral virtues. Have moral virtues, then, (he asks,) "an efficacy towards salvation, without their being "made acceptable by the sacraments? I answer, "Yes. They are *in themselves* acceptable to God:— "they want nothing to make them acceptable, nor "can any thing make them more acceptable than "they are. They are already *perfection;* the exact "imitation of God himself; and therefore need no "aid to *relieve* them, nor any thing to *improve* "them.—What is baptism, but only the *dying to* "*Christ*, and a *resurrection to a new life*, in a

" figure: and does not St. Peter treat it as a very " low thing in itself, 1 Pet. iii. 21, and shew, that " living after the dictates of moral virtue is that " which saves us? As to the sacrament of the " Lord's Supper, there are but two ends mentioned " of it in the New Testament; the one, to *do it in* " *remembrance of Christ;* the other, that it is a sym- " bol of *love and friendship with one another.*"

These are, some of them, bold positions, which Dr. Clarke would probably have hesitated to avow. They involved, however, matters of too great importance to be passed by unnoticed. The former part of Dr. Sykes's pamphlet called for no reply; the topics to which it related having been again and again considered on both sides. But in these concluding observations fresh ground of controversy was broken. Waterland felt it necessary again to encounter this keen opponent. Accordingly, within a short space of time, he published a tract, entitled, *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments considered.* 1730.

This is a short, but systematic and well-digested treatise upon a subject of deep interest with respect both to theology and morals. The question of the importance of the sacraments, necessarily involves the previous question respecting " the com- " parative value, excellency, and obligation of mo- " ral and positive duties." Dr. Sykes had rather assumed, than proved, that these latter duties were as nothing in comparison with the former; and consequently he regarded Dr. W.'s notions of the Eucharist, not only as extravagant and unwarrant-

able, but even as injurious to the interests of moral virtue. To clear up a point of such magnitude, and to prevent misapprehensions detrimental, on either side, to truth and piety, were the objects which our author had in view.

It is Dr. Clarke's general principle, "that this and "all other *positive institutions* have the nature only "of means to an end, and that therefore they are never "to be compared with *moral virtues*." Dr. Waterland observes, that "to make the comparison clear, "and the opposition exact," it ought to have been between "*positive duties* and *moral duties*;" since otherwise it is comparing what is merely the *external* part of *positive* duties, the *institution*, with the *internal* part of *moral* duties, the *virtue*, the moral habit and disposition which accompanies their performance; which could not be intended; since "the "opposition does not lie between outward acts and "inward habits, but between obedience, both outward and inward, to *positive* laws or rules, and "obedience, both outward and inward, to *moral* "commandments."

This being premised, as necessary to a fair statement of the question, Dr. W. proceeds to examine the distinction between moral and positive duties. The distinction itself, however, (he observes,) is, perhaps, not the most proper. "Every law, properly so "called, is *moral*, because it is a rule regulating the "practice of moral agents. But in a more restrained "sense, it signifies the same with *natural law*, a "law derived from God, consonant to the *nature* "and reason of things, and therefore of as fixed and "unmovable obligation as the nature and reason of

" things. *Positive* Divine law, in contradistinction " to the other, is not founded in the fixed nature or " reason of things, or at least not known to be so; " being considered only as *prescribed*, and depend- " ing on God's good pleasure either to remove or " continue it." Of several duties enjoined in Scripture, it may be difficult to say whether they are *natural* or *positive*; though of their importance and obligation there can be no reasonable doubt. Such are the duties we owe respectively to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, in their several distinct capacities, as well as in their united characters as God. These we know from Revelation only, and from the Divine injunctions concerning them; yet they may justly be regarded as *natural* and *moral* duties, " since Scripture has discovered " to us what foundation they have in the nature and " truth of things." They thence become of unalterable and of universal obligation to all who know them; and do not partake of that character ascribed to *positive* duties only, that they are dependent upon circumstances and conditions liable to change or cessation.

Dr. W. proposes, therefore, to divide our duties into *natural* and *supernatural*: the former discoverable by the bare light of nature; the latter by Revelation. The *supernatural* may again be divided into *constant* and *occasional*; such as are of eternal and immutable obligation, and such as are temporary or changeable. Of these latter, which answer most correctly to the term *positive* duties, some were *transient*, as several occasional precepts given to the Patriarchs, to Moses, and the Prophets; some *per-*

manent, as the *ritual* and many of the *judicial* precepts given to the Jews, to continue so long as the Jewish polity continued; and also the two *Christian sacraments*. And "though we are used to consider "these merely as *prescribed*, and to resolve them "commonly into the mere will and pleasure of the "legislator, yet they are always founded upon *rea-* "*sons*, known, perhaps, in part to us, but perfectly "known to God; and so they are ultimately resolv- "able into infinite wisdom and goodness."

Dr. Clarke's principle is thus shewn to rest upon a false presumption, a fundamental error, that of "confounding *external* with *positive*," and of "not "considering that *positive* duties have both an *in-* "*ward* and an *outward* part, both a *formal* and a "*material* constituent, as well as *moral* duties." *Almsgiving*, for instance, is a *moral* duty; but if done without a true principle of piety and charity, is no *virtue*, is nothing worth. *Receiving the holy Communion* is a *positive* duty; but if performed without faith, reverence, or repentance, is nothing worth: if performed as it should be, it is as truly an act of *moral* obedience, and as much an exercise of *virtue*, as *almsgiving*. "In *positive* duties, there- "fore, though the matter, in itself considered, is in- "different; yet the obedience is *moral*, the disobe- "dience *immoral*." Hence they are as strictly obligatory, for the time being, as any other commands whatever. For, "all obligation arises from some "law; and it is the divine law that constitutes mo- "ral good and evil. Things may be *naturally* good "or bad, that is, may have a natural tendency to "promote happiness or misery; may be *materially*

" good or evil, that is, useful or hurtful, previous to " any law; but they cannot be *formally* and *morally* " good or evil, without respect to some law, natural " or revealed; for where *no law is, there is no trans-* " *gression.*" This shews, too, that the notion of an " obligation antecedent to all law, is a contradiction " and absurdity."

Again; there may be as great virtue, (or greater,) in obeying *positive* precepts, as in obeying *moral* ones. The positive command may require a greater degree of self-denial, as in the case of *Abraham*, whose faith and love of God were eminently proved in his implicit resignation to the Divine will. This implicit resignation is due to every command of God, whether we know the *reason* for it, or not. A *positive* precept may also aim at some benefit of greater value than any other. Such was the command, to *preach the Gospel to every creature*, extending to the salvation of all mankind; in comparison with which all other works or attainments are of inferior value. And there may be times and circumstances, in which other positive duties may be preferred to moral. By the same rule, there may be " greater " impiety and iniquity in disobeying positive pre- " cepts, than in disobeying moral ones." Saul was reproved by Samuel for offending in this respect. Heavy penalties were appointed in the Jewish law for the breach of positive institutions.

The comparative value, then, of any precepts or duties depends not upon whether they be *positive* or *moral*, but upon conscientious obedience, and upon a due consideration of the circumstances belonging to them with reference to the Divine will.

And " any pretence of setting up *moral virtues* in " opposition to *religious duties*, is undermining mo- " rality, instead of serving it, and is defeating the " very end which it pretends to secure."

The objections to these principles, whether from Scripture or from reason, are shewn to be of little weight. When the Scriptures appear to speak in disparagement of *positive* duties, it is not because they are in themselves of inferior value to others, but because they were performed, by those who trusted in them, hypocritically, and without the requisites to render them acceptable. They were reduced to mere *external* acts, and had not the *inward* piety, faith, and obedience which properly belonged to them. Under such circumstances, *moral* duties would be equally insignificant and unavailable. *Almsgiving without charity*, St. Paul assures us, *profiteth nothing*. So is it with *every* duty, moral or positive. The mere outward act does not constitute virtue, but the inward disposition. Neither will the performance of one kind of duties make amends for the neglect of another kind. Sacrifice without obedience would not satisfy the Jewish law; nor would any pretence of moral duty be permitted to excuse the omission of sacrifice. It is not true, therefore, that the Prophets, or any of the sacred writers, speak with contempt of positive ordinances, except when they were defiled and polluted by the wickedness and hypocrisy of those who practised them; nor is any reproach cast upon them, which would not equally apply to *moral* duties also, under circumstances similarly exceptionable. St. Paul, indeed, argues, " to persuade men not to trust to the

" *efficacy* of the works of the *law*, because no man's " works would be, or could be, *perfect* enough to " trust to; for which reason he advises them rather " to trust to the efficacy of *faith*, that is, to the *grace* " of the Gospel covenant sealed in the blood of " Christ, by which alone men might justly hope for " salvation. Not that good works were not *neces-* " *sary* conditions, though wanting that proper *effi-* " *cacy* to salvation, which the alone merits of Christ's " death supplied." And this applied to all works of the law, whether natural or positive, whether moral or ceremonial; since, in all, " the *grace* of God in " Christ could alone supply the defective obedience " even of the best men, and make it acceptable with " God."

After rebutting other objections of a similar kind, grounded not upon Scripture, but upon the supposed reason of the thing, our author proceeds to a more special consideration of the Christian sacraments; in order to shew, that they operate, both *naturally* and *supernaturally*, as *means* to *moral* and *Christian* virtue, being in themselves essential to Christian holiness and perfection, and moreover the instituted ordinary means of applying the benefit of the great atonement to every worthy receiver.

The sacraments are, in their very nature, adapted to promote a good life; chiefly because they are federal rites, by which we enter into a solemn stipulation to obey God to the utmost of our power; a consideration, of great force, to restrain us from evil, and to incite us to good. This *natural* effect is allowed by Dr. Clarke. The *supernatural* effect he passes over. He has told us what *we* do in them,

but not what the *Spirit* of *God* does. The Spirit of God *works invisibly* upon the worthy receivers, to assist, strengthen, and confirm them. This is the *inward and spiritual grace* spoken of in our Catechism, Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies. Nor is there any *enthusiasm* in this notion, as Dr. Sykes seems to suppose. What is thus done by the Holy Spirit is done suitably to our nature as *moral* agents, and does not exclude human will and endeavour. It does not destroy natural agency, but helps and advances it.

The right use of the sacraments, then, is in itself virtue, a *part* of moral and Christian holiness and perfection. It is an exercise of the *love of God*, of *obedience*, of *worship*, of *faith*, *hope*, and *charity*, of *humility* and *self-abasement*, of *thankfulness* and *reverence* towards *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*. All this we cannot but ascribe to it, unless we abstract the *outward* act from that *inward* disposition, which is always implied in the *worthy* reception of the sacraments, and without which the outward performance of any *moral* or *natural* duties would be equally unavailable to our acceptance with God.

But farther; the sacraments are the instituted ordinary means of applying the benefit of the great atonement to every *worthy* receiver. In this they have a more direct and *immediate* influence upon our justification and salvation, than any of our best works can have. They are the channels of pardon and remission of sins; the appointed means of entering into and renewing the Christian covenant. *Cornelius* was a man of exemplary moral virtues, yet *baptism* was necessary to bring him into a state

of *salvation*. Of the *Eucharist*, St. Paul says, is it not the *communion*, or *participation*, of the body of Christ, and of the blood of Christ?—not merely an act of communion or fellowship with *Christ*, as his professed disciples, but of communion of his *body* and *blood*, or a participation of the benefits of his death and passion, for the remission of sins. Therefore, although the sacraments, considered as mere acts of obedience, may bring no more remission of sins than other duties; yet considered as *seals of the covenant*, they are the instruments of pardon, or the channels of conveyance by which God confers it.

Hence it follows, that the sacraments are to be preferred, or not, to *moral* duties, as circumstances may direct. They dispose to good actions, and they form good dispositions. In some respects, they are more *comprehensive* in their nature than moral duties, and tend more to elevate the mind above earthly things. The objection that they are light and easy services, supposes that there is nothing in them but the *opus operatum* only. But to perform them *worthily*, is, at least, as difficult as to perform *moral* duties *worthily;* nay, more so; since they require an universal obedience, a thorough change of heart, a general renunciation of sin and wickedness. Neither *outward* religion, nor *outward* morality, is any thing: the *inward* principle is the life and spirit of both. Yet the *external* is not to be laid aside, on a presumption that we have the *internal*. Both must go together, unless there be some insuperable difficulty, to disable a man from doing what he sincerely intends.

Having thus argued, that the sacraments are not

merely *means* of virtue and holiness, but duties essential to the Christian covenant, and out of which all other Christian duties thrive and grow; so as to be *productive* of virtues, rather than *instrumental* to them; and consequently, that morality is not destroyed, or weakened by maintaining the dignity of the sacraments, but is fixed more securely upon its true basis: our author, in conclusion, makes some brief observations upon the different parties who have combined to depreciate their value; animadverting upon the unnatural union of fanatics on the one hand, and of libertines on the other, in bringing them into disrepute: the former, for the purpose of extolling *faith* above all external duties, whether moral or positive; the latter, for the sake of extolling *morality* in opposition to faith, and consequently, in opposition to *instituted* religion, whatever the end or design of its institutions might be.

To this able performance Dr. Sykes soon after replied, in *A Defence of the Answer to the Remarks upon Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Church-Catechism*. 1730.

Dr. Sykes complains, that Waterland had "artifi-" cially embarrassed" the controversy; and therefore proceeds to "fix the meaning of the terms." *Moral duties*, he states, are such as we are obliged to perform, in conformity to the reasons of things; *positive duties* are such as we are obliged to, not from any reason of the thing, but purely from the command of him that prescribes them. *Obligation* signifies the tie we have upon us to act agreeably to those faculties or powers which we are vested with by God. Moral duties, therefore, must be obligatory

at all times and in all places. Positive duties cannot have the same sort of obligation, because they are changeable at the pleasure of the institutor. Consequently, when they interfere with each other, the latter must give way to the former.

Dr. S. affirms also, that it is not a Divine law, or the will of God, that constitutes moral good or evil; but something *antecedent* to any Divine law, even the relations of things to one another, which were the same in the Divine mind before moral agents were created, as they are now. Waterland had said, that obligation antecedent to all law is a contradiction and absurdity. Dr. S. replies, that, if so, the arbitrary will of God might have made vice equally acceptable to him as virtue; and if he had commanded men to be unjust or ungrateful, it would have been morally good to be unjust and ungrateful: but this he could no more do, than he could have made two and two equal to ten.

In reply to Waterland's observation, that "there "may be as great virtue, or greater, in obeying "*positive* precepts, as in obeying moral ones," he contends, that the obedience to positive commands (such as those which had been instanced in *Abraham*) is merely "a *proof*, or *evidence* of virtue;" the virtue, or good disposition, being already inherent, as a moral quality, in the person who obeys the precept, and only manifested, or called into action, by the opportunity thus afforded. This and similar arguments are drawn out to considerable length, and are intended to prove, that the *positive* duties enjoined in Scripture derive all their weight and value from their being intended to promote *mo-*

ral duties, or from their calling forth the exercise of *moral virtues.*

The objection, that "*moral* performances, if *out-* "*ward* only and hypocritical, are as worthless" as *positive* duties, unworthily performed, is put aside, by observing that such performances are not *moral*, but *immoral;* because to constitute them moral, in the true sense of the word, there must be the *internal* virtuous disposition: whereas *positive* duties, depending upon the will of the prescriber, and being changeable, "must all consist of *outward* acts;" and that, therefore, to distinguish betwixt *outward acts* and *positive duties*, is to confound positive with moral duties, and to render them the same.

Upon these several assumptions, that *positive* duties are nothing more than *means* to virtue; that they are mere *external* acts, with no *internal* worth to recommend them; and that, on the other hand, *moral* duties necessarily imply and include those *internal* qualities which render them perfect in their kind; the author grounds his whole theory. Admitting these positions, there could be no great difficulty in overthrowing what his opponent had advanced. But upon these very points the disputants were decidedly at variance; and an impartial reader will hardly allow that Dr. Sykes has either satisfactorily vindicated his own principles, or invalidated those of his opponent.

In his application of these positions to the *sacraments*, he chiefly labours to prove that Dr. W. had failed in bringing any clear and decisive proofs from *Scripture*, of their efficacy as means of conveying spiritual graces or benefits. Discarding all authori-

ties, either of Churches or of individuals, upon this point, he insists that, respecting the *Eucharist*, in particular, no text of Scripture, rightly and fairly interpreted, warrants any such assertion. The argument from the *analogy* between this sacrament and Baptism he rejects as irrelevant: and the sixth chapter of St. John he dismisses almost without a comment, as containing "not a word about the *sacra-* "*ments*." The text of 1 Cor. xii. 13. he understands to mean nothing more than "shewing ourselves members " of that figurative body which is Christ; that we are " admitted into that religious society, the truth of " whose doctrines has been confirmed by the Spirit." St. Paul's expressions, the *communion* of the body and *blood* of Christ, are interpreted, in like manner, to denote only our "associating ourselves with " Christ," or being "in friendship with Christ and " with all Christians;" having no reference whatever to any "real participation of the merits and " benefits of the great atonement." The *ends* of this sacrament, he affirms, are two only; "to put " men in mind of Christ who died for them, and to " shew their love and unity to one another as bre- " thren." He denies that any of those virtues or good qualities which Dr. W. had stated to be essential to the *worthy* performance of them, are in Scripture required to accompany the performance. The absolute perfection of *moral* virtues is here again and again insisted upon; and the notion of any *pardon* being necessary on account of their imperfection is ridiculed, as confounding virtue with vice, good with evil, moral excellence with actual guilt. The author's sentiments upon this point are ex-

pressed with a degree of confidence, not to say of arrogance, difficult to reconcile with Christian humility.

The *Appendix* is intended to rebut what had been said of the advantage given to *Deism* by undervaluing the efficacy of the sacraments. *Natural religion* (Dr. S. contends) is, in itself, true and perfect religion; and the sole or chief purpose of *revealed* religion is to supply additional *motives*, *incitements*, *encouragements*, and *assistances*, to perform what the religion of nature requires. "By the religion of "nature, men may know that God *is*, and *what* he "is, and *how* God is to be worshipped: it will shew "how men, beings placed in the circumstances they "are, full of passion, full of infirmities, and sur-"rounded with variety of temptations of all sorts, "may be reconciled to and accepted by God: it "will shew a future state of rewards or punish-"ments: and it will shew the duties we are to "practise one to another." Thus even *reconciliation* and *acceptance* are ascribed to the all-sufficiency of *natural* religion; nor does the author drop a hint of the necessity of any *atonement*, *intercession*, or *sanctification*, to give efficacy to this imaginary scheme of perfection. Thus to magnify the work of human reason, is, he maintains, the surest way to impress the Deist with a more favourable opinion of the truth of a divine Revelation.

To this tract, still more adventurous and unguarded than the preceding *Answer to the Remarks*, Dr. Waterland replied, in *A Supplement to the Treatise on the Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments*, printed in 1730; being the

third tract he had published on the subject in the course of the same year. To an author so thoroughly conversant with the matter in debate, it was no very laborious undertaking to expose the sophistries, or to overthrow the untenable positions, on which his adversary had relied. All, indeed, which he proposed, in this Supplement, was to notice more particularly some few points urged by the author of the Defence, which seemed to be "capable of further il-"lustration, and important enough to deserve it."

On Dr. Sykes's position, that moral virtue is "ob-"ligatory to all intelligent beings, even *previous* to "any *laws*, or commands, or injunctions, *divine* or "human," Dr. W. remarks, that this is "setting up a "system of morality without *God* at the head of it;" and "supposing *obligation* without *law*, a *religion* "of nature without a *Deity*, and *duty* without a *su-"perior* to whom it is *owing*:" in which, he observes, there seems to be the like fallacy and mistake, as in the argument *à priori* for the existence of a God; for "as well might we suppose a cause "prior to the first, as a lawgiver higher than the "highest, or a law without a lawgiver, or obligation "without law." Again; whatever notion we may form of moral duties as arising out of the abstract *fitnesses* and *reasons* of things, "if God be at the "head of them, he *obliges*, and not they; and if "you abstract the Deity, you abstract the obliga-"tion:" nor is it *virtue* or *duty* to conform to them upon any other principle; but mere policy, inclination, or interest. Yet this by no means warrants the inference Dr. S. would draw from it, that, in that case, the arbitrary will of God might make vice,

virtue, or virtue, vice. On the contrary, our unqualified *obligation* to obey HIM supposes this to be impossible, because it supposes Him to be infinitely *good* and *great:* and to suppose otherwise is absurd and self-contradictory; it is supposing Him not to be that which He really is.

Neither is it true, that *positive* duties arise from the mere arbitrary will of the prescriber. They are understood to be founded upon as wise and good *reasons* as *moral* laws; reasons, known to God, and ultimately resolvable into His infinite wisdom and goodness, whether revealed to us, or not: and though they may, in their circumstances, be *local, occasional,* or *personal* only, yet are they, according to those circumstances, no less obligatory upon those who are required to observe them, than duties of the most general and universal obligation. Whereever, and for whatever period or extent of time and place, a positive law is in force, "obedience is indis-"pensably necessary; and nothing can remove it but "the same authority that gave it."

Our author pursues the subject, through the different windings and perplexities traced out by his opponent; nor does he omit some severe, but just, reprehensions of the high and presumptuous tone in which Dr. S. had descanted upon the absolute perfection of human virtues, insisting that they stand in no need of *expiation* to render them *saving*, and to ensure their acceptance with God. The question respecting the special obligation and efficacy of the *Christian sacraments* is not resumed at any considerable length; probably because it was evident that the author of the Defence had made this part

of the subject to depend chiefly, if not entirely, upon the previous question concerning the comparative value of moral and positive duties; to which, therefore, Waterland deemed it expedient almost exclusively to direct his attention in this particular controversy.

Dr. Sykes was not slow in his Reply to the *Supplement.* It was published in the same year, 1730, and entitled, *The true Foundations of natural and revealed Religion asserted.* But of this publication Waterland took no notice till the following year, when he made it the subject of some animadversions in a postscript to his second part of *Scripture vindicated,* of which some account has already been given in the preceding section.

Not long after this debate was closed, another was stirred up, by the publication of Bishop Hoadley's *Plain Account of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper;* a tract which lowers the importance of that sacrament more perhaps than had ever been done before, except by *Socinian* writers; reducing it to a bare memorial of our Lord's death and sufferings, an act of pious gratitude and obedience on *our* part, but unattended by any special benefits on *his;* discarding from it all mystical signification, and all efficacy as the means of conveying pardon or sanctification; and not even requiring, on the part of the communicant, any recognition of that *atonement* and *propitiation* made for sin, which Christians in general have conceived to be the main object of the institution itself.

This work excited great dissatisfaction, and was almost instantly attacked by several distinguished

writers. The celebrity which the author had gained by his writings against church-authority, and his high station in that church whose pretensions he had so underrated, could not but excite public attention to any fresh topic he might be inclined to agitate: and the popularity of his sentiments among those who bore no good-will either to the church or to religion, ensured an extensive circulation to his performances. It were uncharitable, however, not to believe him to have been sincerely persuaded that he was rendering good service to Christianity, in simplifying (as he conceived) a rite which had, in some cases, been rendered instrumental to the grossest superstition and idolatry; in others, had been invested with more of a mysterious character than really belonged to it; and in others, represented with an aspect of severity and harshness, which tended rather to terrify men from its observance, than to invite them to it as a source of rational satisfaction and improvement.

On scarcely any subject, perhaps, has the Christian world been more divided, than on that of the Eucharist. Between the high ground (the perilous height, indeed) of papal transubstantiation, and the low and contracted views taken by Socinian interpreters, an indefinite variety of opinions may be traced, difficult either to be enumerated or explained. And although it is exceedingly desirable, that, on a subject of such deep interest, the utmost possible accuracy should be attained; yet, within these extremes, a considerable latitude of opinion may, perhaps, be taken, without the abandonment of any es-

sential principle. But in the work of Bishop Hoadley, it was the opinion certainly of many among the most distinguished and approved members of our church, that the spirit and intent of this sacred ordinance were compromised by the view in which he placed it; and that the very doctrines which gave it its chief force and signification were studiously cast into the shade. It was also but too evident, that this work would soon become a standard of doctrine upon the Sacrament among a considerable party in the Church. All who had any bias towards Socinianism or Arianism, all who were indisposed to receive the doctrine of a vicarious sacrifice and expiation for guilt, all who were sceptical as to the gifts and operations of the Holy Spirit, and their necessity in the work of salvation; would readily fall in with a scheme, which did not depend upon the truth of any of these articles of faith for its support; but might be adapted to a Creed, in which neither the Divinity of the Saviour, nor his all-sufficient merits, nor his mediation and intercession, nor the influence of the Spirit of grace, formed any of its component parts. This laxity of sentiment appeared to have been gaining ground, for a considerable time, both among Clergy and laity. It had been much fostered by the labours of those who took part with Dr. Clarke in his endeavours to lower the doctrine of the Church of England to the standard of his own opinions; and who upheld Bishop Hoadley in the Bangorian controversy. The authority of two persons so distinguished could not but give currency to their tenets among many who had neither leisure nor ability

to investigate such subjects, nor were disposed to yield that deference to the collective judgment of the Church, which they paid implicitly to individual opinion.

These considerations gave additional importance to Hoadley's treatise on the Sacrament: and the solicitude it awakened was proportionate to the impression it was thus calculated to make upon the public mind, rather than to any extraordinary pretensions of the work itself. It was controverted by a host of eminent writers; among whom were Warren, Wheatly, Whiston, Ridley, Leslie, Law, Brett, Johnson, and Stebbing; besides others of less notoriety. The strength on Hoadley's side was far inferior.

Dr. Waterland's exertions were not therefore wanted to counteract the effect of this work. Nor did he come forward as the controversialist of Hoadley. It appears, from his correspondence with Dr. Grey and Mr. Loveday, that he had been expected, and perhaps pressed, so to do: but as far as any immediate consequences were to be apprehended from this attempt to depreciate the Sacrament, he was well satisfied with the answers and animadversions which it had called forth; particularly with those of Dr. Warren, Dr. Stebbing, and Mr. Wheatly, which he notices in strong terms of commendation. His own opinion of the work is briefly, but impressively stated in one of his letters above-mentioned, where he describes it as *Socinianizing* the doctrine of the Sacrament, by divesting it of its reference either to the Divinity of our Lord, or to his suffering as a propitiatory sacrifice. In this, he conceived, lay the main

objection to it. That the Eucharist was a *memorial* only, might not have been so exceptionable, although certainly an incomplete representation of it, had the author distinctly set forth, of *what* it was intended to be a *memorial.* Was it merely to preserve the recollection of a teacher or prophet sent from God, a friend and benefactor to the human race by the lustre of his example and the purity of his precepts? or was it, to confirm the faith of his disciples, throughout all generations, by impressing upon their minds the great truths, that he was indeed the *Saviour* of the world; that in Him were united the perfections both of Divine and of human nature; and that, in that mysterious union, he effected, by his sacrifice on the cross, the redemption of mankind? Every one must see how vast a difference the *memorial* itself exhibits, in point of dignity and value, according to the view we take of it, in the one aspect or in the other. In the latter case, it comprises the sum and substance of Christianity: in the former, it is comparatively a meagre and spiritless service. But, upon this question, Bishop Hoadley seems to have been studiously silent; or, rather, by the *omission* of the points most essential to its main object and design, he has given a manifest advantage to those who would fain obliterate from their Creed, and consequently from the Sacrament itself, these prominent and distinguishing characteristics of the Christian system.

In a Charge, on *the doctrinal use of the sacraments,* delivered in June 1736, Dr. Waterland took a compendious view of their importance in this respect. By historical evidence, and by illustrations

selected from ecclesiastical writers of various periods, he shewed how much these ordinances had contributed to the preservation of the fundamental articles of our faith; the reception of the sacraments, according to their full intent and meaning, necessarily implying the reception of those doctrines so immediately connected with them. The charge does not expressly advert to Bishop Hoadley's performance; but it is hardly possible to doubt, that the plan of it was suggested by observing the striking defects of that treatise, with reference to this great and leading principle.

But the subject of the sacraments, and that of the Eucharist in particular, appear to have occupied Waterland's mind long before this occasion was given of communicating his thoughts to the public.

Dr. Zachary Pearce, who so ably vindicated Dr. Waterland against the attacks of Conyers Middleton, on his *Scripture vindicated*, in 1731 and 1732, had, in the preceding year, amicably disputed with Waterland himself on certain points relating to the Eucharist, in consequence of some observations which had fallen from him in his controversy with Dr. Sykes. Two letters on the subject appear, among Bishop Pearce's other posthumous works, subjoined to his Commentary on the New Testament. They relate chiefly to the view which Waterland had taken of the sacraments as *federal* rites. Dr. Pearce contended, that the Sacrament was not in itself a federal act, *communicative* of the benefits of his death, but only *commemorative* and *representative* of those benefits. He further objected to the Eucharist being considered as substituted for the *passover*; nor did he think there was

sufficient proof that the passover was a *sacrifice*, or that sacrifices themselves were *federal* rites. His general persuasion was, that the Eucharist was nothing more than "a feast instituted as a *memorial* "of Christ's death; the bread and wine to be re- "ceived in *remembrance* of Him, not in *renewal of* "*the covenant* made by Him." He combated also another argument grounded upon St. Paul's representing the Eucharist to be an act of *communion* between *God* and the *receiver*, analogous to that of the Israelites at their altars, and that of the heathens in their idolatrous offerings, 1 Cor. x. 16—21; conceiving, that St. Paul refers only to the *communicants* themselves, jointly participating in the ordinance, and not to the communication of spiritual blessings from God. Nor does he admit that the Eucharist can be proved from Scripture to be *a conveyance or channel of pardon, an instrument of absolution*. The remission of sins, he contends, is the effect of *Christ's blood shed for us*, not the effect of *our commemorating that, by drinking of the cup in the Eucharist.*

It will immediately be perceived, that although these opinions (which were advanced by this learned and estimable Prelate with the candour and modesty conspicuous in all his writings) were much at variance with some of the highest authorities in our church, as Mede, Cudworth, Barrow, and others; yet do they distinctly recognize those fundamental articles of the Christian faith, which, to all who admit them, must be deemed inseparably connected with the Sacrament itself. The covenant between God and man ratified by the blood of Christ, and the

remission of sins flowing from it as its immediate benefit, are expressly acknowledged; consequently, Dr. Pearce's view of the Sacrament, as a *commemorative* act, rises infinitely higher than Bishop Hoadley's; and the matter in dispute betwixt him and Dr. W. though undoubtedly of considerable interest and importance, did not, like the other, involve in it the very essentials of the rite itself.

Dr. Waterland's Answers to these Letters are not extant; nor does it appear that either party had a view to the publication of their sentiments. The subject of them, however, is fully treated in our author's *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist;* and there can be little doubt that the *substance* of *his* share in the correspondence is interwoven in that larger work.

But at a much earlier period than this, there is evidence that Dr. Waterland had attentively studied this subject, and was no less careful to guard against one extreme than another, in forming his judgment upon it. Dr. Brett, the celebrated Non-juror, and one of the most learned and acute theologians of his time, had published, in 1720, *A Discourse concerning the necessity of discerning the Lord's Body in the holy Communion;* in which he carried the doctrine of the *real presence* in the Sacrament so far, as, in the opinion of many judicious persons, seemed almost to confound the *sign* with the *thing signified*, the *mystical* with the *literal* sense of the ordinance, the *spiritual* with the *corporal* participation of the body and blood of Christ. Mr. Johnson, another learned Divine, and an intimate friend of Dr. Brett, had also published, in the year 1714, his *Unbloody Sacrifice;*

a work, intended to prove that the Eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice, in which the representative, though not the real body and blood of Christ, are actually offered up for the remission of sins; the *material* elements being, by virtue of this ordinance, made efficient to that purpose, and our Lord's sacrifice thus solemnly presented by the faithful worshipper at the altar of God. This notion, though it stands entirely clear of the absurdities of *transubstantiation*, yet seems to be grounded upon the supposed necessity of *material* sacrifices, analogous to those of the *Jewish* ritual, and also to bear some resemblance to the doctrine of the *Romish mass*, that our Lord's sacrifice is to be repeatedly and continually offered up before God, in order to render it efficacious to the salvation of individuals.

Upon both these writers Waterland animadverted with considerable severity, in some marginal observations, written with his own hand, in copies of their works now deposited among Dr. Rawlinson's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. The notion of a *material* sacrifice in the Sacrament he stedfastly resisted, conceiving it to be derogatory to the *spiritual* character of the ordinance, derogatory also to the all-sufficiency of our Lord's sacrifice made, once for all, upon the cross, and not borne out by any legitimate interpretation of sacred writ. He maintained, that the Eucharist is altogether a *commemorative* and *representative* service, *symbolically* representing that which had before been *actually* and *materially* offered up, and accepted of God; and that no other *offering* or *oblation* is made in this sacrament, than that of the elements themselves, for the purpose

of their consecration to God's service, and the spiritual affections of the communicant himself, requisite to render him a meet partaker of those holy mysteries, and to obtain for him those benefits which the Sacrament is intended to convey. To Dr. Brett's opinion, on *discerning our Lord's Body in the holy Communion*, he also objected, on similar grounds; maintaining, with Cranmer, that when it is said, "that the *body of Christ* is present in them that "worthily receive the sacrament," the meaning is, "that the *force*, the *grace*, the *virtue*, and *benefit* "of Christ's body that was crucified for us, and of "his blood that was shed for us, be really and effect-"ually present with all them that duly receive the "sacraments: but all this is to be understood of his "*spiritual* presence; and no more truly is He cor-"porally or really present in the due ministration of "the Lord's Supper, than He is in the due ministra-"tion of Baptism." These topics are touched with great effect, in a series of observations, remarkably acute and powerful; but in a manner somewhat more caustic, perhaps, than if they had been intended for the public eye.

Thus prepared, by long continued habits of considering this important branch of Christian theology; and perceiving that something was still wanting to settle the minds of less informed readers, and to enable them to rest their opinions upon some solid and substantial grounds; our author seems to have formed his determination, very soon after the publication of Bishop Hoadley's treatise, to undertake an enlarged and comprehensive inquiry into the whole subject; for the purpose of forming a didactic, rather than a

polemical dissertation, comprising every part that essentially belonged to it.

Bishop Hoadley's *Plain Account* was published in 1735. Dr. Waterland's *Review* followed early in 1737; no long interval of time for so extensive and elaborate a performance; a work of established reputation both here and abroad, for which he had been collecting materials during a considerable portion of his life.

The general design is briefly stated in the *Introduction*. It was to guard the doctrine of the Sacrament against a *superstitious* abuse of it, on the one hand, and against *profane neglect* of it, on the other. Hooker's observation, that the holy Communion is "*instrumentally a cause of the real participation* "*of Christ, and of life in his body and blood*," is adopted by our author, as comprising the substance of the whole doctrine;—that which, as Hooker remarks, "all approve and acknowledge to be most true; "having nothing in it but that which the words of "Christ are on all sides confessed to enforce; nothing "but that which the Church of God hath always "thought necessary; nothing but that which alone "is sufficient for every Christian man to believe con- "cerning the *use* and *force* of this sacrament; no- "thing but that wherewith the writings of all *anti-* "*quity* are consonant, and all Christian *confessions* "agreeable." The observation of Hooker is, indeed, well worthy of commendation. It contains both a correct definition of the Sacrament, and an effectual guard against a misapprehension of it. The Sacrament is but *instrumentally* the cause, yet it *is* the cause, of the *real* participation of *Christ*, and of *life*

in his *body* and *blood;* that is, it instrumentally conveys to us pardon and sanctification: *pardon*, through the *atonement* made by the death of Christ;—*sanctification*, through the Holy Spirit which Christ obtained for us. The *sign* and the *thing signified*, the *efficient* and the *instrumental* cause of the benefits communicated, are thus accurately distinguished from each other; so as to ascribe to the Sacrament its full value and importance, without investing it with such characters as belong only to the one great sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction; of which, in itself, it is nothing more than a figurative and commemorative representation.

After some further introductory observations on the danger of *underrating* this ordinance, and on the prejudice done to the sacraments by regarding them merely as *positive duties*, rather than as *sacred rites*, in which God himself bears a *part*, or as *covenants*, solemn transactions between God and man; Dr. Waterland conducts his inquiry in the following order.

First, he gives a brief historical account of the most considerable *names* by which this sacrament has been called; a matter by no means unimportant; some of these being expressive simply of the external form of the institution; others, of its origin; others, of its purpose and design; others, of its distinguishing characteristics as a religious service; others, of the effects resulting from it. The titles enumerated are ten in number; *breaking of bread, communion, Lord's supper, oblation, sacrament, eucharist, sacrifice, memorial, passover, mass;* every one of which, excepting the last, has evidently some

appropriate meaning, suitable to the nature of the ordinance. A full and adequate conception of it, however, is rather to be obtained by *combining* the force and meaning of these several appellations, than by adopting any one of them, to the exclusion of the rest.

Upon the *institution* of this sacrament, but few important questions arise. The chief are those which relate to its having succeeded in the place of the *Jewish passover;* and to the points in which these two ordinances resemble each other. By the resemblance between them, (which is here very satisfactorily traced,) much light is thrown upon the subject. The type and the antitype so fully and minutely correspond with each other, that it is scarcely possible to overlook the analogy between the temporal and the spiritual deliverance to which they respectively refer; and thus a view is presented of this sacred mystery, which the most simple as well as the most profound inquirer may contemplate with much edification.

The next subject of inquiry is "concerning the "*commemoration* of Christ in the holy Communion. "The Greek words, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν," Dr. W. observes, "may bear three several renderings: 1. *In re-* "*membrance of me.* 2. *In commemoration of me.* "3. *For a memorial of me,* or, *for my memorial.* "They differ not *much* in sense; but yet as they do "*differ,* they may deserve a distinct consideration. "The *second* includes the first; and the *third* in- "cludes both the former; not *vice versa.* So they "rise, as it were, in sense, and are so many distinct "gradations."

The Socinians make the bare *remembrance* of Christ the only end and use of the Sacrament; not distinguishing between the mere *act* itself, and the *purpose* intended by it; nor do they include in their notion of it a full and complete view of our Lord himself. All parties are agreed that we ought to *remember* Him in this sacrament, but are not agreed as to *who* he really was, or what he really did and suffered for us. It is not sufficient to remember Him merely as a great and good man, a wise instructor, and an admirable teacher, a prophet, an ambassador from heaven; nor only as our Lord and Master, the founder of our religion, whose disciples we are; nor even as higher than the angels: but we must also remember Him, to the full extent of his *personal dignity*, declared in holy writ, as our *divine* Lord and Master, the *Creator* and *Lord* of all, the object of universal *adoration*. Unless our remembrance and acknowledgment of Him correspond with these declarations, we fall short of what is required of us in this solemn act of devotion.

But *commemoration* advances a step further than this. To a bare remembrance "it superadds the "notion of *extolling*, *honouring*, *celebrating*, col-"lecting all into one *complex* idea." It includes both an inward remembrance, and an outward expression of it in praise and thanksgiving. And this *commemoration* also extends, as the *remembrance* does, to every point of our Lord's dignity and character, and of what he did and suffered in that character, to his *Divinity*, his *incarnation*, his *atonement*, his *merits*, every quality and perfection belonging to Him as our Saviour and Redeemer.

The term *memorial* includes both the preceding terms; and if we consider it as bearing allusion to the sacrifices and other typical services of the *Jewish* law, (which were sometimes called memorials,) it may denote, that the service of the Eucharist, the most solemn part of *evangelical* worship, ascends up as incense, *for a memorial before God.* This is the highest view of it. But it is also a *memorial before men*, as the passover was; a memorial, to perpetuate our greater deliverance from the bondage of sin and death; in which Jesus Christ is *set forth crucified*, as it were, *before our eyes*, to make the stronger impression upon our minds. Moreover; "it is not "sufficient to commemorate the death of Christ, "without considering what his death *means*, what "were the *moving* reasons for it, and what its *ends* "and *uses*. The subtilties of Socinus and his fol- "lowers have made this inquiry necessary: for it is "to very little purpose to *shew the Lord's death* "*till he come* by the service of the Eucharist, if we "acknowledge not *that Lord* which the Scriptures "set forth, nor *that death* which the New Testa- "ment teaches." His death was "a willing *sacri-* "*fice* to Divine *justice* for the sins of mankind;" it was properly "a vicarious *punishment* of sin;" and "by virtue of it we receive the benefit of *atone-* "*ment, redemption, propitiation, justification, re-* "*conciliation*, and *remission*." It was therefore not only "a *confirmation* of his gospel, a *pattern* of holy "and patient suffering, or a necessary *preparation* "to his resurrection;" but it had such "a particu- "lar *virtue, merit, efficacy*, in it, that God's ac- "ceptance of sinners, though *penitent*, (not *per-*

"*fect,*) depended entirely upon it." These points our author establishes upon the clearest Scripture-evidence; and sums up his statement by enumerating "the several concurring *means* to the same end," in the work of our redemption. The divine *philanthropy* is the *primary*, or *principal* cause. Our performing the duties required of us, *faith* and *repentance*, by the aid of Divine grace, is the *conditional* cause. The *sacrifice* of Christ's death is the *meritorious* cause. The Divine *ordinances*, and more particularly the two *sacraments*, are the *instrumental* causes, in and by which God *applies* to persons fitly disposed the *virtue* of that sacrifice. This shews the end and use of *commemorating* our Lord's death in the Eucharist. "It is suing for "pardon, in virtue of the same plea that Christ him-"self sues in, on our behalf. It is acknowledging "our indispensable *need* of it, and our *dependance* "upon it; and confessing all our other *righteous-*"*ness* to be as *nothing* without it. In a word, it "is at once a service of *thanksgiving*, (to Father, "Son, and Holy Ghost,) for the *sacrifice* of our re-"demption; and a service also of *self-humiliation*, "before God, angels, and men."

The 5th chapter treats of the *consecration* of the elements. The *relative holiness* of these, as well as of other things set apart for religious uses, is denied but by few; and St. Paul's expression, *the cup of blessing, which we bless*, puts this matter beyond all doubt. Hence also the guilt which the apostle charges upon profane and unworthy communicants. Not that we attribute any real virtue or efficacy to the things *themselves*, or to any *human*

benedictions, except as they are founded in *Divine* promise. Whatever *sanctification* is imparted, can be derived only from "the *Divine* warrant, author-" izing men to administer the holy Communion; from" the *Divine* word intimating the effect of it; and "from the *Divine* promise and covenant, tacit or "express, to send His blessing along with it." What the *degree* of sanctity thus bestowed upon the elements may be, is no where precisely determined. It can only be judged of by the high and important *purpose* of the Sacrament itself, the relation it bears to our *Lord's person*, the *judgments* denounced upon those who treated it with irreverence, and a comparison of it with what is elsewhere required in Scripture with regard to holy and sacred things. But besides this relative holiness, the Fathers frequently speak of this sacrament as more especially sanctified by a supposed illapse of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, or rather, upon the devout communicants in the use of them; which seems to be the more rational and scriptural view of it. The *prayers*, *thanksgivings*, and *benedictions*, used in the service itself, may also be considered as *instrumental* to this effect. Some of the Fathers reasoned upon our Lord's words, at the time of instituting the Sacrament, "as virtually carrying in them a *rule*, or "a *promise* to all succeeding ages of the Church, "that what was *then* done when He himself *admi-*" *nistered* or *consecrated*, will be *always* done in the "celebration of the Eucharist;" so that "what the "Sacrament then was, in meaning, virtue, and effect, "the same it is also at this day;" conceiving our Lord's words to be "directly *declaratory* of what

" then was, and virtually *promissory* of what should " be in like case for all time to come." In this sense only, they supposed the elements to become *Christ's body;* being *sanctified* by *consecration* pursuant to our Lord's institution, and thus made the *representative* body of Christ. " The sum is, that " the *consecration* of the elements makes them *holy* " *symbols*, relatively holy, on account of their *rela-* " *tion* to what they represent, or point to, by *divine* " institution: and it is *God* that gives them this *ho-* " *liness* by the ministry of his word. The *sanctifi-* " *cation* of the communicants (which is *God's* work " also) is of *distinct* consideration from the former, " though they are often confounded: and to this " part belongs what has been improperly called mak- " ing the symbols become our *Lord's body;* and " which really means making them his body *to us;* " or more plainly still, making us partakers of our " Lord's *broken body* and *blood shed*, at the same " time that we receive the *holy* symbols." *This* sanctification, however, depends upon the *dispositions* of the communicants.

The much-disputed question as to the right exposition of the *sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel*, and its application to the Sacrament, comes next under consideration; and the substance of our author's opinion, supported by many high authorities, ancient and modern, appears to be as follows.

It is evident, that a great part of this discourse of our Lord's cannot be *literally* interpreted, but must admit of some *figurative*, or *mystical* construction. Affirmatively, it is said, *Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life:* negatively,

Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. All, therefore, that feed upon what is here mentioned, have life; and *all* that do not feed thereupon, have no life. Hence arises an argument against interpreting the words of *sacramental feeding* in the Eucharist; since all cannot be said to have life who receive the communion, unless they are *worthy* communicants; neither can all be said *not* to have life who do not receive it, if they are *incapable* of receiving it, *invincibly ignorant* of it, or destitute of the *opportunity* of so doing. For the same reason, the words cannot be interpreted of *faith in Christ*, which must be subject to similar restrictions and exceptions. But there is one sense, in which the words admit of being understood in their fullest extent; and it is this:—"All that shall finally *share* in the death, "passion, and atonement of Christ, are *safe;* and "all that have not a part therein, are *lost*. All that "are *saved*, owe their salvation to the *salutary* pas- "sion of Christ: and their partaking thereof (which "is *feeding* upon his *flesh* and *blood*) is their *life*. "On the other hand, as many as are excluded from "*sharing* therein, and therefore feed not upon the "atonement, have no *life* in them. Those who are "blessed with capacity and opportunities, and have "*faith*, must have *sacraments*, must be in *cove-* "*nant*, must receive and obey the Gospel, in order "to have the *expiation* of the death of Christ *ap-* "*plied* to them. But our Lord's *general* doctrine "in this chapter seems to *abstract* from all particu- "larities, and to resolve into this; that whether with "*faith* or without, whether in the *sacraments* or

" out of the *sacraments*, whether *before* Christ or " *since*, whether in *covenant* or out of *covenant*, " whether *here* or *hereafter*, no man ever was, is, " or will be *accepted*, but in and through the *grand* " *propitiation* made by the *blood* of Christ."—" This " *general* doctrine of *salvation by Christ alone*, by " Christ *crucified*, is the great and important doc- " trine, the burden of both Testaments; signified in " all the sacrifices and services of the old Law, and " fully declared in every page almost of the New " Testament."—" He is to be considered as giving " his *body* to be broken, and as shedding his *blood* " for making an atonement; and so the *fruits of* " *his death* are what we are to *receive* as our spi- " ritual food: his *flesh is meat indeed*, and his " *blood is drink indeed*. His *passion* is our *redemp-* " *tion*; and by his *death* we *live*." Ordinarily, we take it in the use of the sacraments: but extraordinarily, God may *apply* the same *benefits* of Christ's death, and *virtue* of his atonement, to others not enjoying the same opportunities, though capable of being made partakers of the effect.

" Some have conceived that *faith*, or *doctrine*, is " what our Lord meant by the *bread* of *life*, and " that *believing* in Christ is the same with the *eat-* " *ing* and *drinking* there spoken of." But " belief " in Christ is the *condition* required, the *duty* com- " manded: the *bread of life* is the *reward* conse- " quent: faith is the *qualification*; the body and " blood is the *gift*, and the *real inheritance*." In like manner, " the *doctrine* of Christ gives the soul " its proper temperature and fitness to receive the " heavenly food; but the heavenly food is *Christ*

" *himself*."—" It may be true, that *eating* and " *drinking* wisdom, is the same with *receiving* wis- " dom: and it is no less true, that *eating* and *drink-* " *ing* flesh and blood, is *receiving* flesh and blood: " for eating means receiving. But where does *flesh*, " or *blood*, stand for *wisdom*, or for *doctrine?* What " rules of *symbolical* language are there, that require " it, or can even admit of it? There lies the stress " of the whole thing. *Flesh*, in symbolical language, " may signify *riches*, *goods*, *possessions;* and blood " may signify *life:* but Scripture never uses either " as a *symbol* of *doctrine*. To conclude, then, eat- " ing wisdom is receiving *wisdom;* but eating Christ's " flesh and blood, is receiving *life* and *happiness* " through his blood, and, in one word, receiving *Him*; " and that not merely as the object of our *faith*, " but as the fountain of our *salvation*, and our *so-* " *vereign good*, by means of His death and passion."

This view of the subject is, perhaps, better adapted than any other, to reconcile the discordant notions that have prevailed respecting this difficult portion of Scripture. Our author proceeds to confirm it by a copious and elaborate investigation of the opinions of the early Fathers of the Church; and at the same time shews how much these have been misunderstood. " There have been two extremes," he observes, " in the accounts given of the Fathers, and " both of them owing, as I conceive, to a neglect of " proper *distinctions*. They who judge that the Fa- " thers in general, or almost universally, do interpret " John vi. of the *Eucharist*, appear not to distin- " guish between *interpreting* and *applying*. It was " right to *apply* the *general* doctrine of John vi. to

" **the particular case of the Eucharist, considered as**
" ***worthily*** **received; because the** ***spiritual feeding***
" **there mentioned, is the** ***thing signified*** **in the Eu-**
" **charist, yea and** ***performed*** **likewise. After we**
" have sufficiently proved, from other Scriptures,
" that in and by the Eucharist, ordinarily, such spi-
" ritual food is conveyed, it is then right to *apply*
" all that our Lord, by *St. John*, says in the *gene-*
" *ral*, to that *particular* case: and this indeed the
" Fathers commonly did. But such *application* does
" not amount to *interpreting* that chapter of the
" Eucharist. For example; the words, *Except ye*
" *eat the flesh of Christ*, &c. *ye have no life in you*,
" do not mean directly, that *you have no life with-*
" *out the Eucharist*, but that you have no life *with-*
" *out participating of our Lord's passion.* Never-
" theless, since the Eucharist is one way of *partici-*
" *pating of the passion*, and a very considerable one,
" it was very pertinent and proper to urge the doc-
" trine of that chapter, both for the clearer under-
" standing the *beneficial* nature of the Eucharist,
" and for the exciting Christians to a frequent and
" devout reception of it. As to those who, in an-
" other extreme, charge the Fathers in general, as in-
" terpreting John vi. of *digesting doctrines* only,
" they are more widely mistaken than the former,
" for want of considering the *tropological* way of
" commenting then in use; which was not properly
" *interpreting*, nor so intended, but was the more
" frequently made use of in this subject, when there
" was a *mixed* audience, because it was a rule not
" to divulge their *mysteries* before incompetent hear-
" **ers, before the** ***uninitiated*****, that is, the** ***unbaptized*****.**"

To this account of the interpretations given by the Fathers, is subjoined that of our own Divines, particularly of *Cranmer*, the sum of whose doctrine on this head, is, 1. That John vi. is not to be interpreted of *oral* manducation in the Sacrament, nor of *spiritual* manducation as *confined* to the Eucharist, but of spiritual manducation *at large*, in that or any other sacrament, or out of the sacraments. 2. That *spiritual* manducation, in that chapter, means the feeding upon Christ's *death* and *passion*, as the price of our redemption and salvation. 3. That in so feeding we have a spiritual or mystical union with him. 4. That such *spiritual* manducation is a privilege belonging to the Eucharist; and therefore John vi. is not *foreign* to the Eucharist, but has such relation to it as the inward thing *signified* bears to the *outward signs*.

Closely connected with this difficult part of the subject is that which next comes under consideration, the *sacramental or symbolical feeding in the Eucharist*.

Dr. Waterland begins with a passage of St. Bernard, which he conceives to give a good general idea of the *symbolical* nature of the sacraments. St. Bernard "compares them with *instruments* of *investi-*
" *ture*, (into *lands*, *honours*, *dignities*,) which are
" *significant* and *emblematical* of what they belong
" to, and are at the same time *means* of conveyance.
" A *book*, a *ring*, a *crosier*, and the like, have often
" been made use of as *instruments* for such purpose.
" They are not without their *significancy* in the way
" of instructive *emblem*: but what is most consider-
" able, they are instruments to *convey* those rights,

" privileges, honours, offices, possessions, which in " silent language they point to. So it is with the " *signs* and *symbols* of both *sacraments*, and parti- " cularly with the *elements* of *bread* and *wine* in " the Eucharist. They are, after consecration, called " by the *names* of what they are *pledges* of, and are " ordained to *convey;* because they are, though not " *literally*, yet in *just construction* and *certain ef-* " *fect*, (standing on *Divine* promise and *Divine* ac- " ceptance,) the very things which they are called, " viz. the *body* and *blood* of Christ, to all *worthy* re- " ceivers. In *themselves* they are *bread* and *wine* " from first to last: but while they are made use of " in the holy service, they are *considered, construed,* " *understood*, (pursuant to Divine law, promise, co- " venant,) as standing for what they *represent* and " *exhibit.* Thus frequently, in human affairs, things " or persons are *considered* very differently from " what they really are in themselves, by a kind of " *construction of law:* and they are supposed to be, " to all intents and purposes, and in full *legal effect,* " what they are presumed to serve for, and to sup- " ply the place of. A *deed* of *conveyance*, or any " like *instrument*, under hand and seal, is not a *real* " estate, but it *conveys* one; and it is in *effect* the " estate itself, as the estate goes along with it; and " as the *right, title,* and *property* (which are *real* " acquirements) are, as it were, bound up in it, and " subsist by it."

According to this view, it may be said, " The bread " and wine are the body and blood in *just construc-* " *tion*, put upon them by the Lawgiver himself, who " has so appointed, and who is able to make it good.

" The symbols are not the body in *power* and *effect*, " if those words mean *efficiency*: but, suitable dis- " positions being supposed in the recipient, the *deli-* " *very* of these symbols is, in *construction* of Gospel- " law, and in *divine* intention, and therefore in cer- " tain *effect*, or *consequence*, a delivery of the *things* " signified. If God hath been pleased so to order, " that these outward elements, in the due use of the " Eucharist, shall be *imputed to* us, and *accepted* by " Him, as pledges of the *natural* body of our Lord;— " then those outward symbols are, though not *lite-* " *rally*, yet *interpretatively*, and to all *saving* pur- " poses, that very body and blood which they so re- " present *with effect*: they are appointed instead of " them."

Our author then proceeds to shew, that "this no- " tion of the Sacrament, as it is both intelligible and " reasonable, so is it likewise entirely consonant to " Scripture-language;" whether considered as to the *general* phraseology of Scripture, or with respect to Jewish *sacrifices* and *sacraments*, or with regard to Christian *Baptism*, or with respect to what is taught of the *Eucharist*. These points he dilates upon at considerable length; grounding his proofs relative to the *Eucharist* chiefly upon St. Paul's calling it the *communion* of the body and blood of Christ, "which " expresses *communication* on the part of the do- " nor, and *participation* on the side of the receiver;" and also upon the punishments threatened to the *unworthy* receiver as *guilty of the body and blood of the Lord*, and *not discerning the Lord's body*; both which passages, it is conceived, "suppose that " the sacramental symbols are *interpretatively*, or

" in *just construction*, by divine appointment, the " *body and blood of Christ.*" The remainder of the chapter is taken up with a detail of the opinions of the early Fathers of the Church, as well as of Cranmer and other of our Reformers and Divines; which are shewn to be generally conformable with the doctrine here maintained; and the doctrine itself is ably contrasted with the tenets of the Romish Church, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Zuinglians, the old Anabaptists, the Socinians, and lastly with Mr. Johnson's notion, in his *Unbloody Sacrifice*, that " the *elements*, as impregnated, or animated " with the *Spirit*, are the *only body* received, and " are made our *Lord's body* by such union with the " *Spirit.*"

The next chapter enters into a more particular explanation of St. Paul's doctrine concerning the Eucharist, in 1 Cor. x. 16—21; where the Apostle argues, in the way of parallel between the Christian Eucharist and the Jewish sacrifices, against partaking of offerings to idols. The points which St. Paul had to establish were, that eating of the *idol-sacrifices* was *interpretatively* consenting with the *idolaters*, or *communicating* with them; and that such consenting with the idolaters was also interpretatively, or in effect, *participating* of *devils*. His argument is this:—that as the Eucharist is interpretatively a *participating* of Christ's *body* and *blood*, and as the *Jewish feasts* were a *participating* of the *altar*; so the *eating* of *idol-meats* was interpretatively a *participating* of *devils*. It is evident, therefore, that St. Paul meant by the *communion* of Christ's *body* and *blood*, a participation, in

common with others, of the body, considered as *broken*, and of the blood considered as *shed*, according to the terms of the *institution* itself;—not a *communion* of the *natural* flesh and blood, by *transubstantiation*, or *consubstantiation*, or even by *faith*, (errors, which arise from too strict and servile attention to the *letter*, without reason, and against reason;)—nor, on the other hand, merely a *joint participation* of the outward *signs*, *symbols*, or *memorials* of the body and blood;—nor merely holding *communion with Christ* the *head* of the Church, or with *Christians* our *fellow-members* of it;—but as, moreover, an actual *participation*, "or having a "*part in* our Lord's *passion*, and the *reconcilement* "therein made, and the blessed *fruits* of it." The objections to this interpretation of the passage, by Whitby, Mosheim, and others, are then noticed; and the exposition here given, shewn to be conformable with that of Cudworth, and other writers of established reputation.

The two next chapters relate to the efficacy of the Eucharist in conferring *remission of sins* and *sanctifying grace*.

Remission of sins is properly the gift of *God alone*. But he may, and does, confer it, through such means, by such agents or instruments, and upon such conditions as he sees fit to ordain; and this may be given as a *present* benefit, *revocable* under such circumstances as the donor shall prescribe. Thus in *Baptism*, the benefit is generally acknowledged to be remission of sins, as its present consequence; but subject to be forfeited upon breach of the baptismal engagement. The analogy between

Baptism and the Eucharist forms a strong presumptive argument, that this is also the case with the latter sacrament; and there seems to be no valid reason against it. If renewals of repentance and of forgiveness be necessary on every occasion of a breach of the baptismal covenant, then there is an evident reason for supposing that in the Eucharist these renewals are rendered efficient. Baptism is, indeed, more especially the sacrament of *remission*, and the Eucharist of *spiritual growth*; the former, the instrument of *justification*; the latter, of *sanctification*. But these are so closely connected, that whatever increases either, increases both. If the Eucharist therefore be a *renewal* of the *baptismal covenant*, it must be a *renewal* of *remission of sins*, which is of the very essence of the sacrament of Baptism, and the very purpose for which it was ordained. And indeed, remission of sins, to be effectual, seems to be a *continued* act on the part of God, vouchsafed according to the exigencies of believers during the several stages and advances of the Christian life. But not to rest upon this argument from analogy, Dr. W. adduces Scripture-proof, "that the Eucharist really "is an *instrument* of *remission*, or a *Gospel-form* "of *absolution*." This he infers, first, from 1 Cor. x. 16, explained in the preceding chapter; arguing thus: "If we are, in the Eucharist, *partakers* of "Christ's death, with the fruits thereof; if the "*atonement* be one of those fruits; and if *remission* "follows the atonement, wherever it is truly ap-"plied; then *remission* is *conferred*, or (which "comes to the same) is *renewed* and *confirmed* in "this sacrament." In like manner, he argues from

our Lord's words in the institution of the Lord's Supper, " the blood of the new covenant, shed for you, " and for many, for the *remission of sins*;"—the remission is here mentioned as the effect of the blood shed: the blood we *symbolically* drink in the Eucharist: therefore we drink *remission* in the Eucharist. The stress laid on *drinking* this, shews it to be more than merely *commemorating*; that it is also *receiving*. *Eating* and *drinking* are, symbolically *receiving*. These signs, therefore " *exhibit* what they " *represent, convey* what they *signify*, and are in " *divine* construction and acceptance, though not li- " terally or substantially, the very thing which they " supply the place of." This is further confirmed by the analogy between the Eucharist and the *Passover*, and other ancient sacrifices, *prefiguring* the blood of Christ, which were tokens of the covenant to which they belonged, and conveyed *remission* as far as that covenant extended.

The communication of *sanctifying grace* in the Eucharist rests upon the same foundations as that of the *remission of sins*. It is implied in the *participation* of our Lord's death, with its *fruits*, in the Eucharist, as represented by St. Paul in 1 Cor. x. 16. " They who so *partake* of Christ, do of course par- " take of the *Spirit* of Christ. It cannot be other- " wise upon *Christian* principles taught in the New " Testament." This follows also, by undeniable *consequence*, from our Lord's doctrine of *spiritual feeding* in John vi. They who *receive worthily, spiritually* feed upon Christ, and are made partakers of all the privileges thereto belonging; consequently they have Christ *dwelling* in them, and if so, the

Spirit of Christ, who is inseparable from him. The *analogy* between the two sacraments here also, as in the other case, proves the same. If the *putting on* Christ, in Baptism, carries with it the conveyance of the *Holy Spirit; à fortiori* the *eating* and *drinking* Christ, in the Eucharist, does the same. To this St. Paul seems to advert, 1 Cor. xii. 13, *By one Spirit are we all baptized into one body—and have been all made to drink into one Spirit;* that is, "By "one and the same *Spirit* we are in Baptism made "one *mystical* body of Christ, and have been all "made to *drink* of the sacramental cup in the Eu- "charist, whereby the *same Spirit* hath again *united* "us, yet more perfectly, to *Christ* our *head*, in the "same mystical body." To apply *both* clauses in this paragraph to *Baptism* makes it border upon *tautology;* and *drinking* the Spirit appears to be a "harsh figure" if applied to Baptism. It is also more consonant with the tenor of the apostle's argument, to understand him as referring to *both* sacraments.

Having thus examined each of these points by the light of Scripture-evidence, our author enlarges upon the views taken of them by the ancient Fathers, and by the Reformers and other Divines of the Church of England; all tending to confirm his own exposition. On the *sanctifying grace* conferred in the Eucharist, he further enters into an investigation of "what the *ancients* taught concerning the *descent* "or *illapse* of the Holy Spirit upon the *symbols*, or "upon the *communicants;*" and states the result to be, that the illapse of the Spirit is upon the *persons* receiving the elements, rather than upon the *ele-*

ments themselves; conveying spiritual graces to those who partake either of this sacrament or of Baptism, and accompanying the use of the outward signs, wherever there is no obstacle on the part of the recipient;—that the *sanctifying* of the *water* in the one sacrament, and of *bread* and *wine* in the other, means no more than the consecrating them to the uses of *personal* sanctification; the Spirit making use of them as *symbols* for conveying his graces; in which use of them consists their *relative holiness;* though the Spirit dwells not properly upon *them,* but upon the *persons* who receive them. In the ancient *Liturgies,* the forms of invocation did not implore any *physical* change in the elements, nor any physical connection of the Spirit with the elements; but a *moral* change only, as to their *relations* and *uses,* and a gracious presence of the Holy Spirit upon the communicants. This too was the notion of our Reformers, and the framers of our Liturgy. In Baptism we pray, "Give thy Holy Spi-" rit to this infant"—" Sanctify him with the Holy " Ghost"—and, "Sanctify this water to the *mystical* " washing away of sin." In the Communion, "Grant " that we receiving these thy creatures of *bread* and " *wine*—may be partakers of his most precious *body* " and *blood.* The Christian world, therefore, has all " along believed, that the Spirit of God is invisibly " *present,* and operates *effectually* in both sacra-" ments; as well to confer a relative *holiness* upon " the outward *symbols,* as to convey the *grace* of " *sanctification* to the faithful recipients." But, adds our author, "we place no more virtue in the naked " symbols, than in the meanest instruments what-

" ever, which God may at any time please to make " use of, and sanctify to high and holy purposes. " Those instruments in themselves do nothing: it is " God that does all, in and through the appointed " use of them."—" As to the *manner* of it, it is not " for us to presume to explain it: but we are cer- " tain it is wrought in a *moral* way, in a way con- " sistent with *moral* agency and human *liberty*."— " Neither do we *confine* God's grace to the *sacra-* " *ments*; nor do we assert any *peculiar* grace, as " *appropriate* to them only: but what we assert is, " some *peculiar degree* of the same *graces*, or some " peculiar *certainty* or *constancy* as to the effect, in " the due use of those means. And if the Divine " graces, more or less, go along with all the Divine " ordinances, well may they be supposed to go along " with these which are the most solemn and most " exalted of any, and have also more of a *federal* " nature in them."

This *federal* or *covenanting* nature of the Eucharist then comes under consideration, in a distinct chapter.

The Eucharist has generally been considered as of a federal nature; not as making a new covenant, but renewing and confirming that which had been before entered into at *Baptism*. Although that covenant was granted and completed by the prior rite of Baptism, yet may it properly be said to be *renewed*, as circumstances require, or as individuals are concerned in it. For the term *covenant* may be applied, either to the bare *sign*, which is merely the *token* of the covenant; or to the *thing signified*, including the *terms* of the agreement itself; or to the

whole transaction, comprising both. In each of these senses it is equally applicable to Baptism and to the Eucharist. Baptism is the *answer*, or rather, *stipulation* of a good conscience. The Eucharist is an act of communion between God and the worthy receiver; a reciprocal intercourse of blessings on the one hand, and homage on the other; which, in effect, is a mutual *stipulation:* it is performing, on both sides, what was before stipulated in Baptism; conveying the strongest assurance of its continuation; and amounting, in just construction, to a repetition or renewal of the reciprocal engagements. Nor can it fairly be objected, that it is only a *memorial* of the covenant. For, if (as the Apostle teaches) it is not only a memorial, but a *communion* also of the *body* and *blood* of Christ, so must it be a *communion* or *participation* of the *covenant* founded upon our Lord's death and passion. Dr. Cudworth's view of the Lord's Supper as a feast upon a sacrifice, and consequently a *federal* rite, sealed and ratified by both parties, is then vindicated against Lutherans, Socinians, and those among our own Divines, who either regard it as a bare *memorial* only, or insist upon its being actually a *material* and *propitiatory* sacrifice. The sum of our author's opinions on this point is stated thus: "The *legal* sacrifices were *federal* rites, binding "*legal* stipulations directly; and, indirectly, *evan*-"*gelical* stipulations also, shadowed out by the "other: the Gospel sacraments, which by St. Paul's "account (in 1 Cor. x.) bear an *analogy* to those "legal sacrifices, do likewise bind in a way proper "to them, and as suits with the *Gospel state:*

" therefore they do directly fix and ratify *evangeli-*
" *cal* stipulations. These are properly *federal* rites
" of the Gospel state; as the other were properly
" *federal* rites of the legal economy."

In the next chapter, the Eucharist is considered in a *sacrificial* view; a point, on which much difference of opinion has prevailed among protestant Divines. That, in some sense or other, it may be called the Christian sacrifice, is maintained by Protestants as well as by Papists. But "the general " way," Dr. W. observes, "among both *Lutheran* and " *reformed*[p], has been to reject any *proper* propi-
" tiation, or *proper* sacrifice in the Eucharist; ad-
" mitting, however, of some kind of *propitiation* in
" a qualified sense; and of *sacrifice* also, but of a
" *spiritual* kind, and therefore styled *improper* or
" *metaphorical.* Nevertheless, Mr. Mede scrupled
" not to assert a *proper* sacrifice in the Eucharist,
" (as he termed it,) a *material* sacrifice, the sacrifice
" of *bread* and *wine*, analogous to the *mincha* of the
" old Law." Dr. Cudworth opposes this, " but admits
" of a *symbolical* feast upon a sacrifice, that is to

[p] The distinction here made by Dr. Waterland between *Lutheran* and *reformed* Churches, though it may seem inadmissible upon the general principles of the Protestant reformation, is common among continental writers, especially those of the *Calvinistic* persuasion, who hold none to be reformers in the full sense of the word, who do not go beyond Luther in their departure from the see of Rome. This will account for Dr. W.'s adoption of the distinction, to which he was familiarized by his acquaintance with such writers; and more especially when treating on the subject of the *Eucharist*, in which the reformed Churches in general differed, in some respects, almost as widely from the Lutheran doctrine, as from that of the Romish Church.

" say, upon the grand sacrifice itself *commemorated* " under certain *symbols*;" and this has since been the most prevailing opinion; although Dr. Grabe concurred with Mr. Mede in his view of the subject, and Bishop Bull gave some countenance to it. Dr. W. shews, that according to the best ancient authorities, the Eucharist "is both a *true* and a *proper* " sacrifice, and the noblest that can be offered, as " comprehending under it *many* true and evangeli- " cal sacrifices;" viz. the sacrifice of *alms* and *oblations*; of *prayer*, of *praise*, and *thanksgiving*; of a *penitent* and *contrite* heart; of *ourselves*, our *souls* and *bodies*; of Christ's *mystical body*, the *Church*; of true *converts* or *penitents* by their *pastors*; and of *faith*, *hope*, and *self-humiliation*, in *commemorating* the *grand sacrifice* upon the cross, and resting finally upon it. All these may meet together in the Eucharist; and "into some one or more of these " may be resolved all that the ancients have ever " taught of it, under the name or notion of a *true* or " *proper* sacrifice." They discountenanced the notion of a sacrifice of the real *body* of Christ, or of a *material* sacrifice of any kind. "The fathers well " understood, that to make Christ's *natural* body the " real sacrifice of the Eucharist would not only be " *absurd* in reason, but highly *presumptuous* and " *profane*; and that to make the outward *symbols* " a proper sacrifice, a *material* sacrifice, would be " entirely contrary to Gospel principles, degrading " the *Christian* sacrifice into a *Jewish* one, yea, and " making it much lower and meaner than the " Jewish, both in *value* and *dignity*. The right " way, therefore, was to make the sacrifice *spi-*

" *ritual:* and it could be no other upon Gospel prin-
" ciples. Thus both *extremes* were avoided, all per-
" plexities removed, and truth and godliness se-
" cured." This is the *sacrificial* view of the subject which Dr. W. himself maintains, and holds to be entirely conformable with the *federal* sense of it, as before explained.

The two concluding chapters, on *preparation* for this sacrament, and on the obligation to *frequent communion*, are more directly of *practical* concern. The medium is here carefully observed between a devout reverence for this sacred institution, and a superstitious dread of it. With regard to the *preparation* required, it is observed, that St. Paul's admonitions respecting an *unworthy* participation of the Lord's Supper, and the guilt of *not discerning the Lord's body*, apply, not only to such gross irreverence as disgraced the Corinthian Church, but, in a proportionate degree, to every kind of profaneness, or carelessness, in the use of the sacred symbols. It is contended also, that whatever is necessary as a qualification for *Baptism*, is requisite for worthily receiving the *Eucharist*. Besides previous admission into the Christian covenant by *Baptism*, a *competent knowledge* of what the Communion means, a *sound* and *right* faith as to the main substance of the Christian religion, hearty and unfeigned *repentance*, (including *reparation* of injuries and *forgiveness* of injuries,) *union* with the Church, and *mercy* and *charity* towards the poor; are necessary preparatives, as duties either *habitually* practised, or, at least, *actually* resolved upon, with reference to the performance of this service.

Concerning the *frequency* of receiving this sacrament, an historical inquiry is instituted into the practice of the primitive Churches; which is shewn not to have been established upon any prescribed, or invariable directions; but to have been regulated, according to circumstances, by the supposed *fitness*, or the supposed *preparation* of the communicant, for a worthy participation of it. Where no impediments in these respects exist, it may, in general, be safely affirmed, that it cannot be *too often* received. But the application of this rule must be left to the judgment of each individual, assisted and guided by the direction of the Church and the spiritual pastor.

From the foregoing analysis of this treatise, it will be seen that it has little the aspect of a *polemical* work, although so large a portion of it may be applied, as a corrective, or a preventive, of error. With scarcely any personal reference to the living authors of his time who entertained different views of the subject from that which he supported, Dr. W. has so conducted his train of reasoning and investigation, as to meet all their diversities of opinion in their full force; stating them with candour and fairness, and controverting them with no less moderation, than ability and decision. That he did not entirely succeed in satisfying those from whom he thus differed, whether in points essential or not essential to the main doctrine, is not to be wondered at, nor to be regarded as any proof of defect in the execution of his design. Animadversions were made on his treatise by Dr. Brett, in vindication of his friend the author of the *Unbloody Sacrifice;* and the admirers of Bishop Hoadley would hardly accede to a

system so utterly discordant with their own. Of the latter opponents, Dr. W. took no farther notice. The arguments of the former he again reviewed in some of his Charges, and restated his reasonings with additional proofs and illustrations. But these will fall more directly under our observation in the ensuing section.

SECTION VII.

CHARGES, AND OCCASIONAL SERMONS.

BESIDE those larger treatises, on which his reputation was chiefly established, Dr. Waterland distinguished himself, in the course of his professional labours, by several lesser productions of considerable importance. Of these, a series of archidiaconal Charges, and some few occasional Sermons, are all that he himself committed to the press.

Dr. Waterland was collated to the archdeaconry of Middlesex by Bishop Gibson, in the year 1727. Eight of his Charges are extant: two, in vindication of Christianity against the Deists; two, compressed into one discourse, on Fundamentals; one, on the doctrinal use of the Sacraments; three, on special points relating to the Eucharist. The two first may be considered as supplemental to his *Scripture vindicated;* the three last, as further illustrative of his *Review of the Eucharist.* It appears that none were delivered previous to the year 1731, that being entitled the *Primary* Charge.

This Primary Charge relates to the growth of Deism, particularly in this country, where it had been encouraged, as Dr. W. observes, by the efforts of many, who, though not themselves infidels, laboured to bring some of the main doctrines of Christianity into disrepute, to depreciate some of its most solemn institutions, and to render the whole system of revealed religion dependent upon the diversities and uncertainties of human judgment. Our author confines himself, however, to one chief point of in-

quiry, much misunderstood, or misrepresented, by infidels, both ancient and modern; and upon which he had already touched in the Appendix to his second part of *Scripture vindicated;* namely, the alleged independence of *natural* religion upon that which is *revealed*, and the sources from which Pagans, and others destitute of the light of Christianity, are supposed to have derived their knowledge of moral and religious truths[q].

This inquiry is conducted historically; beginning with the writings of *Jewish* apologists for the religion of Moses, in opposition to the Greek philosophers, particularly Josephus's two books against Apion; and pursued through those of the *Christian* apologists, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Theophilus, Clemens of Alexandria, Tertullian, Minutius Felix, Origen, Lactantius, Eusebius, Theodoret, and others, who laboured to prove that the heathen world were chiefly indebted to Revelation, either scriptural or traditional, for such portion of moral and religious knowledge as they had been able to acquire. The same opinion has been ably maintained by several distinguished modern writers; and the argument, hence arising, to lessen the pretensions of what is called

[q] In the present edition, this Charge is entitled, *The Wisdom of the Ancients borrowed from Divine Revelation;* a title, which, though it sufficiently indicates its subject, was not given to it by the author, nor by his friend, Dr. John Berriman, in the list of his writings; where it bears the same superscription with the second Charge, *Christianity vindicated against Infidelity.* The alteration was occasioned by the want of a running title in the copy of the Charge from which this edition was printed; and the editor was not aware of it until after the sheets were worked off.

natural religion, and to enhance the value and importance of Revelation, is such as cannot easily be overthrown. Dr. Waterland, however, exercises a sound judgment and discretion in the extent and application of this argument. "There may be," he observes, "an extreme either way; either by extending the argument too far, laying more stress upon it than it can justly bear; or not allowing enough to it, but throwing a kind of slight or contempt upon it." Sir John Marsham, Dr. Spencer, and M. Le Clerc, he conceives, have gone into the latter extreme; while Huetius and others of less note have been justly censured for exceeding in the other way. The same observation might be applied to several writers who have more recently discussed this point; and perhaps there are few subjects on which it is more difficult to resist the temptation of erring on one side or the other. Dr. W. is of opinion that the excesses of most of these authors have arisen from "not carefully distinguishing the several channels by which revealed light was conveyed to the Gentile world, or not being content to rest in generals, when they might most safely and prudently have done it."— "The Pagans," he observes, "might be instructed in divine things, either by reading the *Scriptures*, or by conversing with *Jews*, or by conversing with other nations that had been acquainted with Jews; or by means of public edicts of several great *princes* that had favoured the Jews; or lastly by *tradition* handed down to them from *Abraham*, or from *Noah*, or from the *first parents* of mankind:" and "since revealed light, more or less,

" might break out upon the Pagan world all these " several ways, it is not necessary, in every case, to " determine which way it came." Having pursued this observation more in detail, our author arrives at the conclusion, that the Gentile world " were never " entirely destitute of supernatural notices, never " left to the mere *light of nature*, either for forming " a knowledge of God and religion, or for directing " their life and manners." And hence he shews upon how precarious a foundation infidels ground their tenet of the *sufficiency* of natural light, or attempt to set it in competition with that which is *supernatural*. He notices also how much more reprehensible and inexcusable in this respect are *modern* unbelievers than their Pagan predecessors: and observes, in conclusion, that since they can never prove Revelation to be *needless*, unless they can first prove that there has been no Revelation, they commit " an ὕστερον πρότερον in their main argument; pre- " tending to disprove a *fact*, by arguing that the " thing was *needless*, when there is no possible way " of proving the thing *needless*, but by first disprov- " ing the *fact*."

The *second* Charge, delivered in 1732, after noticing the increasing growth of Deism, and briefly reviewing its origin and progress under that specious name, animadverts upon the artifice of its advocates, in thus endeavouring to screen themselves from the odious imputation of Atheism, although their evident purpose is to bring all religion into contempt, under cover of assailing *Revelation* only. While they arrogate to themselves almost exclusive pretensions to

sense, and *reason*, and *truth*, they would fain persuade mankind, that their object is "not to destroy *reli-* "*gion*, and *conscience*, and the *fear of God*," but only to contend "against *credulity* or *bigotry*, against "*superstition* or *enthusiasm*, against *statecraft*, "*priestcraft*, or *imposture*; names, which they are "pleased to affix, for the most part, to true religion "and godliness." These insidious pretensions our author then proceeds more distinctly to examine; and the accusations thus levelled against revealed religion in general he not only vigorously repels, but makes them recoil, with powerful effect, on the adversary himself.

Credulity, he shews, denotes in the infidel's vocabulary, a belief in Moses and the Prophets, in Christ and his Apostles. Pagans, credulous themselves in the highest degree of absurdity, ventured to cast this reproach upon the primitive Christians, and met with merited castigation from Christian apologists. Modern infidels betray scarcely less credulity even in the very arguments they use to overthrow Revelation. They believe the records both of the Old and New Testament to have been forgeries and falsehoods, in direct opposition to historical evidence, to facts the most indisputable, to existing circumstances which can only be explained upon the admission of those facts, and to principles on which all mankind (infidels themselves not excepted) do and must necessarily act in all the ordinary concerns of human life. While, therefore, they affect to disbelieve *mysteries* and *miracles*, they virtually admit hypotheses more mar-

vellous and more incredible, than those which they reject; and assume credit for superiority of intellect, only by inverting the order of sober ratiocination in every well-constructed mind.

In like manner, when *bigotry* is imputed to the Jew of past times, or to the Christian of the present day, "let the indifferent world," says Dr. W. "judge "whether *Christians* or *infidels* are most properly "*bigots*. While they are afraid of being *guided* by "*priests*, they consent to be *governed* by *anti-* "*priests*; who demand a much greater submission "from them than we can pretend to." Even the leaders themselves "generally follow the track of "their predecessors, and appear to be zealous *bigots* "to their *systems*, their *creeds*, their *paradoxes*, "their *party*; all which they adhere to as pertina- "ciously as we can do to our *Bible*." *Pagan* historians, *Pagan* morals, *Pagan* calumnies, are set up as oracles against *Christian* evidences; and implicit credit is given to such men as Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian, in ancient times, or Hobbs and Spinosa, in modern. Men may be bigots also to their own *passions* and *prejudices*, in rejecting *Divine* authority; while submitting and adhering to this supreme authority is not *bigotry*, but an act of the *highest reason*. Let them shew, says Dr. W. "that the *reasons* are "all on their side, and then we shall readily admit "that all the *bigotry* is on ours: but till this be done, "(and it is impossible it ever should,) the charge "which they bring against us is as easily retorted as "made, and with much more truth and justice."

Superstition is another current term of reproach often applied to Christianity, and to all revealed re-

ligion. Properly it denotes some kind of *excess* in matters of religion, and particularly any *false* religion: and "they who admit *no* religion as true, make "superstition the common name for *all*." "The "contrary extreme to excess, is *defect*, or want of "religion, and is called *irreligion*, *profaneness*, *im-*"*piety*, *apostasy*, *Atheism*, according to its respec-"tive circumstances and degrees. The due mean "between the two extremes, is true and sound reli-"gion. Upon this ground we contend that Chris-"tianity is properly *religion*, and not *superstition*: "and that the disbelief of it is irreligion, profaneness, "madness." Nor are its opponents, he observes, so free perhaps from *superstition* as they imagine. *Infidelity* and *superstition* may proceed from a similar kind of weakness and of corruption. Guilty fears and apprehensions drive men to one or to the other, according to their respective tempers and constitutional propensities; and there have been proofs that none are more apt to become *superstitious* in a time of danger, than they who at other times have been most *profane*.

The same is also observed of the term *enthusiasm*, so often charged upon believers in Christianity. For, who are the *visionaries*? they who imagine that the world was converted to the Christian faith by lunatics and madmen; or they who see the impossibility that any such effect could be produced but by rational conviction grounded on evidence irresistible? "There may be an *irreligious* phrensy, as "well as a *religious* one; and the imagination may "as soon be heated with a spirit of *profaneness*, as "with the fervours of *piety*." Cudworth has de-

scribed enthusiastical or fanatical *Atheists*, and shewn that even those among them who pretended most to reason and philosophy might be justly so entitled. Nor are even the deistical notions, that *virtue* is independent of hopes and fears, rewards and punishments, altogether free from this imputation. Still more nearly allied to enthusiasm is their practice of dignifying each man's individual *reason* with the character and the titles of *inspiration*, *internal revelation*, *inward light*, *infallibility*, and terms of similar import; claims, which when "brought "to exclude Scripture, are *enthusiastic* and *fanati-* "*cal*, false and vain."

Statecraft and *Priestcraft* are moreover favourite topics with the Deists, when they endeavour to prejudice men's minds against religion. These calumnies, however, seem to be directed against our Lord himself and his Apostles, rather than against the rulers or the priests of after-times. For if no *false facts* or *false doctrines* can be imputed to the Gospel historians, it is futile to charge *craft* and *deceit* upon those who maintain them as *truths*. Either those facts and doctrines must be refuted, or both priests and statesmen stand acquitted of any guile or craft in upholding them. In the mean while, they who bring these accusations "are labouring to impose "*false facts*, *false doctrines*, and *false claims* upon "the world, under the name of *religion*, for their "own humour, ambition, or advantage." Many acute observations are urged by our author upon this popular subject of declamation.

On the general imputation of *imposture*;—"a "compendious calumny, all reproaches in one;"—

Dr. Waterland observes, "That there is an *im-*
"*posture* somewhere, is very certain: and the
"only question is, who are the *impostors?* Reckon
"up the marks and characters of an imposture:
"apply them first to *Christ*, and his doctrine and
"followers, and see whether they will fit; and
"next apply them to *Hobbs*, *Spinosa*, &c. and see
"whether they will not fit." What is the doctrine of these men, but a *fraud* and imposition on the public? The strength of their cause lies in "falsifi-
"cation, stratagem, and wile. It cannot be *pleaded*
"*for* decently, without *disowning* it, verbally, at
"the same time, and making it pass for the very re-
"verse of what it really is."

It will be seen, by reference to the author's notes upon this Charge, that most of these observations were levelled at Tindal's mischievous work, *Christianity as old as the Creation;* against which, together with his former Charge, and his *Scripture vindicated*, it afforded a most seasonable and powerful antidote.

The next Charge, comprising the substance of two which had been delivered in 1734 and 1735, forms a complete and very valuable dissertation upon a subject of high importance; the discussion of which was more especially called for by the laxity of religious opinions then too generally prevalent. That laxity may for the most part be ascribed to a want of clear and accurate conception of what constitutes (to adopt an expression of Cranmer's) "the necessary
"doctrine of a Christian man." Where this knowledge is wanting; where vague and indefinite notions are entertained of the relative importance of different

articles of faith; no fixed or consistent principles can be laid down of Church-communion, nor can any certain criterion be established, by which to weigh the pretensions of different sects and parties. The obtrusion of certain heterodox tenets into the Church, by some who lay under the most sacred obligations to maintain its faith unimpaired; and the unblushing attempts made even by infidel writers to identify their own systems with Christianity, and thence to assume to themselves the appellation of *Christian* Deists;—rendered it still more necessary to guard the faith against such perversion, and to draw the line of demarcation betwixt truth and error, with as much clearness and precision as the nature of the case would admit.

With this view Dr. Waterland's Charge, entitled, *A Discourse of Fundamentals*, was professedly undertaken.

Several distinguished writers had before treated upon this subject; among whom were Bacon, Mede, Chillingworth, Hammond, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, Clagett, and others of our own Church, besides Hoornbeck, Spanheim, Puffendorf, Witsius, Turretin, and Buddeus, of the Lutheran and other foreign reformed Churches. The importance therefore of the subject had been generally acknowledged; but so much diversity still prevailed as to the mode of determining the points in question, as to render a more distinct and satisfactory view of it exceedingly desirable.

Our author clears the ground for this difficult undertaking with his usual ability. The term *fundamental*, as applied to articles of faith, he observes,

" is supposed to mean something *essential* to reli-
" gion or Christianity; so necessary to its being, or
" at least to its well-being, that it could not subsist,
" or maintain itself tolerably without it." The distinction between things thus essential, and those which are less so, is shewn to be recognised in Scripture, and to have been acted upon by St. Paul, in making converts to the faith. The primitive Churches carefully attended to this principle. Certain articles were invariably insisted upon as terms of Church-communion; and a departure from these was regarded as a renunciation of Christianity itself. But as parties multiplied in the Church, different rules of this kind were, from time to time, set up, by sects, or by individuals, desirous of advancing their own particular tenets. Under such circumstances, the hope of *perfect union* could hardly, perhaps, be entertained. But to disentangle the subject, as far as might be, from the perplexity in which it had thus been involved, was certainly a laudable purpose, tending in some degree, at least, to prevent the increase of error and disunion.

Dr. W. sets aside the distinction between *natural* and *revealed* religion, so far as this subject is concerned, because *revealed* he considers as including *both*; nor does he dwell upon the distinctions between *faith*, *worship*, and *morality*, " these being all
" *essential* to Christianity, and equally to be insisted
" on as terms of *Christian communion*." " But," he observes, " it may be needful to distinguish be-
" tween fundamentals considered in an *abstract*
" view, as essentials of the Christian *fabric* or *sys-*
" *tem*, and fundamentals considered in a *relative*

" view to particular persons." The former " are of " a fixed determinate view, as much as Christianity " itself is, and may be ascertained by plain and un- " alterable rules;" the latter " will always vary, with " the *capacities* and *opportunities* of the persons." Accordingly, almost all parties make some distinction between *terms of communion* and *terms of salvation;* excluding many from the former as erring fundamentally, whom notwithstanding they would not dare to condemn to perdition.

A fundamental doctrine, then, may be defined, in the terms expressed by Dean Sherlock, namely, " such a doctrine as is, in strict sense, of the *essence* " of Christianity; without which the whole building " and superstructure must fall; and the belief of " which is necessary to the very being of Christian- " ity, like the *first principles* of any *art* or *science.*" In conformity with this general definition, Dr. W. lays it down as an axiom, " that such doctrines as " are found to be *intrinsecal* or essential to the " *Christian covenant* are *fundamental truths,* and " such as are plainly and directly *subversive* of it " are *fundamental errors.*" The *Christian covenant* he moreover considers as including the following requisites: " 1. a *founder* and principal cove- " nanter; 2. a *subject* capable of being covenanted " with; 3. a *charter* of foundation; 4. a *Mediator;* " 5. *conditions* to be performed; 6. *aids* or means to " enable to performance; 7. *sanctions* also, to bind " the covenant, and to secure obedience."

1. The *existence* of the Deity is a fundamental article; and so is the belief of his Divine attributes and perfections, and that he is the Creator, Pre-

server, and Governor of the world; all which is included in the very idea of God; so that to deny either of these is to err *fundamentally*. It is essential also to *Christian* theology, to acknowledge Jehovah, the God of Israel, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in opposition to any false gods, either of heathens or heretics.

2. A *covenant* implies some subject, or party, *capable of being covenanted with;* a *moral* agent, able to discern between *good* and *evil*, and to *choose* either. Therefore the doctrines of *free-will*, and of the *essential* differences between *moral good* and *evil*, are *fundamental* verities; and to disown them, is to err *fundamentally*.

3. The *charter* of foundation is also *essential* to the covenant. Consequently, the *sacred oracles* which contain that charter, and convey it to us, must necessarily be received: so that to reject the *Divine authority* of sacred writ, is another fundamental error.

4. The belief of a *Mediator* is equally *essential*, and to deny our Lord to be that Mediator, is to deny the Scriptures and Christianity altogether. So is it, to deny Him to be *such* a Mediator as the Scripture describes him to be, a *Divine* Mediator, *God* and *man*. This is what the very nature of the covenant requires. And under this is included his making *expiation*, *atonement*, and *satisfaction* for us. To deny these doctrines is, in effect, rejecting the chief person upon whom our salvation depends, and overthrowing the whole covenant.

5. The *conditions* of the covenant, *repentance* and *holiness*, are no less plainly *essential* to it: and

whatever tenets militate against these, are fatal errors; errors in the very *foundation* of the Christian system.

6. The *aids*, or *means*, without which these conditions cannot be performed, are, for the same reason, *essential* articles of belief. In this view, the *sacraments*, as *means* of *grace*, cannot be dispensed with; and they who discard them, or deny their use and their necessity, err fundamentally. Here also the *sanctifying operation of the Holy Spirit* comes in, as another *fundamental* point, including the *personality*, the *Divinity*, and *all-sufficiency*, of the third Person in the Godhead, and consequently, the acknowledgment of the *three Persons in the Trinity*, by whose cooperation, the entire work of salvation, redemption, justification, and sanctification, is effected.

7. Lastly, the *sanctions* which give to the Christian covenant its force and efficacy, are to be reckoned among the *essentials* which cannot be set aside without renouncing the Gospel itself. The doctrines of a *future state*, of a *resurrection*, of final *judgment* by our Lord himself, of *heaven*, and of *hell*, are *fundamental* points of Christian theology, inseparable from it, and constituting the very end and purpose to which all its doctrines and its precepts are directed.

Keeping these general principles stedfastly in view, Dr. W. conceives that "it is not necessary to "exhibit any complete *catalogue* either of funda-"mental truths or errors." It is sufficient that we have a *certain* rule to go by; and "though Divines "take not upon them to number up with exactness

" all the verities *essential* to the life of Christianity, " or all the errors *subversive* of it, yet they can spe- " cify several in each kind with unerring certainty, " and have certain rules whereby to judge, as occa- " sion offers, of any other; and this suffices in the " essentials of *faith*, as well as in the essentials of " *practice*." Where there is any reasonable *doubt*, our author urges the duty of endeavouring to promote *peace* and *charity*, as far as may possibly be consistent with adherence to truths really and essentially important. This part of the subject is farther pursued, for the purpose of shewing more distinctly what terms of communion may be insisted upon, or complied with, according to the foregoing principles.

The remainder of the Charge is occupied with a brief review of several other *rules* which had been laid down by different writers on the subject.

Some have proposed to cut off all disputes by determining what is fundamental or not, solely on the *authority of the Church*. This is the rule of *Popery*, and can only be consistently maintained on the ground of papal *infallibility*.—Others conceive, that every thing asserted in *Scripture* is *fundamental*; confounding what is *true* or *useful*, though of comparatively less moment, with that which is of paramount *importance*, and *essential* to the Christian system.—Others limit the rule to that which is *expressly* declared in Scripture, in contradistinction to that which is only deduced from it in the way of *inference*; a rule, " faulty both in *excess* and in *de-* " *fect*;" since there are many truths expressly taught in Scripture which have no *immediate* connection with the Christian covenant, and therefore are not

fundamental; while, on the other hand, doctrines the most important in that respect may be fully proved by plain, direct, and immediate *consequences* from the declarations of holy writ, though not expressly affirmed in any particular texts.—Sometimes, this rule has been farther restricted to "whatever "Scripture has expressly declared *necessary*, or "commanded us to believe, under pain of *damna-* "*tion*, or *exclusion* from Christian communion;" which, though it will oblige us to receive what is thus enjoined as *fundamental*, will yet not extend to many points which are in reality no less so, from their immediate and necessary connection with the whole design of the Gospel.—Another proposition has been, to receive every article in the *Apostles' Creed* as fundamental, and no others. But that Creed neither contains, nor was intended to contain, certain points very essential to a Christian's belief, such as the *divine* authority of Scripture, the *worship* of God, and the *practical* duties of Christianity; while, on the other hand, it affirms some points, which, though strictly *true and scriptural*, do not fully come up to the description of matters absolutely essential to Christianity itself.—Again; St. Paul's list of those elementary principles of the Gospel, *repentance*, *faith*, *baptism*, *confirmation*, *resurrection*, and *judgment*, have been thought to comprehend all that is necessarily required of us: whereas the Apostle evidently states these to be merely those *first* notions which should be inculcated upon new converts, before they are well able to proceed to higher and more recondite truths; the passage having no relation to points *essential* or *non-essential*, and therefore is ir-

relevant to such a purpose.—Others have contended, that the bare acknowledgment "that *Jesus is the* "*Messiah*," is "a *general* belief sufficient to *make* "a man a Christian, and to *keep* him so;" and "that nothing beyond that ought to be absolutely "insisted on as *fundamental*, or made a *term* of *com*-"*munion*." This is a most *defective* rule in many respects; since though the whole of Christianity may be virtually implied in this one article, yet the denial of any essential point of the Christian faith would be "in effect revoking that very article;" and therefore the acknowledgment of such a *general* truth cannot supersede the necessity of receiving those *special* doctrines, without which it can hardly be said to have any definite signification.—*Universality of agreement* among professed Christians has been proposed as another criterion of fundamental articles; "to throw out what is *disputed*, and to re-"tain only what all *agree in*." But "how shall any "one know what all sects and denominations of "Christians agree in, or how long they shall do so? "Or if that could be known, are we to be guided by "the floating humours, fancies, follies of *men*, or by "the unerring wisdom of God?" A *comprehension* or *coalition* of religious parties is very desirable, so far as it can be effected by throwing out *circumstantials*, and retaining only *essentials*. But to attempt it by relaxing the *rule* for *essentials*, is leaving no rule at all, or next to none, and is uniting in nothing but *indifference* to the truth.—A still more extravagant scheme has sometimes been proposed, that of making the *universal agreement*, not of Christians only, but of all *mankind*, the standard of funda-

mental truth; reducing them to Lord Herbert's *five* articles of *natural religion*; the *existence* of a *God*, some kind of *worship* to be paid to him, the practice of *moral virtue*, *repentance*, and a *future state*. This is at once confounding infidelity with Christianity, and discarding altogether the authority of Revelation.—One more attempt of a similar kind has been, to regard a *right faith* as utterly insignificant, and to comprise all that is fundamental in religion in the single article of a *good life*. The futility of this plea for error or unbelief, Dr. W. had exposed in his *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*; and he here again briefly lays open its fallacy and absurdity.

The Charge concludes with a summary recapitulation of our author's view of the subject; stating that "whatever verities are found to be plainly and directly *essential* to the doctrine of the *Gospel-covenant*, "are *fundamental verities*: and whatever errors are "plainly and directly *subversive* of it, are *fundamental errors*." By this rule, he observes, we may with "sufficient *certainty* fix the *terms of communion* with the several denominations of Christians. "As to the precise *terms of salvation*, they may admit of greater variety and latitude, on account of "particular circumstances, of diverse kinds: and "there is no necessity of absolutely excluding all "from *uncovenanted* or even *covenanted* mercies, "whom we may be obliged to exclude from *brotherly communion*." Certainly, these are quite distinct considerations; and our author, by carefully drawing the line between them, has guarded his treatment of the subject from the imputation of laxity on the one hand, or of uncharitable rigour on the

other. Upon the whole, this is, perhaps, the most valuable of his minor productions.

The next Charge on *the doctrinal Use of the Christian Sacraments*, has been already incidentally noticed. It is a brief, but curious and learned investigation of the manner in which, from the earliest ages of the Church, the sacraments have been applied, by distinguished Christian writers, either to the vindication, or the illustration, of several important articles of Christian faith. The opinions of those early visionaries who denied our Lord's human nature, the fantastic notions of the Gnostics, the pretences of some who disbelieved the resurrection of the body, of enthusiasts of various kinds, of the impugners of the doctrine of the Trinity, whether Sabellians, Arians, or Macedonians, those also of the Nestorians and Eutychians respecting our Lord's twofold nature, besides the errors of Pelagius, and of those who were addicted to image-worship; have been all combated, more or less successfully, by shewing them to be incompatible with the doctrine implied in the sacraments; by one or both of which the abettors of these heretical tenets found themselves inextricably embarrassed. This is a novel view of the subject, and well deserving of fuller consideration. The force of the argument against *infidels*, derived from these institutions, as standing evidences of the historical *facts* of the Gospel, had, indeed, been pointed out and very forcibly urged by Leslie, in his *Short Method with the Deists;* nor had it entirely escaped the observation of other writers. But the sketch here given by Waterland of their utility in giving collateral proof

of the *doctrines* of Christianity, is scarcely less important, and might perhaps be pursued still more in detail with considerable advantage.

The foregoing Charge contained little that was likely to excite controversy, although (as was before observed) it was probably intended to act as a counterpoise to Bishop Hoadley's tract on the Lord's Supper. Dr. Waterland, however, had in his treatise on the Eucharist, taken a view of the subject, which, on certain points, appeared to be considerably at variance with some other distinguished writers, who, no less strenuously than himself, opposed Bishop Hoadley's account of it. Upon the true nature of the *Christian sacrifice*, and the proper distinction between the *sacramental* and the *sacrificial* parts of the Eucharist, he had deemed it necessary to declare his dissatisfaction with the opinions maintained by Mr. Mede, Dr. Grabe, Dr. Hickes, and more especially by Mr. Johnson, in his *Unbloody Sacrifice;* and he had stated the ground of his objections without reserve, though with the respect due to theologians of such high character and reputation. Mr. Johnson died several years before this work of Dr. Waterland's appeared. But Dr. Brett, his warm friend and admirer, undertook a defence of the *Unbloody Sacrifice*, in a tract, entitled, *Some Remarks on Dr. Waterland's Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, published in 1738.

In this tract, Dr. Brett's professed design is to shew, that there is less difference than might be supposed between Dr. Waterland's and Mr. Johnson's opinions; "that the difference between them is of "very little moment, and rather *verbal* than *real*;

" and that Dr. W. had in effect granted all that was " contended for."

The points of difference, however, as stated by Dr. Brett himself, appear to be not so slight as he would fain believe. He contends, with Johnson, that the elements are offered as a *material* sacrifice, and are rendered efficacious, *as such*, by the supernatural virtue bestowed upon them from above. Waterland maintains, that the sacrifice in the Eucharist is purely *spiritual*, the offering of those holy desires and affections, those pious resolutions, that penitence, faith, devotion, thankfulness, fear, and love, which render it an acceptable service; and that it is upon the *worthy communicant* thus receiving, and not upon the *elements* themselves, that the Holy Spirit vouchsafes to descend, and, through the medium of this sacrament, to convey the real participation of the body and blood of Christ, or, in other words, the actual benefits of the one great sacrifice on the cross. Together with this main point are connected several other collateral questions, in which the opinions of the respective parties cannot easily be made to harmonize; such as the interpretation of the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel; the sense in which the elements in the Eucharist are understood to be our Lord's body and blood; the operation of the Holy Spirit upon the symbols, and the effect of its operation; the notion of this sacrament as a feast upon a sacrifice, and in what respects it may properly be deemed a sacrifice. On all these topics Dr. Brett dilates; and on each of them, much of what Dr. W. had advanced is controverted, though in a respectful manner, and apparently with a desire to differ as

little as might be from so deservedly esteemed a writer.

To engage in a full examination of these questions would be an undertaking of no small labour, nor could it be very briefly executed, without injury to the one side or the other. It is evident, that Dr. Waterland's three last Charges were written chiefly with a view to settle these points, by stating more explicitly than in his larger work what was necessary to their elucidation, and supporting his own views of the subject by additional authorities, ancient and modern.

The first of these three Charges, delivered in the year 1738, is entitled, *The Christian Sacrifice explained.* Dr. W. never questions that the Eucharist may properly be called a *sacrifice.* He maintains, that "as it is a *federal* rite between God and man, "so it must be supposed to carry in it something "that *God gives to us*, and something also that *we* "*give*, or present, *to God.* These are, as it were, "the two *integral* parts of that holy ceremony: the "former may properly be called the *sacramental* "part, and the latter the *sacrificial.*" His whole purpose in discussing this part of the subject, is to keep these two points distinct: and he shews how much confusion and misapprehension have arisen, in particular, from not "settling the *definitions* of *sacri-*"*fice* by certain rules, such as might satisfy reason-"able men on both sides." For hence it has been assumed, that there can be no real *sacrifice* but that which is *material;* whereas according to the oldest acceptations in the Church, and according to Scripture itself, *spiritual* sacrifice is always considered to

be not only *real* and *true*, but even the *best* and *most excellent* that could be offered; *that*, indeed, without which no *material* oblation, however costly and magnificent, could avail any thing. If, therefore, in the Eucharist, these *spiritual* offerings be presented, it is, to all intents and purposes, so far a *sacrifice;* and upon this ground, as *one* sense in which it was so to be understood, the best Protestant writers uniformly defended themselves against their Romish opponents, who charged Protestants with having no *Christian sacrifice* whatever, in consequence of their abandonment of the *mass*.

But there was another sense also in which the Eucharist might be deemed a *sacrifice;* in that it imparts, to the faithful communicant, the actual effect of that one great sacrifice on the cross, "com-" memorated, applied, and participated" in this sacrament. The participation of the *elements* is, mystically and efficiently, though not *literally* and in *material* substance, a participation of the *body* and *blood* of Christ. Consequently, the sacrifice of our Lord himself is, in a certain sense, offered up in the Eucharist; since, by virtue of it, we therein plead his all-sufficient merits and satisfaction as the sole ground of our pardon and acceptance with God.

Dr. W. shews, at considerable length, how these considerations were successfully urged against the Romanists, in vindication of the Protestant view of the Eucharist. He shews also their coincidence with the opinions of most of our eminent Divines, notwithstanding the different sentiments entertained by some of deservedly high reputation. Archbishop

Sandys, Bishop Bilson, Dr. Field, Bishop Andrews, Bishop Montague, Dr. Hammond, Bishop Taylor, Archbishop Bramhall, Bishop Patrick, Bishop Lany, and Dr. Brevint, all nearly agree in maintaining this view of it; nor is the venerable Hooker much at variance with it, although some of his expressions seem to imply "that we have, *properly*, now *no sa-* "*crifice*," meaning, probably, that we have no *propitiatory* sacrifice, such as is professed in the Romish mass. But others, anxious to prove that we *have* a sacrifice, resorted to the expedient of representing the elements themselves to be a *real* and *material* sacrifice, analogous to those which were offered under the Jewish law. Mr. Mede led the way in this novel system; and he was followed by Heylyn, Hickes, and others of less note; and subsequently by Johnson, in his *Unbloody Sacrifice*. Our author eloquently concludes this part of his subject with an exhortation to adhere to the *ancient* ideas of *spiritual* sacrifice, as being far more appropriate to the Eucharist. "Let us not," he observes, "pre- "sume to offer the Almighty any *dead sacrifice* in "the Eucharist: he does not offer us *empty signs:* "but as he conveys to us the *choicest* of his *bless-* "*ings* by these *signs*, so by the same *signs* (not *sa-* "*crifices*) ought we to convey our *choicest gifts*, "the *Gospel-services*, the *true sacrifices*, which "he has commanded." The material sacrifices of the Jewish law had *legal* expiations annexed to them, which were but *shadows* of that *true* expiation, made upon the cross. "The *shadows* have "since disappeared, and now it is our great *Gospel* "*privilege* to have *immediate* access to the *true* sa-

" crifice, and to the *true* expiation, without the in-
" tervention of any *legal* expiation or *legal* sacri-
" fice."

To this Charge is subjoined an Appendix, equal in length to the Charge itself, in reply to Dr. Brett's *Remarks*, and in which Johnson's treatise is more particularly considered. Its tendency to depreciate *spiritual* sacrifices, and to overvalue *material* sacrifices, is strongly urged; originating, as Dr. W. conceives, in " not distinguishing between the *sacra-*
" *mental* view of the Eucharist, and the *sacrificial;*
" between what is *in* the elements, and what comes
" *with* them; between the *gifts of God* to man,
" and the *gifts of man* to God." The notion, that our Lord himself, in the institution of the Eucharist, offered up the *elements* as a sacrifice, is also examined and disproved; since though our Lord "might
" present them as *signs* and *figures* of the *real*
" sacrifice he was about to offer, inasmuch as they
" were *signs* and figures of his *real* body and blood;
" yet as they were not the *real* body and blood
" which they represented, so neither were they the
" *real* sacrifice." Some hazardous opinions of Mr. Johnson's respecting our Lord's sacrifice of himself, which he represents to have been made not *upon the cross,* but at the *institution of the Eucharist,* previous to his actual death and passion, are also censured with some severity, though not, perhaps, without justice; since their *tendency* is certainly such as neither Mr. Johnson nor Dr. Brett can be supposed to have contemplated, that of casting some degree of doubt upon one of the most fundamental articles of the Christian faith. " A brief

" analysis of Mr. Johnson's system, shewing what it " is, and by what steps he might be led into it," is then subjoined; together with " a distinct summary " view of the several *oblations* in the Eucharist, " previous to consecration, or subsequent," or, as they are usually called, the *ante-oblation* and the *post-oblation*. These are useful appendages.

In the following year, our author pursued the subject, by discussing more fully " the *sacramental* " part of the Eucharist," as distinguished from the *sacrificial*, explained in the preceding Charge: observing, that " as truth is uniform, just notions of " one part will of course tend to preserve just ideas " of the other part also: and as error is apt to lead " to error, any erroneous tenets there, will natu- " rally bring in erroneous positions here." Accordingly, the necessity of carefully distinguishing between *figurative* and *literal* expressions, when applied to this sacrament; between the use of the elements as *signs* and *symbols* only of what they represent, and the persuasion that they undergo any actual change, even in their *inward* qualities, by their consecration to this purpose; is again urged with powerful effect; and a succinct account is given of the progress and change of opinions upon this point, from primitive writers of the Christian Church to the Romanists and Protestants of more recent times. Some peculiar notions entertained by Bishop Poynet, in particular, and by Harchius, a learned German physician, are copiously detailed; and certain singularities of other writers are occasionally noticed. But Dr. W. again commends our great reformers, *Cranmer* and *Jewell*, for avoiding these novel sub-

tleties and perplexities, and endeavouring to re-establish the more simple and intelligible expositions current in the earliest ages of Christianity, and sanctioned by the standard authorities of those times. Bishop Jewell's sentiments, with respect to the elements in *both* sacraments, are thus briefly and comprehensively expressed: "We are taught, not to "seek that *grace* in the *sign*, but to assure our-"selves by receiving the sign, that it is given us by "the *thing signified*.—It is not the creature of "*bread* or *water*, but the *soul* of man that *receiveth* "the *grace of God*. These corruptible creatures "need it not: we have need of God's grace. But "this is a phrase of speech. For, the *power* of God, "the *grace* of God, the *presence* of the Trinity, "the *Holy Ghost*, the *gift* of God, are not in the "*water*, but in *us*: and we were not made because "of the sacraments; but the sacraments were made "for our sake." The application of these remarks is then again made to Mr. Johnson's system; "the "fundamental error of which lies," says Dr. W. "in "the want of a right notion of *symbolical* language." "Hence it is, that *signs* have been supposed either "literally *to be*, or literally *to inclose*, the very "things *signified*, viz. the *divine* body, or the *divine* "graces, virtues, or powers:" whereas, as he afterwards observes, "God may cooperate with the ele-"ments, so as to affect the *soul*, while they affect the "*body*; but his operations and powers, though *as-*"*sistant* or *concurrent*, are not *inherent*, or *inter-*"*mingled*, but are entirely *distinct*; and are as truly "*extrinsic* to the elements, as the *Deity* is to the *crea-*"*ture*. When and where the elements are duly admi-

" nistered and received, God does *then* and *there* work
" the effect, pursuant to his promise and covenant.
" The elements are the *occasional* causes, as it were,
" and He is the *efficient*."

The last of Dr. Waterland's Charges, entitled, *Distinctions of Sacrifice*, delivered in the year 1740, is not so directly controversial as the two which immediately preceded it; but may be read as a valuable didactic dissertation upon a point of theology, interesting to every one who is desirous of forming a clear conception of the several dispensations of revealed religion, and the modes of worship appropriate to each. That almost every system of religion in the known world has, in some way or other, recognised the rite of sacrifice as an essential part of worship, is a fact well known to the most superficial readers of history; and a fact not easily to be accounted for, upon any other supposition than that of its originally *divine* institution. Yet the *distinctive* characters of sacrifice, as applicable to true or false religion, or to the different dispensations of true religion, are exceedingly important. Considering the whole of revealed religion as *one* stupendous system, carrying on the great purpose of man's redemption, and comprising all that was needful to give it effect, whether before or since the actual coming of the Redeemer himself, it is reasonable to suppose that according to the various circumstances of mankind, variations would take place in the mode of conducting it, correspondent to the respective conditions of those for whose benefit it was intended. The views and apprehensions which the faithful in *patriarchal* times were enabled to form of the Divine proceed-

ings, with reference to this vast design, could not have been equal, in clearness or extent, to those which were presented under the *Jewish* economy; nor could even the enlarged conceptions of *Jewish* worshippers be commensurate with those which were afterwards vouchsafed to the *Christian* world. *Types* and *figures* might shadow out, by anticipation, the *realities* afterwards to be displayed: *prophecies* might heighten and strengthen the expectations of men, and fill them with no inconsiderable portion of joy and hope in believing: but the services suited to a state of *unfulfilled* promises would hardly accord with that in which they were actually *accomplished;* and even the very same services, or such as were similar only in their design and intent, would acquire a new and more appropriate signification, when connected with a new state of things, unknown to those who lived in other times.

Conformable with this general view of the subject are most of the *distinctions of sacrifice* which Dr. W. has discussed, with much precision and perspicuity, in this Charge. They relate chiefly to the difference between the object and design of the Levitical ritual, and the Christian. The terms, *passive* and *active*, *extrinsic* and *intrinsic*, *visible* and *invisible*, *material* and *immaterial*, *bloody* and *unbloody*, *old* and *new*, *literal* and *spiritual*, *symbolical* and *true*, *legal* and *evangelical*, *Aaronical* and *Melchizedekian*, *instrumental* and *real*, *typical* and *commemorative*, with several others, more or less obvious in their signification, are used to convey to the reader an apprehension of the several acceptations in which the word *sacrifice* is to be understood,

so as to distinguish the one dispensation from the other. Our author's observations upon these terms throw great light upon the general subject of Sacrifice, as well as upon the Eucharist in particular, considered as a *sacrificial* service. By a careful attention to what he has thus clearly and elaborately drawn out, any material error in forming our opinions on this latter point may easily be avoided. One instance of this occurs in the distinction between *bloody* and *unbloody* sacrifices; on which Dr. W. takes occasion to observe, that the ancients did not apply this latter epithet (as Mr. Johnson did) to the *elements* in the Eucharist, the *bread* and *wine*, in contradistinction to the *animal* sacrifices of the Levitical law; but to *spiritual praises* and *thanksgivings*, to *faith*, *devotion*, *pure affections*, and *Christian virtues*, accompanying the mystical and commemorative offering of the symbols of our Lord's body and blood; and that if at any time the phrase *unbloody sacrifice* was applied by them to the elements themselves, it was only by a *metonymy* of the *sign* for the *thing signified*.

For more explicit information on the several points here discussed, the reader must be referred to the Charge itself. It would be difficult, indeed, to compress the substance of this, or of either of the two preceding Charges, into a much narrower space than they already occupy. But the labour of attentively perusing them will be amply rewarded. For, though they relate to topics not all of equal magnitude and importance, and may occasionally lead to subtleties on which a general agreement can hardly be expected; yet they contain stores of information which, to the ordinary

student, may spare infinite labour; and the elucidations they incidentally afford of other points of doctrine also, connected with the subject of the Eucharist, are of no inconsiderable value.

On the matters in question between Dr. Waterland and those who adopted the theory of the *Unbloody Sacrifice*, some difference of opinion still continues to subsist. Probably, however, in the estimation of the majority of those who have well considered the subject, the preponderance of argument, as well as of authority, will be thought to rest with him. He seems, at least, to have proved that the notion of a *material* sacrifice, in its *literal* acceptation, is not essential to the Eucharist; although, *symbolically* and *figuratively*, the material elements may be so denominated. He has also proved, that *spiritual* sacrifice *is* essential to it as an *evangelical* ordinance; and that *spiritual* sacrifices are not only *true* and *proper* sacrifices, but of comparatively far greater intrinsic value than the most costly of material oblations. On the other hand, the question is embarrassed with some difficulties, which Dr. W. has either not directly encountered, or not completely removed. The chief of these relates to the interpretation of the *sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel.* Dr. Brett argues, that the objections made by Dr. W. to interpreting this chapter of the *Eucharist*, from the *universality* of the expressions respecting the necessity of receiving it, might equally be urged against interpreting John iii. 5. of the sacrament of *Baptism;* since in the one, the same universal necessity is affirmed, as in the other; and the same restrictions or reservations must be understood, with respect to

want of capacity, or want of opportunity, to partake of it. This difficulty Dr. W. had not obviated in his *Review*, nor did he afterwards advert to it in either of his *Charges*. In his posthumous treatise, however, on *Infant Communion*, it is expressly noticed. After observing that St. Austin "did not ordinarily "interpret John vi. of the *outward* sacrament of the "Eucharist, but of the *inward* grace signified by it, "or exhibited in it," he adds, "There is this very ob- "servable difference between John iii. 5. and John "vi. 53. that the *former* text teaches the necessity "both of the *outward* sacrament and of the *inward* "grace; while the *latter* teaches only the necessity "of the *inward* grace, abstracted from the *outward* "signs. Had the *Eucharist* been as plainly pointed "out in John vi. as *Baptism* is in John iii. *both* "must have been allowed to be equally *necessary:* "but it is worth observing, that the *former* teaches "the necessity of spiritual regeneration and incorpo- "ration, as *confined* to one *particular* form, or *out-* "*ward* instrument; the latter teaches the same *ne-* "*cessity* of spiritual incorporation, *at large*, not "mentioning any *particular form*, not restraining "the privilege or benefit to the *Eucharist* only." This is certainly an important observation. The *material* elements in the *Eucharist, bread* and *wine*, are not mentioned in John vi. *Water*, the *material* element in *Baptism*, is expressly stated, in John iii, to be essential to the receiving of spiritual regeneration. The application, therefore, of the former to the *Eucharist*, though perfectly easy and appropriate, and, no doubt, *proleptically* intended by our Lord himself; is yet not so directly decla-

ratory of it, as the latter is of *Baptism*. Perhaps, however, when we consider the discourse in the sixth chapter of St. John in conjunction with the words afterwards used by our Lord in the institution of the Eucharist, "*Take, eat, this is my body*," and recollect that these very words supply a direct answer to the question put by the Jews, "*How* can "this man give us his *flesh* to eat?"—we shall be persuaded, that in no other way can this chapter be so clearly and satisfactorily interpreted, as by supposing it to have been intended in anticipation of that solemn ordinance.

But whatever difference of opinion might exist between Dr. Waterland and other approved Divines upon such secondary and subordinate points, it will be generally allowed, that these and his other Charges are, in every respect, worthy of his distinguished reputation. They are the result of very extensive reading, of acute observation, and of clear and comprehensive views of the several subjects to which they relate.

Besides these valuable productions, Dr. W. published, at different times, five occasional Sermons; to which is prefixed, in the present edition of his works, another, of an earlier date than the rest, never before printed. The manuscript of this discourse, in the author's own handwriting, had long been in the possession of the present Archdeacon of London; by whom it was obligingly offered for insertion in this collection. It was preached before the University of Cambridge, on Commemoration Sunday, 1712; somewhat more than a year before Dr. Waterland was appointed Master of Magdalene college.

It bears strong *internal* evidence of its authenticity, and possesses claims of that kind which render any apology unnecessary for now communicating it to the public.

Of the remaining Sermons, two were preached on political occasions; one, a Thanksgiving Sermon before the University, on the suppression of the Rebellion in 1716; the other, at St. Paul's Cathedral, before the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London, on the 29th of May, 1723. These do much credit to the author's good temper and moderation, in treating of subjects always difficult to be dilated upon without offence; and more especially so, when so much dissension and party-spirit prevailed. The political circumstances of the times are touched, in both Sermons, with remarkable circumspection and delicacy, yet without compromising those principles of good government, in Church or State, on which our national prosperity must always essentially depend.

The Sermon before the Sons of the Clergy, and that on the anniversary meeting of the charity schools in and near London, are no less commendable in their kind. They shew a vigorous and fertile mind; nor are they wanting in that manly and impressive eloquence more especially requisite on such occasions [r].

The *Familiar Discourse upon the Doctrine of the Trinity*, delivered, probably for the instruction of his own parishioners in the church of St.

[r] The former of these Discourses derives, perhaps, some additional interest from the circumstance of its being preached at the *first* anniversary feast of the Sons of the Clergy.

Austin, London, answers well to its title; being written with remarkable plainness and perspicuity; unembarrassed by any subtleties or perplexities; and no less *practical* in its tendency, than edifying and satisfactory in point of *doctrinal* elucidation. It would be difficult, perhaps, to select another discourse on the same subject, more perfectly adapted to popular edification.

SECTION VIII.

POSTHUMOUS PUBLICATIONS.

THE works of Dr. Waterland published by himself are undoubtedly those on which his reputation must chiefly depend. But the pen of so ready a writer, and one so extensively engaged in professional labours, could not but be continually called forth for purposes less generally known and observed, though scarcely less conducive to the public good. It was well, therefore, that he had consigned to a confidential friend, the care of "selecting and revising for "the press," after his decease, "such of his writings "as should be thought most useful, and proper for "the public view."

This trust was confided to the Rev. Joseph Clarke, M. A. Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and formerly a pupil of Dr. Waterland; who discharged it with that affectionate ardour and respect which might be expected from one who had so much reason to hold his memory in veneration. In a well-written preface to this posthumous publication, he briefly touches upon the leading points of the author's literary and personal character; and his eulogy is marked by that judicious discrimination, which gives the strongest presumptive evidence that it is a genuine and characteristic portrait. The preface contains also so full and circumstantial an account of the pieces thus selected, as renders it hardly necessary to do more than refer the reader to it for satisfactory information.

The works thus selected by Mr. Clarke, consist of thirty-three sermons, and two tracts, one on *Justification*, the other on *Infant Communion*.

The sermons appear to have been written chiefly for parochial instruction. Mr. Clarke has well observed of them, that they possess the qualities which Dr. W. himself, in his preface to Mr. Blair's Sermons, had represented to be most essential to *practical* discourses; and he adds, that "if some may have "looked upon him as a *mere scholar*, conversant "only in the learning of the schools; they will here "find they were mistaken, and that he understood "*men* as well as he did *books*;"—"that he had "a thorough insight into human nature, understood "the secret springs and movements of the passions, "and the whole *anatomy*, if we may so speak, of "the human mind." In this point of view, they add greatly to the author's reputation; as shewing not only the versatility of his talents, but his sincere and ardent desire to apply them to the substantial benefit of those who were committed to his charge. It is seldom, indeed, that the characteristic excellencies of the polemic and the pastor have been so successfully united in the same writer. To this, his remarkable perspicuity, in thought and in expression, greatly contributed. Even on the most abstruse subjects his meaning can hardly be misunderstood; while to such as are more level to ordinary capacities, he continually gives additional interest and importance, by laying open the grounds and reasons on which they rest. Hence, we find occasionally, even in the plainest of these discourses, questions of considerable difficulty very satisfactorily

elucidated, and applied in the manner best calculated to make impression upon understandings unaccustomed to such investigations.

It is another great excellence in these sermons, that the author, in treating of Christian duties and the great practical concerns of life, carefully avoids giving encouragement, on the one hand, to any laxity of principle, or, on the other hand, to excessive rigour and austerity. We find him uniformly insisting upon the full extent of moral obligation, and the necessity of entire and unreserved obedience to the Divine will; yet never straining any point of duty to an impracticable extent, nor affording countenance to those visionary notions of perfection, or fantastic schemes of life, which owe their origin, rather to the wanderings of imagination and the waywardness of spiritual pride, than to sober and solid reasonings grounded upon Scripture-truth. Many of the subjects chosen by him are such as require considerable care and circumspection in the application of them; such as may either lead to subtle and dangerous *casuistry* in the hands of designing men, or to doubts and perplexities in the minds of the undiscerning. Seldom, perhaps, does Dr. Waterland appear to more advantage, than in unravelling difficulties of this kind, and removing stumblingblocks in the way of truth, piety, or virtue. Instances, in confirmation of these remarks, continually occur; more particularly in the sermons on the *love of our neighbour* and *self-love*, on *keeping the heart*, on *passing judgment concerning the calamities of others*, on *sins of infirmity* and *presumptuous sins*, on the

joy in heaven over repentant sinners, on *charity to enemies*, and on *the pharisee and publican*.

The sermons in this collection which are more immediately *doctrinal* or *expository*, are no less excellent in their kind, and are equally adapted to parochial instruction, though they might deservedly claim attention from the highest class of readers or hearers.

It has, of late years, been made a subject of censure, that our principal Divines in the middle and earlier part of the last century, had, in a great degree, departed from *doctrinal* and *evangelical* preaching, and had done little more for the edification of their flocks than deliver dry and jejune dissertations on *moral* topics, grounded rather upon *heathen* ethics or abstract *philosophy*, than upon *Christian* principles: and it has answered the purpose of a certain active and zealous party in the Church, to arrogate to itself the merit, not only of having been the first to introduce a more spiritual and evangelical mode of preaching to the people, but also of giving a higher and better tone than heretofore to the great body of the Clergy at large, in their popular discourses. It would not, perhaps, be difficult to shew, that these assumptions have been somewhat hastily advanced, and inconsiderately admitted. For, upon a careful examination of the very many volumes of sermons published during the above-mentioned period, by the parochial Clergy, as well as by Preachers before the Universities, the Inns of Court, and other congregations above the ordinary class, it is surprising to observe (after hearing such a sweeping charge as this) how large a proportion of them relate to the most essential articles of the Christian faith; how many of

them are expository and illustrative of Scripture-history, of prophecy, of miracles, of parables, of doctrines, of every thing which comes within the province of a diligent Divine and faithful Pastor, intent upon enlightening his flock on all matters necessary to salvation, and desirous to build them up in the true faith and knowledge of the Gospel, as well as to render them practically virtuous and holy. Nor does it appear that the Clergy of that period were, in general, less assiduous in inculcating *moral* duties upon purely *Christian* principles. Few instances, comparatively speaking, will be found of practical discourses deficient in this great requisite: and if some writers were wont to fail in this respect, or were prone to indulge in the pride of *human reasoning*, to the neglect of the more authoritative mode of teaching which *Scripture* would have supplied, there were not wanting, on the other hand, a far greater number who stedfastly counteracted this propensity, and supplied better arguments and persuasives to Christian duty from the oracles of sacred truth.

But, whatever opinion may be entertained upon this matter, it is certain, at least, that Waterland was not one who "shunned declaring the whole "counsel of God," whether as to faith or practice. His controversy with Dr. Sykes on the nature of moral obligation, and his vindication of Scripture against the Deists, sufficiently prove that the *ethics* which he inculcated were *Christian* ethics, in contradistinction to moral philosophy, or the religion of nature only. They prove also, that he suffered not any practical obligation to be considered as separable from the authority of *holy writ;* that

every motive, every persuasive, to virtuous conduct was grounded, by him, upon the essential doctrines of *Christianity;* and that upon the *faith* alone which the Gospel sets before us, did he warrant any hope of Divine acceptance. Of the two volumes of sermons now under consideration, the latter consists chiefly of such as may be more strictly termed *theological;* either expounding difficult portions of Scripture, or guarding some important doctrines against misconstruction. Of those which are purely *expository*, the sermons on *St. Paul's wish that he were accursed from Christ*, on *our Lord's argument against the Sadducees*, on *the case of St. Paul in persecuting the Church*, on *the history and character of Balaam*, and *on the appearance of Samuel to Saul at Endor*, are suited to every description of readers. On points of *doctrinal* difficulty, may be selected, as of special importance, the discourses on *sinless perfection*, on *the unprofitableness of man's best performances*, on *the operation of the Holy Spirit*, and on *false pretences to the Holy Spirit.* The subjects of these, and the manner in which they are treated, indicate that they were written with a view to certain enthusiastic notions which began to prevail towards the close of our author's life. To such delusions they afford a powerful antidote; yet without giving occasion to the sceptic, or the scoffer, to undervalue any of the essential points of evangelical doctrine; and also without any of that controversial bitterness which others too frequently betrayed, in their endeavours to rectify the public mind.

Of the two tracts subjoined to these sermons, the editor has, in his preface, given a full account. The

doctrine of *justification*, he observes, had been the occasion of much controversy in the preceding century; and had been ably discussed by Bishop Bull, in his *Harmonia Apostolica*, and other treatises, against those who maintained the *solifidian* doctrine, "that we are *so* justified by *faith alone*, as to "exclude *good works* from being *necessary con-* "*ditions* of *justification*; admitting them to be only "necessary *fruits* and *consequences* of it." This doctrine was revived by the new sect of Methodists, particularly by *Whitfield*; and it was a notion calculated to spread rapidly among corrupt and ignorant minds, to the great prejudice of sound morals and pure religion. The same motive, therefore, which induced Dr. Waterland to take in hand the subject of *regeneration*, led him to examine, more closely than had hitherto been done, the doctrine of *justification*, so immediately connected with it. There is evidence also, that he had been strongly pressed to do so by his friends. In Mr. Nicholls's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. viii. p. 292, is a letter from Mr. John Jones, the editor of *Free and Candid Disquisitions*, to Dr. Zachary Grey, in which he says, "I rejoice to hear that Dr. Waterland is re- "covering. His death would have been an extra- "ordinary loss to the Church. I extremely value his "late piece on *regeneration*. It is excellent. I "had long intended, before he fell ill, to desire you "to write to him, in order to desire such another "piece on *justification*. It is as much wanted as "the other; and nobody can do it better. If the "Doctor recovers, pray, write to him on the sub- "ject, and desire him to clear it. Pray do, good

"Sir, I again beg of you." This letter is dated October 6, 1740. Waterland died in December following. But it appears from one of his own letters to Dr. Williams, in February of that same year, that he had taken up the subject some months before. There can be no doubt, however, that this, as well as the tract on regeneration, was intended to counteract the growing fanaticism of the times; both doctrines being equally perverted from their genuine signification, by the endeavour to engraft upon them the tenet so vehemently inculcated both by Wesley and Whitfield, that persons once *regenerated* and *justified* could never afterwards fall away from grace.

This notion could neither be reconciled with *baptismal* regeneration, nor with justification at the *commencement* of the Christian life. With respect to *justification*, it led also to the error, so ably refuted by Bishop Bull, that *good works* are not a *condition* of justification, but its necessary and certain *result;* justification being that act of sovereign grace, which ensured the final acceptance of the believer, and consequently could not but be productive of the fruits belonging to it.

To correct these erroneous persuasions, and restore the doctrine to its original and scriptural signification, Dr. W. pursues a method similar to that of his former treatise; summarily stating, what the term *justification* really denotes, and what is included in the right notion of it; how it stands distinguished from regeneration and renovation; what is requisite to give it effect; and what are the chief fallacies to be avoided, in the different

views that may be taken of it. These several points are explained and illustrated, according to our author's accustomed method of treating all theological doctrines, by reference to Scripture, to reason, and to the sentiments of the Church Catholic, from the apostolical Fathers to St. Austin. The deviations of modern writers from these high authorities are then examined and refuted; particularly, the denial of *Baptism* as the ordinary instrument for conveying justification, of the instrumentality of *faith* in receiving it, and of the *conditions*, on which its efficacy is made to depend. The doctrine is then further guarded against the extremes of undervaluing the Divine grace in the work of justification, on the one hand; or, on the other, of so magnifying it as to supersede, or to diminish the necessity of obedience and a good life. The former error is charged upon the Pelagians, Socinians, Romanists, and those enthusiasts who pretend to *sinless perfection;* the latter, upon the Antinomian and Solifidian teachers. Adverting to those of the latter description, then gaining many proselytes, he says, in conclusion of the treatise, "It is certain that the Anti-
"nomian and Solifidian doctrines, as taught by some
"in later times, have deviated into a *wild extreme*,
"and have done infinite mischief to *practical Chris-*
"*tianity*. I have not room to enumerate, much less
"to confute, the many *erroneous* and *dangerous te-*
"*nets* which have come from that quarter: neither
"would I be forward to expose them again to pub-
"lic view. They have been often *considered* and
"often *confuted*. Let them rather be buried in ob-
"livion, and never rise up again to bring reproach

" upon the *Christian name.* But take we due care " so to maintain the doctrine of *faith,* as not to ex- " clude the *necessity* of *good works;* and so to " maintain *good works,* as not to exclude the *neces-* " *sity* of *Christ's atonement* or the *free grace* of " God. Take we care to perform all evangelical du- " ties to the utmost of our power, aided by God's " Spirit; and when we have so done, say, that we " are *unprofitable servants,* having no strict *claim* " to a reward, but yet looking for one, and accept- " ing it as a *favour,* not challenging it as *due* in any " right of our *own;* due only upon *free promise,* " and that promise made not in consideration of any " *deserts of ours,* but in and through the alone *me-* " *rits,* active and passive, of Christ Jesus our Lord." This is sound, rational, scriptural doctrine; and had it been more generally attended to, both before and since this admonition was given, the Church might have been spared much reproach and vexation, brought upon it either by injudicious friends, or by inconsiderate opponents.

The tract upon *Infant Communion* is of less general interest. Yet, besides throwing light upon a curious, though obscure point of ecclesiastical history, it is not unimportant with reference to its bearings upon the comparative obligation and necessity of the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. Difficulties have sometimes been raised respecting *Infant Baptism,* grounded upon an argument that the *universal* obligation of the *Eucharist* is no less positively affirmed in Scripture, than that of *Baptism;* and that, therefore, if the one is supposed to extend to *infants,* so must the other; our Lord's declaration,

Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you, seeming to be equivalent, in the *extent* of its application, to his other declaration, *Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of heaven*. Our author's solution of this difficulty, so far as relates to the inference thus erroneously drawn from these texts, has been already noticed, in stating his sentiments upon the doctrine of the Eucharist. The subject, however, is in the present tract treated *historically*, rather than *doctrinally*, for the purpose of tracing what were the opinions concerning it among the early Fathers, particularly St. Cyprian and St. Austin. The inquiry into the practice of Infant Communion is also briefly carried on to later times; and it is shewn to have been very inconsiderable at any period, being grounded rather upon over-scrupulous fears and doubts, than upon any solid and clear conviction of its real foundation in Scripture. Our author's conclusion is, that the practice is neither enjoined by Scripture-authority, nor appears to have been known till the middle of the third century; and that it is not supported by any express injunction as to the *precise age* of admitting persons to the holy Communion; this being a matter of mere *expediency*, left to the regulation of the Church. This tract, though a posthumous publication, was probably of an earlier date than either his Review of the Eucharist, or his Charges; mention being made, towards the beginning, of an essay then *lately* published on the subject, by Mr. Pierce of Exeter, dated 1728.

Here might have ended the investigation of Dr. Waterland's learned labours, had not some other of his productions lately come to light, which have been deemed of sufficient importance to admit them into this first entire collection of his writings. The public might reasonably have been dissatisfied if any undoubted manuscripts of the author, not undeserving of his high reputation, had been suffered to remain unnoticed, or known only to those few who might have access to the public or private archives in which they are deposited. Some brief account of these remains, therefore, to be given.

The first to be noticed are *Two Letters on Lay-Baptism.*

In the Biographia Britannica,[s] it is stated, that in the year 1716, there passed several letters between Jackson and Whiston upon the subject of *Infant-Baptism*, which Jackson defended against Whiston, as he did also the lawfulness and validity of *Lay-Baptism* to another friend and correspondent. "But" (it is added) "whether in the last letter he "had an eye, or no, to *Dr. Waterland*, does not "appear, who once denied the validity of Lay-Bap-"tism; however, he afterwards changed his opinion." This is said to have been "communicated by Dr. "Nicholls, Rector of St. Giles, Cripplegate." The communication, however, will hardly obtain credit, when compared with the evidence of these two letters by Dr. Waterland now under consideration.

The first letter was found in the collection of Archbishop Wake's Manuscripts, deposited in the

[s] Art. *Jackson.* Vol. vii. Supplement, p. 107. note B.

library at Christ Church, Oxford. It is inscribed to *the Reverend Mr. P. Rector of L—.* dated *M. C.* (Magdalene College) *October* 29, 1713, and subscribed *D. W.* It can now only be conjectured who was this Mr. P. Rector of L. Probably it was Mr. Pyle, then Rector of Lynn, in Norfolk. The letter was evidently written for the purpose of removing certain doubts entertained by Mr. P. in consequence of some correspondence or conversation between him and a Mr. Kelsall, in which the latter had maintained Dr. Bingham's opinion on the subject, against that of Mr. Laurence, the well-known author of *Lay-Baptism invalid.* In the introductory part of the letter, Dr. W. professes himself to have been, till lately, of Dr. Bingham's opinion, but to have changed that opinion upon further deliberation; a statement, the very reverse of that brought forward in the Biographia Britannica; unless we are to suppose, that, even after these letters were written, he abandoned his latter judgment and returned to the former; than which nothing can be more improbable. The letter itself contains a brief summary of the main arguments on which the *invalidity* of Lay-Baptism is grounded; and shews in a very concise, but distinct and luminous manner, the proofs to that effect, from *Scripture*, *antiquity*, and *reason*. To this *general* view of the subject the first letter is confined, the writer professing not to enter into any further detail, but rather to be desirous of information from Mr. Kelsall himself, of whose learning and ability he speaks in terms of high respect.

Together with this letter, (which is transcribed

in a small duodecimo book, and written in a remarkably neat and distinct hand, not much unlike to that of Waterland,) there is also a transcript, in the same hand-writing, of *Mr. Kelsall's* letter, addressed to the same Mr. P. in consequence (as it appears) of Mr. P.'s having sent Dr. Waterland's letter for his consideration. It is subscribed, *E. Kelsall,* and dated, *Boston May* 12, 1714. The same name occurs in Cooke's *Preacher's Assistant,* as the author of two Sermons in the years 1710 and 1712; and also among the *Cambridge Graduates,* is found *Edward Kelsall, St. John's, A. B.* 1691, *A. M.* 1695. There can be little doubt that this was the author of the letter; and that he was a man whose opinion Dr. Waterland thought might have considerable weight. His letter, indeed, shews great learning, research, and ability; vindicating his former judgment on the validity of Lay-Baptism, and elaborately combating the arguments against it; though at the same time expressive of great personal respect for Dr. Waterland. At considerable length, he goes through the whole question, examines it in all its bearings, and contests with much strength, not without some asperity also, the conclusions formed, on the other side, by Mr. Laurence and Dr. Brett. He takes the liberty, however, of *inverting* the *order* of his opponent's arguments, by examining *first,* what *reason* has to allege from the *consequences* which, he conceives, must follow from admitting the *invalidity* of Lay-Baptism; and *then,* what may be inferred from the authorities of *Scripture* and *antiquity;* thus, in some measure, *prejudging* the main question, or, at least, prepossessing the mind of the reader somewhat

unfairly in favour of his own hypothesis. Great acuteness and polemical skill are displayed throughout the letter; which it has been thought proper to insert together with Dr. Waterland's, not only for its intrinsic worth, but that the reader may be better able to appreciate the value of Dr. Waterland's reply.

The manuscript from which Dr. Waterland's *second* letter is now printed, was not found together with the former in the library at Christ Church; but is a transcript which had been in the possession of *Mr. Charles Wheatly*, who bequeathed it, among other manuscripts, to St. John's College, Oxford, in the archives of which library it is deposited. On the manuscript Mr. Wheatly has written a memorandum, stating it to be "a *copy* transcribed by "the late Mr. Austin Bryan[t], from one which Mr. "Wheatly had from the Doctor himself, and afterwards lent to Mr. Bryan by the Doctor's order." It has neither date nor subscription: but in the margin is this note;—"Mr. Bryan died in April "1726: the letter was wrote probably before the "year 1720." The probability, indeed, seems to be that it was written considerably before that time. Waterland's *first* letter is dated, October 1713; Mr. Kelsall's, May 1714: and it seems not likely that Waterland, who had already so thoroughly considered the subject, should have delayed his reply much beyond that same year; although he apologizes, in the latter part of it, for the *long delay* occasioned by a pressure of other business. But this is

[t] The editor of Plutarch's Lives.

comparatively unimportant. The *authenticity* of this, as well as of the other letters, is unquestionable; and, though not intended for the public eye, it is, perhaps, scarcely inferior to any of the author's other writings. Towards the conclusion, he says, "I "might, no doubt, have been more exact in many "things, had I more leisure, or could I bear the "trouble of transcribing. But since these papers "are designed only for private use, I am content to "let them pass. You may please to communicate "them to your learned friend, whom I have a great "respect and value for."

From these circumstances it appears, that Dr. Waterland was induced to take up the subject, rather for the satisfaction of his friend *Mr. P.* (to whom the letter is evidently addressed, though in this copy of it the superscription is wanting,) than from a desire of controversy with Mr. Kelsall: and probably, Mr. Kelsall had the same motive, in the pains he took to support his own opinion. Perhaps, too, they both considered the subject as already nearly exhausted, by those who had publicly engaged in it; and were mutually unwilling to rekindle the controversy, or to come before the world as opponents to each other. There seems, however, to be no reason, why these papers should any longer be kept from the public eye. They reflect great credit on both parties. They are the result, on each side, of much reading and reflection, upon a point certainly of considerable interest; and to those who may be desirous of forming a correct judgment upon the question, without much labour, they present, within a moderate compass, a complete statement of the main arguments on which

it depends. The temper also with which this correspondence was carried on, is such as might be expected between writers entertaining a mutual respect for each other, though personally unacquainted; and the spirit of the controversialist, on either side, appears to be always under this control. It will be observed, however, that Dr. Waterland, in the arrangement of his arguments, pursues, in his second letter, the same *order* which he had adopted in the first; and disapproves of Mr. Kelsall's *first* considering what *reason* has to allege, and *then* proceeding to the authorities of *Scripture* and *antiquity*. Mr. Kelsall, no doubt, was sensible of the advantage he might derive from taking this course. But, as Dr. W. justly observes, "there is no reasoning to any "good purpose in this question, till some foundation "be laid, either in Scripture or antiquity, or both, "to reason upon." Undoubtedly, on any matter of revealed religion, and especially on a *positive* duty instituted by Divine ordinance, no reasoning can avail, which is adverse to these authorities. The truth to be established must primarily depend upon its agreement with the word of God, and the concurrent practice of the primitive Church. The propriety of our author's mode of treating the subject is therefore obvious. With what success he has advocated his opinions, the impartial reader is left to judge. On a point not absolutely of *fundamental* importance, to espouse, on the one side, the opinions of such men as Laurence, Brett, Leslie, and Waterland; or, on the other, those of such opponents as Bingham, Burnet, Kennet, and Kelsall; can hardly be deemed discreditable to either party. We know

that great and good men have differed, and still differ from each other on this point, without any diminution of mutual respect, or any intentional deviation from the doctrine or discipline of the Church.

The Letters on Lay-Baptism are followed, in this edition, by a series of hitherto unpublished letters to the *Rev. Mr. Lewis*, of Mergate, Kent, the well-known author of several valuable publications and of other writings which still exist in manuscript. The works by which he is chiefly known, are his Lives of Wickliffe and Pecock, and his History of English Translations of the Bible. That in these, his acquaintance with Waterland was of great advantage to him, the Letters sufficiently prove. It appears not, however, that Dr. W. intended more than to furnish his friend with materials, and to suggest hints for the use of them; nor ought it to derogate from the talents and industry of Mr. Lewis, that he availed himself copiously of this aid, in addition to his own indefatigable labours. Dr. W. encouraged him also in the prosecution of other designs of considerable interest and importance, but which, from want of sufficient patronage, he was compelled either to leave unfinished, or to withhold from the press. Among these, were the Lives of Bishop Fisher, of Dr. Hickes, Servetus, Mr. Johnson, author of the *Unbloody Sacrifice*, and Dr. Wallis; besides a history of the English Liturgy and other historical and ecclesiastical tracts; some of which are among Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian library, and others, probably, in private hands. It is to be regretted that none of these have yet been printed. The Life of Fisher he had intended to print in one volume

with the Lives of Wickliffe and Pecock, had he met with due encouragement from the booksellers. The history of our Liturgy, or some parts of it, he submitted to Dr. Waterland's inspection, who kindly proffered his assistance towards its revision and improvement.

Dr. Waterland has proved himself, by these letters, to have been eminently qualified for such labours. They shew an extent of historical reading which entitles him to rank high among ecclesiastical antiquarians. His acquaintance with the history of our own Church was also greatly facilitated by his skill in Anglo-Saxon literature, and by his accurate observation of the progress and variations of the English tongue, from very remote periods, to the time of the reformation. Of this he had given proof in some parts of his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed;* and these letters afford still further evidence of his attainments in this useful branch of knowledge. Many of his observations on the peculiarities of style, phraseology, and orthography, in the earliest English translations of the Bible, and on the internal evidence of the times in which they were written, shew much critical sagacity and discernment: and where any extraordinary difficulties of this kind occurred, it will generally be found that Mr. Lewis adopted his solution of them.

The letters addressed to Mr. Loveday, Dr. Zachary Grey, Mr. Browne Willis, and Dr. Williams, derive their chief interest from the literary, ecclesiastical, or academical occurrences of the time when they were written. They throw some light also upon the controversies in which the author was then

engaged. To these is subjoined a letter to Mr. Edmund Law, of Christ's College, Cambridge, (afterwards Master of Peter House and Bishop of Carlisle,) containing some ingenious suggestions with reference to one of Mr. Law's notes on Archbishop King's *Origin of Evil*, respecting what constitutes *moral good* and *evil*, and their connection with the present well-being of the world.

In addition to the above-mentioned letters, (which could have formed but a small part of his extensive correspondence,) there have been found copious *marginal notes*, in Dr. Waterland's hand-writing, upon some of *his own* works, and upon the works of *other* writers; sufficient, if collected together, to form a volume of very considerable magnitude.

The additional notes upon *his own* writings, it has been thought expedient to print entire. Those on his *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, are contained in a copy met with accidentally in the shop of a London bookseller. Those on two of his *Charges* and his tract on *Regeneration* are in copies now in possession of the Rev. Archdeacon Pott. They were all probably intended by the author for the improvement of any subsequent impression that might be called for.

The notes upon *other* writers are much more numerous. Some are polemical, some merely illustrative, or corrective. The following is a list of them, in chronological order. 1. Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*. 2. Whitby's *Disquisitiones Modestæ*. 3. Hoadley's *Answer to the Lower House of Convocation*. 4. Wheatly *on the Common Prayer*. 5. Brett's *Discourse on discerning the Lord's Body*

in the holy Communion. 6. Jackson's *Remarks on Waterland's Second Defence.* 7. Dr. Clarke's *Observations on Waterland's Second Defence.* 8. Tindal's *Christianity as old as the Creation.* 9. Stebbing's *Defence of Dr. Clarke.* 10. Middleton's *Letter to Waterland.* 11. *Sober and charitable Disquisitions on the Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity.* 12. Dr. Reed's *Essay on the Simony and Sacrilege of the Bishops of Ireland.* The copies of the works in which they are written, are all (except Wheatly on the Common Prayer) deposited among Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian library. That of Wheatly is in the library of St. John's College, Oxford; to which College it was bequeathed by Mr. Wheatly himself, once a Fellow of that Society[u].

[u] The editor has since been favoured by Mr. Neville, the Master of Magdalene College, with the perusal of some other marginal notes by Dr. Waterland, preserved in the library of that College, viz. on his *Second Defence of the Queries*, his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, his *Review of the Eucharist*, and Mr. Gilbert Burnet's *Full Examination of several important Points relating to Church-Authority*, &c. in a second Letter to Mr. Law, 1718.

The notes upon his *Second Defence* and his *Review of the Eucharist* relate to the *first* editions of those works, and were most of them adopted in the revision of the second editions. Those upon the *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed* relate also to the *first* edition; but they are not in his own handwriting. They appear to have been written by one of his friends, (perhaps Mr. Wanley,) and to have been submitted to Dr. Waterland's consideration; some use having evidently been made of them in his *second* edition. The notes upon Mr. Burnet's tract contain some valuable observations upon the several heads into which it is divided, *human authoritative benedictions, human authoritative absolutions*, and *Church-communion*. Mr. Gilbert Burnet was

The authenticity of all these notes is unquestionable; and it had been in contemplation to publish them entire, in an additional volume. But, upon further consideration, the intention was relinquished. Some of the notes, it is probable, have already, in substance, been introduced into the author's subsequent publications. Comparing the dates of those on *Johnson*, *Whitby*, *Brett*, *Jackson*, and *Clarke*, it may be reasonably supposed, that, in his printed animadversions on those works, Dr. Waterland used them as materials for his purpose, as far as he was himself satisfied with them. The same may have been done with the notes on *Sober and charitable Disquisitions*, which gave occasion to his work on the *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, as he states in the introduction to that work. The notes on *Wheatly* were most probably turned to account by Wheatly himself, in the later editions of his work, which vary considerably from the folio edition in which these notes were written; and from a cursory inspection of the notes this conjecture is strongly confirmed. Again; with respect to such marginal observations in general, some of them might have been hasty effusions, which the author, upon reconsideration, would not have entirely ap-

second son of Bishop Burnet, of Merton College, Oxford, and afterwards Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. He is said to have been a contributor to *Hibernicus's Letters*, a periodical paper carried on at Dublin, and also to the *Freethinker*; and to have been considered by his father as one of his best assistants in the *Bangorian Controversy*. He wrote also two other tracts in that Controversy: 1. *A letter to the Rev. Mr. Trapp*; 2. An answer to Mr. Law's *first Letter to the Bishop of Bangor*. See *Biographia Britannica*, second edition, vol. iii. p. 39.

proved, or would, at least, have more carefully guarded against misconstruction, or the hazard of giving offence. Others could hardly have justice done to them, without large citations of the passages to which they relate. And after all, few readers, perhaps, would now be inclined to encounter the toil of going through so great a mass of desultory observations, impossible to be connected together in any regular series, and the spirit of which cannot be thoroughly felt or understood, without being well conversant with the writings which gave occasion to them.

There are also extant some valuable manuscript notes by Dr. Waterland, which confirm what has been already said respecting his skill in Anglo-Saxon literature. He laboured much in this way for the improvement of Hearne's edition of Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle; of which there is a copy preserved among Rawlinson's collections in the Bodleian library, full of his marginal corrections and illustrations. The following memorandum is prefixed to the title-page;—"This book was collated with some "MSS. by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Waterland, Rector of "Twickenham in Middlesex, Canon of Windsor, "and Master of Magdalen College, Cambridge; and "purchased in his auction by R. R. 24 Feb. 1741."

Besides the above-mentioned fruits of his almost incessant labours, Dr. Waterland had made several annotations upon the holy Scriptures; apparently not with any view to publication, but for his own private use. They are inserted in an interleaved quarto Bible, and are in his own handwriting; consisting chiefly of short, critical remarks, intended either to elucidate

the text, or to correct the translation of it; and not very numerous. They afford, however, a valuable accession of materials to a commentator; and, as such, have, most of them, if not all, been brought before the public in Dr. Dodd's *Commentary on the Bible*, published in 1765. The Bible which contains these manuscript notes found its way into Dr. Askew's library. At the sale of Dr. Askew's books, it was purchased by Dr. Gosset; at Dr. Gosset's sale, it was purchased by the late Dr. Combe, and is said to be now in his son's possession.

SECTION IX.

BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE RESUMED AND CONCLUDED.

THAT the account of Dr. Waterland's extensive and important labours as an author, might be carried on without interruption, the biographical part of these memoirs has been, for a while, suspended. His *academical* history has been pretty fully investigated. It remains now to take up the thread of the general narrative, at the period when he first came forward as the antagonist of Dr. Clarke.

This was in the year 1719, when Dr. Waterland was about thirty-six years of age. His services as Fellow and Tutor of a College, as Examiner and Moderator in the University, as a member of several Syndicates, frequently called upon to take an active part in concerns of considerable importance, had brought him rapidly into distinction. Attaining to the Headship of his College at the early age of thirty years, the chief magistracy of the University devolved upon him very soon afterwards, and at a crisis when more than ordinary judgment and discretion, as well as firmness, were requisite for the discharge of its duties. How satisfactorily he acquitted himself in all these stations, and with what respect and esteem he was, in consequence, regarded, it is unnecessary to repeat[x].

[x] In addition to what has already been stated respecting Dr. Waterland's conduct in his academical station, the following note, drawn up by the present Master of Magdalene College, and communicated since the former part of these memoirs had gone

It has already beeen mentioned, that the same patron who advanced him to the Mastership of Magdalene College, presented him to the Rectory of Ellingham in Norfolk. Whether these appointments originated in private friendship, or in public principle, it is fruitless now to inquire. In either case, the public interest was greatly benefited.

It has also been noticed, that, in the year 1717, Dr. Waterland was appointed a Chaplain to the King; and that they who were jealous of his increasing reputation made some unworthy attempts

through the press, will place in a striking point of view the benefit derived from his unwearied attention to the duties of the Headship, and to the interests of the society over which he so worthily presided.

" Dr. Waterland did not confine his attention at Magdalene " College to the advancement of learning among his pupils, but " when he became Master he greatly improved the College reve- " nues by looking thoroughly into the wills and deeds of the dif- " ferent benefactors, and by regulating and sorting all the papers " in the College archives. The title-deeds are many of them " still in the drawers in which Waterland placed them, and seve- " ral of the compartments are yet docketed in the Doctor's own " hand-writing. He also compiled a history of the different be- " nefactions to his College, and a list of all the Fellows and Scho- " lars from the earliest period of the foundation to his own time. " There is much matter contained in this manuscript which is " highly interesting to the Society, and the information comprised " in it has always been considered as the best authority in all " College matters. The book is beautifully written in Water- " land's own hand-writing, in a small quarto volume. It con- " tains about two-hundred and fifty pages, and has a regular in- " dex. It is much prized by the present Master, and must have " been selected with great labour and difficulty, many of the ori- " ginal papers from which it was compiled being very volumi- " nous and much injured by time."

to ascribe this, and other marks of favour conferred upon him, to *political* influence, rather than to his personal deserts.

But his generally acknowledged merits soon gained him patronage liable to no such invidious observations. His first *Vindication of our Lord's Divinity* attracted the notice of the Earl of Nottingham, by whom it was spoken of in terms of the highest approbation. Bishop Robinson's recommendation of him to the Lady Moyer, to be the first preacher of the lectures she had endowed, was another public testimony of considerable weight. By these unsolicited tokens of respect from the great and good, much was added to his well-earned reputation, though little to his pecuniary emoluments.

In the year 1721, soon after the publication of his Sermons at the Lady Moyer's Lecture, he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to the Rectory of St. Austin and St. Faith in the city of London; Dr. Godolphin, (Provost of Eton,) being Dean, and Dr. Stanley, (Dean of St. Asaph,) Dr. Hare, (afterwards Bishop of Chichester,) and Dr. Younger, the Residentiaries.

To so respectable a body as the London Clergy, Dr. Waterland could not but be deemed a valuable acquisition. Among them were at that time several of distinguished learning and ability, whose pursuits were congenial with his own; particularly, Dr. James Knight, the two Berrimans, Stebbing, Twells, Trapp, Gurdon, Bedford, and Biscoe. To his pastoral labours in the parish of St. Austin's we are probably indebted, for most of those excellent sermons which were published after his decease. In the

same year that he entered upon this benefice, he preached the anniversary sermon before the Sons of the Clergy; and, two years afterwards, rendered the same service to the charity schools of the metropolis, at their great annual meeting. No mention of him is made in the records of Sion college. He retained the living but a few years; not long enough to be called, in the usual rotation, to those offices in which the government of the College is vested. The only instance in which his name there occurs, is when permission was given him, in the year 1727, to have the loan, for a certain time, of a manuscript of Wickliffe's Bible.

His literary labours evidently suffered no interruption from these additional calls upon his time. Both his tracts on the *Case of Arian Subscription*, his *Second Vindication*, his *Farther Vindication*, and his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, besides some minor performances, were published within three years from his acceptance of this benefice. Nor was his attention to the concerns of the University materially slackened: for it was during this period that the proceedings against Bentley, and other matters of more than ordinary interest, occurred, in which Waterland had no inconsiderable share. At the same time, his correspondence with Mr. Lewis respecting the lives of Wickliffe and Pecock was carried on. These were occupations sufficient almost to have engrossed the time and labour of a less active and powerful mind.

Within about two years after his presentation to this London benefice, Dr. Waterland was promoted to the Chancellorship of the diocese of York, by Sir

William Dawes, Archbishop of that province. That this dignity was conferred upon him, solely from the high estimation in which his public services were held by that truly excellent Prelate, is evident from the terms in which Waterland acknowledges the favour, in the dedication of his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed.* After paying his tribute of respect to the Archbishop, as "the watchful guar-" dian and preserver of the Christian Faith," and congratulating him on "the happy fruits of his con-" duct, visible in the slow and inconsiderable pro-" gress that the *new heresy* had been able to make " in his Grace's province," he adds, with reference to his own work, "what advantage *others* may reap " from the publication will remain in suspense; but " I am sure of one to *myself*, (and I lay hold of it " with a great deal of pleasure,) the opportunity I " thereby have of returning my *public* thanks to " your Grace for your *public* favours." The Archbishop's feelings in this respect are shewn in the following letter, on the receipt of Dr. Waterland's book, dated Bishop's Thorpe, November 9, 1723:—

" Sir, I can never thank you enough for the service " which you have done to orthodox Christianity by " your *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed;* " nor for the honour which you have done me and " my whole province, in the Epistle Dedicatory to it. " With great pleasure I read it, both upon account " of the subject-matter of it, and the manner in " which you have treated it: the one, of the greatest " importance to the Christian faith; the other, a " pattern to all writers of controversy, in the great " points of religion. God grant that it may attain

" the end, which I dare say you designed by it, and " which it is so well fitted for, the quelling of that " spirit of heresy which has of late so much pre- " vailed amongst us, and the preserving our holy " faith entire and undefiled. I am, Sir, your obliged " and affectionate friend and brother, W. Ebor.[y]"

The next step in our author's ecclesiastical promotions was to a Canonry of Windsor, in the year 1727. This favour is said to have been conferred through the joint recommendations of the Lord Townshend, Secretary of State, and Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London. It led to his obtaining also the Vicarage of Twickenham in Middlesex from the Chapter, on a vacancy made by Dr. Booth's advancement to the Deanery, in 1730. On his presentation to this Vicarage, he resigned the Rectory of St. Austin and St. Faith. In the same year he was collated by Bishop Gibson to the Archdeaconry of Middlesex; an appointment peculiarly well suited to his habits and acquirements.

Dr. Waterland had now before him a wide and extensive sphere of action, with full scope for the exercise of his various attainments. His residence appears to have been pretty equally divided between Windsor, Twickenham, and Cambridge; and his labours in religion and literature were carried on with undiminished ardour. His controversy with Dr. Sykes on the Nature and Obligation of the Christian Sacraments, his correspondence with Dr. Zachary Pearce on some points relating to that controversy, his Vindication of Scripture against Tindal,

[y] This letter was communicated to the editor by the present Master of Magdalene College.

his Dissertation on the argument *à priori*, and his greater work on the Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity, shew the continued activity and energies of his mind, and his indefatigable exertions in the cause of truth. Yet in the midst of these almost incessant avocations, we are assured by his personal friends, (and his letters bear testimony to the same effect) that he was not averse from habits of social intercourse, but freely cultivated and improved his acquaintance with those around him; and found leisure to assist and encourage others in every laudable undertaking. In his retirement at Twickenham, it is probable that he enjoyed much satisfaction in the society of his friend and Curate, Mr. Jeremiah Seed, who was also Minister of Twickenham Chapel, and preached there the funeral sermon upon the death of Dr. Waterland. From this intimacy between them, it may be conjectured that Mr. Seed profited not inconsiderably, in qualifying himself to preach a course of sermons for the Lady Moyer's Lectures, which he delivered in 1732—33, and which did him much credit[z].

[z] It is said of Mr. Seed, in Mr. Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, that "he was exemplary in his morals, orthodox in his "opinions, had an able head, and a most amiable heart." A remarkable testimony to his merits is also stated to have been given by one of his warmest opponents, a zealous Anti-trinitarian, who said of him, "Notwithstanding this gentleman's being "a contender for the Trinity, yet he was a benevolent man, an "upright Christian, and a beautiful writer; *exclusive of his zeal* "*for the Trinity*, he was in every thing else an excellent clergy-"man, and an admirable scholar. I knew him well; and on ac-"count of his amiable qualities very highly honour his memory; "though no two ever differed more in religious sentiments."

An additional honour now awaited Dr. Waterland, of which he could not but be deeply sensible. In the year 1734, the Clergy of the Lower House of Convocation determined upon choosing him their Prolocutor. To this mark of high favour and distinction he adverts, in one of his letters to Mr. Loveday, and in another to Dr. Grey; and assigns as his reason for declining it, his sedentary disposition and his uncertain state of health. Probably it was pressed upon him with some urgency. The Archdeacon of London, Dr. Cobden, had actually prepared the speech to be delivered on presenting him to the Upper House; and it was afterwards printed in a volume of his miscellaneous writings[a].

[a] As expressive of the high estimation in which Dr. Waterland was held by the great body of the Clergy, the insertion of this eulogium may not be unacceptable to the reader.

" Formula parata præsentandi D.D. Waterland, cum Prolocutor " eligeretur, ann. 1734-35.

" Reverendi admodum Patres,

" Clerus ex mandato Reverendissimi Præsidis conveniens, hunc " virum doctum, gravem, et peritum, qui officio Prolocutoris fun- " gatur, omni suffragio elegit, mihique partes, licet indigno, illum " vobis præsentandi, demandavit. In quo quidem eligendo, non " tam illius, quam suæ gloriæ consuluit: quemque si non ele- " gisset, excusatione apud omnes indigere videretur.

" Quem enim magis huic provinciæ idoneum, quem antesigna- " num potius constituere oportuit, quam illum qui toties in arena " theologica desudavit, tantaque de universis Christi hostibus " reportavit tropæa? Illum, inquam, Articulorum Ecclesiæ An- " glicanæ, id est, Catholicæ fidei, propugnatorem celeberrimum, " pene dixeram, alterum *Athanasium?*

" Neminem enim, opinor, latet, quanta hanc nostram Eccle- " siam, ad felicioris ævi normam optime reformatam, ex omni " latere circumstent, hinc infidelium, illinc prave credentium ag-

From this period but few particulars occur in our

" mina; quæ ruinam spirant, illamque a fundamentis penitus " eruere meditantur. En unum in Evangelii causa omnibus pa- " rem! Dei maximi sub auspiciis militantem, et panoplia Chris- " tiana undequaque munitum; qui Papistarum, Arianorum, Scep- " ticorum, errores refutare, fallacias detegere, et primævam fidem " tam solidis argumentis confirmare, quam eleganti stylo illus- " trare, poterit. In hoc enim curriculo se indefessus exercet, " huic operi adeo se totum noctes diesque impendit, ut victus et " somni beneficium sibi pene invideat.

" Coeant inanis philosophiæ jactatores, hujusque sæculi so- " phistæ arrogantes, quibus unica est religio denegare Deum, sola " virtus voluptatibus indulgere, sola ratio est magistra vitæ, et " propria cuique voluntas est summa ratio: coeant sane, et mys- " teria divina, quæ modulum nostrum longe excedunt, humani " ingenii telis conjunctim aggrediantur: hic solo verbo Dei in- " structus, debiles istorum conatus facile repellet. Quando enim

——' arma Dei ad cœlestia ventum est,
' Mortalis mucro, glacies ceu futilis, usu
' Dissiliet.'

" Quinetiam venerandos Patres, quibus pretium ætas arrogavit, " quos inimici nostri aliquando nihili faciunt, et tantum non con- " viciis petunt, aliquando, prout lubet, per insidiis ad castra sua " reluctantes trahunt, et per tormenta cogunt fateri quæ ne som- " niantes quidem cogitarunt, Hic, antiquitatis indagator sagax, ex " istorum manibus aperto marte asseruit, et a nostris partibus " stare, quantique sint momenti, clarissime ostendit.

" De hujus profecto et eloquentia et doctrina dicenti, nova per- " petuo exsurgit messis; et dies me deficeret, si omnia quæ de " illo prædicari debeant tantum delibarem: sed in publicum " peccem, si longiore oratione vestra tempora detineam. Hoc " unum tamen nefas esset prætermittere, utpote summam laudis " suæ coronam, quod adeo vitæ inculpatæ et virtutum omnium in- " signe est exemplum, ut dubitare liceat, an Christianam veri- " tatem illius mores magis exornent, an scripta (perpetua vita " semper dignissima) magis defendant.

" Hunc talem tantumque virum vobis, reverendi admodum " Patres, præsentamus, obnixe rogantes ut confirmare digne- " mini."

author's history requiring especial notice. There is abundant proof, however, of his unremitting assiduity in the duties of his several stations, as Archdeacon, Pastor of a parish, and Head of a college. His Charges, his Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, and his treatise on Regeneration, sufficient alone to have established his reputation as a Divine, succeeded each other, year by year, with scarcely any intermission; shewing a facility and readiness of composition, not less remarkable than the laborious investigation which must have been bestowed upon them.

But we shall not form an adequate conception of our obligations to Dr. Waterland, if we limit them to those productions, however numerous and important, which he himself submitted to the public eye. The extent of his literary aid to others is known to have been very considerable. Dr. Wm. Berriman, Dr. Felton, Dr. Trapp, Mr. Wheatly, and Mr. John Berriman, acknowledge great obligations to him in their discourses for the Lady Moyer's Lecture. Mr. John Berriman, in particular, says, in his preface, "It was by the advice of this great man, I "undertook the examination of that text which is "the subject of the following papers; a work, which "increased under my hands, to a length far beyond "what I, or even he, expected. By his assistance it "was carried on: he saw every sermon soon after it "was preached; I consulted him in every doubt and "difficulty that occurred; and when I had finished "the course of sermons, he was pleased to approve "of them, and insisted upon a publication. I sub-"mitted to his judgment, though that made it ne-

" cessary to go over the whole work again; and I " found it would be proper to alter the form of it, " and to make further additions and improvements, " the better to prepare it for the press. In all " which I had the benefit of his help and assistance, " and great part of it went through his hands in the " form wherein it now appears; as the whole had " done if his illness had not prevented."

Dr. Felton was also probably assisted by some suggestions, at least, of Dr. Waterland, in a series of sermons, published after his death, *On the Creation, Fall, and Redemption of Man.* In the preface by the Editor, Dr. Felton's son, it is mentioned that the sermons were composed "in pursuance of a plan " settled between him and Dr. Waterland, which " they *both* promised to execute; and that he in- " tended to have had them revised by his learned " friend, before they should appear in public." But Dr. Felton died before they had been submitted to Dr. Waterland; and Dr. Waterland died before Dr. Felton's son had the opportunity of shewing them to him.

How largely Mr. Lewis of Mergate was indebted to Waterland, in his collections for the lives of Wicliffe and Pecock, and his history of English translations of the Bible, the letters to Mr. Lewis now first printed, most amply prove. Incidental mention is also made in those letters of his readiness to contribute similar aid to some other designs which Mr. Lewis had in contemplation. His letters to Dr. Grey shew that he was always active in promoting and encouraging the literary undertakings of that ex-

cellent writer, and assisting him in his researches. Many valuable hints and suggestions are found in his letters to Mr. Loveday, for the information of those who were engaged in the same controversies with himself against the Arian writers. Mr. Browne and Mr. Alexander were two of those who owed him obligations of this kind; the former, in his *Brief Observations* on two of Jackson's tracts; the latter, in his *Essay on Irenæus*, written to expose and refute some of Jackson's misrepresentations. Of these Dr. W. says, "both of them went through "my hands before they went to the press." Similar assistance was given to Mr. Horbery, in his *Animadversions on Jackson's Christian Liberty asserted.* Mr. Horbery, then a young man, was at that time personally unknown to Waterland; and the communication between them was carried on through the medium of Mr. Loveday. The talent and knowledge evinced in this excellent tract gained him the friendship of our author, through whose recommendation it seems probable that he was brought under the notice of Bishop Smalbroke, and promoted to a Canonry in the Cathedral of Litchfield [b].

From his letters to Dr. Grey we find that Dr.

[b] In Mr. Nicholls's Literary Anecdotes, vol. ix. pp. 561, 562, there is an interesting memoir of Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Horbery. His Sermons, published in one volume after his decease, are among the very best compositions of our English Divines. Besides these, his dissertation on the *Eternity of future Punishments*, and the tract here mentioned against Jackson, are the chief, if not the only publications known to be of his writing. But he is said to have left a large collection of sermons, which have fallen into different hands.

Waterland greatly contributed to the improved edition of Dr. Cave's *Historia Literaria*, published by Dr. Wharton early in the year 1740; the editor of which acknowledges, in the preface, the benefit derived from his encouragement and advice.[c] His collections for the improvement of Mr. Hearne's edition of Robert of Glocester were also very extensive; but not being made till after the edition was published, he forbore, from motives of delicacy, communicating them to Mr. Hearne himself.

Dr. Fiddes, another author of considerable distinction, was similarly indebted to Dr. Waterland. To the first part of his *Body of Divinity*, book iv. ch. 1. is subjoined the following note:—"In justice "to my very worthy and learned friend, Dr. Water- "land, Master of Magdalen college in Cambridge, I "think it here incumbent upon me publicly to ac- "knowledge, that I owe in a manner the whole ex- "position of the two first articles of the Creed to "the papers he was pleased to favour me with. Yet "I have taken the liberty allowed me, to his disad- "vantage, I confess, of expressing myself ordinarily "in my own way, and even of inserting some few "things, which I apprehended might not be altoge-

[c] "Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria postremis "olim clarissimi autoris cura limata, atque quarta fere parte "aucta, preloque destinata, jam tandem tibi, Lector benevole, "exhibetur. Thesaurum accipe nunc locupletissimum, studioso- "rum votis diu multumque expetitum, in lucem demum a tene- "bris, quibus obductus per viginti et sex annos delituerat, eru- "tum, humanitate testamenti Caveani Curatorum perquam bene- "vola, V. insuper cl. DAN. WATERLAND, S. T. P. Canonici Win- "desoriensis, hortatu et consiliis sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ et Reipub- "licæ literariæ usibus perennibus consecratum." *Præf.* p. 1.

" ther unuseful. Though I have been less injurious " to him, in both these respects, upon the subject of " the Trinity; to which he has applied his thoughts " with so great care and accuracy, and to so excel- " lent a purpose [d]." These two articles of the Creed extend through upwards of an hundred folio pages; nearly the whole of which, according to this statement, are to be ascribed to Dr. Waterland.

The translation of Archbishop King's *Essay on the Origin of Evil* by Mr. Law, (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle,) is dedicated to Dr. Waterland. In the Dedication, the translator speaks of Dr. W. as " a " person eminent for a thorough knowledge of these " subjects, confessedly an able judge, an upright de- " fender, a bright example of religion both revealed " and natural; who is zealous to assert the truth " and enforce the necessity of the principal doctrines " and institutions of the one, as well as to establish " the true ground and fundamental principle, and " fix the proper limits of the other: and, above all, " who has always the courage to maintain these " great truths, howsoever unfashionable or unpopu- " lar they may be sometimes made." He adds, " These, Sir, are very obvious reasons for my being " ambitious to prefix your name to the following " work, and endeavouring to recommend it to the " favour of one to whom the author would have been " desirous to approve himself. It is with pleasure " also that I take this opportunity of declaring as " well my sense of the great benefits that attend the " perusal of your writings, which must give equal " warmth and conviction to all who have the least

[d] Vol. i. p. 330, folio edition, 1718.

" concern for religion; as my experience of that " candid condescension and communicative temper, " which is ready to encourage and instruct every " young inquirer after truth." From the concluding sentence of this paragraph it may be inferred, that Dr. W. was not backward in assisting his younger friend by his advice, at least, in this publication; besides the valuable addition he made to his other work on the *Ideas of Time and Space*, by the *Dissertation on the argument à priori*, already mentioned.

Dr. Webster, an author much less generally known, published in the year 1735, a translation of Maimbourg's *History of Arianism*; a work, undertaken (as he states in the title-page and preface) " at Dr. " Waterland's request." It had been begun by Dr. Herbert, who was concerned in the translation of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History; but was suspended for a considerable time, until Webster was induced, chiefly by Dr. Waterland, to complete it. Waterland's assistance, however, in this work, does not appear to have extended beyond that of encouraging an author who continually laboured under pecuniary distresses, and who without such aid would not have had the means of rendering himself useful to the public.[e]

[e] Webster had undertaken to add, as an appendix, an account of the *English* writers in the Socinian and Arian controversies. But this part of the design failed for want of encouragement: and instead of it was substituted a short *history of Socinianism*, chiefly from Lamy; the 27th chapter of which gives an account of its progress in England. Webster prefixed also to this work two *Dissertations* of his own; one concerning *the nature of error in speculative doctrines*, in answer to Sykes's tract on the *Innocency*

Thus actively was Dr. Waterland employed, not only in the duties of the important stations he filled in the Church and in the University, but also in literary pursuits of various kinds, and in befriending the labours of others for the general good. By these services, he more than repaid the attentions of those to whom he owed his promotion; and his claims to public remuneration increased rather than diminished, as he advanced to greater eminence.

This was not unobserved by those who had the disposal of the highest stations in the Church. It was undoubtedly intended to elevate him to the episcopal bench. Mr. Seed says, "he might have been "advanced much higher by the recommendation and "interest of that very excellent Prelate, who, in the "opinion of every true friend to the Church, de-"servedly fills the highest station in it[f]." This is explained, in the Biographia Britannica, to have been the actual offer of the Bishopric of Llandaff; which, however, he declined accepting. The date of this offer is not mentioned. But, comparing that of the Archbishop's promotion to the Metropolitan See with those of the vacancies in the See of Llandaff which occurred during Waterland's life, the offer must have been made either at the time when Mr. Mawson accepted it, in December 1738, or when Dr. Mawson was translated from thence to Chichester, in May 1740. Whether he declined this honour, as he had that of the Prolocutorship, from sedentary habits of life, and a state of health (as he conceived)

of Error; the other on *the nature and importance of the Trinitarian doctrine,* against a discourse of Chubb's on *Persecution.*

[f] Archbishop Potter.

unsuitable to the station, does not appear. Probably, he contemplated such an elevation in the Church, if not with apprehensions of its difficulties and dangers, yet with a disinclination to relinquish the comparatively easy and tranquil enjoyments of literary labours; and, perhaps, with that diffidence of his own powers, which none but himself would have allowed to be well-founded[g]. Be that as it may, the determination, however wise and prudent with regard to himself, could not but be felt by the real friends of the Church as a matter of deep regret. The accession of such a man to the episcopal bench would at any time have been highly valuable; and more especially so, when many even of the Clergy of our Church seemed disposed to halt between the different opinions which the spirit of controversy had spread among them. His advancement to the mitre, at such a crisis, might have done much to fix the wavering, to fortify the irresolute, and to uphold those who were disposed to adhere to their profession with a well-regulated zeal.

But the labours of this distinguished ornament of his profession were not to be of much longer duration. In the summer of 1759, we find him occupied at Cambridge, as member of a Syndicate for revising and correcting the list of Benefactors to the University. At Easter in the following year he delivered his last Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Middlesex; and from that time to July of the

[g] Possibly also, (if we may judge from a witticism related of him respecting the scanty revenues of the See of Llandaff,) *prudential* motives of another kind might have their influence upon his decision.

same year, he was again stationary at Cambridge, in the enjoyment of those rational pleasures which he so well describes in the last of the letters to Mr. Loveday. The letter is dated July 6th, 1740. "It "will not be long," he says, "before I must return "to Twickenham, to stay there a month or two, in "the neighbourhood of the town. In the mean sea- "son, I am here, in an agreeable situation, amidst "plenty of books, printed and manuscript, entertain- "ing myself, and serving distant friends in a literary "way. We have lately lost here an excellent man, "who lived and died in that pleasurable kind of toil: "I am just come from the hearing a fine panegyric "of him from St. Mary's pulpit. Mr. Baker is the "person I mean; as you would have imagined, with- "out my naming him. He lived to a great age, but "so lived as to make it necessary for those he leaves "behind him, to think he died too soon." From the tenor of this cheerful letter, it could little be expect- ed how soon the latter part of the concluding sen- tence would become still more applicable to himself. But not long after his Easter Visitation in this year, "a complaint which he had many years too much "neglected, (the nail growing into one of his great "toes) obliged him in July to call in the assistance "of a surgeon at Cambridge, (Mr. Lunn) under "whose hands finding no relief, and his pain still in- "creasing, he removed to London, and put himself "under the care of Mr. Cheselden. But it was now "too late; a bad habit of body, contracted by too "intense an application to his studies, rendered a "recovery impossible; and after undergoing several "painful operations, to which he submitted without

" reluctance, and bore with an exemplary patience, " every thing tending to a mortification, he expired " with the same composure that he had lived, De- " cember 23d in that year [h]."

Connected with this concluding part of our author's history, is a pitiful attempt of his adversaries, to circulate an anecdote, which, whether well-founded or not, would be unworthy of notice, had not such men as Pope, and Warburton, and Middleton, thought fit to comment upon it with an air of serious animadversion. The story is related with unfeeling levity, and in the coarsest terms, in Middleton's 10th letter to Warburton [i], dated January 8, 1740-1, a fortnight only after Waterland's death. " The Church," he says, " has received a great loss by the death of " Dr. W——d. I cannot say, an irreparable one, " whilst C——n lives [k]; to whom he has left some

[h] *Biograph. Britannica.* The same, in substance, is the account given by Mr. Cole, in a note to one of Dr. Waterland's letters to Dr. Grey; adding, that he thinks he died at Cambridge, where he had been for a long time attended by Cheselden. In a subsequent memorandum, however, Mr. Cole says, " he was attended " here at Cambridge by the famous Mr. Cheselden for many " days from London: and removing from Cambridge to *Twick-* " *enham* for change of air, died *there.*" He adds, " Mr. Cheselden " attended for many days, at a great expence, and with Dr. Plump- " tre, the Professor of Physic, attended him to Town."

[i] Middleton's Miscellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 404. 8vo. edit.

[k] Dr. Chapman is, doubtless, here meant, the author of *Eusebius*, in answer to the *Moral Philosopher*, and of other learned works; to whom, however, Waterland's papers were *not* left: neither had Waterland ordered all his other papers to be burnt, since Mr. Clarke, the editor of his posthumous Sermons and of his treatises on Justification and Infant Communion, expressly states that these were consigned to *his* care (not to Dr. Chapman's) for pub-

" unfinished papers on *Infant-Communion*, and " wisely ordered all the rest to be burnt; he has be- " queathed likewise to the College, such of his print- " ed books, as they find scribbled by his own hand, " for such, I hear, is his own description of them. " By the silence of the public papers, upon the fall " of so eminent a luminary, we are to expect, I ima- " gine, in a proper time, some laboured panegyric, " from a masterly hand. Though the great *Hooker* " seems to have exhausted himself, in an effort of " the last week, to do justice to the character of the " excellent *Eusebius*, who is preparing to give the " *coup de grace* to that subtle and ingenious, but " infamous writer, the *Moral Philosopher*. But as " to W——d, whenever they think fit to oblige the " public with his life, they will not forget one story, " I hope, which is truly worthy of him, shews the " real spirit of the man, and which I can venture to " tell you on good authority." Then follows the story; which, divested of the grossness of the narrative, and the adventitious circumstances probably engrafted upon it by the narrator himself, is simply this;—that, on his way to London with Dr. Plumptre and Mr. Cheselden, Dr. Waterland found it ne-

lication. Nor were his printed books, with his marginal notes, bequeathed to the College, only two or three having yet been found there. The rest fell into different hands, being probably sold, among the rest of his books, by public auction; and the greater number of them are now in Rawlinson's collection in the Bodleian Library. So inaccurately was Middleton informed respecting the man whom he thus treats with an affectation of contempt. " The great *Hooker*," here ludicrously spoken of, was Dr. William Webster, editor of the *Weekly Miscellany*, published under the fictitious name of *Richard Hooker, Esquire*.

cessary to send for an apothecary in a town through which he passed, for some medical assistance; that the apothecary, mistaking the name of *Waterland* for *Warburton*, was overpowered by the supposed honour conferred upon him, and assured Dr. W.'s friends, then with him, "that he was not a stranger "to the merit and character of the Doctor, but had "lately read his ingenious book with much pleasure, "*The Divine Legation of Moses;*" that, upon this blunder being communicated to Waterland, he was "provoked by it to a violent passion," called the poor man ill names, and, notwithstanding Dr. Plumptre's endeavours to moderate his displeasure, would not suffer him to administer the necessary aid. Middleton then adds, "with such wretched passions and "prejudices did this poor man march to his grave; "which might deserve to be laughed at, rather than "lamented, if we did not see what pernicious influ- "ence they have in the Church, to defame and de- "press men of sense and virtue, who have had the "courage to despise them."

This anecdote appears to have been highly relished by Warburton and Pope. Warburton must almost immediately have communicated it to Pope; who, in a letter dated February 4, 1740-41, says, in reply, "This leads me to thank you for that very en- "tertaining and, I think, instructive story of Dr. W. "who was, in this, the image of * * *, who never "admit of any remedy from the hand they dislike. "But I am sorry he had so much of the modern "Christian rancour; *as I believe he may be con- "vinced by this time, that the kingdom of heaven "is not for such.*"

Probably, the whole of this idle tale was much exaggerated by the wanton malice of the narrator. But take it as it is told; and what does it amount to? That Waterland thought meanly of a practitioner, whom he might suspect to be as ignorant in his own profession as in that in which he pretended to play the critic; and was as unwilling to trust to his skill in one case as in the other. And where is the wonder, where the extreme offence, if, in a moment of pain and irritation, an expression or two of contempt escaped from his lips? Yet this is to be noted as a proof of "*the wretched passions and pre-*" *judices with which he marched to his grave;*" and Mr. Pope gravely infers from it the *instructive* lesson, "*that the kingdom of heaven is not for such.*" This too from Middleton, the bitterest of polemics; and from Pope, the most merciless and implacable of satyrists.

But whatever credit may be given to the story itself, the inferences thus uncharitably deduced from it, are completely overthrown by the testimony of those who knew him best to his exemplary and truly Christian deportment during this lingering and painful disease. In addition to what has just been cited from the Biographia Britannica, Mr. Seed, his intimate friend, and who was with him during the last scene of his illness, speaks thus; "The meek and " candid Christian was not lost in *the disputer of* " *this world.* I never saw him in a different hu- " mour, no, not even in his last illness. The same " unaffected cheerfulness, the same evenness and se- " dateness, which was his distinguishing character, " appeared from the first commencement of our ac-

" quaintance to the last. Whatever painful opera-
" tions were thought necessary, he submitted to
" them without reluctance, and underwent them
" with patience and resignation. He was very ami-
" able in a domestic light. Though he felt great un-
" easiness, he gave none but what arose from a fel-
" low-feeling of his sufferings. Even then, humane
" and benevolent to all about him, but especially to
" her with whom he had lived in an uninterrupted
" harmony for twenty-one years; bringing forth va-
" luable things out of the good treasures of his head
" and heart; communicative of any thing that was
" good, he would have engrossed nothing to himself,
" but his sufferings; which yet he could not engross.
" For every good-natured person that saw him could
" not but suffer *with* a man, *by* and *from* whom they
" were sure to suffer nothing. The same sound prin-
" ciples, from which he never swerved, and of which
" he never expressed the least diffidence, which he
" had unanswerably defended in his health, supported
" and invigorated his spirits during his sickness: and
" he died, a little before his entrance on his 58th
" year, with the same composure with which he
" lived; and is now gone to offer up to God a whole
" life laid out, or rather worn out, in His service."
Such was the man, whom his opponents, in their eagerness to traduce his memory, hesitated not to represent as unfit to enter into the presence of his Maker.

Dr. Waterland's remains were interred, according to his own request, in the collegiate church, or chapel royal of St. George, at Windsor, in one of the small chapels on the south side called Bray's chapel, under a plain black marble slab, bearing his arms,

with this inscription, *Daniel Waterland, S. T. P. Hujus Ecclesiæ Canonicus, ob. Decemb.* xxiii. MDCCXL. *ætat.* LVIII. His widow survived him many years. Her name was Jane Tregonwell, second daughter of John Tregonwell, Esq. of Anderston in Dorsetshire, of an ancient and highly respectable family, and lineally descended from Sir John Tregonwell, who died in the reign of Henry the Eighth. Her mother was Lewes, daughter of Lady Beauchamp[1]. She was married to Dr. Waterland in the year 1719, and died December 8th, 1761. They left no issue. Dr. Waterland's will throws no farther light upon the circumstances of his own or of Mrs. Waterland's family, nor is it of sufficient interest to be here inserted. It bequeaths the whole of his property to her, and speaks of her in terms of the tenderest regard and affection.

Of Dr. Waterland's other relations little can now be ascertained. His brother Dr. Theodore Waterland was admitted at Clare Hall, May 1699, com-

[1] See Hutchins's *History of Dorsetshire*, vol. iv. p. 210, where the pedigrees of the Tregonwells of Milton and Anderston are given. This account is also confirmed by Mr. John Tregonwell King, now of Blandford, Dorset, whose father was nephew to Mrs. Waterland. In the Biographia Britannica, her name is said to have been *Anne Tregonway:* and Mr. Cole says she was a *Baronet's* daughter; neither of which statements is quite correct.

Mr. Tregonwell King's father had in his possession portraits of Dr. and Mrs. Waterland. That of Dr. Waterland he gave to a nephew of the Doctor, either his brother's or his sister's son; concerning whom fruitless inquiry has been made, in the hope of obtaining leave to have an engraving taken from the portrait for this edition of his Works. That which is now prefixed is copied from a good mezzotinto print by Faber, after the original picture, which was by Philips.

menced B.A. 1702, was elected Fellow of Clare Hall, March 1705-6, commenced M.A. 1706, vacated his Fellowship, January 1713-14, on being elected Fellow of Magdalene College, where he continued, holding successively the offices of Dean, President, and Bursar, till the year 1724. In 1720, he was presented to the Rectory of Stanton in Cambridgeshire; and towards the latter end of 1731, to the Rectory of St. Benet Fink in the city of London. This latter benefice is in the patronage of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, and probably was given him by his brother as an option at his disposal. He preached the Lady Moyer's Lectures in 1734-35, but did not publish them. His only publication was an Accession Sermon preached at Cambridge in 1716.

Mr. Cole mentions another Dr. Waterland, also of Magdalene College, and afterwards Prebendary of Bristol, and Rector of Wrington in Somerset. Perhaps this was Henry Waterland, who was of Magdalene College, LL.B. 1726, and LL.D. 1743. Two persons of this name, besides Dr. Waterland's father, are found in the College books; one, the son of Henry Waterland, of Heddon or Heydon, in Yorkshire, who entered June 1721, was elected Scholar in 1722, and Fellow in 1726; the other, son of the Rev. Henry Waterland of Wrington in Somerset, who was admitted Pensioner in 1748-9, and Scholar in 1750. The former of these seems to be the Dr. W. whom Mr. Cole speaks of; and perhaps the latter was his son. But how they were related to Dr. Daniel Waterland, does not appear[m].

[m] In the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1752, occurs the death of the abovementioned —— Waterland, Esq. of Heydon,

The loss of so valuable a member of the Church could not but be deeply felt; more especially by those who, holding high and responsible stations in it themselves, looked to him for help and support upon any great emergency. Of these none seem to have more sensibly felt it, than the excellent Primate, Archbishop Potter. In his speech addressed to the Synod of the province of Canterbury, on December 10th, 1741, within a twelvemonth after Dr. Waterland's decease, is the following tribute to his memory:—"Singulorum immo-
" rari laudibus, nec instituti me mei, nec temporis
" ratio patitur. Unum silentio præterire haud sinit
" insigne illud, ante septennium jam novissime elap-
" sum, a compresbyteris nostris præstitum testimo-
" nium [n]; qui absentem, ac eorum quæ hic ageren-
" tur fortasse nescium, consiliis actisque suis præesse
" voluerunt;—virum, pæne omni laude majorem,
" qui Catholicam de tribus in una eademque divina
" substantia personis sententiam, (cæteros enim ejus
" seu labores, seu triumphos, commemorare quid
" opus est?) eo acumine ac judicio defendit, quo, a

Yorkshire, father of Dr. Henry Waterland. Also, in April 1755, the marriage of a Dr. Waterland, Prebendary of Bristol, to Miss Dorrington of Old Sudbury; and in September 1757, the death of Martin Waterland, of Warwick, Esq. aged 90. In October and December 1757, are mentioned the marriage of Samuel Waterland, Esq. of Virginia, and the death of Isaac Waterland, Esq. lately arrived from Jamaica. No relationship of our author to either of these individuals has been traced; though his personal intimacy with Mr. Blair, Ecclesiastical Commissary at Virginia, to whose sermons he wrote the preface, may, perhaps, warrant a conjecture that he had some family connections in that country.

[n] The nomination of Waterland to the Prolocutorship of the Lower House of Convocation, in 1734.

" magno Athanasio ad hæc usque tempora, vix alius " fortasse quisquam. Abiit autem ille, abiit, haud " annis forsitan, (quos enim annos tot tantisque me- " ritis pares existimare licuisset?) honoribus tamen " plenus, atque iis etiam quos modeste, ah! nimium " modeste, recusavit. Abiit, inquam, suo licet maxime " commodo, nobis tamen semper deflendus, semper " desiderandus."....." Videre mihi videor cedentes ad- " versarios, et, repugnantes licet atque invitos, haud " obscure tamen vim veritatis fatentes. Jam certe " tantum non obmutuit Ariana impietas, quæ aliquot " abhinc annis tam insolenter se extulerat ut, vano " licet augurio, palam jactare non vereretur, brevi " temporis spatio haud plures reperiundos fore qui " Nicænam fidem, quam qui obsoleta quædam Cal- " vini dogmata, defenderent."—The allusion to the honours which Waterland had *too modestly refused*, confirms the statement that the offer of a bishopric had been made to him, and that nothing but his own diffidence, or disinclination to encounter the trials and difficulties of such a station, prevented its being carried into effect.

Other testimonies of a similar kind have already been produced, tending to prove that Dr. Waterland stood high in the esteem of men of the first character and station in the Church and in the University, and at a period when literature and theology might boast of some of their brightest ornaments. We find him the associate or the correspondent of Bentley, Sherlock, Law, Jenkin, Grey, Baker, Lewis, and Chapman, at Cambridge; of Wheatly°, Felton, Horbery,

° Mr. Wheatly was for some time his Curate at St. Austin's, London.

and Hearne, at Oxford; patronized or eulogized by Archbishops Potter and Dawes, and by Bishops Robinson and Gibson; and conversant with the most distinguished Divines in or near the metropolis. We find also, that even among such men as these, an extraordinary degree of deference seems to have been paid to his judgment, and the greatest confidence placed in his ability to take the lead, when matters of the first importance to the interests of religion and of learning were at issue. To have been thus foremost in the field, where men of ordinary talents and attainments could hardly have found means of being distinguished, is an indication of superiority requiring no other evidence to support it. The maxim, *noscitur a sociis*, never could have been more honourably applied.

But a man may be known, and the strength of his character tried and proved, by his opponents, as well as by his friends and associates. Dr. Waterland's opponents ranked high in the literary world; and although occasionally some friends stood forth in his support, he, for the most part, relied upon his own strength to resist the host that assailed him. He had to defend himself successively against Clarke, Whitby, and Sykes, men of distinguished ability and reputation; to say nothing of Jackson, whose attacks, though feebler, were more malignant and persevering. With Middleton, indeed, he did not directly contend; the blow aimed at him from that quarter being so effectually repelled by Dr. Pearce and others, as to leave him nothing to fear from such an adversary. In his disquisitions on the Eucharist, he stood opposed, not only to Sykes and Hoadley,

upon the more general view of the subject, but also, upon some subordinate points, to Brett and Johnson; men, whose depth of learning and great theological attainments were rendered still further respectable, by that reverence for Scripture and antiquity, which no one knew better how to appreciate, or more zealously contended for, than Waterland himself.

The part which the very learned, but very eccentric Mr. Whiston took in the Arian controversy, hardly brought him into contact with Dr. Waterland; his chief writings on that subject having appeared before Waterland took any part in it. But his zeal in the cause continued to the end of his life; and as he lived to so advanced an age as to be the survivor of our author, he could not be an indifferent observer of his labours. He appears, however, to have had much respect for Dr. W. as an open and ingenuous controversialist; though occasionally he imputes to him conduct not very consistent with such a character, and even challenges him to "lay "his hand upon his heart, and honestly declare "whether he *bona fide* believed what he had sub-"scribed[p]." Elsewhere he insinuates, that Waterland could hardly but have suspected that the Athanasian doctrine was not the doctrine of the primitive ages; and after relating the story already mentioned respecting his opinion of the genuineness of 1 John v. 7, he adds, that he does not think Waterland ever quotes that text as genuine, and commends his omission of it as a singular instance of *honesty* and *im-*

[p] See his Life of Dr. Clarke, p. 102.

partiality in so zealous and warm a Trinitarian[q]. In a subsequent part of the work[r], he styles Waterland "the grand antagonist of Dr. Clarke, Mr. Jack-"son, and Dr. Sykes;" also, "one of the *most* "*learned*, and, he is willing to hope, the *last learned* "supporter of the Athanasian heresy."

It is difficult to account for the personal enmity which Warburton seems to have borne to Waterland. In Mr. Nicholls's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v. p. 415, a fragment of Warburton is quoted from Maty's Review, in which, after commending some act of generosity and charity by Middleton, he says, "What think you of this? I think it more edifying "than all Waterland's books of controversy.

"For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;
"His can't be wrong, whose life is in the right."

In the preface to his first edition of the 4th, 5th, and 6th, books of the *Divine Legation*, he observes, that "he had to do with men in authority; appointed, if "you will believe them, inspectors general over cleri-"cal faith: and they went forth in all the pomp and "terror of *inquisitors*, with *suspicion* before, *condem-*"*nation* behind, and their two assessors, *ignorance* "and *insolence*, on each side." To this he subjoins, in a note, the names of "Webster, Venn, Stebbing, "*Waterland*, and others." This gross personality, against an author who had taken no part in the controversy concerning the *Divine Legation*, proceeded, perhaps, from a surmise, whether well or ill-founded, that Waterland had encouraged some of his opponents, and *Webster* in particular, (whom

[q] Ibid. p. 101. [r] Ibid. p. 130.

Warburton at all times speaks of in unmeasured terms of obloquy and contempt) in their censures of that celebrated work. It is probable also, that Middleton did all in his power to increase this animosity on the part of Warburton.

Those writers of inferior note who ranged themselves among Waterland's opponents are scarcely deserving of notice. With the exception of Emlyn, one of the most respectable defenders of Arianism, and of Chubb and Morgan among the Deists, few of their works outlived the brief existence of the most worthless pamphlet. Among other assailants of this description, the writer of the *Old Whig*, a periodical paper devoted to the dissemination of libels and insults on the established Church, occasionally poured forth such calumnies and invectives upon our author as *anonymous* writers only have usually the hardihood to publish.

Any annoyance, however, which might be felt from such mean attempts to depreciate his character or his labours, must have been more than compensated, to so well-constituted a mind, by the general and unqualified approbation of those whose good opinion he would be most solicitous to obtain. Nor was this recompense derived only from his fellow-labourers in his own country. No inconsiderable portion of it was freely and honourably contributed by *foreign* Divines of high reputation. In the *Bibliotheca Theologica* of Walchius, an eminent writer of the Lutheran Church, his works are mentioned with high encomiums. In the *Acta Eruditorum* he is occasionally referred to as a writer of acknowledged authority; and wherever the controversies in which

he took a part are brought under consideration, his sentiments appear to have been regarded on the continent, as a criterion of the principles and doctrines of the Church of England[s].

It is unnecessary to expatiate more largely upon the justness of our author's pretensions to that well-earned reputation which attended him while living, and still survives him; and the discerning reader will be sufficiently able to judge of those pretensions from the entire perusal of his works. The full extent, however, of the obligations which the Church owed, and still owes, to his labours it is not easy to calculate; since besides their own intrinsic value, they have doubtless contributed greatly to form the principles, and to direct the judgment, of many distinguished writers who have succeeded him. No controversial writings, perhaps, have done more for the general good, in this respect. It is characteristic of them, that they treat of the most profound

[s] Walchius says of him, Bibl. Theol. tom. i. p. 239, "Inter Anglos præcipue DAN. WATERLANDUS se strenuum doctrinæ de Trinitate defensorem exhibuit;" and again, tom. i. p. 967, "Præcipue DANIEL WATERLANDUS laudabilem operam in defensione dogmatis de Trinitate ac Divinitate Jesu Christi contra Arianos Anglos collocavit, ac nomen suum reddidit celebre." Similar commendations are bestowed upon his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, and his *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*. "DAN. WATERLANDI *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, quæ Anglico sermone Cantabr. 1724, et iterum ibidem 1728, lucem adspexit seque omnibus hujus rei peritis commendavit: immo inter hujusmodi libros principatum consequutus est." Tom. i. p. 312.—"Præ aliis memorare decet DAN. WATERLANDUM, ejusque *recognitionem doctrinæ de Eucharistia ex Scriptura et antiquitate repetitam*." Tom. i. p. 279.

subjects, not only with great powers of reasoning and great extent of knowledge, but also with a perspicuity which never leaves it doubtful what impression was intended to be left upon the reader's mind, and with a just confidence in the strength of his cause, which sets the author above every unworthy artifice to persuade or to convince others.

In his controversy with the Arians, these qualifications were put to a severe test. The perplexities to be unravelled were many and intricate; and his opponents were admirably skilled in rendering them still more so. Though the appeal, on their part, for determining the points in dispute, was professedly made to *Scripture* only, and the authority of Fathers and of other Scripture-interpreters was treated as of little worth; yet difficulties purely of a *metaphysical* kind were continually suffered to prevail, to the rejection of the most simple and obvious meaning of Scripture, no less than to the perversion of its primitive expositors. Through these labyrinths, Waterland guided himself with admirable caution. That he was no inconsiderable adept in metaphysical science, is manifest. But he forbore to apply it, either in proof, or in elucidation, of the mysteries of revealed religion, farther than might shew its insufficiency to invalidate the truths of holy writ. He betrayed no fondness for abstract hypotheses or theories, to accommodate such doctrines to philosophical views; but laid their foundation deep in the authority of *Revelation* only, and grounded them upon *faith* as their main support. To discard metaphysics altogether from such subjects is, perhaps, impossible. But to attempt either to establish or to

defend purely *divine* truth, upon principles of *human* science, is to forget that our knowledge of the truths themselves originates in another source; and that they can neither be proved, nor disproved, from any extrinsic information that can be brought to bear upon them. Yet upon such grounds rest most of the subtleties of Arian writers. Metaphysical definitions of *unity, person, substance,* and *essence,* are assumed as postulates, to establish one hypothesis, or to refute another; as if it were demonstrable, that the mode of existence perceptible to our faculties in the visible world, must necessarily be the same with that which belongs to the world invisible; or that what we discern by the testimony of sense and experience, can be an adequate criterion of that which is capable of no such testimony. Against such perversion of human ingenuity Waterland constantly protested; and if he suffered himself at any time to pursue his opponents through these *by-paths* of theology, it was to shew how wide they lay of the real object of inquiry.

The same sound judgment and discrimination may be observed in Dr. Waterland's other controversial writings, as in those on the Trinity. He marks out a plain, straight line of proceeding, from which he suffers not any artifices of his opponents to divert him. Nor does he encumber his argument with unnecessary proofs, or unnecessary points of disputation. That great excellence in controversy, to know what may or may not be safely admitted, what may be put aside as irrelevant or superfluous, what is really conducive to the strength of the argument, or would only obscure and overload it;—is

one of his most striking characteristics. Hence, notwithstanding the great length of some of his disquisitions, it would be difficult to point out any thing which might with advantage be spared. No author, perhaps, ever gave his adversaries less opportunity of retreating from their own ground, and taking up some other position which any inadvertency on his part might have opened to them.

It is true, indeed, that Dr. Waterland occasionally admits into the body of some of his larger works *collateral* discussions of considerable magnitude. But these will be found essentially to contribute to a clearer conception of the general subject, although they might without much difficulty be detached, as distinct treatises, from the works to which they belong. Thus, in the *Case of Arian Subscription considered,* the 4th chapter might form a separate dissertation, on the question, *in what sense our Articles of Religion ought to be subscribed;* and from the *Supplement* to that tract might be extracted a very satisfactory discussion of another important subject, *whether our Articles were framed with any bias in favour of Calvinistic tenets.* Portions might be selected also from his several vindications of our Lord's divinity, illustrative of certain points of general importance to every inquirer into sacred truth, independent of the controversies which gave rise to them; such, for instance, as the *subordination of the Son to the Father,* and the impossibility that the Son should be *Creator,* and yet a *creature* only. The same may be said of the 10th and 11th chapters of the *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed;* one containing a *Commentary*

on the Creed, the other a *Vindication of its admission into our Liturgy*. In his *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity* are two entire chapters forming complete dissertations; one, on *holding communion with those who reject any fundamental articles of faith*; the other, on *the use and value of ecclesiastical antiquity with respect to controversies of faith*; each of which, but especially the latter, may be read with peculiar advantage as distinct treatises. An entire essay might also be formed on *the comparative obligation of positive and moral duties*, from the 2d and 3d chapters of his tract on the *Christian Sacraments*, with the 1st section of the *Supplement* to that tract. His *general preface* to the three parts of *Scripture Vindicated* is another instance of a brief but comprehensive essay, purely didactic, upon a subject highly interesting to every biblical student. It would be easy to select from his writings a volume of such treatises, upon some of the most useful points of theology, which would scarcely lose any of their effect by being so detached from the respective works in which they are found; although those works would undoubtedly be much lessened in value, had they been omitted.

But, whatever value may be set upon these collateral disquisitions, the subjects of the works themselves in which they are interwoven are of the first importance. The author had to contend with the most subtle and imposing *heresy* that ever molested the Church; with the most plausible of *deistical* writers; and with men of a far different cast, whose piety, learning, and talents he greatly esteemed, but whom he considered as injudiciously upholding some

untenable opinions, respecting the highest and most solemn of Christian ordinances. He glanced, moreover, at the rising fanaticism of a party, which has since spread to a much wider extent than could have been foreseen, and produced lamentable divisions in the Church, though originating probably in motives pure and irreprehensible. On all these occasions, he manifested an ardent zeal for the truth, under the discipline of a sober and well-regulated judgment, and of feelings equally remote from lukewarmness and extravagance. A vein of genuine piety runs through all his writings, unmixed with party-spirit, unostentatious, unassuming, neither lax nor bigoted, neither fanciful nor austere.

The *style* of our author's writings corresponds with these qualities. It is that of a writer less intent upon the *manner*, than the *matter* of his productions. Simplicity, perspicuity, and vigour are its main characteristics. There is an evident consciousness of the dignity of his subjects and the weight of his reasonings, which sets him above the desire of enhancing their value by adventitious ornaments, or elaborate attempts to please. He formed distinct conceptions of what he had to deliver, thought deeply yet clearly upon the point to be discussed, and clothed his thoughts in that diction which would best enable the reader to apprehend them with facility. There is also a spirit and vivacity in his writings, which, without any effort to attract, excites attention, and sustains it, more effectually than could be done by artificial powers of composition. Not that his writings, however, are defective

in that which might satisfy even fastidious critics. There is no want of ease and grace in the turn of his periods; of correctness in their structure; or of just discrimination in the selection of his terms and phrases. In these respects, Dr. Waterland will bear a comparison with the most approved writers of his time. But whatever excellencies he attained to of this kind, they appear to have been rather the result of natural good taste, than of studied acquirements.

The *temper* and *disposition* of an author will generally more or less betray itself in his writings, especially in those of a polemical cast. Judging of him by this criterion, we should say that Dr. Waterland was frank, open, and ingenuous; warm and ardent in his cause, lively and animated in his perceptions, sagacious in discerning any advantage which an unguarded adversary might afford him; but disdaining any unworthy artifices to carry his point. That no undue warmth, or vehemence of expression should occasionally escape him, it were too much to expect; nor, perhaps, could it with truth be affirmed of any controversial writer. But less intemperance of this kind, less acrimony and bitterness of spirit, is rarely, if ever, to be met with, in any one engaged in such a warfare, and with such opponents. And, after all, the sudden and transient emotions which contests of this kind are wont to excite even in the best-constituted minds, are far less indicative of a morose and uncharitable disposition, than the wily insinuations, the taunting sneers, and the cool malignant sarcasms of those, whose words, though they be

" smoother than oil, yet be they very swords." To these odious weapons Waterland never had recourse. There was a generosity, a noble-mindedness in his disposition, which if it did not always restrain him from impetuosity, never suffered him to harbour a rancorous sentiment under the mask of affected candour and forbearance[t].

Whatever imputations of bigotry or uncharitableness may, indeed, have been cast upon him by those who felt themselves unable to cope with him, the general good-humour and even suavity of his disposition are attested in the strongest terms by those who most intimately knew him. " He was," says Mr. Seed, " very tender of men's characters: he " guided his words, as well as regulated his actions, " with discretion; and at the same time that his sa- " gacity enabled him to discover, his charity prompted " him to *cover* and *conceal a multitude of faults.*" Again: " he was a man of cool wisdom and steady " piety; fixed in his principles, but candid in his " spirit; easy of access, his carriage free and fa- " miliar;—cautious, but not artful, honest, but not " unguarded; glad to communicate, though not am- " bitious to display his great knowledge.—He hated " all *party* as such; and would never have gone the " length of any. He was not one of those narrow- " spirited men, who confine all merit within their

[t] Dr. Aikin, whose sentiments were certainly not in unison with Dr. Waterland's, acknowledges, in his Biography, that " as a con- " troversialist, though firm and unyielding, he is accounted fair " and candid, free from bitterness, and actuated by no persecuting " spirit."

" own pale: he thought candidly, and spoke advan-
" tageously, of many who thought very differently
" from him. He had nothing violent in his nature:
" he abhorred all thoughts of persecution: cool and
" prudential measures entirely suited his frame of
" mind. Those who entertain a different opinion
" of him were strangers to him. Controversy had
" not at all embittered, or set an edge upon his spi-
" rits."

This testimony is corroborated by what Mr. Clarke, the editor of his posthumous sermons, has more generally intimated of his excellent qualities; and also by the writer of his memoirs in the *Biographia Britannica*. The latter states, that "this happy " disposition recommended him to the notice of the " late Queen Caroline, before whom, when Princess " of Wales, he held some conferences with Dr. " Clarke; and though these dropped after our au-" thor declared his full conviction of the truth and " the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, and " his resolution to maintain it, yet there continued a " personal friendly acquaintance between them till " the death of Dr. Clarke, who, in one of his last " journeys to Norwich, paid a visit to Dr. Waterland " at Cambridge." This anecdote is related upon the authority of Dr. Theodore Waterland: and it is gratifying to know that two such men, stedfastly opposed to each other upon points which each regarded as of vital importance to religious truth, should have so far subdued any feelings of personal hostility, as to meet together upon terms of courtesy and friendship. With respect to Waterland, instances have

already been mentioned of the esteem which some other of his opponents seem to have had for him; and of his readiness to return their good-will. His familiar letters, now first made public, will also be found to throw additional light upon these points of his character.

A few words only remain to be added, respecting the *arrangement* of our author's works adopted in the present edition.

To have assorted them strictly in *chronological* order, would have occasioned an inconvenient separation of some of the works from others connected with them in subject and design[u]. Some classifica-

[u] The following is the chronological order in which they were published.

1713. Assize Sermon at Cambridge.
1716. Thanksgiving Sermon on the Suppression of the Rebellion.
1719. Vindication of Christ's Divinity, being a Defence of some Queries, &c.
1720. Sermons at Lady Moyer's Lecture.
—— Answer to Dr. Whitby's Reply.
—— Letters to Mr. Staunton.
1721. Case of Arian Subscription.
—— Answer to some Queries printed at Exon.
—— Sermon before the Sons of the Clergy.
1722. Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription.
—— Scripture and Arians compared.
1723. Second Vindication of Christ's Divinity.
—— Sermon on the Trinity.
—— Thanksgiving Sermon on the 29th of May.
—— Sermon for the Charity Schools.
—— Critical History of the Athanasian Creed.
1724. Farther Vindication of Christ's Divinity.
1730. Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Exposition of the Catechism.

tion, therefore, which might obviate this inconvenience, was deemed expedient. Accordingly the five first volumes comprise the whole of his controversial and didactic writings in vindication of the doctrine of the *Trinity*, and his incidental controversies arising out of them; distributed, as nearly as circumstances would permit, in the order in which they were published. The sixth volume contains chiefly those which were written in defence of Chris-

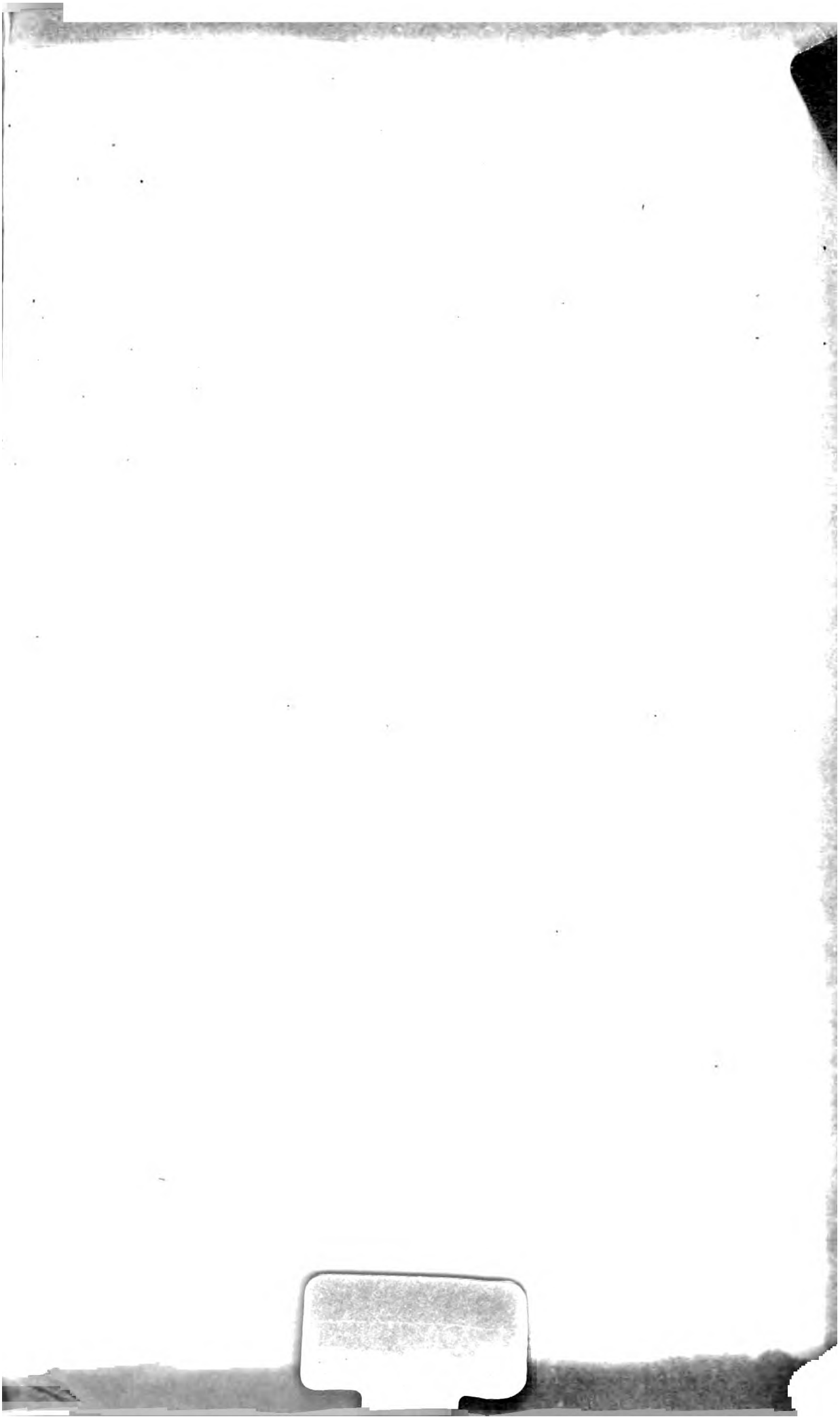
1730. Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments.
—— Supplement to Ditto.
—— Defence of the Bishop of St. David's, in answer to Jonathan Jones.
—— Advice to a young Student.
—— Scripture Vindicated, 1st part.
1731. Christianity Vindicated against Infidelity, 1st Charge.
—— Scripture Vindicated, 2d part.
1732. Christianity Vindicated against Infidelity, 2d Charge.
—— Scripture Vindicated, 3d part.
1734. Dissertation on the Argument *à priori*.
—— Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity.
1735. Discourse on Fundamentals, substance of two Charges.
1736. Doctrinal use of the Christian Sacraments, a Charge.
1737. Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist.
1738. The Christian Sacrifice explained, a Charge.
1739. Sacramental part of the Eucharist explained, a Charge.
1740. Regeneration stated and explained.
—— Preface to Mr. Blair's Sermons.
—— Distinctions of Sacrifice set forth, a Charge.

The reader will, perhaps, observe, in the foregoing list, an interval of five years, from 1724 to 1730, in which the author appears not to have committed any work to the press. It is probable, that during that interval he was much engaged in the duties of the Rectory of St. Austin's, which he held from 1721 to 1730; and that most of the excellent Sermons published after his death were composed about that time.

tianity against *deistical* writers, with two or three short miscellaneous tracts, not sufficient to form a separate class. The seventh volume relates to the *Eucharist* only. The eighth comprises his *Charges* and *occasional Sermons*. These eight volumes include all which the author himself published. The ninth contains all which were published immediately after his death, by Mr. Joseph Clarke, conformably with Dr. Waterland's own directions; and the remaining volume, such of those which have since fallen into the hands of the present editors as, it was thought, might be acceptable to the public, and not tend to diminish the author's reputation.

In conclusion, the writer of these memoirs might be inclined to bespeak the reader's indulgence towards their many imperfections, did he not know that such apologies are more likely to incur the censure of affectation, than to produce any favourable effect. He contents himself, therefore, with committing them to the fair and impartial judgment of those who know how to make allowance for the weight and difficulty of many of the subjects here brought under consideration, as well as for the disadvantages, which the writer is entitled to plead, of prosecuting his design under almost incessant avocations of public duty, or during indisposition equally unfavourable to constant application. In circumstances of more ease and leisure, there might have been strong inducements to have gone still further into the matters which the course of reading necessary to his purpose presented to him. But, probably, a majority of his readers will rather be of opinion

that too *much* has been said, than too *little*. Be that as it may, if the sketch here offered should have the effect of inclining the theological student to bestow a proportionate attention upon the great author whom he has been desirous of bringing more distinctly into public notice; the result, he confidently anticipates, will be such as cannot but essentially promote the interests of pure and sound religion. It seems, indeed, scarcely possible, that any reader of solid understanding, not warped by prejudice, or attached to error by some more unworthy motive, should rise from a careful and attentive perusal of Dr. Waterland's writings, without feeling himself more strongly rooted in the faith, better able to vindicate its truth, and more internally satisfied in adhering to it as the guide of life.

W. LLANDAFF.

September 19, 1823.