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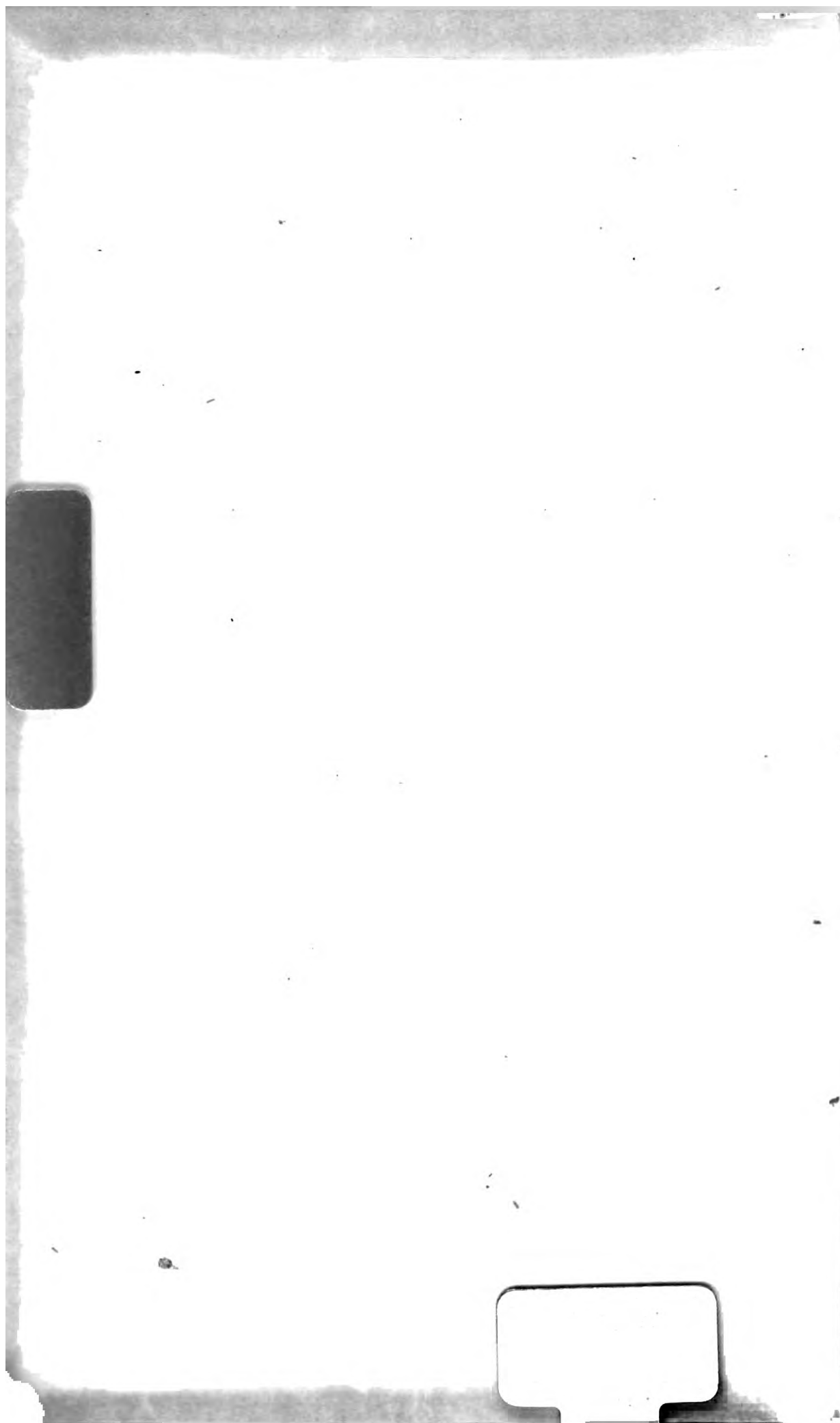
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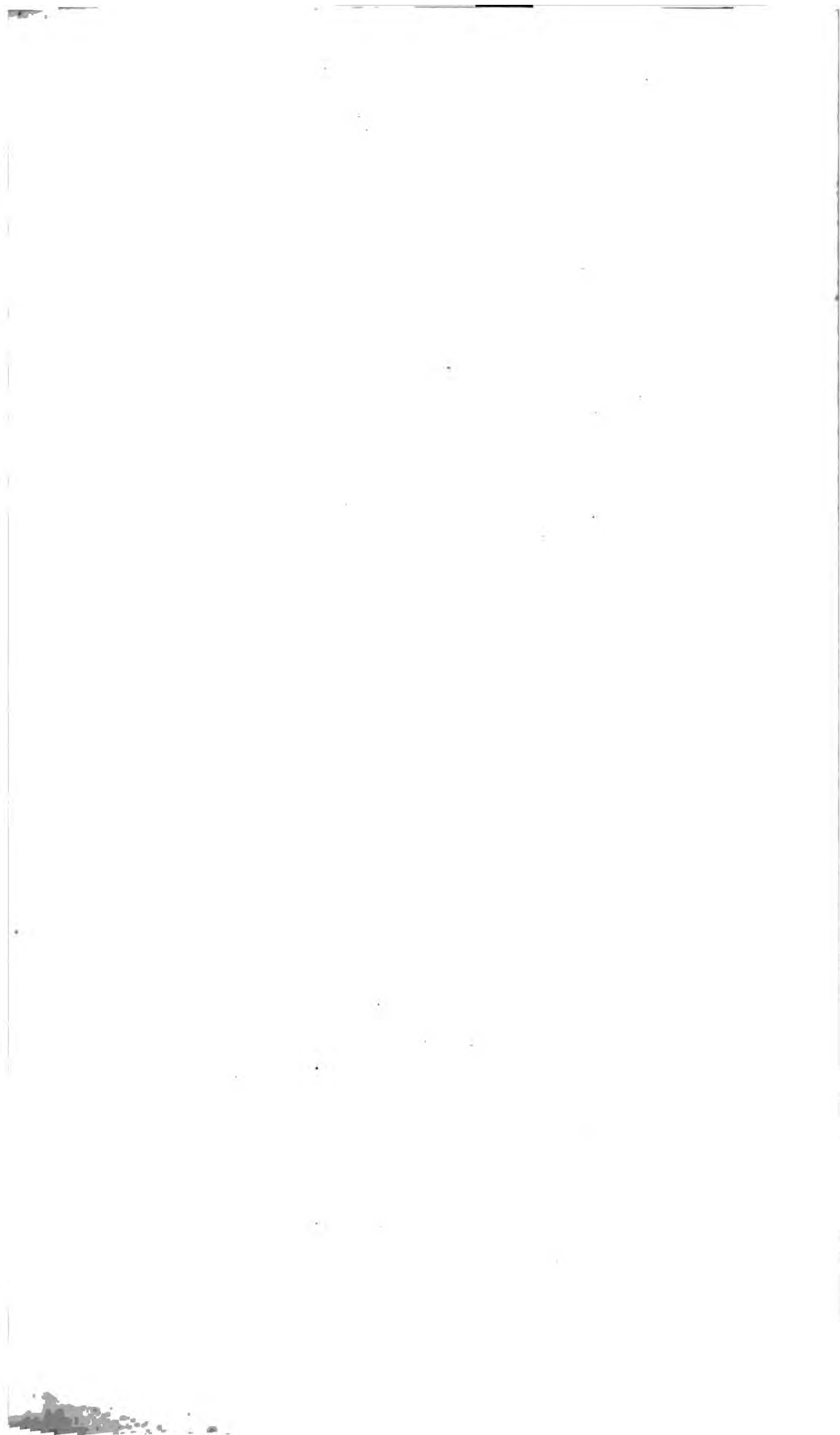
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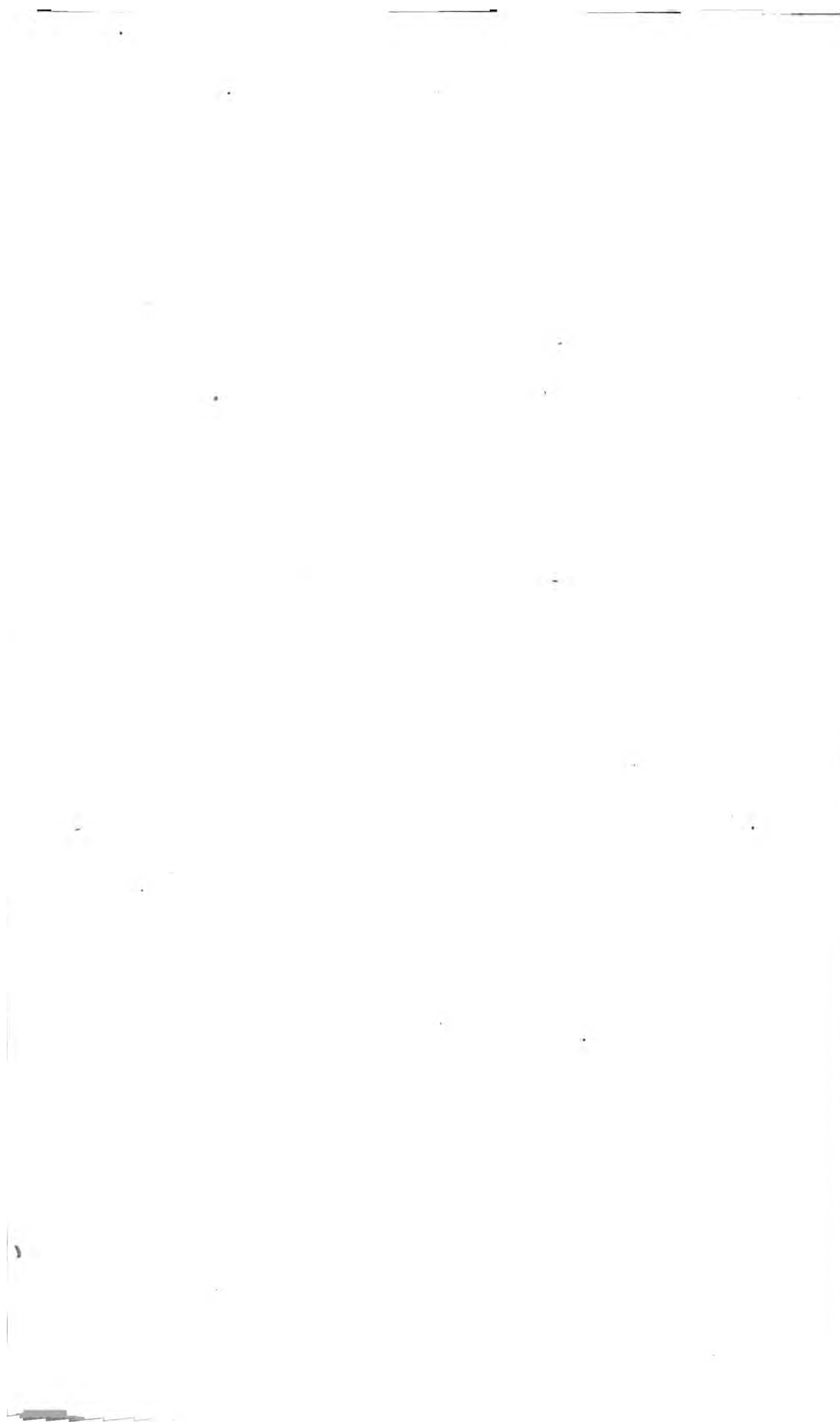
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THE
WORKS
OF
THE REV. DANIEL WATERLAND, D.D.

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. X.

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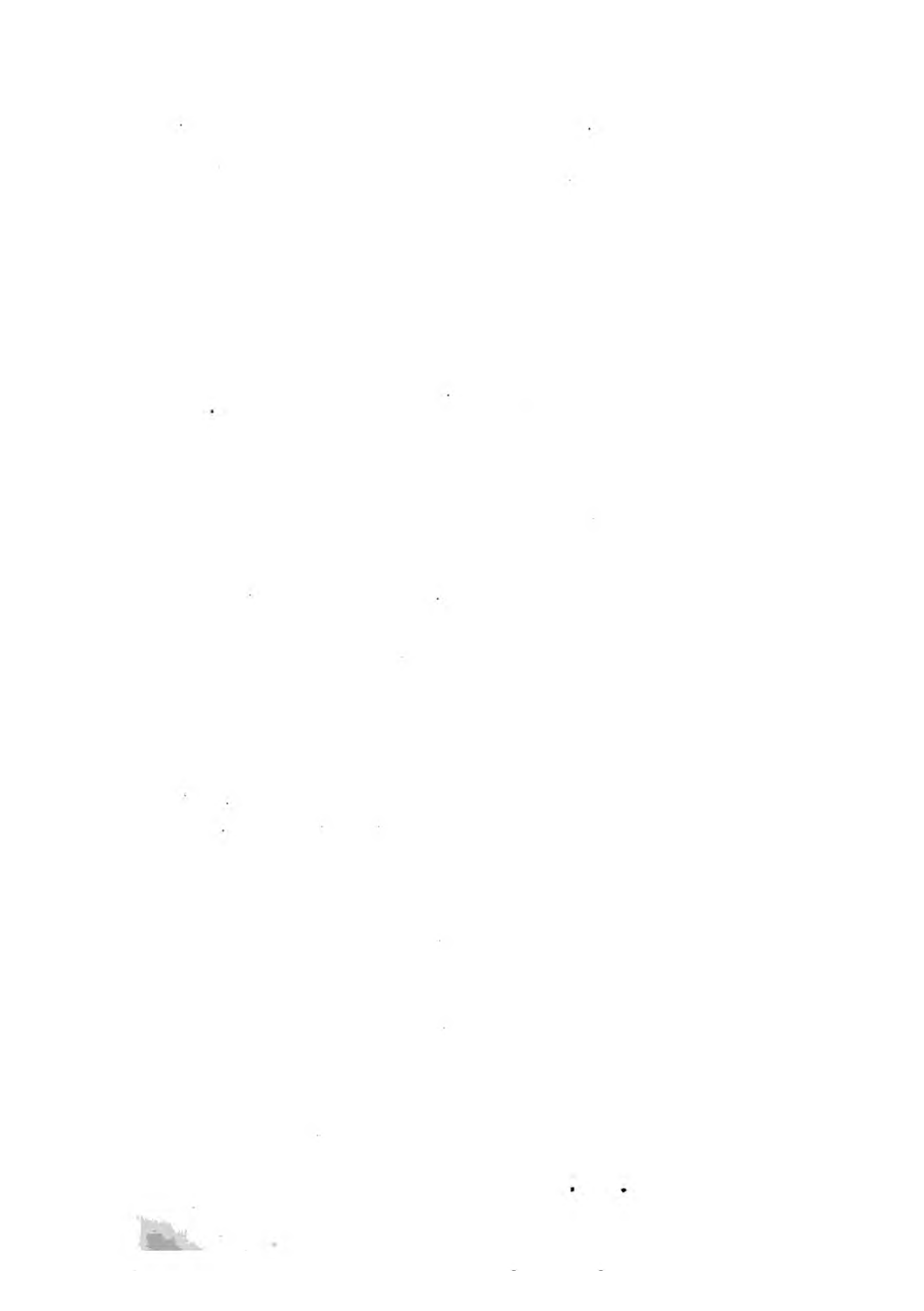


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LETTERS
ON
LAY-BAPTISM.

VOL. X.

B

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

To the Rev. Mr. P——, Rector of L——.

M. C. October 29, 1713.

REVEREND SIR,

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

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

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

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stood; and I was pleased, I confess, to see all, as I thought, confirmed by Mr. Bingham's Scholastical History of Lay-Baptism. But second thoughts and farther views have given a turn to my judgment, and robbed me of a pleasing error, as I must now call it, which I was much inclined to embrace for a truth, and could yet wish that it were so.

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

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

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

The cause depends upon Scripture, antiquity, and reason.

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

the institution of them to certain rules or persons, must rather be left unperformed, than performed irregularly.

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

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

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

3. To this I add, that from your own concession, that a "layman is guilty of a sin in the very act of baptizing," it seems to follow that the *act* is *void*. I never could well digest that assertion, that it is *sinful* in the *administrator*, and yet *valid* to the *receiver*. It is an hard saying, that one may be *damned* for doing that, without which the other could not have been *saved*. I suspect some fallacy in this, though where it lies I cannot perhaps tell you.

Were I a layman, and thought that the salvation of any one or more depended upon my baptizing them, I would certainly do it: but then, I could not think it a sin, but a duty, as one of the highest acts of charity, to do it. How will you get off this, but by saying, that if it is a sin in the administrator, it is likewise ineffectual to the receiver? If the salvation of another depends upon it, it is certainly no sin: therefore, say I, if it be a sin, it can be so only in such cases as where nothing depends upon it, that is, wherever such Baptism is sinful in the whole act, or ought not to have been given, it is *void*. I will not be positive in this argument, being sensible it wants many distinctions and cautions to make it go down, which I have not room to consider. But I am persuaded it is right in the main, and well deserves some farther consideration.

Having seen then that Scripture gives no commission to any but the *Clergy* to baptize, that therefore Lay-baptisms are unauthorized and sinful, and therefore, as I have endeavoured to prove, *invalid*, notwithstanding the exceptions brought to the contrary; I now proceed to a distinct argument drawn from the judgment and practice of the ancients.

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

I know that irregular heretical Baptisms were allowed to be *valid* both before and after St. Cyprian's time, (though he himself and some other Bishops differed in their judgment and practice in that point from other

churches, and appealed to ancient custom in defence of themselves;) and I scruple not to own, that within a while it became a constant rule in most churches, that such heretical or schismatical Baptisms should stand good, provided they were administered in the name of the Trinity. If this be what Mr. Kelsall attempts to prove by "the many and great authorities" you speak of, it is readily granted, nor will any one dispute so clear a point with him. But then it is insisted upon, that this proves nothing for Lay-baptism. Those heretical and schismatical Baptisms were not Lay-baptisms; or if they were, those very churches that allowed them to be valid would have annulled them. They were administered by men of a *sacerdotal character*, and on that account were reputed *valid*. It was thought that neither schism nor heresy, nor any censures of the Church, could deprive them of the *indelible character*; so that at any time, if they returned into the Church, they were received in without being *reordained*. Upon this ground their Baptisms were esteemed *valid*, and so were not reiterated; or those churches, who for a time did rebaptize, did it because they thought heresy and schism nulled the orders of heretical and schismatical priests, and consequently their Baptisms, and every other ministerial performance of theirs. The question in those times was not, *whether Lay-baptisms were null*, both sides supposing that as an undoubted principle: but whether *heresy and schism nulled Orders, and reduced heretical priests to mere laymen*. It was at length determined in the negative. And therefore the Baptisms of heretical or schismatical priests or deacons, if administered in the name of the Trinity, were received as *valid*, having all the essentials of Baptism, *water, commission, and form*.

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

If I have thus got over "the many and great authori-

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"ties," the other smaller objections will be easily dealt with.

You say, we hereby unchurch the reformed churches abroad.

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

As to our own Church, we hope the consequences drawn from this principle are not so black and tragical as is imagined, and many reasons might be given to show that they are not. But this were needless and tedious. Suppose the worst: the argument is weak and inconclusive. *A doctrine condemns thousands*, therefore it is false. Apply this to the *doctrine of the necessity of holiness*, which condemns more: apply it to the doctrines we hold against the Church of Rome, which condemns more than all the Protestants perhaps put together: apply it to the *doctrine of salvation by Christ alone*, which condemns millions, or may be five parts in six of the whole world. Are the doctrines therefore false? No surely. To what purpose then is it to allege the multitudes concerned in the consequences of them? The argument, if it proves any thing, proves this only, that the age has been either very ignorant, or very corrupt, to reject sound doctrine, and that it wants to be reformed, and to be instructed better. And I hope this may be a sufficient answer to what you hint of the act of toleration, and French Refugees; though it may be said farther, that a man's want of *valid Baptism*, if he is episcopally ordained, does not void his ministerial performances. A man may have orders and authority to make others what he is not himself; as one, that is not himself free, may by commission make others so. This you will see enlarged upon very handsomely by Mr. Lawrence and Dr. Brett. And if this point be well settled, as I think it is, it takes off very much from the force of your

objection of the many and unavoidable ill consequences of our doctrine of the invalidity of Lay-baptism. But why should I be farther tedious? You have the books from whence I have taken my hints, and what I have here written is little more than an extract from them. Be pleased to peruse the whole controversy, and give me your thoughts as frankly as I have given mine. If yourself or Mr. Kelsall will be so kind, as either to clear my apprehension on any points which are yet to me obscure, or to set me right where I am wrong, the favour will be accepted with all possible thankfulness and respect by,

Good Sir,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

D. W.

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

REV. E. KELSALL'S ANSWER

TO

DR. WATERLAND'S FIRST LETTER,

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

May 12, 1714.

REVEREND SIR,

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECT. I.

I. And here I make no scruple to confess, that were the reason of the thing to be considered alone, had there

been no intimation from Scripture, especially no authorities of our own, nor precedents of the primitive Church to influence this dispute, I should have still been (as some years since I was) strongly prejudiced in favour of Mr. W.'s opinion.

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

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

4. Now to suppose such Baptisms are altogether null and void, must needs have a terrible influence upon the state, not of the Church of England alone, but of all the churches of Europe. For if the Baptism of such Clergymen as we now speak of was invalid, so was their Ordination too: they were laymen still, and of the lowest class, laymen unbaptized. They could not have the keys of

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

the Church delivered to them before they were members of it. Such men, acting as Priests, could not baptize; acting as Bishops, could not ordain. And yet they did pretend to do both, as apprehending no cause to doubt the competency of their own authority. The effect whereof must needs be an endless propagation of nullities in respect both of Baptism and Ordination. So that here is a dreadful blow given to the episcopal succession at once through the whole Western Church. Nay, through the Eastern too, if our accounts of that part of Christendom may be depended upon: which tell us that the Grecian churches, as well as the Roman, have for many ages permitted laymen, in cases of necessity, to baptize. I do not say that the succession of the priesthood is hereby totally destroyed; but the marks and evidences of it are so obscured, and indeed made so entirely invisible to mortal eyes, that upon this hypothesis we can have no assurance, without a revelation from heaven, that we ourselves are in the Church, and consequently in a state of salvation, or that there is a Bishop, a Sacrament, or a Christian, in the whole Christian world.

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

6. I know not whether I need to add, that many of our Clergy, ordained since the accursed rebellion of forty-one, when royalty and episcopacy both were trampled under

^b See the Rubric in the Office of Private Baptism, in King Edward VI. and Queen Eliz. their Liturgies.

foot, are and have been such as were baptized in those times by laymen, *by vile wicked laymen, usurpers of the priesthood, acting in defiance of the episcopal authority.*

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

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

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

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

11. But my business is not with such. I speak to gentlemen who are true and zealous lovers of the Church of England particularly, as well as of the Catholic Church in general, and abhor consequences prejudicial to either. If it be true (what I think we are all agreed upon) that the indefectibility of the Church, promised by her Lord and Spouse, cannot otherwise subsist, than with the joint subsistence of the episcopal succession; then I desire it may be observed, that they who content themselves with this answer, give up for an opinion, (conceived by many learned men to be altogether new,) the very *being* of the

Church of England, and of the Catholic Church too ; give up even their own *character of Christians*, at least make all these things very doubtful, till a revelation from heaven shall determine who among us are *validly* baptized, ordained, &c. and who are not.

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

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

14. In the mean time I must ask this gentleman's pardon, if I cannot think he states the objection fairly ; when (in that paragraph of his letter, where he speaks of the influence this doctrine is thought to have upon the state of the Church of England) he represents our sense of it barely thus ; " a doctrine condemns thousands, therefore it is false." I agree with him, that such " an argument is as weak and inconclusive" as he can wish ; and am therefore the less obliged to take notice of the parallel which on this occasion he makes between this and other doctrines, *viz.* " of the necessity of holiness, of salvation " by Christ alone," and " those doctrines wherein we " differ from the Church of Rome ;" all which, to be sure, are not the less true, because multitudes are thereby con-

demned. But by the way, I cannot but observe that his parallel is defective, because these last named doctrines do indeed *condemn thousands*, but upon a quite different ground, namely, a voluntary culpable defect in the persons so condemned; whereas the doctrine of the invalidity of Lay-baptism condemns many more thousands, not for any culpable defect residing within themselves, or occasioned through any negligence of their own, but for a misfortune altogether inevitable, as being derived to them through a train of errors and nullities from those who have lived long before them; and the more inevitable as well as irremediable, because it is impossible to discover the fountain-head where it began, and consequently to trace the succession of it, or find out who are affected by it, and who not.

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

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

17. That this opinion hath no encouragement from ecclesiastical *antiquity*, I must take for granted, till I see antiquity alleged in favour of it, which no advocate hath

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

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

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

^c Dr. Hicks's Letter to the Author of Lay-Baptism Invalid.

^d Dr. Brett, Inq. into the Judgment and Practice of the Primitive Church, App. p. 111.

^e Lay-Baptism Invalid, part i. Append. p. 135.

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

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

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

22. So our blessed Lord invested his Apostles with their commission^g before his ascension. Which commission nevertheless was not to take place till they were

^f App. in Answer to Lord Bishop of Oxford, p. 111, &c.

^g John xx. 21, 22, 23.

"endued with power from on high^h," that is, "were baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fireⁱ," as St. John the Baptist expresses it, and thereby qualified for the effectual discharge of their apostolical office.

23. And after all, that which this learned and reverend author takes for St. Paul's *only ordination*, I cannot conceive to be any ordination at all, or other than a declaration of the meaning and design of that miraculous light which he saw, and of our Lord's will and purpose concerning him, in answer to those questions of his, "Who art thou, Lord?" and, "What wilt thou have me to do?" To me it seems plain, that his solemn consecration to the apostolical function came afterwards, and is recorded Acts xiii. 2, 3. And if so, St. Paul is again so far from furnishing a *demonstrative argument* in favour of the cause which he is alleged for, that he is a noble instance against it.

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

25. If it be replied, that he preached before he was thus

^h Luke xxiv. 49.

ⁱ Luke iii. 16. Acts ii. 3, 4.

^k Acts xiii. 2.

consecrated by imposition of hands, I might answer from Dr. Brett¹, that it was *an extraordinary case*, like divers others recorded in the New Testament, occurring in that age of miraculous and extraordinary dispensations, from which no conclusion can be drawn to affect us now, when the Church is settled, and we tied down to forms and methods of Divine appointment, handed to us through the several ages of Christianity.

26. But I rather choose to make use of Dr. Hammond's answer upon another occasion. The Socinians (his adversaries in that discourse^m) asserted a right in the laity to exercise the sacerdotal function, especially in cases of necessity, and to prove it, pretended, "that those who were dispersed after the death of St. Stephen, were not ordained by any, and yet preached the doctrine of Christ." Dr. Hammond having refuted and exposed this last assertion of theirs, adds in the close, that supposing it true, that some of those who were then dispersed were not ordained, and yet nevertheless preached the Gospel, "yet of them these two things must be observed: 1st, that they were in a remarkable manner filled all with the Holy Ghost, Acts iv. 31. which was certainly done to fit them for some extraordinary work, such as there follows, the speaking of the word of God with boldness. And for this they were as fully qualified by the descent of the Holy Ghost upon them, and the effects thereof, speaking with tongues, or prophesying, or gifts of healing, as any are by imposition of the Apostles' hands pretended to be. And yet, 2dly, all that we find assumed by them is, divulging the Gospel wheresoever they came, chap. viii. 4. and xi. 19. And that liberty, where the Gospel is not yet known, we shall not deny to any." These are his words.

27. Now this was exactly St. Paul's case. He received the Holy Ghost at the same time with his Baptism, by

¹ App. in Answer to Lord Bishop of Oxford, p. 112.

^m Discourse of the Imposition of Hands, &c. in his Letter of Resolution to Six Queries, sect. xciv.

the ministry of Ananias, Acts ix. 17. After this we find him preaching the Gospel, ver. 20. But we hear not of any thing else that he did till after his consecration, recorded chap. xiii. 3. Then indeed he ordained elders, chap. xiv. 23. confirmed the disciples, chap. xix. 6. dispensed the sacraments, chap. xx. 7. and did every thing that the other Apostles had power to do.

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

29. I answer, 1st, it is well known that the Levitical priesthood was hereditary, that the posterity of Aaron and the tribe of Levi were born with a right to the several branches and degrees of it, and therefore might in a large sense be called priests before their actual consecration, or even their circumcision, being from their birth designed for the priesthood. Now, admitting it true, that some of these had, even before they were circumcised, been allowed by God to exercise their sacerdotal function, it will prove nothing more than this, that God, who hath formerly ratified the ministrations of an uncircumcised Levite, (designed for, though as yet not initiated in, the priesthood,) may still dispense with his own institutions when he pleases, (though we must not,) and ratify things transacted in his name by persons unbaptized, who (continuing such) are incapable of an ordinary call to the priesthood. But that he actually does so, it is presumption in us to imagine, without a Divine warrant signifying his will and pleasure.

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

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

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

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

commentators, besides Dr. Hammond, *viz.* Corn. a Lapide in Josh. xiv. 29. and Masius in Josh. xxiv. 4.

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

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

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

36. It appears therefore, that Mr. L.'s Scripture argument for the validity of holy orders conferred upon an un-

baptized person, is grounded upon a case altogether fictitious and imaginary, and therefore proves nothing but a great want of better arguments. And in truth, it seems at first sight a wild imagination to fancy, that, when God would not permit any of the sons of Aaron, who had a blemish upon his body, to officiate or come nigh to the altar, Lev. xxi. 23. (whom nevertheless he suffered to eat the holy bread, ver. 22.) he should yet suffer any to exercise the office of Priest who was uncircumcised, and consequently under an incapacity of so much as eating the passover, Exodus xii. 48.

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

38. So that, upon the whole, I am still of opinion, that this *point* of the validity of holy orders, conferred upon an unbaptized receiver, is not *well settled*, and am strongly inclined to despair that it ever will. And till it be, I can-

not see how the modern invalidators of Lay-baptism can avoid the consequences before recited, so destructive to the succession of the Christian priesthood, and consequently to the very being of the Church and of the sacraments, supposing at present, what by and by will be but too easily proved, that Baptism by lay hands hath so far been allowed and owned as sufficient for the ends of Baptism, as not to need repeating, in the primitive as well as modern ages of Christianity.

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

40. I know not what Mr. W. intends by his mentioning the *act of toleration* and the *French Refugees*. I presume it is no advantage to his cause, that the Church of England at this day receives all those Refugees, who conform to her doctrine, into her communion, and some of them

to holy orders too, without insisting upon a rebaptization. But her judgment of this matter we shall have further occasion to speak of by and by.

SECT. II.

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

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

3. And yet Calvin was not absolutely for rebaptizing all that had been baptized by lay-hands. In one of his letters (dated Nov. 13th, 1561) he has indeed these words: "*Adulterinum Baptismum censemus, qui administratus est a privato homine.*" But in the same letter he adds, that in respect of the particular state of religion at that time among them to whom he writes, "*Non tantum errori danda est venia, sed ferendus est qualiscunque Baptismus.*" The error he speaks of relates to the lay-administration of that sacrament. He concludes with condemning, and advising them absolutely to condemn, all Baptisms administered by

women, for which he quotes the Council of Carthage. "Deinde," says he, "quia veteri Decreto Concilii Carthaginensis prohibitæ sunt fœminæ ab officio baptizandi, ne minem offendet novitas, quæ metuenda esset in viris." It seems, in his opinion, Baptism administered by *laymen* had the countenance of antiquity, so far as to be reputed valid; for which reason he cautions them against the scandal that would attend the repeating of it, which he thought the world could not but look upon as an innovation. Upon the whole, it is very plain that Calvin did not look upon the minister to be of the *essence* of the sacrament; for whatsoever is that, must not be dispensed with upon any considerations whatsoever.

4. So that, for ought I perceive, Mr. W., Mr. L., and their friends, are the first that have so rigidly expounded the commission, as to make the *ye*, the persons to whom it was delivered, *essential* to every thing transacted by it. Now the *novelty* of their interpretation is alone a just objection against it. But it is well, if it does not hurt their own cause, as much as it will ours. It ought to have been considered that the words, "Go ye," &c. were spoken to *Apostles* only, and their *successors*, *viz.* the *Bishops* of the Church. And if the minister be *essential*, then none but such, none but Apostles and Bishops, neither Deacon, Priest, nor laic, must baptize. Thus, though the primitive church did not make the minister *essential*, yet they thought the office so firmly tied to the episcopal chair, that no man could regularly baptize without leave from thence; and accordingly would not ordinarily suffer either a Presbyter or a Deacon to administer this sacrament in the presence of a Bishop; even by the same rule, as all succeeding ages have forbidden laics to do it, when a lawful minister can be had. It is true, in the New Testament we hear of Deacons baptizing, but that was when no Apostle or Bishop was present; and only furnishes us with a precedent, that upon some emergencies others may *validly* baptize, besides those to whom the commission so to do was first given.

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

6. This, I think, Mr. Bingham has in the main proved for me, in the second and third sections of the first part of his Scholastical History of Lay-Baptism. To this account may be referred those passages quoted by our adversaries from St. Ignatius and others who wrote in the infancy of the Church, in which the dispensing of the sacraments, and other branches of the ecclesiastical power, are lodged solely in the Bishop. And in the same sense we may well understand St. Chrysostom, when he affirms, that "these things are administered only by those sacred hands, the hands he means of the Bishop^o," whom he calls *ιερεὺς*, as the Latins called him *sacerdos*. And to the same purpose Tertullian, Jerome, Isidore of Seville, and others speak, as we shall see by and by; of whom howsoever they might lodge the right of administration originally in the Bishop, yet not one made the minister (as some moderns have done) *essential* to the sacrament.

7. This power the Bishops of the primitive Church did

^o *Τῶν τοῦ ἱερέως χείρων.* Vide infra.

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

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

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

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

10. But let us hear what Mr. W.'s judgment of the commission is. He says, "It leaves no more room for lay-baptism, than for lay-ordination, lay-absolution, lay-consecration of the Eucharist, lay-preaching and praying;" and adds, that "If we go from the institution in one case, we may as reasonably do it in all, supposing the like necessity." But I deny, that admitting the Baptism of a layman, under the qualifications foregoing, as "valid, is going from the institution." Besides, the like necessity cannot be supposed in the instances he alleges. For neither ordination, nor absolution, nor the Eucharist, are so universally nor so absolutely necessary to salvation, as Baptism is declared to be^p. What he means by "lay-preaching and praying" in this place, I do not well know. I presume he will not forbid Lay-christians to pray together in public in those countries, (supposing there be such,) where there are no Clergy, nor any possibility of procuring a Clergy to do it for them: and where there are, there is not *the like necessity*. And so for *lay-preaching*. Shall a Lay-christian, in a savage infidel nation, think it unlawful for him to publish the Gospel among such people? Who ever blamed the captive maid of Iberia for attempting the conversion of that nation,

^p John iii. 5.

which she happily effected by her divulging the Gospel, and by the miracles which God enabled her to work on that occasion? Who ever found fault with Frumentius, a Christian layman, for the like attempt in the Indies? Both these did indeed take care by their counsels and endeavours to have in due time a regular Clergy settled in those countries. But till that could be done, necessity, which has no law, justified what they did.

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

12. Neither do I think Uzza to have been an usurper of the priesthood. He was a Levite, and probably a Cohathite. Which order was appointed to *carry* the ark of God themselves, not (like Philistines) to put it into a cart. So that, whatever danger the ark might seem to be in, it was a danger occasioned through their neglect and omission of their duty. But the same law which required them to

carry it themselves, required them so to carry it *upon staves* as not to touch it, Num. iv. 15. death being the penalty threatened in case they did. Which penalty accordingly Uzza suffered for his *rashness*, rather than *usurpation* or *ambition* of an office that did not belong to him.

13. In the mean time, the question among us is not whether lay-persons may lawfully baptize, much less exercise other parts of the sacerdotal office. So far am I from affirming any such thing, that I believe, whatever pretence they may have, so much as to baptize even in cases of utmost necessity, depends altogether upon the will of their ecclesiastical superiors, who may allow or disallow it, as they see cause, being a matter wherein the discipline rather than doctrine of the Church is concerned, as I said before. But to presume to do it in ordinary cases, in defiance of the Christian priesthood, as our schismatical lay-preachers do, is what we all readily agree, there is no more ground for in Scripture, than there is for *lay-ordination*, *lay-absolution*, &c. Concerning such usurpers, Mr. W. and we are all of the same opinion: and, were there room or leisure for it, or were it pertinent to my design, I should willingly join with him in treating such acts of sacrilegious impiety and presumption with all the severity of language he can desire. All that we insist upon is, (as he very truly observes,) that a Baptism administered (though by a Lay-christian) with water in the name of the blessed Trinity is *valid to the recipient*, howsoever criminal it may be in the administrator. To which purpose some have (not amiss) applied the maxim, *quod fieri non debuit factum valet*. Others, I perceive, allege the case of a marriage solemnized by a person not ordained, as parallel to this, and apply the maxim alike to both cases. Whether the parallel be in every respect just or not, I shall not take upon me to determine; only shall offer you my reasons why Mr. W.'s account of this matter gives me no satisfaction.

14. He begins with telling you, that "the maxim is

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

15. In the mean time, if this be so, if marriage be no more than “ a covenant between the two parties, if its essence be their mutual contract, and the minister but a “ circumstance;” then I cannot see, but the pretended marriages of the Quakers are as *valid* as ours, though not so *decent* and regular. They have the essence, the covenant, and mutual contract between the two parties. And their want of the minister is only an *error in circumstantials*, which, howsoever it may affect the *decency* and regularity of the thing, cannot render it *invalid* or *null*. And then, why does not our Church receive and own such a marriage? What need the civil legislature, whenever they have occasion in any act of parliament to speak of such pretended marriages, always to subjoin a proviso, that nothing in that act shall extend or be construed so as to declare them good? And what need the Quakers, more than others, be so careful not to die intestate, but that

they know, without a will the law will not suffer their children to inherit, as looking upon them to be illegitimate?

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

17. I ever thought, that in every vow or promissory oath which we make to one another, God had become a party as well as we, being called in, not only as a witness, but as a judge too, a revenger if we violate our vow: and consequently, that in marriage, (an act of religion of Divine institution, and a most solemn vow,) there had been, besides *the two parties contracting*, a third party also, even the author of marriage, the God who calls himself Love, who appears there by his minister, his representative, proxy, and commissioner, to ratify and complete the whole transaction, as well as to give his blessing to it. This to me appears very plain from the institution itself, from God's owning it to be *his* act, Mal. ii. 15. from the nature of religious actions in general, and from our own rubrics and form of matrimony prescribed in our most excellent Liturgy. In this sense, I presume, it is God who receives the woman at the hands of her father or other friend, and disposes of her where she is designed, in allusion to Prov. xix. 14. And more plainly, when the man and the woman have performed their share of the solemnity, God, by the hands and mouth of his Priest who represents him, completes the whole action by joining their hands together, proclaiming it to be his own act, ("Those whom God hath

"joined together," says the Priest who acts in his name, "let no man put asunder,") and then declaring them to be "man and wife together." Which declaration the Priest makes "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." And here it is that the conjugal relation begins: now they commence man and wife, and from henceforward in the remaining part of the office they are so styled, which they were not before, all the former part being only preparatory to this. So that to me the essence of the marriage seems to consist in this last act of the Priest's joining both together, and declaring them to be man and wife in the name of the blessed Trinity; unless you would rather have it consist in the joint concurrence of all the three parties acting in it, which I shall not dispute with you.

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

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

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

21. 1st, That the *general* commission given to the

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

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

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

24. If the administration of the sacrament of circumcision was *not restrained* by the institution to the priesthood, as Mr. L. suggests, (*Lay-Baptism Invalid*, part i. p. 104.) but left in common to such of the Jewish laymen, as had skill and dexterity enough to perform it, as is the general opinion; then we have an instance from *Scripture* of a sacrament esteemed even in *ordinary* cases to be *regularly* administered by lay hands. And seeing the Christian sacrament of Baptism is, if not more, certainly not less necessary to salvation than circumcision was, John iii. 5. seeing Baptism and circumcision have both the very same spiritual intendment and mystical signification, and are in a manner the same in substance, conveying the same grace, sealing the same covenant, Rom. iv. 11. and Col. ii. 11. and differing only in the rite of administration; we want a reason, why Baptism may not in like manner be *validly* at least administered by the laity in cases *extraordinary*, where a lawful dispenser of the sacrament cannot be had. Sir, I shall (till better evidence appear) presume to

affirm, that there is no appearance of any ground for this difference between the one and the other in the reason and nature of the two ceremonies; nor any real foundation for it in Scripture interpreted, as it ought to be, by the judgment and practice of antiquity, and of the Catholic Church in all ages.

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

26. But the Calvinist writers have treated Zipporah very coarsely⁹, and passed hard censures upon her on this account. They have styled her, *stulta et iracunda mulier*,

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

and fear not to deny, that God approved what she did. Calvin, and our countryman Cartwright^r, labour to aggravate her pretended crime as much as possible; and will not allow the event to be a sufficient declaration that the act pleased God. Zanchy observes, that the angel was 'appeased'^s, "because the child was circumcised, not "because it was she that did it." In which words he gives us all, that we need to insist upon in the question: "For seeing our adversaries," to use Mr. Hooker's words on this occasion, "are not able to deny, but circumcision, "being in that very manner performed, was to the innocent child which received it true circumcision; why "should that defect, whereby circumcision was so little "weakened, be to Baptism a deadly wound?"

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

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

29. I have done with the case of circumcision. But before I enter upon the third part of my design, there re-

^r Quoted by Hooker, Eccles. Pol. book v. note 62.

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

^t J. Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. cap. iv.

main yet one or two particulars in this part of Mr. W.'s letter to be considered.

30. He argues from the nullity of subjects acting in the civil government without a competent authority, *viz.* "levying soldiers, naturalizing strangers," doing other things in the Queen's name without order and warrant. I know not in what sense the levying of soldiers without authority can be said to be *null* and *void*. *Illegal* indeed it is, *criminal*, and penal in the highest degree. But concerning such actions in general, does the consequence hold from things secular and civil to sacred? Are the reasons the same in both? Because all grants, deputations, commissions, &c. from earthly princes to their subjects, and in general all human transactions, whereby we bind ourselves to each other, ought to appear genuine and voluntary, and must therefore pass under forms of law, to ascertain the rights of all parties concerned, and prevent the mischiefs which must otherwise accrue through fraud or forgery, will it follow, that we must not trust God himself also without the like securities? God is not under the like necessity in the administration of Baptism, that mortal princes are in the administration of their earthly governments, to annul that which is done in his name by an usurper of his authority. I say, he is under no *necessity* to do this: much less to do it to the prejudice of an innocent person, a person incapable by his age of refusing or choosing the baptism of a schismatical usurper. Nay, where the receiver, by choosing or knowingly accepting a baptism so irregularly given, makes himself equally criminal with the giver, no man can prove, that he has not even in this case received the sacrament, that is, the outward part of it, which the Church never yet thought fit to be repeated, although he be still destitute of the grace of the sacrament, by reason of the schismatical state and indisposition he lies under, rendering him at present incapable of it. Which incapacity his sincere repentance, absolution, and reconciliation to the communion of the

Church will effectually remove, and perfect that which before was defective. But this can be the case only of adults, who are bound not only to demand the sacrament of Baptism as soon as they are qualified for it, but to demand it too of the proper minister, and in a regular manner. If an infant be baptized by improper hands, the guilt and all the consequences of it lie at their doors who were actors in it. The infant, having received the whole substance (the matter and form) of the sacrament, is as sure of the grace attending it, as all the promises of the New Testament can make him. Nor is it to be imagined, that he can miss the blessing purely for a defect that cannot be justly charged upon him, who was only passive in the administration.

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

32. Now concerning the state of baptized persons dying in infancy, the Church affirms, with good authority, that they are undoubtedly saved: concerning others, the Church of England chooses to affirm nothing, rather than affirm without warrant, only excludes them from her office of Christian burial. St. Austin, that *hard Father* styled by

some, affirms children, dying without Baptism, to be "in *"damnatione omnium mitissima"*," by which perhaps he might mean the punishment of loss rather than pain. But admitting that he meant the latter, that the good Father's zeal against the Pelagians carried him too far in this, and that infants dying without Baptism do not suffer any torments in the next world: does it necessarily follow from hence, that they are not losers by having gone unbaptized out of this? What if Mr. Dodwell's notion of the *immortalizing Spirit* conferred in Baptism be true? then every soul that departs without Baptism, not under the stain of actual sin, is (not miserable indeed, but) lost to all eternity. What if St. Gregory Nazianzen's opinion^x should prove to be right; that children dying unbaptized shall be free from pain, but shall not be received to glory? For innocence alone, (as that Father observes in the place cited,) though it exempts from punishment, will not entitle to reward. Nay, do but suppose there are different degrees of glory and happiness in that world, and that the very lowest place there is prepared for the infants of heathens, and of others who suffer their children to go out of this life under all the disadvantages of being unbaptized. Methinks if this, if any of these suppositions be true, if it be but probable, or even possible, that infants, by being baptized, as they are distinguished in this world from the children of infidels, may also be preferred above them in the next; we have sufficient inducements (as our predecessors in former times did) still to affirm, that Baptism is necessary, *absolutely* necessary, for infants, for adults, for all; and consequently, if this were the original ground of Lay-baptism, it and the practice built upon it will continue as truly justifiable, as they were anciently believed.

33. But Mr. W. is at a loss to understand, how that which is *sinful* in the *administrator* is yet *valid* to the re-

^u August. de Pecc. Meritis, lib. i. et passim alibi.

^x Greg. Naz. Orat. xl.

ceiver. If, instead of *valid*, he had used the word *efficacious*, and by *receiver* had meant an *adult*, who chooses and prefers such a *sinful administration* before that which is regular and agreeable to the order which God hath established in his Church, he might well be at a loss to understand it; because such an indisposition of mind hinders the effect, till it be removed by repentance, absolution, &c. as we observed before.

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

35. Farther, he thinks it "an hard saying, that one may be damned for doing that, without which the other could not have been saved." Sir, it is not a new assertion, that God so husbands the sinful actions of men, as thereby to serve the ends of his providence, the needs of his Church, and the necessities of his servants. Judas, and Pilate, and the Jews, who conspired against and killed the Lord of life, (such of them as did not afterwards repent and believe in him,) are in hell for having done what they did; and yet without it mankind could not have been saved. And this answer I take to be sufficient with respect to all baptisms administered in defiance and opposition to the Christian priesthood, by those lay usurpers, counterfeit ministers of the Gospel, who officiate in fanatical congregations, and act without Episcopal ordination.

And as for other laymen, who, without any design to affront or invade the priesthood, or disturb the peace and settled order of the Church, acting upon inducements truly Christian and good, shall venture, when a lawful minister cannot be procured, to baptize a dying infant themselves, or do the like to an adult not baptized before, dying, and afraid to die without this "seal of the servants of God upon his forehead," and earnestly desirous to receive it; I say, as for such, even supposing the principle they act upon to be a mistake, yet I can by no means think they are in any danger of being severely handled by a kind, an equitable, and most merciful Judge, for such their pious and charitable intentions. I do not say, that a good intention will justify an action that is plainly evil. But surely it will go far to excuse an action that is at worst but doubtful, and recommends itself too with so fair an appearance of charity to a soul in danger. And supposing the principle, which in this case they act upon, to be no mistake, then there is neither sin nor danger in what they do.

SECT. III.

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

2. Sir, I cannot without astonishment find Mr. W. assuring us, that "the ancients do with one voice, for above three hundred years, condemn Lay-baptism, not so much as putting in any exception for cases of necessity;" (only Tertullian he excepts;) when I recollect, that, in all that period of time, there are only two writers that make any mention of Lay-baptism; of whom Tertullian (the elder of the two) affirms it to be valid: and the other is an impostor, the forger, I mean, of the Apostolical Constitutions, who, as he is quoted by Mr. Bing-

ham, does no more than forbid the use of it in ordinary cases, but pronounces nothing concerning the validity or invalidity of it even then.

3. I deny not, but it is easy to collect (what, I suppose, Mr. W. means) many passages out of St. Ignatius and others of the *ancientest* writers, wherein the right of administering in religious matters is asserted to the *priesthood*, as proper *only* to them, and the people forbidden to meddle or do any thing in holy things without the concurrence and approbation of the Bishop. To the same effect St. Chrysostom, (who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century,) discoursing of the dignity of the Christian Priesthood, and thereupon mentioning the two sacraments of the Church, the Power of the Keys, &c. says, ^z “ All “ these things are administered by no other, but only by “ those sacred hands, those, I say, of the Priest.” By observing the original words in the margin, which I have transcribed from St. Chrysostom, you will see Mr. L., by his translation of them^a, has favoured his own cause more than he could in strict justice do. But no matter. In these and the like sayings, to be met with in ancient authors, no more is intended, but to set forth the dignity and preeminence of the Priesthood, especially of the episcopal order, and to deter laics from despising or invading those offices which belong to men of the episcopal or sacerdotal character. To which end it was highly proper to allege the settled order and general rules appointed in *ordinary cases*: and it would have been highly improper to descend to *particular circumstances*, to *cases excepted* out of the general rule, *cases extraordinary*, and for which extraordinary provision must be made. I know no reason why any Divine of the Church of England may not freely do the like, (as without question most of us have

^z Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δι' ἑτέρου μὲν οὐδὲν, μόνον δὲ διὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκείνων ἐπιτελεῖται χειρῶν, τῶν τοῦ ἱερέως λέγων. *De Sacerd.* lib. iii. cap. 5.

^a Lay-Bapt. Inval. part i. Prel. Disc. p. 16, 17. he translates thus; “ All “ these are things which *can be* administered by no other man *living*, but “ by those sacred hands alone, the hands, I say, of the Priest.”

done,) join in such speeches with St. Ignatius, St. Chrysostom, &c. and assert the just rights of the Christian Clergy, without thinking himself thereby obliged to say that Lay-baptism is invalid; which is the construction that our adversaries put upon these expressions of the great men before cited. For a farther answer to what is alleged from St. Chrysostom, I refer you to Mr. Bingham's Scholastical History of Lay-Baptism, part i. sect. 5. and 15.

4. Mr. W. is content to give up Tertullian, having first used the modish sovereign charm to take off, at least to discredit his evidence. He lived and wrote his treatise of Baptism about the end of the second century, and is the *oldest writer* extant who mentions the practice of Lay-baptism, and yet (which is strange!) is not allowed to be a competent witness upon the case. It is said, he spoke not the practice of the Church, but *only his own private opinion*, and that too *founded upon a very weak reason*. A nimble and easy way this, of taking off an evidence that we do not like! So St. Austin, so the Council of Eliberis, so St. Jerome, Optatus Milevitanus, and others, *spoke only their own private opinions*, in what they delivered relating to this dispute. And we on the other side, with as much right, may say the same of any ancient writer, who shall be quoted (if any can fairly be quoted) for the opposite side of the question, and cry out, such or such a Father spoke only his own private opinion. By which means among us we shall have found out a most compendious way to stifle and set aside all the authority of the primitive Church, (except what relates to those few articles of faith and discipline which have been established by general councils,) and make for the future all convictions from antiquity impracticable and impossible.

5. Let Tertullian's *reason*, upon which he is said to *found* his opinion, be never so weak, we have at present nothing to do with that. A man may be very well acquainted with the customs and usages of the Church, without always knowing the true ground and reason of them. And

admit, that a mistake is committed in the latter, that ought not to prejudice the account he gives of the other. Our business then is to learn from him (if we can) whether the Church in his days did in any case permit laymen to baptize, or did receive persons so baptized to the Eucharist, without insisting upon their being baptized by a Bishop, a Priest, or a Deacon. To this purpose Mr. Bingham very well observes, that it would be strange, if Tertullian, describing just before the practice of the Church in permitting Presbyters and Deacons to baptize by the *Bishop's* authority, should invert his discourse immediately in the very next words, and not mean the practice of the Church, when he comes to speak of laymen. Scholast. Hist. of Lay-Baptism, part i. chap. i. sect. 8. Mr. Dodwell, who was the first that thought so, had reason to acknowledge that conjecture of his to be a paradox.

6. I cannot see that Tertullian's own words ^b give any ground for it, which I paraphrase thus; "The Bishop hath the (original) right to give Baptism. Next under him the Presbyters and Deacons, but not without permission from and dependence upon the Bishop, for order's sake and decency in the Church of God, which is necessary for the preservation of peace." (It is plain he speaks here of the ordinary administrations performed in public.) "Else" (*i. e.* abating for the necessity of preserving peace, order, and decency, as before) "there is nothing in the nature of the sacrament itself, but what laymen may administer too; for what is received in common may be given in common." In the following words he seems to reprove the forward presumption of some laics, who took upon themselves to baptize, even when there was no great necessity for it, admonishing them to be

^b Tertull. L. de Bapt. cap. 17. Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos qui est Episcopus. Dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesie honorem. Quo salvo, salva pax est. Alioquin etiam laicis jus est. Quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest, &c.

more modest and cautious in the use of this power, seeing even their superiors in the Church, the Presbyters and Deacons, have it in subordination to the Bishop, and must not usurp the episcopal office, and therefore that they much more should content themselves to use it in private, not in public, and that too but in cases of extreme necessity, and when the ordinary administrator cannot be had.

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

8. And to prevent any objection from the layman's *offering* being here spoken of, as well as his baptizing, it is

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

sufficient to remember what Dr. Cave tells us relating to this matter^d, viz. "That in those early times nothing was more common, than for Christians to carry, or to have sent to them, some parts of the Eucharist, which they kept in some decent place in their houses against all emergent occasions." Their religious use whereof upon such occasions is doubtless what Tertullian here means by *offering*.

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

10. Having done with Tertullian, we come next to him who loved to call Tertullian his master, viz. St. Cyprian, from whom, I confess, I have no positive evidence. But I am apt to think his very silence upon this subject, when he had such an inviting occasion to speak of it, will afford us

^d Prim. Christ. part i. chap. 11. This custom continued long in the Western Church. See can. lviii. of the Sixth Council in Trullo, and Balsamon's note upon it: Οἱ μὲντοι Λατῖνοι ἄζυμα διηλεκῶς ἐγκόλπια φέροντες, καὶ λαϊκοὶ ὄντες, οὐ μόνον ἑαυτοῖς ταύτων μεταδίδουσιν ὡς ἁγιασμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέροις. Latini autem azyma assidue in sinu ferentes, etiamsi sint laici, ea non solum sibi, ut sacramenta, impertiunt, sed etiam aliis. *Apud Bevereg. Pand. tom. i. p. 225.*

a fair presumptive argument, that Baptism administered by a layman with water, in the name of the blessed Trinity, was not (at least not generally) thought invalid in his time, and particularly that it was not so in his own opinion of it. As Pamelius^e has made it evident beyond contradiction, that Tertullian was of St. Cyprian's mind in the question of rebaptizing heretics; so it seems extremely probable that St. Cyprian had the same sentiments with Tertullian in the affair of Lay-baptism. Else how comes it to pass, that St. Cyprian, among all his arguments for the nullity of heretical baptism, should never urge the probable danger there was of its being administered among them by the laity? If he had thought a lay-administration a fundamental defect in this sacrament, how was it possible for him to pass over in silence an objection of so great importance, and which had so very probable a foundation?

11. It is not sufficient here for Mr. W. to tell us, as he does, that the baptisms administered among heretics were "administered by men of sacerdotal character." I grant those heretics had (generally) episcopal orders and government among them; the validity whereof I refer you to Mr. Bingham for an account of, especially in the second part of his Scholastical History. But what I insist upon is, that, considering the many enormities and uncanonical practices usual in heretical congregations, St. Cyprian had reason enough to believe, that *laics* did among them presume to baptize, even where no necessity could be pretended. Tertullian will justify this suggestion by the account he gives of the heretics in those times, Lib. de Præscrip. adv. Hæret. cap. 41. "*Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ quam procaces, quæ audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et tingere.*" And by and by, "*Nusquam facilius proficitur quam in castris rebellium, ubi ipsum esse illic, promereri est.* Itaque alius hodie Episcopus est,

^e Pamel. in Tertull. Parad. xii. et passim in Annot. in S. Cypriani Opera.

“cras alius; hodie Diaconus, qui cras lector; hodie Presbyter, qui cras laicus. Nam et laicis sacerdotalia munera injungunt.” And St. Augustin in his tract of heresies tells us^f, that the Pepuzians and Quintillians (cotemporaries with Tertullian and St. Cyprian) dignified even the women with the honour of the priesthood. There are other evidences in being that will prove this, which I cannot come at for want of books; Epiphanius particularly, from whom St. Augustin makes his short collection, and quotes him in that very chapter. And if the case was thus, especially if these things were done (as all things [*in castris rebellium*] among schismatics and heretics are done) in defiance of all power and order established in the Church; then certainly it is not possible to imagine, that the Cyprianists (among their other arguments) should not make use of this, the most plausible of them all, if Lay-baptism had in that age been generally thought null and invalid.

12. Thus we might fairly presume. But it seems St. Basil is in our way, who was born about seventy years after St. Cyprian's martyrdom. He tells us^g, that St. Cyprian and his own predecessor Firmilian had affirmed concerning the Cathari, the Encratites, the Hydroparastatæ, and the Apotactitæ, that by their heresies they had forfeited the grace of the Holy Spirit, that their clergy thereby were become laics, and had lost the power of baptizing, ordaining, &c. and therefore ordered, that those who had been baptized by them should, if they returned to the

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

^g S. Basil ad Amphil. can. i. ap. Bever. Paud. tom. ii. Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἴδοξε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, τοῖς περὶ Κυπριανὸν λίγω καὶ Φιρμιλιανὸν τὸν ἡμετέρον, τούτους πάντας μὴ ψήφῳ ὑποβαλεῖν, Καθαρῶν, Ἐγκρατῆτας, καὶ Ὑδροπαραστάτας, καὶ Ἀποτακτίτας· δι' ὃ ἢ μὴν ἀρχὴ τοῦ χωρισμοῦ διὰ σχίσματος· γίνοντι οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποστάτες, οὐκίτι ἔσχον τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς. ἐπίλιπε γὰρ ἡ μεταδόσις τῆς διακοπῆς τὴν ἀκολουθίαν.—οἱ δὲ ἀπορραγίντες, λαϊκοὶ γινόμενοι, οὔτε τοῦ βαπτίζειν, οὔτε τοῦ χειροτονεῖν ἔσχον τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὐκίτι δυνάμει χάριν πνεύματος ἁγίου ἐτέρους παρέχουσιν, ἥ αὐτοὶ ἐκπιπτῶσιν. δι' ὃ, ὡς παρὰ λαϊκῶν βαπτιζομένους τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐκίλυσαν ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τῷ ἀληθινῷ βαπτίσματι τῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνακαθίρεσθαι.

Church, be again cleansed with the true baptism of the Church, as having before been baptized only by laymen.

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

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

15. But suppose in the mean time, what cannot be proved, that St. Cyprian himself had argued in that man-

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

16. I have offered all I had to offer concerning St. Cy-

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

^h Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅλως ἴδοξί τισι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, οἰκονομίας ἕνεκα τῶν πολλῶν, διέχθῃναι αὐτῶν τὸ βάπτισμα, ἔστω δικτόν. *S. Basil. ibid.* It is to be observed, that he makes the same concession also in favour of the Encratites, who by their irregular Baptisms defied, and particularly studied to prevent the Baptism of the Church. For speaking in the next words of Baptisms administered by those heretics, he inclines in his own private opinion to have them repeated: but immediately adds, Ἐὰν μίντοι μίλλη τῇ καθόλου οἰκονομίᾳ ἐμπόδιον εἰσεσθαι τῷτο, πάλιν τῷ ἡθελί χρηστίον, &c. and gives a reason for it grounded upon prudential considerations.

ⁱ Mr. B.'s Scholastical History Considered, part i. sect. 15. p. 59.

Church may, if she pleases, receive and ratify a Baptism administered by a mere layman. For in St. Basil's judgment, (not to mention now St. Cyprian and Firmilian,) an heretical priest is no more.

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

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

19. I cannot imagine to what end we are here reminded by Mr. L. and Dr. Brett, that this Council was not

^k Peregre navigantes, aut si Ecclesia in proximo non fuerit, posse fidelem, (qui lavacrum suum integrum habet, nec sit bigamus,) baptizare in necessitate infirmitatis positum catechumenum, ita ut si supervixerit ad episcopum eum perducatur, ut per manus impositionem perfici posset. *Concil. Il-
liberit. can. xxxviii. apud Barth. Carranzam.*

general; seeing we inquire only into fact. And it is to be hoped, that the Bishops of so great a nation as Spain, being assembled together in council, may afford as considerable an evidence of the doctrine and discipline of the Western Church, as a letter from one single Bishop to another (St. Basil¹ to Amphilochius) can of the Eastern. It is not at all likely, that such an assembly of Catholic Bishops would decree any thing (especially in matters of such importance as are the Christian sacraments) contrary to the received doctrine and discipline of the Church; and less likely yet, that they could do such a thing without being censured for it, either by the writings of private Fathers, or by some public act of some other council. This, I say, is not at all likely; if we consider how great a flame had been raised in the Church upon the question of heretical Baptisms not many years before, which was a question not of greater importance than this.

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

21. The author (whether Hilary the Deacon, or whosoever he was) of the commentary upon St. Paul's Epistles, extant under the name of St. Ambrose^m, wrote under

¹ Dr. Brett, part i. sect. 5. of Mr. B.'s Schol. Hist. Considered.

^m V. Pseud-Ambros. Comment. in 1 Tim. iii. 15.

the Pontificate of Damasus, that is, somewhat after the middle of the fourth century, in a learned age, and not very distant from the apostolical, when it is not easy to think, either that the nature and extent of the baptismal commission was not well understood, or that the practice of the apostolical age was entirely forgotten. He (contrary to the sense of Calvin and other moderns) supposes the offices of baptizing and preaching *separable*ⁿ, though they are both joined together in the commission. And elsewhere ⁿ he tells us, that at first, for the swifter propagation of the Gospel, leave was given to all promiscuously to teach, baptize, and explain the Scriptures, nay, to do these things *in Ecclesia*, whereof he gives an instance in the circumstances of Cornelius's Baptism, Acts x. which, he says, St. Peter, having at that time no deacons with him, did not administer himself, but commanded it to be done by those that were present.

22. He does indeed, a little after, say, that this large commission was withdrawn, when the circumstances of the Church made it no longer necessary, "*Hinc ergo est,*" says he, "*unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant,*" "*neque clerici vel laici baptizant.*" Which words imply, not that the one or the other were under a total prohibi-

ⁿ Non omnis qui baptizat idoneus est et evangelizare. *Pseud-Ambros. in 1 Cor. i. 17. idem in Gal. iv.* Neque Petrus Diaconos habuit aut diem quæsit, quando Cornelium cum omni domo ejus baptizavit, nec ipse, sed jussit fratribus qui cum illo ierant ad Cornelium ab Joppe. Adhuc enim præter septem Diaconos nullus fuerat ordinatus. Ut ergo cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare, et baptizare, et Scripturas in Ecclesia explanare. At ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est Ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et cætera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clero auderet qui ordinatus non esset præsumere officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum, et cœpit alio ordine et providentia gubernari Ecclesia, quia si omnes eadem possent, irrationabile esset, et vulgaris res vilissima videretur. Hinc est unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant.

What he says of St. Peter in this place, he had affirmed before in 1 Cor. i. 17. viz. Apostolus Petrus credentem Cornelium cum suis *jussit baptizari*, nec dignatus est, ministris adstantibus, hoc opus facere. See *Dissenters Baptism null and void*, sect. 17.

tion in all cases, as Mr. L. seems to understand it^o, but only that they did not do these things *in populo*, in their public assemblies for religious worship, not in ordinary cases, or when there was no necessity for it. Much less do these words imply, that, if they did it, it was not valid. For that would have been a contradiction to what he had been saying but just before.

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

24. St. Gregory Nazianzen lived and wrote about the same time. I have only a Latin version of his works, where in Orat. xl. which is an exhortation to Baptism, I read these words: "Omnes *citra ullum discrimen* vim perficiendæ animæ habere existima, qui modo eâdem fide sint informati." A little before he had said, "Tu vero neminem non satis dignum atque idoneum ad Baptistæ munus obeundum existima; qui modo inter pios censeatur, ac non aperte condemnatus sit, atque ab Ec-

^o Second Part of Lay-Baptism Invalid, chap. ii. sect. 2.

"clesia alienus." He gives such advice, as any of us would give to an adult in the like case, if any emergency should drive him to desire Baptism at the hands of a layman, to make application for it in the first place to a pious and good man, a professor of the same faith, and a member of the same communion. At worst, if, in case of extreme necessity, even such a layman cannot be had, and a schismatic or heretic be employed, as I conceive St. Gregory's limitation did not, so I presume Mr. W.'s principles will not condemn a Baptism, administered, with water, in the name of the Trinity, even by such a one, as utterly "null and void purely upon the account of his being a schismatic or heretic."

25. And now we come to St. Jerome, who lived in the latter end of the same century. Sir, notwithstanding the great pains which Dr. Brett has been at, and the very plausible account which he gives us of St. Jerome's conference with the Luciferian, as if the principles maintained in it were altogether in favour of his hypothesis; yet I find by experience it is possible to read the piece of St. Jerome over without falling into the Doctor's opinion. Particularly as to his judgment of what Mr. Bingham has quoted^p from thence in favour of Lay-baptism, *viz.* that it was a lapse of St. Jerome's pen or memory, and that through want of care he transcribed more from Tertullian than what was for his purpose, I must ask his pardon that I dissent from him. Whether he transcribed at all from Tertullian, neither he nor I know. But I find, upon reading the place, nothing but what is very much for St. Jerome's purpose, and extremely proper to support what the Catholic asserts in the former part of that chapter. And it is a fine art the Doctor has, to spirit away the tes-

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

timony which stands against him, and which he cannot surmount, by making us believe St. Jerome did not mind what he was doing. It is like the other sovereign remedy used upon such occasions against a stubborn evidence, *viz.* "He speaks not the sense of the Church, but his own private opinion." But it has happened very luckily, that just now Mr. Bingham's Second Part of his Scholastical History is come to my hand, wherein he has sufficiently justified this part of the evidence. To whom therefore, and to St. Jerome himself, I shall refer you.

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

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

28. Give me leave to suppose it hardly possible St. Austin should be ignorant what was the practice of the Church in his time; nor at all likely, that he himself

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

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

30. Sir, I promised to pursue this matter no farther than St. Austin, and therefore shall rest here, only refer you for fuller satisfaction to Mr. Bingham. Else it were

easy to show, besides divers of the ancients already quoted, that Isidore Hispalensis also, and others in the following ages, confirm my foregoing notion of the sense and limits of the baptismal commission, and upon it so expounded ground the validity of Lay-baptism, and the power of the Church to judge of Baptisms administered in an irregular manner. If I be not mistaken, our adversaries agree, that, after St. Austin's time, the use of Lay-baptism in cases of necessity prevailed universally, not only in the Western Church, but the Eastern too, where St. Austin's authority was nothing, his name scarce known, and the correspondence for some ages between the East and West not so good, as to afford any ground of conjecture, that the East might (as if by infection) receive an irregular custom from the Latins. So that, were there no positive evidence of it, yet it seems most reasonable to believe, they had the custom among them long before St. Austin. Dr. Smith, in the account he gives of the present state of the Greek churches, assures us the custom continues yet among them; *Epist. de Ecclesiæ Græcæ Hodierno Statu*, p. 74. "Hoc in casu, at solo quidem, (ne-
"que aliter omnino fas erit,) si ingens neutiquamque fic-
"tum moriendi periculum immineat, seculari personæ,
"qualiscunque sit sexûs, cui intervenire contigerit, mori-
"bundum infantem tingere permissum est."

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

32. And now I have done with the ancients. Mr. W.

^p Prim. Christ. P. i. c. 10.

^q Ration. on Common Prayer, in Private Baptism.

^r Epilogue to the Trag. of the Church of England, book ii. chap. 19.

^s Eccl. Pol. book v. sect. 61, 62.

^t Defence against T. C. tract. ix. chap. 5. p. 518.

^u Bishops Baucroft and Bilson, in the Conference at Hampton Court.

in one part of his letter promises "to be thankful to me, "if I will give him but one plain authority, except Tertullian, for the validity of Lay-baptism, as such, before "St. Austin."

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

34. And I reciprocally promise to be thankful to Mr. W. if he will produce within a thousand years after Christ, either one single canon of any council to confront that of the Eliberitan Fathers, or so much as a testimony of one single Father that speaks home on his side of the question. St. Basil bids the fairest: but I think he is fairly made at least to stand neuter, if not to list on the other side. The Fourth Council of Carthage, (about St. Austin's time,) can. 100. (apud Carranzam,) does indeed forbid *women* to baptize, (*mulier baptizare non præsumat*,) but does not declare a Baptism even so administered to be utterly *null and void*. It is not improbable, that the Council might intend only to prohibit their baptizing in ordinary cases, or in public, and leave cases of necessity to be provided for according to custom. However, their forbidding *women* only, and not *laymen*, (at a time when laymen were known frequently to do it,) is a very plain, though tacit, allowance of the latter.

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

later, done by the authority of any Bishop, whom the Rubric directs us to consult upon such occasions.

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

37. Only I must observe, that the Church has been troubled with *counterfeit priests* (I mean persons pretending to be priests who never had any ordination) in ancient times, as well as of late. Ischyrras, in the time of St. Athanasius, is one instance of this. He, being never ordained, usurped the office of Presbyter. Being called to account for this by Athanasius, and thereupon flying to the Eusebian faction, he was by them made Bishop of Mareotis, a place in Egypt within the diocese of Alexandria, without being previously ordained either Priest or Deacon. This man, among other enemies of the Nicene faith and accusers of St. Athanasius, was condemned and excommunicated by the Sardican Council. But no de-

cree was made for annulling the Baptisms administered by him either after or before his pretended consecration to the Bishopric which he had usurped. You have the story in Socrates Scholasticus, Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 27. and lib. ii. cap. 20.

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

SECT. IV.

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

2. Early in the infancy of the Reformation, and since, she hath so plainly declared her sense of this matter in her ancient Rubrics and present practice, that I cannot but wonder to see it brought into question. In the first Liturgy of King Edward the Sixth, the Rubric, which prescribes the manner of private Baptism, is in these words: "First let *them that be present*" [here is no mention of a

lawful minister] "call upon God for his grace, and saye
 "the Lorde's Prayer, if the tyme will suffer. And then
 "one of them" [*i. e.* of them that be present] "shall name
 "the chylde and dyppe him in the water, or powre water
 "upon hym, saying these woordes: N. I baptise thee in
 "the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the
 "Holy Gost. Amen. And let them not doubt, but that
 "the chylde so baptised, is lawfully and sufficiently bap-
 "tised, and oughte not to be baptised agayne in the
 "Church," &c. And the child being afterward brought
 to the Church, the Priest is directed, notwithstanding that
 the child was baptized by a *layman or woman*, if all other
 matters were right, to *certify that in this case they had
 done well, and according unto due order concerning the
 baptizing of the child.*

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

4. Archbishop Whitgift reckons this among the dangerous points of doctrine avouched by T. Cartwright, *viz.* that "not only the dignity, but also the being of the sacrament of Baptism dependeth upon this, whether he be
 "a minister or no, that doth minister it;" and says, that

the consequence hereof is "plain Anabaptism." See his Note of such dangerous Points of Doctrine, &c. prefixed to his Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, &c.

5. In the book itself, (Tract ix. chap. 5. p. 519.) he thus addresses himself to his adversary T. C. "Whereas
 "you say, that the minister is one of the chief parts, and
 "as it were of the lyfe of the sacrament; in so weighty a
 "cause, and great a matter, it had been well if you had
 "used some authority of Scripture, or testimonie of
 "learned author: for so far as I can read, the opinion of
 "all learned men is, that the essential form, and as it were
 "the lyfe of Baptism, *is to baptize in the name of the Fa-*
 "*ther, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost; which*
 "form being observed, the sacrament remaineth in full
 "force and strength by whomsoever it be ministered,"
 &c. He goes on in the next paragraph; "And certainly, if
 "the being of the sacrament depended upon man in any
 "respect, we were but in a miserable case; for we should
 "be always in doubt whether we were rightly baptized
 "or no: but it is most true, that the force and strength of
 "the sacrament is not in the man, *be he minister or not*
 "*minister, be he good or evil, but in God himself, &c.*
 "This I speak, not to bring confusion into the Church,
 "(for, as I said before, let men take heed that they usurpe
 "not an office, whereunto they be not called, for God
 "will call them to an account for so doing,) but to teach
 "a truth, to take a yoke of doubtfulness from men's con-
 "sciences, and to resist an error not much differing from
 "Donatism and Anabaptism."

6. Mr. Hooker is very large upon this subject. In the Fifth Book of Ecclesiastical Polity, sect. 62. he has these words. "If therefore at any time it come to pass, that in
 "teaching publicly or privately, in delivering this blessed
 "sacrament of regeneration, some unsanctified hand, con-
 "trary to Christ's supposed ordinance, do intrude itself
 "to execute that, whereunto the laws of God and his
 "Church have deputed others, which of these two opi-

"nions seemeth more agreeable with equity, ours that
 "disallow what is done amiss, yet make not the force of
 "the Word and sacraments, much less their nature and
 "very substance, to depend on the minister's authority
 "and calling, or else theirs which defeat, disannul, and
 "annihilate both, in respect of that one only personal de-
 "fect, there being not any law of God which saith, that
 "if the minister be incompetent, his word shall be no
 "word, his Baptism no Baptism? He which teacheth,
 "and is not sent, loseth the reward, but yet retaineth the
 "name of a teacher: his usurped actions have in him the
 "same nature which they have in others, although they
 "yield him not the same comfort. And if these two cases
 "be peers, the case of doctrine and the case of Baptism
 "both alike; sith no defect in their vocation that teach
 "the truth is able to take away the benefit thereof from
 "him which heareth, wherefore should the want of a
 "lawful calling in them that baptize make Baptism to be
 "vain?"

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

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

9. King James himself, who blamed this practice, and
 at whose instance the Rubric was qualified as it now
 stands, declared at the same time his "utter dislike of all
 "rebaptization of those whom women or laics have bap-

"tized." So that it is plain, he himself thought such Baptisms to be *valid*, howsoever, in respect of the administrator, *criminal and irregular*.

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

11. But now, how are we changed! Some, who call themselves the most zealous assertors of the rights of the Church and Clergy, have embraced this Puritanical notion, cast dirt upon the memory of those excellent men, and will hardly allow any, who come not into their measures, thoroughly to understand, or to be thoroughly well affected to the rights and interests of the priesthood. And all this, without regarding the unanswerable objections, (unanswerable, I mean, upon their hypothesis,) which hereby they put into the mouths of the Papist and Dissenter, against the *validity* of all our ministrations, that is, (as we stated the case in the former part of this letter,) against the very *being* of our priesthood, our sacraments, and of the Church itself. Believe me, Sir, if any thing has prejudiced me against this hypothesis, next to the novelty of it, and the authority of the Church both ancient and modern, which I verily think stands full against it, it is the horror I conceive at the sad and unsufferable consequences it is inevitably attended with.

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

conference and in the alteration which ensued upon it, knew best their own sentiments and intentions.

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

14. In his treatise called Dissenters' Baptism Null and Void, sect. 17. he does not disown that those great men concerned in that conference did countenance Lay-baptism in certain cases, but denies that they countenanced *unauthorized* Lay-baptism. In sect. 4. he is forced to the same refuge, *viz.* to shelter himself under the word *unauthorized*, not denying that *laymen* were permitted and even *commanded* by King Edward the Sixth's Book, to baptize in case of necessity, but denying that to be any evidence of her believing that *unauthorized persons* could administer *valid* Baptism. Thus, when disputing against *Lay-baptism*, (not only in this, but in other writings of his,) he is pressed hard with authorities that he cannot get over, he puts his adversaries off with saying, their evidences reach not the case in hand, *viz.* the case of "Dissenters' Baptisms, Baptisms unauthorized, and administered against and in defiance of the Church's authority." And yet he hesitates up and down in his writ-

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

15. Had the Church by that alteration intended to declare *Lay-baptism* to be *invalid*, it is strange, that for near a century of years not one of all her eminent and learned Divines should apprehend her meaning. Bishop Taylor, in his *Ductor Dubitantium*, twice argues against permitting women to baptize; and in his *Discourse of the Divine Institution of the Office Ministerial*, sect. 4. he dis-

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

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

17. Archbishop Abbott (as I find him quoted by Mr. Bingham) denies the minister to be of the essence of the sacrament, Præl. 2. de Bapt. p. 99. “ Ministrantis personam non de *esse* sacramenti, sed de *bene esse* judicarunt. “ —Pie igitur fit, si minister tangat solus ; at fit etiam, “ si tangat alius.” The same learned author mentions a book, which I have not had the happiness to meet with ; it is the Answer of the University of Oxford to a Petition of some Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies, wherein he tells us,

⁹ Lay-Baptism Invalid, part i. p. 110.

that "whole University" defended "the validity of Lay-baptism." It was published anno 1603. Bishop Sparrow, in his *Rationale on the Office of Private Baptism*, cites the Eliberitan Canon, and in the very next words declares, "He cannot see what can be reasonably objected against this tender and motherly love of the Church to her children, who chooses rather to omit solemnities, than hazard souls: which indulgence of hers cannot be interpreted any irreverence or contempt of that venerable sacrament; but a yielding to just necessity, (which defends what it constrains,) and to God's own rule, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice*," Matt. xii. 7. Archbishop Bramhall, in his letter to Sir Henry de Vic, (p. 980. of his works,) speaking of the *essentials* of this sacrament, reckons as such only "the matter, which is water, and the form, *I baptize thee in the name*," &c. In that paragraph of his discourse he argues, that martyrdom (although sometimes called Baptism, improperly and analogically, because it supplies the want of Baptism) is really no sacrament, no proper or true Baptism, because wanting the *essentials* of the sacrament, the matter and the form, as before expressed. Had he thought the *minister* also to be one of the *essentials*, no reason can be given, why he should not have added that defect also. For I presume martyrdom is (generally at least) administered by *lay hands*. And to conclude this point, Dr. Fuller is of opinion^r, that "our Church judgeth nothing to be of the essence of this sacrament, but the invariable form of Baptism;" and a little after gives such an account of this affair, as plainly argues him to be of opinion, that the question we contend about is a matter of discipline, rather than of doctrine, subject to and determinable by ecclesiastical authority. It remains, that the gentlemen who espouse the opposite side of the question, produce (if they be able) at least one Divine of the Church of England of equal standing with these whom I have here

^r Moderation of the Church of England, chap. x. p. 278, 281.

quoted, giving it as his opinion, that our Church, by altering her Rubric, or by any other act of hers, hath declared Lay-baptism to be invalid. I think it cannot fairly be denied, that she once declared the contrary since the Reformation. If then it cannot be made appear, that she ever retracted that declaration, we must look upon it as still in force, that is, that it is yet the declared sense of the Church of England, that a lay-administration of Baptism, howsoever *criminal* and *irregular*, is not altogether *null* and *invalid*.

18. To speak the truth, her constant and present practice is a sufficient declaration of this. In the time of the great rebellion, the sacrilegious invaders of our offices and revenues were men that had no ordination: (for we are all agreed, that *antiepiscopal* ordination is *none*;) by these men *very great numbers* of children were baptized, who were born in those miserable days: which children nevertheless, after the restoration of religion and royalty, were admitted by our holy Church to confirmation, communion, and all the privileges of Church-members, many of them doubtless to holy orders too, without being rebaptized. This all the world knows. And whosoever will dispute it, ought to produce some act of hers decreeing their rebaptization; ought to produce *some* instances (I shall be thankful, as I said before, to any that will show me so much as one) of persons rebaptized by her authority, or with the approbation and consent of at least some one of her Bishops (as the Rubric directs) upon that account. I am fully persuaded no such instance can be produced in all the time from the Restoration till now. Mr. R. L. it is true, was rebaptized^s, I presume, upon that very account. But it was a *clandestine irregular* action; his second Baptism was *unauthorized* and *antiepiscopal*: for he waited not for the judgment of the Church upon his case, nor asked (as he, or some for him ought to have done) the opinion and consent of his Diocesan. How

^s Preface to the First Part of Lay-Baptism Invalid.

many more such late instances as these may be produced, I know not. But they are nothing to my purpose. They have not the concurring authority of the Church and of the Bishops. Without which necessary circumstances, instead of the judgment of the Church, such instances present us only with the sense of a few *uncanonical* members.

19. And unless some such instances as are here demanded can be produced, I do not see, but the gentlemen, who affirm the Baptism of those usurpers to be *invalid*, lie under a necessity, either of owning that they assert that for an important article of true doctrine which the Church of England denies, or of accusing their mother the Church of England, of communicating and ordaining (for ends best known to herself) men, whom she knew at the same time to be unbaptized. I shall be heartily glad for the gentlemen's own sakes, many of whom are learned and eminent men, and some have done me the honour of a particular friendship, to see them get handsomely clear from this dilemma.

20. As the Church dealt with those who were baptized in the days of rebellion by lay-usurpers, so she deals still with those whom their successors in their usurpation, our lay-preachers at this day, baptize clandestinely, without and against the authority of her Prelates. She reconciles and admits them to communion, without requiring them to be rebaptized. And even thus, and upon no other terms, does she receive the foreign Reformed, who were baptized in communions where episcopacy is not in being. Their ordinations she rejects, but receives them all as Lay-christians.

21. Sir, I have now finished this long epistle, and shall only beg your attention a very little longer, whilst I lay before you a summary account of the principles and grounds I have gone upon in the defence of my opinion.

I am firmly persuaded,

1. That the Christian priesthood is only episcopal.
2. That it is of Divine establishment.

3. Consequently unalterable by any power upon earth ;
4. And shall continue to the end of the world.
5. That whosoever among us shall act as a Priest, who is not consecrated by episcopal hands to that office, is a thief and a robber, a mere laic, and (what is much worse) a leader of schism, and a sacrilegious usurper, &c.
6. That whatsoever adult shall choose to receive Baptism from such an usurper, knowing that he is not episcopally ordained, receives only the outward sign, not the grace of the sacrament.
7. Because his choice of such a Baptism (preferably to one that is truly Catholic and regular) puts him into a state of schism.
8. Which state is an insuperable bar against the baptismal grace, till it be removed by repentance and reconciliation to the Church.
9. But such an irregular administration can be no prejudice to those who die in their infancy, because of the innocency of that age, and their not concurring in the irregularity.
10. Nevertheless, though in the case of an adult so baptized, the baptismal grace be wanting, the outward administration (if with due matter and form) is not altogether invalid.
11. Consequently I distinguish betwixt an *inefficacious* and *invalid* administration.
12. Inefficacious it is, when only the inward part, the grace of the sacrament, is wanting. Invalid, when the outward administration (through some *essential* defect) is necessary to be repeated.
13. I justify my distinction from the case of an hypocrite baptized by a lawful minister. You must grant that his Baptism is *inefficacious*; you cannot say it is *invalid*.
14. Every invalid Baptism is inefficacious; but not every inefficacious Baptism invalid.
15. Baptism hath not been usually thought invalid, that is, the outward administration hath not been usually

repeated, except when either the matter (water) or the form (in the name of the Trinity) hath been wanting.

16. Nevertheless, I am content that the validity thereof, when administered by *lay*-hands, should depend entirely upon the estimate which the Church (assembled in Council) shall set upon it ;

17. Being persuaded, that the primitive Church was of that mind,

18. And that the Church of England is so :

19. For that the baptismal commission constitutes the Bishops, the spiritual heads and governors of the Church, supreme judges in all matters and disputes of that nature ;

20. And this under no other limitation, than what the edification of the Church, their own piety and discretion, and the *essentials* of the sacrament prescribe :

21. And that the minister is not one of those *essentials*.

22. Consequently, the Church being, as hath been declared, supreme judge of this matter, if she shall think fit to order those, who have been baptized by laymen, to be baptized again, I am not the man that shall gainsay it :

23. Because it is pure matter of discipline, not of doctrine.

24. But this the primitive Church did not do.

25. Nor hath the Church of England as yet done it.

26. And till then, private men must not.

22. Thus, Sir, I have given you a short, and yet a full view at once of what I think at present concerning this controversy. The proof of such of these propositions, as are disputed among us members of the same communion, I hope you have already met with in some or other of the foregoing paragraphs. If I have any where erred, which is very probable ; or if the whole be an error, I am very willing to be convinced, and to retract what is amiss as soon as I am convinced ; and shall most

thankfully acknowledge the favour of Mr. W. or any else that shall do that good office for me, to set me right.

I pray God Almighty to set and keep us all right, and to avert those storms, which at this time threaten our holy Church, especially from our own intestine divisions.

Sir, I have no more to add, but to ask your pardon for having detained you so long from your books by this tedious letter; and to assure you, that I am, with the most sincere respect,

Reverend Sir,

Your most obliged humble Servant,

E. KELSALL.

DR. WATERLAND'S

SECOND LETTER

IN REPLY TO MR. KELSALL'S ANSWER.

REVEREND SIR,

YOU was pleased some time ago to favour me with a letter relating to Lay-baptism, and to desire some further insight into a controversy of so great importance. The subject had been very near exhausted; and therefore I thought the best I could do was to send you all the books I had, that had been written either pro or con about it. With them I sent a short summary of one side of the controversy, to invite you to look further into it, and to prevent your leaning too much the other way; which I was somewhat apprehensive of from what you had written to me. This was the design of my letter; which was much too short, and too hastily drawn up, to give you a sufficient light into the matter, but might serve pretty well as an introduction to lead you into better writers, who had considered the controversy at large: that letter you was pleased to communicate to your ingenious and learned friend, who has since done me the honour to write a very handsome and particular reply to it.

I cannot but think myself obliged to him for that mark of his respect: though at the same time I am justly sensible what disadvantage I lay under, first, in having a few running thoughts so nicely scanned; and next, in having nothing but a short letter set against an elaborate treatise,

as if the merits of the cause depended upon so unequal a comparison. When I came to read over your friend's papers, and saw what was in them, I soon perceived what I had brought myself into. Mr. K., to do him justice, is a powerful advocate for the side which he espouses; and I should not care to dispute with him on even terms, or where I did not think I had much the better of the argument against him. He has laboured the point with great dexterity; he has given it all the advantages one might expect from a person of his parts and reading; has embellished it with Scripture and Fathers, has laid the colours strong where they were most wanting, and has found out a plausible turn for every thing: in short, he seems to have omitted nothing, that his cause could furnish him with, either to convince or move. Yet I must beg leave to dissent from him; and while I acknowledge him the better fencer, I presume to imagine I have the longer weapon. But that the sequel must show, and it must be left to you to judge of, if you think it worth while to give yourself the trouble of a careful perusal.

If you desire to have a distinct view of this controversy, (as I am sure you do,) I must beg the favour of you in the first place to consider well the state of the question. For that one foundation well laid will go more than half way toward solving the difficulties you will meet with in it. I never knew any controversy more entangled and confused than this has been, by wandering from the merits of the cause, and taking in many things which belong not to it. The question is,

Whether those that come to us from our Dissenters, having been pretendedly baptized by men that never had episcopal orders, ought to be baptized by us or no?

This is all that it concerns us to dispute or know; and nothing ought to be taken into the question, that has not either a necessary relation to it, or connection with it. You certainly take that one point to be the matter of the whole dispute; and accordingly, if you think Mr. K. in the right, you would not baptize a person who had been

pretendedly baptized among the Dissenters ; if you thought me right, you would.

This then is the point in question. Yet you will find most of his arguments and authorities to be very wide of this question, so that, though he had really proved some points, (which remains to be considered,) yet both he and you would mistake in the inference and application from them. This will appear in due time and place. For the clearer and more distinct apprehension of what I mean, you may please to consider what is called *Lay-baptism* under different respects, and, as it were, distinguished into these several kinds.

I. *Authorized Lay-baptism* (taking both these words in a large and popular sense) is such as is permitted or enjoined by episcopal licence or authority ; or by the express rules, orders, or canons of any Church.

Such may be supposed those within the Romish Church, which allows laics, and even women, in some cases, to baptize. Of the same nature were Lay-baptisms in England, before the alterations of the Rubric in the time of King James the First.

II. *Unauthorized Lay-baptism*, not founded upon any episcopal authority ; not permitted or enjoined by any express rules, or orders, or canons of the Church ; of which there may be three cases.

1. When it is administered by a person in communion with the Church, and only in cases of supposed necessity.

2. When administered by a person in communion likewise, but not in a case of necessity.

3. When administered by a person not in communion, nor in case of necessity ; but in contempt of authority, and in schism ; being not only non-episcopal, but anti-episcopal, as in the case of pretended Baptisms by our Lay-Dissenters, about which we are now disputing.

From these several sorts and degrees may arise as many distinct questions ; and there may be something peculiar to each, that the validity of one shall not neces-

sarily infer the validity of another; and so likewise for the invalidity. *Authorized Lay-baptism*, for instance, might perhaps be valid, and *unauthorized* not so; because there is authority and commission, in some sense, to be alleged for one more than for the other. *Unauthorized* of the first sort has a supposed necessity to plead for it, which the second wants; and even the second is more justifiable than the third, and has a fairer pretence for being valid, because not under the same circumstances of schism and contempt. This however is certain, that they differ in some peculiar respects one from another; and therefore the same arguments will not equally serve either for or against all. Indeed if the first (authorized Lay-baptism) be invalid, they are all so. And if the last be valid, they are all so; but not vice versa: *i. e.* if the best be bad, they are all bad; and if the worst be good, they are all good. The advocates therefore for Lay-baptism might fairly enough argue from the supposed validity of the lowest to that of the next above, and so on backwards; but not so certainly the other way; which yet has been their constant method, whereby they put a fallacy upon their readers. Indeed Mr. Laurence has for the most part mixed the three last together; and so disputed against them all under one common name of *unauthorized Baptisms*; which he has constantly distinguished from those of the first sort, having no mind to meddle with the point of authorized Lay-baptism, conceiving it very foreign to the case in hand; because it is certain we have no canon or rubric to authorize any Layman, much less a Dissenter, to baptize. One thing further I must remark; that although in the proof of his position he takes in the three last, using such arguments as affect them all; yet in his answers to his opponents he often separates the second as well as the first from the last of all; as it were retiring hither, and here keeping his hold. For he thinks the case of necessity likewise foreign to the point in hand; because our Dissenters' Baptisms are utterly destitute of that plea, and must therefore be defended on some other principle,

or not at all. It must be owned, that if the validity of *Lay-baptism* in cases of necessity could be proved, it would weaken the force of Mr. Laurence's main principle, whereby he would prove *Dissenters' Baptisms null and void*; and would therefore be so far pertinent to the case in hand: but it would not be a sufficient proof that the contrary opinion is true; and therefore is justly rejected by Mr. L. when used by his adversaries as an argument, that Dissenters' Baptisms are valid: and in this respect only, I presume it is, that he sometimes seems to set it aside, as not affecting the question. In short then, it may be pertinently alleged by the patrons of Dissenters' Baptisms by way of objection to weaken their adversaries' principles, but not by way of direct proof to establish their own tenet.

Thus far I thought proper in vindication of my author, that Mr. K. may not again mistake his manner and method of reasoning, which is very just and accurate; nor call it shuffling and hesitating, only because he distinguishes very carefully, and will not suffer his adversaries to run off from the point in debate. As to myself, I shall endeavour to keep as close to the question as possible, or as the papers I am concerned to examine will give me leave: and if I sometime happen to make excursions beyond the limits of the question in pursuit of your friend; that cannot so properly be thought my wandering, as my endeavour to correct and reduce his.

Now to come to the point, we are to inquire whether persons that have pretendedly been baptized by Dissenting Laymen are really and validly baptized or no. Mr. K. says they are, and I deny it. The cause must be tried by *Scripture, antiquity, and reason*. He begins with reason: which, with submission, I take to be something wrong; because there is no reasoning to any good purpose in this question, till some foundation be laid either in Scripture or antiquity, or both, to reason upon: and I believe Mr. K. was pretty sensible of this, being frequently forced to appeal to the Fathers under his first and second heads, be-

fore he came to them. But I suppose he thought he had something more than an equivalent for that inconvenience, by beginning with what he calls his unanswerable objection, (as indeed it is the most material one,) that so he might probably dazzle his reader at first view with its glaring show, and so prepare him to receive what followed with less scruple and difficulty. I shall however, notwithstanding, beg leave to take the fairer and more regular method; beginning with *Scripture*, and under that head answering such exceptions as belong to it; then going on to the *Fathers*; and last of all managing the debate in point of *reason*; to which I shall subjoin something relating to the judgment and practice of our own Church, as Mr. K. has done before me.

I.

I begin then with *Scripture*: as to which I had observed formerly, that it confined the administration of Baptism to the Clergy only: which Mr. K. acknowledges as to the lawfulness and regularity of it in ordinary cases; but not with respect to its validity at all, nor even with respect to its lawfulness in cases extraordinary. That is, he imagines it may at all times be validly administered by a layman; and sometimes even lawfully too. And here he appeals to the ancients, Optatus, Gregory, &c. who shall be heard in their place. I shall only observe here, that if *Scripture* has left this business to the Clergy in all ordinary cases, and made no provision for extraordinary, nor given any intimation that she meant any; then the consequence is plain, that there is no warrant from *Scripture* for any such exceptions to make it lawful for laymen in any case to baptize. And since there is no Divine law or rule to found its validity upon, it can no more be valid, than it can be lawful. For nothing is plainer to me, than that what has no foundation for its validity, has no validity at all; or that nothing can be valid, which has no sufficient authority to make it so.

But Mr. K. observes, that even Calvin himself was not so strict in expounding the commission to baptize, as this

comes to; and from thence, together with what he had hinted of the ancients, infers that Mr. W. and Mr. L. &c. are the first, for ought he perceives, that have so rigidly expounded the commission, as to make the persons to whom it was delivered essential to every thing transacted in it. And then after this, he makes the novelty of our interpretation an objection against it.

I concern not myself with Calvin, because it signifies little: but I declare I am as much against novel interpretations of Scripture as any man, and am so well assured that mine is not novel, but perfectly agreeable to the principles and practices of the first and purest ages of the Church, that I would readily venture the whole cause upon it. But this is not the place to speak to that point, and so I proceed.

Mr. K. objects, that "if the words of the commission, *Go ye, &c.* were spoken to Apostles only, and their successors, *viz.* the Bishops; and if the minister be essential, then none but such, none but Apostles and Bishops, neither Deacon nor Priest," (for why laic should come in here I do not see,) "must baptize." In answer to this I observe, 1. That if this argument prove any thing, it is that neither Priests nor Deacons have any right to officiate as Clergymen by the institution, any more than mere laymen; or that a Bishop may indifferently depute either, and their acts be equally valid. Here are two orders of the Clergy struck off at once, and the three reduced to one, which is pretty surprising. What led Mr. K. into it was, I suppose, his observation, that the "office of baptizing" (and the same may be observed of all the other sacred offices) "was so firmly tied to the episcopal chair, that no man could regularly baptize," (or otherwise officiate for the same reason,) "without leave from thence." Therefore any man might *with leave*, for that is his inference, or none at all; and so any layman might give the Eucharist &c. with the Bishop's leave. I hope this does not need confuting. He should have distinguished between *sacerdotal* and *canonical* pow-

ers. A Deacon cannot *canonically* officiate amongst us without a licence: therefore a Deacon has no more power of officiating than a layman by his instrument of orders. This is just his argument. But, 2. To clear the whole difficulty, the words of the commission do certainly imply more than they express; for otherwise I do not see how the Apostles themselves were empowered to ordain by it. The subsequent practice of the Apostles is the best interpreter of it: and that will afford us a sufficient demonstration of the three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; and of the offices appropriate to them, distinct from the laity. And therefore I hope the two last may be allowed to have something more to show for their pretended right of baptizing, than any layman can have, as such; though they are not expressly named in the commission or institution. And if they, and they only with the Bishops, have any right to baptize by virtue of the New Testament, I must still insist upon it, that they only can do it *validly*. There is no need of an express depriving law to exclude all other persons from the sacred offices, (though if there was, we might find enough in the New Testament to that purpose,) because the very appointing of officers is a virtual exclusion of all others not so appointed, and would be very insignificant without it. If therefore any, who are thus excluded by God's law, take upon them to minister in sacred offices, let them show by what authority they do it, or how an act can be valid without any sufficient authority to support it. To proceed.

Mr. K. takes the "commission to be a conveyance of "power to the Apostles, &c. to appoint the ministers "of that rite, not only Presbyters and Deacons, but " (where these cannot be had) even laics too." But to this it is easily answered, that there is nothing in the words of the commission, nor in the whole New Testament, to favour this notion; no example, nor intimation of any such power; and therefore by the rule of the Church of England, as well as St. Jerome, (as Mr. K. speaks in another place,) "*Quicquid de Scripturis sacris*

“*autoritatem non habet, eadem facilitate contemnitur, qua probatur.*” But farther: there is one particular method or rule which the Apostles and primitive Bishops observed in granting their commissions, as is clear both from Scripture and antiquity; and that was by *imposition of hands*, or *ordination*. Now if any such commission as this was given to laics, they certainly ceased to be laics from that moment. But if they had no such commission, I am afraid it will be hard to show how they could have any at all. I will allow Mr. K. that Bishops only have the original right and power of baptizing, and that therefore none can be authorized to baptize, but by a delegated power from them. But then I must observe, that the manner and method of delegation is already fixed in Scripture and apostolical practice; and it is not to be presumed that the Bishops of the Church have more power than the Apostles themselves had. It does not therefore appear that they can delegate a layman any other way than by ordaining him, *i. e.* by making him a Clergyman, which is the primitive way, and is sufficient; is a delegation *in perpetuum*, and impresses an *indelible* character. Any other pretended delegation *pro hac vice* is nothing else but a deviation from the apostolical rule, and a stretch of authority, which cannot be proved to belong to them. However, if this could be proved, I must observe, that it would not affect the question in debate; for it is certain that our Lay-Dissenters have no manner of episcopal commission to baptize. I suppose Mr. K. might be sensible of this; and therefore he would fain persuade us, that there is something farther implied in the commission; namely, that the Bishops, after the Apostles, are thereby “made the sole and supreme judges in case of any irregular disputed Baptism, to annul it, or receive it as valid. And all this under no other restraint or limitation, but what the analogy of faith, the needs of the Church, and their own discretion, shall impose upon them.” In the next page, he makes it a question of discipline, whether Lay-baptism should be received;

alleging, that "our superiors may admit a Baptism irregularly administered by a lay-usurper, as valid, or, if they think fit, they may refuse to ratify such Baptisms, and order readministrations." So that, upon that hypothesis, if our superiors receive Lay-baptisms, they are valid; if not, they are not so. Very surprising! What a power is here lodged in the Bishops, and a momentous question about a venerable sacrament dwindled into the case of an indifferent rite or ceremony, dispensable at the will of our superiors! Can it be a thing indifferent in a case of everlasting concern, whether any such Baptism was antecedently valid or no? Either it was valid before, or it was not: if it was, how can any Bishop or Bishops *refuse to ratify it*, or by refusing it make it cease to be so? If it was not valid, how can any Bishop or Bishops admit of it, or, by so doing, make it to be what it is not? Take it as you will, you will find it hard to reconcile Mr. K.'s notion, that any Bishop or Bishops by admitting or rejecting can make or unmake at pleasure. Had this notion been thought of, when Stephen and Cyprian had such warm debates about the validity of irregular Baptisms, or when the Catholics and Donatists differed upon the same question; had it been known that Bishops are the sole and supreme judges in case of any irregular or disputed Baptism, to annul it or to receive it at discretion; how easily might that have solved all difficulties, and have saved them the trouble of disputing! Both sides had done right upon that supposition, because either might have done as they pleased. But they were not so happy as to make this discovery: the point was then, whether the disputed Baptisms were Baptisms or no, antecedently to any judgment of theirs upon them; and the decision of the Church was not supposed effective or operative upon the disputed Baptisms, but declarative only of what they were before: if the disputed Baptisms were antecedently true and valid, they could not be reversed or annulled by any; and if they were not, not all the Bishops upon earth could make them such, or reme-

dy the defect without baptizing. I allow Bishops under Christ to be the sole and supreme, but neither infallible nor arbitrary judges. Let them judge in such matters, but withal, let it be according to law, where there is a law in being to refer to, as the case is here. They cannot dispense with sacraments of Divine appointment, nor substitute what they please in the room of them. They cannot assume a power paramount to Christ's institutions, to make that to be Baptism, which Christ has not made so, or to null what he has. I was in hopes that Mr. K. had not meant that the validity of Lay-baptism depended upon the Bishops' admitting or rejecting it; but only that their judgment should be a definitive rule to others, as the surest guide in doubtful cases. This would have looked plausible enough, and might have had some weight, could it have been shown that any general council of primitive Bishops had determined against us in the present question: for to the primitive Bishops we should certainly appeal from any modern authorities. But Mr. K. means quite another thing: he founds his hypothesis upon the Power of the Keys, common to all Bishops ancient and modern. He does not look upon them barely as judges of controversy, and giving in their authoritative decision, (which yet would not reach the point, unless they were infallible,) but as acting with a plenitude of power, admitting into, and excluding out of the kingdom of heaven, with something more than apostolical authority. For I am very persuaded, the Apostles themselves had no such latitude, or, however, I think it cannot be proved that they had. The Apostles and their successors have without doubt a power of binding and loosing, and "whatsoever they shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever they shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven:" but to interpret this in such a latitude as Mr. K. imagines, would justify the Romanists in maiming the other sacrament, and in many other their deviations from the Scripture rule; and, in short, seems to be an hypothesis chiefly cal-

culated for the infallible chair. Mr. K. refers us to Mr. Bingham^a for proof of this paradox; which was wisely done. I have carefully read over that part of Mr. B. He gives us a quotation from an uncertain author, supposed to be Hilary the Roman Deacon, in the fourth century, who shall be considered hereafter; and he adds several quotations from very ancient and good authors, to prove that Bishops had the supreme power over the Clergy, either to authorize and empower them, or else to limit and restrain them in the exercise of their function; which nobody denies: and it amounts to no more, than that the Clergy in those times were under direction of Bishops and dependent of them, and were to pay a kind of canonical obedience to them. But how does this prove that the Bishops had any authority to declare Baptism valid which was not valid before, or to ratify and null at pleasure, which was the thing to be proved?

I shall add nothing here concerning the ancients, whom Mr. K. again appeals to, as if they were all of his side. They shall speak for themselves in their proper places. I have been hitherto vindicating the interpretation we put upon the words of the commission from Mr. K.'s exceptions to it, and should proceed to whatever else has relation to that point. But I must first step a little out of the way, to take notice of a remarkable apology, which Mr. K. is pleased to make for himself upon this occasion; being sensible, I suppose, that this plenitude of power placed in the Bishops, of dispensing with sacred institutions and ratifying nullities, would sound something strange; and therefore he adds, "I do not yet see that
 "I hereby carry the power of the Church or of her Prelates higher in this," (sacrament of Baptism,) "than it
 "ever was in the dispensation of the other sacrament,
 "which &c.—I mean no more than that the Eucharist
 "was wont to be sent home to those who could not be
 "present at the public service, by the hands of the Dea-

^a See Scholast. Hist.

“con, or, in cases of necessity, by any other person.” And he gives an instance of a little boy, who was ordered by the Priest, being sick and unable to go himself, to carry the Eucharist to Serapion, a lapsed communicant, but penitent, and then at the point of death. And this he calls “as large a stretch of power, and as great a variation from the primitive institution, as the permission of Lay-baptism can well be imagined.” I wonder how he could think this at all parallel or pertinent to the case in hand. I readily own that the *consecrated elements* were often reserved in the Church or the Bishop’s house, and sometimes too even in common houses by the laity; and that Deacons or even laymen might sometimes carry them. But of what use the observation can be in the present controversy, I do not see. Had he shown that laics could *consecrate* the bread and wine, which is giving the Eucharist, it had been to the purpose: to make the case of Baptism analogous to that of the Eucharist, he must suppose the water first *consecrated* by a *sacerdotal hand*, that the laics may baptize with it. And this would be a good argument for reserving consecrated waters for such purposes, as they anciently reserved the consecrated symbols for the other sacrament. And yet I am afraid this would not do; for in Baptism, not only the water, but the person himself to be baptized, is to be consecrated; and I cannot conceive how any laic can convey this consecration. Besides, if we suppose all this, yet what does it relate to *unauthorized Lay-baptism*, the matter in debate, which is neither performed with consecrated water, nor by sacred hands, nor has any sacerdotal benediction conveyed to it? Give me leave then to think, that the question of Lay-baptism is not a question only of discipline, but of doctrine. For I am still persuaded, that the point I am defending, being, as I conceive, founded upon the nature and tenor of Christ’s institution, and confirmed in apostolical practice, “is one of those sullen things, that admit of no alteration or abatement for the sake of any inconveniences how great soever.”

And now to return to our argument about the words of the institution. I had said, "that the commission leaves
 "no more room for Lay-baptism than for Lay-ordination,
 "Lay-absolution, Lay-consecration of the Eucharist, Lay-
 "preaching and praying; and that if we go from the in-
 "stitution in one case, we may as reasonably do it in all,
 "supposing the like necessity." Against which Mr. K. is pleased to except as follows.

1. He denies *that admitting the baptism of a layman under the qualifications foregoing* (authorized, I suppose, by Bishops) as valid, is going from the institution. It seems then, admitting Lay-baptism *not under the qualifications foregoing*, not authorized by Bishops, as valid, *may be going from the institution*, notwithstanding; which is giving up the point in question; unless he means *authorized ex post facto*; which notion, I hope, I have sufficiently confuted in the foregoing pages, and shown it to be going from the institution. If assuming a power which does not appear to have been given, but would be of dangerous consequence, and defeat in a great measure the end and design of the institution, be going from it; then I do not doubt but that is so. But

2. Supposing this were so, that admitting Lay-baptism be going from the institution, yet he denies my inference, "that therefore in the like necessity we might as reasonably do it with respect to all the rest above mentioned;" because the like necessity cannot be supposed in the other instances. In answer to which I observe,

1. That there is one thing taken for granted in the objection, which can never be proved; *viz.* that Lay-baptism can be ever necessary to any one's salvation. For suppose that text of St. John^b to be clear and decisive for the necessity of Baptism, (which it is not,) yet they must first prove that Lay-baptism is that true Scriptural Baptism; or else citing this text in favour of it, is nothing but begging the question; or is as much as to say, it is

^b John iii. 5.

necessary to be baptized, therefore it is necessary to be *washed* by a layman.

2. Abstracting from that consideration, why should it be denied, that there may upon the supposition be a like necessity for Lay-ordination, *v. g.* as for Lay-baptism? May not Clergymen happen to be wanting in some possible cases? and if so, will there not be the like necessity for appointing laymen to sacred offices, *i. e.* for Lay-ordination, as for Lay-baptism, when no Clergyman can be had? and is not the good of the whole Church as much concerned in one, as the salvation of a single person in the other? As to Lay-consecration of the Eucharist, why should it not be thought as necessary in some possible cases, as Lay-baptism? Both the sacraments are generally necessary to salvation; and therefore in want of Clergy, there may be as much reason for administering one by lay hands, as the other. The whole Church of Christ, I think, for six or eight hundred years downwards from the third century, gave the Eucharist to infants upon this principle: they thought that sacrament as universally and absolutely necessary as the other, founding it upon a text^c as full and positive for the necessity of it, as John iii. 5. for the necessity of Baptism. But I do not put the matter upon that foot; but suppose only, that it is absolutely necessary to adult Christians in general, as Baptism to infants. And therefore, if a regular Clergy cannot be had, there is as great necessity for Lay-consecration, as can be supposed for Lay-baptism. The like may be said of the other instances mentioned. I do not say that this necessity so frequently occurs, nor is my argument founded on that supposition: it is enough for me to suppose it barely possible, in order to show the patrons of Lay-baptism the tendency of their principles.

But still Mr. K. has a farther evasion. He knows not what I mean by *lay-preaching* and *lay-praying*; and seems to wonder I should think either of them absurd in

^c John vi. 53.

cases of necessity. I mean by *lay-preaching*, a layman's taking upon him to preach *authoritatively* in God's name, as God's ambassador and as sent by him, interpreting the supposed necessity to be an extraordinary call, and to supply the want of mission. And I mean by *lay-praying*, a layman's taking upon him to be a mediator and intercessor between God and his people in public prayer, or pretending to bless in God's name. Be not startled at the words mediator and intercessor: they are good words, when rightly understood, and properly applicable to Christian priests^d. Now if Mr. K. will suppose that any necessity can justify a layman in taking so much upon him, he must prove that such a one does not come with a lie in his mouth, while he pretends an extraordinary mission; which nothing can be a certain proof of, but the power of working miracles, or a revelation from heaven. In such a case I would allow lay-preaching and lay-praying, and in none else, whatever or how great soever be the supposed necessity for them. And if our lay-baptizers had any such warrant for what they do, they might go on for all me. The two noted instances of Frumentius and the captive woman of Iberia make nothing for your friend's purpose: divulging the Gospel and preparing converts is quite different from preaching. Frumentius did not officiate in his new raised church, till he was ordained a Bishop^e; and as to the captive woman, though Mr. K. would insinuate that she was a lay-preacher; or else I know not why she is brought in here; yet, you may observe, he is very shy of saying she preached, for fear, I suppose, of confronting St. Paul; and therefore cautiously words it, her divulging the Gospel; in which he is very right: for she did indeed divulge the Gospel, but they were ordained ministers, sent from Constantine, that first preached to the Iberians^f. If it be objected, that Frumentius with the Roman merchants (Christian laics)

^d Ap. Const. C. ii. c. 25. cum not. Cotelarii.

^e Ruff. Eccl. Hist. C. i. c. 9. Theod. Eccl. Hist. C. i. c. 23.

^f Ruff. Eccl. Hist. C. i. c. 10. Theod. Eccl. Hist. C. i. c. 24.

had Divine service performed after the Christian manner, and therefore prayed at least, though they did not properly preach to the people; I suppose they might use such prayers as were suitable to Christian laymen, without the more solemn forms of intercession or benediction peculiar to Priests^g. However this is certain, that in both the instances the necessity of a regular ordained Clergy was thought so great and apparent, that all possible haste was made both by Frumentius and the captive woman to obtain one. If this does not satisfy, let it be observed, that Mr. K. acknowledges that miracles were wrought in one of the cases, and it is not impossible there might be in the other also; which I have allowed to be warrant sufficient for what they did: and Mr. K. may infer as much as he pleases from these two instances, when our lay-baptizers bring miracles to attest their mission.

And let this suffice to have vindicated the commission for baptizing, and my reasonings upon it from Mr. K.'s exceptions. Now we proceed to another point. I had observed in my letter, that there were in Scripture some very remarkable examples of God's vengeance towards lay-usurpers of ecclesiastical offices; and I instanced (as many have done before me) in Saul and Uzza. Mr. K. is of opinion that those instances are not to the purpose, and does indeed offer something considerable against them. The cause is but little concerned in it, and if he takes these instances from us, we can put other more unquestionable in their room, as Corah, Dathan and Abiram, and King Uzziah^h. As to Saul, I find it a sort of a disputed case, a moot point among the learned, whether he sacrificed in person, or only ordered the Priests to do it. And as to Samuel, whether he sacrificed in person or no, by virtue of his *prophetic character*, that set him above the ordinary and common rules, is another disputable point among the learned. I incline to the affirmative;

^g Dodwell de Jure Laico, c. 4.

^h Num. xvi. 30. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16.

and if you please to see what may be said for it, you may consult Dr. Hickes's *Christian Priesthood*ⁱ, and Mr. Dodwell de Jure Laico Sacerdotali^k, who has made excellent use of the observation in accounting for the difficulty, how it came to pass, that while there was standing ministry in the Jewish Church, yet our Saviour and his Apostles were admitted to teach in the synagogue: but that by the way only. As to Uzza, I do not see why he may not well enough pass for an instance pertinent to the case in hand. We do not say that he was led by any *ambition*, or aspiring thoughts, to touch the Ark of God; but he rashly presumed to touch *an holy thing*, which none but the family of Aaron were allowed to do^l; and for this he died. And what could be the reason or design of this law, or of that vengeance, but to secure the greater honour and reverence towards the Priests? And if a Levite, and of the most honourable branch of the tribe, (being a Kohathite, and so next in rank to the Priests,) suffered so remarkably, only for rashly and incogitantly touching an holy thing, against the commandment; of how much greater punishment shall they be thought worthy, who shall presume designedly to invade any part of the Priest's office? We see by this how inviolable the office of a Priest was among the Jews. And if God thus fenced about the sacerdotal office in the Jewish Church, to prevent any profanation of it; what shall we think of the sacerdotal office in the Christian Church, of which the former was but a kind of type and shadow? Shall this be invaded and usurped at pleasure? No, that Mr. K. himself will not say, but "will willingly join with me in treating such acts of sacrilegious impiety and presumption with all the severity of language I can desire." But that is not enough: while you suppose them *valid*, the rest will pass for little more than empty harangue; for it will be obvious to argue, that if they be valid, they are valid by some law, and if by any law, then by God's

ⁱ P. 185.^k P. 178.^l Num. iv. 15.

law, and what God establishes by a law, he will not disapprove in the main: or however it will be easy to find out an excuse for a few circumstantial irregularities. Thus the priesthood will be invaded, and its fences laid waste. So that this doctrine of the *validity of lay-ministrations* does not only rest men's salvation upon a precarious uncertain bottom; but it also gives too great a countenance to usurpations and sacrilegious impieties; and opens a wide door to all imaginable confusion. Or if any one thinks all this may be prevented by supposing episcopal confirmation necessary to complete such acts, and to give them their validity; I refer him to Mr. Laurence's incomparable reasonings upon this very point^m; which I despair of ever seeing answered.

We have not yet done with the institution or commission for Baptism laid down in Scripture, till satisfaction be given to another exception, which may seem to weaken the force of it; and that is the noted rule, *quod fieri non debuit, factum valet*, though the Scripture forbids it, it may yet be valid; which I endeavoured to obviate and explain in my letter. And because this is true of matrimony, though the minister be no more than a layman, some might be apt to conclude it was true of Baptism too. So that this must lead us a little off from our point to discourse of matrimony. I thought I made that matter so plain and clear in a few words, that it was next to impossible to mistake it: yet Mr. K. has so perplexed and entangled a very easy case, that it must cost me some pains to set it right.

I could hardly imagine at first reading what it was he designed to prove, till, considering a little further, to my great surprise I found that he was attempting to prove the minister as essential to marriage (*a civil institution*) as to Baptism, *a Christian sacrament*. I shall speak to that point presently; but there are two or three other little matters to be first taken notice of. In order

^m Suppl. Pref. p. 37, &c.

to weaken the force of the objection drawn from that rule, *quod fieri*, &c. I had observed that it was true only of *errors in circumstantialis*, not of *errors in essentials*; and he is pleased to allow the "distinction to be very good; but "excepts against it, that it will do me no service, till it be "proved, that the minister is essential to Baptism." Yes sure it may be of some service to show, that that rule is of no force to prove the contrary to what we assert, till it can be proved that the minister is not essential, (and then it is needless;) and that was all I was concerned to do in order to answer the objection drawn from that maxim. And because some were willing to confound the case of marriage with this of Baptism, I thought it proper to show that they are by no means parallel. Upon which Mr. K. attempts to prove that the minister is as essential to one as the other; which, if allowed, will not hurt my cause, because I think I can prove the minister essential to Baptism; only the consequence then will be, that there can be no valid matrimony among Jews, Turks, and Pagans; and that adultery is a sin peculiar to Christians. Would not such a consequence startle a man a little, and incline him to think that the minister is not essential to marriage, but a circumstance only of decency, proper among Christians? But he "cannot see, but that upon "this principle the pretended marriages among Quakers "are as valid as ours." Who doubts it? or that a Quaker's concubine may not be guilty of adultery before God, as well as any other? But the civil legislature, it seems, looks upon them as no more than "pretended marriages, "and subjoins a proviso, that nothing" (in an act concerning matrimony) "shall be construed so as to declare "them good;" good, *i. e.* effectual in law, as the act itself referred to in the marginⁿ expresses it, and it means no more: that is, such marriages shall not be received as good by the common or statute laws of England, nor plead any benefit of the law under that title. And this is

a sufficient answer to his question, why the Quakers should be particularly careful not to die intestate. The same answer may serve in relation to the marriages in Cromwell's time before the justices. They were all afterwards confirmed by act of Parliament, and made legal^o; and had they not been so confirmed, they had been *illegal*, not *invalid*; and could have claimed no benefit of the law. Every one must observe that it depends entirely upon the civil power, what sort of marriage shall be deemed or reputed legal or not. But the validity of it is quite another thing, founded upon mutual contract; and therefore perhaps a precontract is thought a sufficient impediment to marriage with another person; since that precontract is a kind of prior marriage, and wants nothing but the ceremony to make it legal.

I had said that marriage is a covenant between the two parties; that its essence is their mutual contract; and the minister is but a circumstance; whereas in Baptism there is a covenant between God and man. God is one of the parties; and therefore his consent in person, or by his commissioned proxy or deputy, where there are any such, is essential to it. Against this Mr. K. objects, "that in every vow God is party as well as we, being called not only as a witness, but as a judge too." Therefore say I no *party*. For to be *judge* and *party* at the same time are inconsistent; and therefore his speaking of a *third party* here, is nothing but playing upon a word. God's being a party in the sense that Mr. K. takes it, is equally applicable to every covenant, contract, or bargain; and yet I hope they may be valid enough without the assistance of the sacred order. His argument from the Divine institution of matrimony comes far short of proof. I suppose government is as much of Divine institution as marriage, and yet I presume kings have been validly married to their people, and may again, without the assistance of a minister. This is certainly God's own

act, as much as the other, and is notwithstanding purely of a civil nature, and nothing sacerdotal or ecclesiastical is essential to it. I know not what Mr. K. means by insisting so much on the office of matrimony peculiar to the Church of England; unless he would prove that our particular method and manner of solemnizing be essential to marriage; which would make it necessary to be observed all the world over. The truth is, the minister is essential to *legal* matrimony with us, and so perhaps are several other little circumstances. The marriage is complete in the contract between the two parties; and the law only determines what shall be looked upon with us, as a sufficient declaration of such a contract. And if joining of hands only was made as significant and effectual in law as the other, the marriage would be as complete and valid, though not so decent and Christian-like as what we have now. Baron Puffendorf's observation relating to this point is worth reciting. "As the public laws of commonwealths are wont to invest other contracts with certain rites and solemnities, upon want of which they pass for invalid in *civil cognizance*: so in some states there are such ceremonies annexed to matrimony, as, if omitted, make it *illegal*, or at least deprive it of some effects, which would otherwise have sprung from it, according to the local customs and constitutions." This is exactly my sense of the matter. Laws and customs determine what marriage shall pass for legal or valid in civil cognizance. But the essence of matrimony is another thing, being the same in all places and ages; and is nothing else but a *mutual contract*; and is as binding in the nature of the thing before a Justice of peace as before an Archbishop. And indeed if it be performed only by a private engagement between the two parties, *remotis arbitris*, it is as valid in *foro conscientiae* as any, if they understand one another.

But Mr. K. adds, that "the minister acts for God, and in God's name, which Mr. W. says none can do without commission from him: from which account he

“flatters himself, that he has proved that the priest is at least as necessary in marriage as he is in Baptism.” But I cannot flatter him so far as to believe it. That the *minister acts in God's name in both* I readily grant; and that he could not thus act without a commission from him I allow also: only the difference is this, which is very considerable; it is necessary there should be one to act in God's name in Baptism, because there is no covenant without the explicit consent of both parties, whereof God is one; and therefore the minister, God's appointed proxy, is essential to Baptism: but it is not necessary there should be one to act in God's name in marriage; because the covenant is not between God and man, but between man and woman; and God's representative the minister is not essential to it. In Baptism then there must be one to represent God, in marriage there need not. Yet if any one will take upon himself to represent God under any capacity, either as a witness, or judge, or avenger, he must act by commission, otherwise his act is irregular, sinful, and null, and stands for nothing. Yet the acts of the two contracting parties are effectual and valid; because a contract is nevertheless a contract for the want of a proper person to represent God as a witness, or judge, or avenger to it.

I do not dispute, but that the general commission given to the Apostles, &c. reaches to all acts of religion, and consequently to the solemnization of marriage. For whoever acts in God's name in any case, must have God's authority and warrant for it. But this does not prove that it is absolutely necessary that any one should act in God's name in marriage, but only that if he does act in God's name, he must act by his authority and by virtue of his commission. And therefore if any layman does pretend, in God's name, to join two persons together in *holy matrimony*, he is an usurper of the sacerdotal function, and his part in the solemnity stands for nothing. Yet since the two parties have thereupon solemnly *plighted their troth to each other*, no matter whether the person had any

authority to represent God or no; their act is valid, and God is witness to it in heaven. And now I hope I have sufficiently rescued the case from that confusion and perplexity, which Mr. K. had left it in.

I shall beg leave here only to subjoin an observation relating to the point in hand. The celebrated Dr. Sherlock, supposed to be the author of the book noted in the marginⁿ, though he was in the main pleading for the same side of the question with Mr. K., yet he thought the argument drawn from the nature of a covenant to be so strong and forcible against the validity of Lay-baptism, that he could find no surer way of evading it, than by denying Baptism to be a formal covenant; in which I presume that great man was pretty singular, and only showed that he was hard pressed. To consider that point at large would be too great a digression. There is indeed another much more plausible solution of the difficulty, which he also has recourse to, *viz.* that circumcision was as much a covenant as Baptism, and *yet any Israelite might circumcise, that knew how to do it.* But to this he himself furnishes us in the same place with a sufficient answer. For he says the administration of Baptism is confined ordinarily to the governors of the Church, whereas the administration of circumcision never was the peculiar office of the priest. Where God has given orders for a thing to be done, and left the administration at large, there any man is his authorized proxy that does it: but where he has appointed proper officers, these and these only can act validly, as acting by his authority. It is sufficient therefore to our purpose, that circumcision was not peculiar to the priest's office by the Jewish law, whereas the administration of Baptism is confessedly confined to the Clergy by the Christian law in *all ordinary cases.* And it can never be shown, that it is not likewise so confined in the *extraordinary* too. And thus I have already in a great measure obviated what follows in Mr. K. relating to cir-

ⁿ Vindication of Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet, p. 360, &c.

cumcision, the seal of the covenant to the Jews, as Baptism is to the Christians. The reason then why circumcision was not confined to the sacred order was, because God did not so confine it: there he allowed any person to covenant in his name; here he has appointed officers. I should make no further answer with relation to the case of Zipporah, but that Mr. K. has thence taken occasion to triumph over Mr. Laurence, as if he had given up all his principles at once; only because he happened to say, that Zipporah might circumcise in the right of her husband, his authority in his sickness, when he was not able to do any thing, devolving upon her. He supposes it might possibly be thus; yet he does not lay the stress of his argument upon it. For in the same place he observes, that Zipporah's act was in a case extraordinary, and he resolves it into immediate revelation, which makes the case very different. But admitting the most Mr. K. would make of it, it can amount to no more than this; that laics or women may exercise sacerdotal functions in extreme necessity, and by the authority of the Bishops. This Mr. L. never directly affirms nor denies; it is beside the question, and his principles may stand good independent of it. But this is an instance of Mr. K.'s blending two distinct questions together, as if they were one; and not considering the difference between authorized and unauthorized Baptisms, while the latter only is the subject of the present debate.

What Mr. K. adds in relation to Zipporah, and the female administration of circumcision, I pass over, the cause being little concerned in it. The other particulars which he takes notice of in the following page will more properly fall in with the other head, whither I think best to refer them, that I may not be too long detained from the judgment and practice of the primitive Church, which is of so great moment in the present controversy, as well as in most others that concern the Church. Here Mr. K. seems to put the main stress of his cause, and here I am ready to join issue with him. I reject every thing novel in religion, and for that very reason reject Lay-baptism; be-

cause I am persuaded it is novel, and was no current doctrine or practice of the Church for the first six hundred years at least. Mr. K. speaks excellently well in the entrance of his letter. "I believe every position in Divinity which is new, to be false; and that in all questions relating to religion, discipline, or government, *reason* ought to submit to *Scripture*, and Scripture be interpreted by the sense and practice of *antiquity*; and consequently that *history* is the best and shortest decider of this and of every controversy in religion." Here I heartily close with him. To the Fathers we appeal, and to the Fathers let us go.

II.

He begins with *astonishment* that I should venture to say, that "the ancients do with one voice, for above three hundred years, (Tertullian excepted,) condemn Lay-baptism, not so much as putting any exception for cases of necessity." This was not, I confess, worded distinctly enough in a short letter, designed rather for hints of things, than for clear and full explication. I did not mean that Lay-baptism was *clearly and in terms* condemned by the writers of the first ages; no more was transubstantiation or purgatory; and yet they are sufficiently condemned by them, inasmuch as they held principles inconsistent with them. In this sense I hope to make it appear that Lay-baptism also was condemned by the Church for more than three or four hundred years. It is enough for my purpose, if it was implicitly, virtually, or consequentially condemned; as negative prohibitions are implied in positive precepts, as drunkenness is forbid by commanding sobriety, and irregularity condemned by a precept to observe order. The ancients would be of little use to us in modern controversy, if we suppose them to condemn nothing, but what they specify *in terms*. At this rate we might despair of confuting late inventions and modern corruptions from Fathers or Councils; for it is evident they could not so *in terms* condemn what they never thought of. But notwithstanding, their

very silence in some cases is a sufficient condemnation; and very often, the general reason they went upon in cases disputed in their times, may be applicable to others afterwards: and so what they do by consequence or parity of reason condemn, they do as certainly condemn, though not so directly.

The use of the observation in respect to the point in hand will in part appear presently, and more in sequel. Mr. K. himself owns that it is easy to collect many passages of St. Ignatius and others of the ancientest writers, wherein the right of administering in religious matters is asserted to the priesthood, as proper only to them, and the people forbidden to meddle or do any thing in holy things, without the concurrence and approbation of the Bishops. And he supposes that to be what I mean. I do indeed mean that, and something more. I mean plainly that according to the prevailing doctrine of the ancients for above three hundred years, the original power of baptizing was lodged solely and entirely in the Bishops, and derivatively conveyed by them to others; who do not appear to have been any, besides the standing ministers of Baptism: from whence I infer, that according to their principles, none could have a power of baptizing without a commission; and therefore if any had pretendedly baptized, their act would have had no authority, no right, or rule, to found its validity upon; and consequently would have been invalid. Therefore upon the principles of the ancients, *Lay-baptism unauthorized*, as that of our Dissenters, is invalid. Again,

By the principles of the ancients, as is confessed on all hands, laymen were always debarred from baptizing in all ordinary cases: therefore had any layman pretended to baptize in ordinary cases, their acts had been not only without, but against law, and consequently, as argued before, invalid.

Therefore again, the Baptism of our Dissenters being done in ordinary cases, and not in any extreme necessity, are by the principles of the ancient Church for above three

hundred years together invalid°. I observe further, that when laymen were debarred by the ancient Church from meddling with sacred offices, and particularly from baptizing; the prohibitions are general, no exceptions being put in for cases of necessity. Yet such cases might happen then as well as now; not only infants, but many adults might often be in the article of death, and no Clergyman near at hand to baptize them. And if the text of St. John was so rigidly understood, as Mr. K. supposes; strange that this so frequent a case should not have had as frequent provisoes! Yet we find nothing of them, except a hint or two from Tertullian, which shall be considered by and by. There is no warrant therefore from the ancient Church for Lay-baptism even in cases of necessity; and yet if there was, our Dissenters' Baptisms might be invalid notwithstanding, because utterly destitute of that plea. Upon consideration of the premises therefore, I venture once more to say, that the ancient Church for above three hundred years condemn Lay-baptism, if not directly, if not in terms, yet implicitly, virtually, and consequentially.

As to Mr. K.'s excepting against this, that "no more is intended by it, but to set forth the dignity and preeminence of the priesthood, and that it relates only to ordinary cases;" and that they did not descend to speak of *extraordinary*, because it had been *highly improper*; all this is as easily denied as affirmed; and it may be observed of St. Chrysostom, (whom he supposes in the place cited to speak the sense of the ancients,) that when he does descend to *extraordinary cases* in another place, he allows not any layman to baptize, but Deacons only. "If there be a necessity," says he, "and a child be found ready to die, and unbaptized, it is lawful for a Deacon to baptize it." Strange he should not have added or even a *layman*, had he known any thing of such a power entrusted with laics. But to proceed from our general

* Ign. ad Smyr. c. 8. Cl. Rom. Ep. i. c. 40. Apost. Constit.

argument from the first writers to those of the following times, that speak more home to the point. We will begin with Tertullian.

A. D. 192.

Tertullian I had acknowledged to be for Lay-baptism in cases of necessity, but observed withal that it was only his *private opinion*; as indeed he had many strange ones. Upon this Mr. K. rallies me very pleasantly; he calls it a "modish sovereign charm," and soon after, "a nimble way of taking off an evidence we do not like:" and would have you imagine, that it portends something very dismal; and particularly, that "it makes all convictions from antiquity, except from general councils, impracticable and impossible." But, with submission, this sovereign charm is a very innocent thing; and is no enemy to any thing, but to error, mistake, and false reasoning. This nimble way of taking off an evidence is a way used by the best and gravest writers in any controversy depending on the sense of antiquity. It is necessary in reading or quoting the Fathers to distinguish carefully what they give as their own *private judgment*, and what as their *testimony* of the doctrine of the Church. We admit their testimony, because we have all the reason in the world to believe they were honest men. But as to their own *private opinions*; they ought to weigh no more with us, than the reason on which they are founded. Thus the Fathers may always be of great use to us, as witnesses of the doctrine of the Church in their times; though not always as *private doctors*. And therefore I think your friend concluded a little too hastily, that we may hereby set aside all authorities of the ancients, except *general councils*. We set aside none; but we distinguish between what a Father tells us is the doctrine of the Church, and what he gives us as his own. Seeing therefore that the distinction is very good, I am next to show that it was rightly and properly applied. I grant that Tertullian does plead for Lay-baptism in cases of extreme necessity. His arguments are weak enough, and very easily answered: but

that is not the point now ; for the question only is, whether he speaks the Church's practice, or only delivers his own private opinion. There are two passages commonly referred to in this controversy : the first is this, " ^p Dandi " quidem jus habet summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus, " dehinc Presbyteri et Diaconi, (non tamen sine Episcopi " autoritate,) propter Ecclesiæ honorem, quo salva pax est. " Alioquin etiam laicis jus est ; quod enim ex æquo accipi- " tur, ex æquo dari potest. Nisi Episcopi jam, aut Pres- " byteri, aut Diaconi, vocantur, Dicentes," &c. The chief Priest, who is the Bishop, has power to give (Baptism), and next to him the Presbyters and Deacons, (but not without the authority of the Bishop,) *because of their honourable post in the Church*, in preservation of which peace is preserved : otherwise even laymen have a right to give it, for what is received in common, may be given in common. Except then that either Bishops or Presbyters or Deacons *intervene*, the ordinary Christians are called to it.

I have thrown in two or three words in the translation, to clear the sense of this passage ; I have chiefly followed Mr. Bennet^q, both as to the sense and to the pointing of them, and refer you to him for their vindication. What I am to observe from them is, that while he asserts an inherent right in laymen to baptize, he acknowledges the custom and practice of the Church to have confined it to the Clergy only for the preservation of peace and order : and he elsewhere^r acknowledges the settlement of the Clergy to be of Divine institution, and to have obtained from the beginning. So that his assertion runs thus : " Were it not that Christ and his Apostles for wise " ends and reasons had confined the administration of " Baptism to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, even lay- " men might lawfully take upon them to baptize, having " an inherent right to do it by virtue of their own Bap-

^p De Baptismo, c. 17.

^q Rights, &c. p. 118.

^r De Præscript. Hæret. c. 21.

“tism; which right they are only now to use in cases of
“extreme necessity.” Here is not the least intimation
that the Church in his time either believed or practised
thus. He appeals to no rule, order, or custom for the
right of the laity, as he does for that of the Clergy; but,
for want of it, sets himself to invent reasons, and goes on in
arguing and debating the point for a good while together;
which had been needless, had Lay-baptism been the cur-
rent doctrine or practice of the Church. And beside, the
same Tertullian^t marks it as a singularity of the heretics
in his own time, that they made laymen perform the
offices of the Clergy. “Nam et laicis sacerdotalia mu-
“nera injungunt,” are his words. He should have add-
ed, upon Mr. K.’s scheme, *etiam extra casum necessitatis*;
or else what would it have signified to have made such a
remark upon the heretics; when, upon supposition that the
Church allowed the same, it might easily have been re-
torted upon him? But since he remarks it as a singularity
in heretics to allow of it in any case, it is evident Lay-
baptism could not be the practice of the Church in his
time. To return to the words we were before speaking
of; Mr. K. observes from Mr. Bingham, that it “would
“be strange, if Tertullian, describing just before the prac-
“tice of the Church in permitting Presbyters and Dea-
“cons to baptize, should invert his discourse immediately
“in the very next words,” &c. But as Mr. Laurence in
answer to Mr. B. more justly observes, “The word *alio-*
“*quin* is a plain transition from his former subject of
“what had reference to the Church’s law or custom;
“and evidently shows that he is going to say something
“that is separate and distinct therefrom. As much as if
“he had said, By the law and custom of the Church the
“Bishop has power to give Baptism, and after him Pres-
“byters and Deacons, yet not without the authority of
“the Bishop, for the honour of the Church. Otherwise,

^t De Præscript. Hæret. c. 4.

“distinct and separate from the consideration of this law
“or custom, *laymen* also have a right to give it.”

Upon the whole then, it is so far from appearing that Tertullian spoke the sense or practice of the Church in relation to Lay-baptism in his time, in the words cited, that the direct contrary may be reasonably inferred from them; and therefore Mr. K. will excuse me, if I repeat it again, that he spoke only *his own private opinion*. And though, for ought I know, Mr. Dodwell might be *the first man that thought so*, and might own it to be a *paradox*, being a very modest and ingenuous author, yet his reasons are good, and will abide the test; or however, we should have taken it kindly of Mr. B. and Mr. K., who join in the censure, if they would have told us likewise who shall be the first man that shall confute him. But I proceed now to the other passage of Tertullian relating to this controversy, where he is arguing against second marriages. “Vani erimus, si putaverimus, quod sacerdotibus non liceat laicis licere; Nonne et laici Sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit^u. Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit Ecclesiæ autoritas, et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus, adeo ubi ecclesiastici: ordinis non est consessus, et offers, et tinguis, et sacerdos es tibi solus —igitur si habes jus sacerdotis in temetipso ubi necesse est, habeas oportet etiam disciplinam sacerdotis, ubi necesse sit habere jus sacerdotis. Digamus tinguis? Digamus offers^x,” &c.

Tertullian is here arguing against second marriages even in the laity. It was a rule in the Church in his time, and long after, almost universally held, and supposed to be founded in Scripture^y, that no Clergyman should marry a second wife. Tertullian being now a Montanist, and very austere in his temper and principles, had a mind to carry the

^u Revel. i. 6.

^x Exh. ad Castit. ed. Rig. c. 7. p. 522.

^y 1 Tim. iii. 2—12. Tit. i. 6.

matter further, and to bring even the laity under the same restrictions. It was a difficult matter for him to prove his point: however being resolved to attempt something, he undertakes to prove that laymen are priests, and therefore ought to be subject to the same rules and the like restraints with them; and consequently not to marry twice. He endeavours to prove laymen priests from a text in the Revelation cited in the margin, from which he might as easily have proved them kings. But would it not from thence follow upon Tertullian's principles, that the laity and Clergy are all one, and might therefore indifferently officiate in the sacred ministrations? No. He was aware of that; and therefore very probably to obviate such a surmise he adds, "*Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit,*" &c. as much as to say, "Though laymen have an inherent right to officiate, yet the exercise of it is restrained so long as there is a particular order of men set apart for that purpose; upon whose rights and powers it would be an encroachment and usurpation for any layman to pretend to officiate, where there is any Clergyman to do it. But where there are no Clergy, there can be no encroachment upon their authority; and so the reason of the restraint ceasing, a layman may then freely exercise his inherent right, may baptize or give the Eucharist, and be his own priest." That this is the sense of Tertullian, and the substance of his reasoning upon the case, I make no doubt: but if you are not satisfied, I refer you to Mr. Bennet², who has spent about thirty pages in interpreting this single passage. That Tertullian here asserts, that laymen may baptize in want of Clergy, I readily allow: but that he lays it down as the doctrine or practice of the Church in his time, I utterly deny. It is all nothing else but his private reasoning; and that very probably in answer to a tacit objection, which he could not otherwise get rid of. So natural is it for a man, that

² Rights of Cl. cap. 9.

will maintain absurd paradoxes, to fall from one absurdity to another. Mr. K. upon this passage makes a strong misrepresentation of the sense of the author, and fancies he sees such principles as Tertullian never dreamt of. He says, "Certainly no man of common sense would pretend "to persuade men against second marriages, upon the "topic of supposing them to be thereby unqualified to "baptize, &c. in cases of necessity, if Baptism by laymen "had at that time been never practised." But this is all a mistake. Tertullian goes upon no such topic. The topic he went upon was, that laymen had an inherent priesthood in themselves, which he founds upon a mistaken text in the Revelation; and what he asserts afterwards, of their right to baptize and give the Eucharist in case of necessity, is nothing but a forced inference, which his former premises necessarily drove him to, as has been before explained. However, that you may not suspect I assert any thing confidently without some grounds, I observe,

1. That there is hardly a shadow of an argument to prove that he here spoke the sense of the Church. The chief thing commonly urged is, that *offers* and *tingis* are in the present tense, seeming to imply something then really practised: to which the answer is easy, that they are not to be understood *indicatively*, but *potentially*, as Mr. Dodwell and Mr. Bennet have sufficiently shown^a. They do not signify, *you do act thus*, but, *you may act thus*, or *have power to act thus*, in consequence of the principle before laid down, that laymen have an inherent priesthood. And that the words cited by Mr. K., *Digamus offers? Digamus tinguis?* are used potentially and not indicatively, is very plain: for as Mr. Bennet well observes, his friend had lately buried his wife, and was not yet married again; and therefore the words can bear no other sense but this, Would you baptize and admin-

^a De Jure Laico, p. 53. Rights, p. 298.

ister the Lord's Supper, when married a second time? More might be added, but for brevity's sake I refer you to the forementioned authors, and proceed to show,

2. That there are good reasons to prove that Tertullian did not speak the sense or practice of the Church at that time. Observe the words, "*Adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offers et tingis et sacerdos es tibi solus.*" The *adeo* shows it to be an inference drawn from his former position, and not an assertion of any matter of fact in that time. Or if this does not satisfy, I shall add another consideration, which certainly must. Tertullian here joins the administration of the Lord's Supper with that of Baptism; and therefore if he spoke the practice of the Church in one, he did so in both; which I presume Mr. K. himself will hardly say: that the ancient Church ever permitted laymen to consecrate the Eucharist, can never be supposed by any man that knows any thing of Church history. And yet Tertullian's words are as full and clear a proof of that, as of the practice of Lay-baptism. This is demonstration that he spoke not the sense of the Church, but his own. I know Mr. K. has here a sovereign charm, which he had used before as well as now, and very unluckily in both places. He imagines that the word *offers* signifies no more than what Dr. Cave tells us, that laymen reserved consecrated elements in their houses, and so received at home: this is his sense, though not his words. But, with submission, I think it strange that Tertullian should mean no more than this: for not to mention that the word *offerre* absolutely put, answering to the Greek *προσφέρειν*, hardly ever signifies any thing else in Church writers, but to consecrate the Lord's Supper; is constantly used so by St. Cyprian^b, and Tertullian^c himself in other places: I say, not to mention this, which is so well known to the learned, that Dr. H. B. Johnson, &c. take it for granted that *offers* in this place signifies administering the Eucharist: there is

^b Ep. 1. 5. 17. 63. 69.

^c De vet. c. 9. de exh. Cast. c. 11.

another consideration offered by Mr. Dodwell^d, decisive in the case, *viz.* that the whole scope and tenor of Tertullian's reasoning makes it absurd to take it in any other sense. For how ridiculous would be his whole reasoning, if, undertaking to prove that laymen had a proper inherent priesthood, and consequently might minister in sacerdotal offices, he should give an instance of an act not sacerdotal; not requiring any sacred character? From the whole then I think it is evident that Tertullian did mean the giving the Eucharist in the strict sense, as a sacerdotal act. For it is plain, that Tertullian upon his own principles meant not to exclude the laity from any clerical functions, how high and sacred soever; provided only, that they should not assume them, but in extreme necessity in utter want of a proper Clergy. If then he spoke the doctrine or practice of the Church in relation to Baptism being administered by laymen, I must insist upon it, that he spoke the doctrine and practice of the Church in relation to the Eucharist too. But because Mr. K. will, I am sure, deny it of the latter, I must beg leave to deny it of the former also; and consequently must still be bold to say, that Tertullian in this passage, as well as in the former, spoke only his own private opinion. Seeing then that Tertullian is thus singled out and separated, and has now nothing left to support him, but his own slender reasons; it would be too easy a conquest to set upon him and confute him; which has been done so often: and therefore I leave him, only making these following observations in relation to him.

1. That he allows of Lay-baptism, but at the same time is forced to suppose laymen to be Priests in order to qualify them to baptize: so that, in the main, I take him to be of my side of the question; for if I could but prove that laymen are not proper Priests, (under this word we include Deacons,) which would be no hard matter; his own principles would lead him into my conclusion.

^d De Jure Laic. cap. 1. 2. 10.

2. He founds his doctrine of Lay-baptism upon an inherent right of priesthood in every Christian. This can never agree with Mr. K.'s hypothesis; who founds it upon I know not what plenitude of power in the Bishops, inconsistent with Tertullian's principles: and therefore, with submission, while he rejects his principles, he ought not, I think, allege his authority for the conclusion; because if you disarm Tertullian of his premises, you do at the same time in effect make him disown the conclusion built upon them.

3. Tertullian allowed of Lay-baptism only in case of necessity: therefore his authority is not pertinently alleged in favour of Dissenters' Baptisms, which have no such plea; consequently whatever force there may be in the argument drawn from his authority, it is wide of the question.

4. Tertullian acknowledges, that in all ordinary cases the administration of Baptism is appropriate to the Clergy, condemns all Lay-baptism in such cases, as irregular and sinful. Whether he would have *pronounced them invalid* does not certainly appear; though it might be probably enough argued that he would; because it was his principle, as Mr. K. himself owns, to annul heretical Baptisms^e, and probably schismatical too, (the same general reasons affecting both,) and such Baptisms would be schismatical. It is therefore reasonable to believe, that he must have pronounced Dissenters' Baptisms (such as among us) null and void. And therefore perhaps in the main I was a little too complaisant to Mr. K. to give him up Tertullian; who, if he were to speak home to the point in debate, I am persuaded would be on our side. For the *inherent right of priesthood*, on which he founds the validity of Lay-baptism, has no place in ordinary cases, or however ceases in a schism; and then there is nothing left upon his principles to render the thing *valid*. And now from Tertullian let us come to

^e De Bapt. c. 15.

ST. CYPRIAN, 248.

From whom Mr. K. confesses he has no positive evidence. I should wonder much if he had; because there cannot, I think, be a more positive evidence against him. You remember, I hope, that we are disputing whether the pretended Baptisms of Dissenters (*i. e.* of schismatical laymen) are valid. Now can any man imagine that Cyprian, who rejected the Baptisms of schismatical clergymen, should admit the pretended Baptisms of schismatical laics? Nothing can be clearer than that St. Cyprian would have nulled and vacated all such pretended Baptisms.

But it may perhaps be replied, that though St. Cyprian does agree with us in the conclusion, yet he differs from us in the premises, and condemns schismatical Baptisms, because *schismatical*, and not because they were Lay-baptisms. To which I answer, that he rejected schismatical Baptisms, because they were in his opinion *unauthorized uncommissioned Baptisms*, which was in effect to call them Lay-baptisms, or however upon the same principle that schismatical Baptisms were rejected, all unauthorized Lay-baptisms must be rejected also. Mr. K. thinks that Cyprian's silence on this subject, when he had such an inviting occasion to speak of it, will afford a fair presumptive argument, that Baptism administered by a layman was not thought invalid. I am not of Mr. K.'s mind, and shall show why, presently. Only first let me lay before you Mr. Bennet's reasoning from the like topic in this very case the other way. "Had any such thing (as Lay-baptism) been allowed before the controversy of rebaptizing heretics was managed by St. Cyprian, it is impossible (as every one may see) that it should never have been taken notice of by either of the contending parties, though the necessary inference from such a practice would have nearly affected that dispute—nor was any such practice ever heard of before the fourth century." Mr. Bennet is very right; for had Lay-baptism been

admitted by the Church at that time, St. Cyprian's adversaries could not have failed to have taken advantage of it, in order to invalidate his reasonings against schismatical Clergy, (for as to heretical, they are of distinct consideration,) being founded mostly on this principle, that they had forfeited their orders, and had no sacerdotal powers left, being cut off from the Church: for if the Baptisms of laics in the Church, who never had sacerdotal powers given, be valid; why not the Baptisms of schismatical Clergy, who once had powers, but had lost them according to Cyprian? The silence therefore of St. Cyprian's adversaries upon this point is a demonstration that no such practice as that of Lay-baptism was known in the Church in his time. But as to St. Cyprian's silence on the other hand, nothing can be inferred to the prejudice of our cause.

It was not necessary for him to say that *Lay-baptism* is allowed to be *invalid*; therefore so is the Baptism of schismatics; because this would have been begging the question, and proving idem per idem. The point was only whether schismatics had forfeited their orders or no; and how impertinent would it have been for St. Cyprian to observe that laymen could not baptize, unless his adversaries had allowed the schismatical Clergy to be no more than laymen, which they never did allow, but still contended they were priests? I say then that St. Cyprian had no occasion to take notice of the invalidity of Lay-baptism; because that, if granted, was wide of the point; since it did not appear that the schismatical Clergy were no more than laymen. But he set himself to prove that they were not Priests, that they had lost their commissions, that they had no sacerdotal power or character left; and that therefore their Baptisms were invalid. What was this, but in effect to prove them no more than laymen, and to reject their Baptisms on that very account; because as to commission, they had no more than laymen, having lost what they had? What does it signify whether he called them laics or no; so long as he said

what was tantamount to it in other words, *viz.* that they were not Clergymen, and consequently, and therefore had no power to baptize? And that this was said over and over by St. Cyprian and his adherents, is too plain to need proof. I expect here to be told, that the main principle on which the Cyprianists grounded their severe doctrine was, that schismatics were cut off from the Church; and therefore all they did was invalid. This I readily own; and it is very consistent with what I said before. For they reasoned thus: schismatics are *foris, extra Ecclesiam*, cut off from the Church; therefore, being divided from the fountain, they can convey nothing spiritual; therefore they have no power left of baptizing, their orders being as it were extinct, void, and null. So that the immediate reason why they could not baptize, was because their sacerdotal power was supposed to be lost and extinct, their right ceasing. But doth not this reason equally affect laymen, who never had this sacerdotal power or right given them? or does not the argument conclude as strongly against those that never had it, as against those that once had, but are supposed to have lost it? St. Basil^e therefore was much in the right in saying, that Cyprian and Firmilian, with their adherents, rejected the Baptisms of schismatics upon this principle, that being cut off from the Church, and become laics, *λαϊκοὶ γενομένοι*, they had lost the power of baptizing. For how does this differ from Cyprian's and Firmilian's own account of the matter, but in this small punctilio: according to St. Basil, they rejected the Baptisms of schismatics, because they judged them to be mere *laics*; according to their own account, they rejected them, because they judged them to be *no Priests, no proper or true Clergy*. I know that other arguments were used in the dispute beside this; yet this was the main argument, and most frequently occurs, except it be that schismatics had lost the power of remitting sins and conferring the Spirit, which almost amounts

* Ad Amphilochium, c. 19.

to the same thing. What I have here asserted is abundantly confirmed from St. Austin's management of this controversy with the Donatists afterwards. The main point, which he there undertakes to prove, and in which he prevails and triumphs over his adversaries at every turn, is, that heresy and schism did not null or vacate orders. For when the Donatists objected to him, that schism deprived them of the right of baptizing, he denies it utterly, and pleads strongly for the *indelible character*^f. And he proves it unanswerably upon a principle which both sides acknowledged, *viz.* that *heresy or schism did not vacate Baptism before received in the Church*. If a Layman by being a schismatic does not forfeit his Baptism, why should a Clergyman be thought to forfeit his orders? "Utrumque enim sacramentum est, et quodam consecratione utrumque homini datur, illud cum baptisatur, illud cum ordinatur, ideoque in Catholica utrumque non licet iterari." And he proceeds to observe at large, that when Clergymen who had deserted the Church were allowed again to officiate, (as they were sometimes,) upon their return they were never reordained, having the priestly character still residing in them. He repeats this argument in another place^g. "Nullus autem eorum negat habere Baptismum etiam apostatas, quibus utique redeuntibus et per pœnitentiam conversis, dum non redditur, amitti non posse judicant,—quod is haberi foris (Baptismus) potest, etiam dari cur non potest? Sacramentum enim Baptismi est, quod habet, qui baptisatur, et sacramentum dandi Baptismi est, quod habet, qui ordinatur. Sicut autem Baptisatus, si ab unitate recesserit, sacramentum Baptismi non amittit; sic etiam ordinatus, si ab unitate recesserit, sacramentum dandi Baptismi non amittit." And it is worth observing what he elsewhere observes of St. Cyprian in these words^h: "Satis ostendit (Cyprianus) facillime se correc-

^f Contra Ep. Parmen. L. ii. c. 13.

^g De Bapt. L. i. c. 1.

^h De Bapt. L. ii. c. 4.

“ turum fuisse sententiam suam, siquis ei demonstraret
 “ Baptismum Christi dari posse ab eis, qui foras exierunt,
 “ quemadmodum amitti non potuit, cum foras exirent,
 “ unde multa jam diximus, nec nos ipsi tale aliquod aude-
 “ remus asserere, nisi universæ Ecclesiæ concordissima
 “ autoritate firmati.”

It was St. Cyprian's own principle, as well as that of the universal Church at all times, that no schism, heresy, or even apostasy, could take away Baptism once validly given; and therefore Cyprian himselfⁱ admitted all that returned to the Church (having been before baptized in it) without rebaptizing, and indeed constantly condemns rebaptization properly so called.

St. Austin argues upon this principle; if Baptism once validly given is alway valid, then orders once validly given are alway valid; therefore can never be *deleted by any heresy, schism, or apostasy*; therefore schismatical Clergymen still retain their *sacerdotal character*, therefore their ministrations, and particularly Baptism, are still valid, inasmuch as they could not lose their right of baptizing given in their ordination. This is so clear all the way in St. Austin's dispute with the Donatists, that he that runs may read it. It is plain then, that he thought the strength of Cyprian's cause consisted in this one mistaken principle, that *schism and heresy nulled orders*: and that if St. Cyprian had been convinced of that mistake, he would have changed his *opinion*. What is this but asserting, or at least insinuating, the very same thing with St. Basil; that Cyprian rejected the baptism of schismatics, because he rejected their *orders*, and looked upon them as to any sacerdotal power or right, as being no more than laymen? Upon the whole then, I venture to say again, and shall give further proof of it before I have done, “ That the question in those times was not whether Lay-
 “ baptisms were null, both sides supposing that as an
 “ undoubted principle, (meaning by Lay-baptisms unau-

ⁱ Ep. lxxi. p. 194.

“thorized Lay-baptisms,) but whether heresy and schism
“nulled orders.”

I have mentioned St. Austin only as a witness of St. Cyprian's sense and meaning, whom he thoroughly studied, and as thoroughly confuted, with respect to that point on which Cyprian grounded his opinion, *viz.* that *heresy or schism nulled orders*; which being removed, there was nothing considerable left to support the doctrine of the *invalidity of heretical or schismatical Baptisms*, if administered in due form with water and in the name of the blessed Trinity.

For the clearer apprehension of Cyprian's principles, I shall just observe to you, wherein he and the other churches with him differed from the more ancient and universal Church with relation to schismatics. He thought they were entirely cut off from the Church, and therefore had nothing common with it, and consequently their Clergy were not Clergy. The other churches thought they were not so entirely cut off, but were parts still, though unsound parts, and retained many things common with the Church; and so were still Christians in a large sense, as much as a baptized drunkard, idolator, atheist, or apostate, is such, or as much as a Judas or a Simon Magus.

Cyprian^k, in consequence of his principle, thought that all the powers of the schismatical Clergy were extinct and dead, as rays separated from the sun, branches broken off from the body of the tree, streams divided from the fountain. But the Catholic Church, if we may allow St. Austin to be her interpreter^l, thought the *waters of Paradise*, the spiritual powers of the Church, might flow in continued streams *beyond Paradise* itself, (by which is meant the Church,) and so spiritual powers might be conveyed and exercised *validly*, though not *savingly*; so as the sacraments should not need to be repeated upon

^k De Unit. Eccl. p. 108. ed. Oxon. Ep. 69, 73. Firm. Ep. 20. 202.

^l Aug. de Bapt. l. iv. c. 1. passim.

their return to the Church, but only to be made effectual to salvation by unity, repentance, and charity. You may observe then, that both of them supposed a necessity of a conveyance of spiritual powers to the administrators to make Baptism valid. And the only question was, whether in heresy or schism theirs was such a conveyance or no. St. Cyprian would not acknowledge any, St. Austin both asserted and proved it. And so the doctrine of the indelible character, which St. Austin and the whole Catholic Church received at that time, was the main, if not the only principle, whereby they confuted St. Cyprian's tenets; whose authority the Donatists made great use of in that controversy against the Catholics. From whence, by the way, I cannot but wonder at Mr. Bingham's strange attempt, strange in a man of his learning and sagacity, to overthrow this so well grounded notion of the indelible character of orders, by which, whatever he pretends, he runs cross to all antiquity, (except the African Church in the time of St. Cyprian, and a few years before and after,) and not only so, but upon that principle leaves the arguments of the Cyprianists and Donatists incapable of a sufficient answer.

But to proceed. I hope I have said enough to show how much Mr. K. is mistaken in his judgment about St. Cyprian; and so might pass fairly to the next authority cited in this controversy: yet, that I may not seem to overlook any thing that he has been pleased to urge on the other side, I shall just take some short notice of what he has excepted, before I go any further.

He thinks it highly probable that Cyprian was in the same sentiments with his master Tertullian. This argument is so inconclusive in itself, and so easily confuted by more than twenty instances, wherein Cyprian was wiser than his master, that I need not enlarge further upon it: beside that Tertullian himself, as I have observed above, was no great friend to Mr. K.'s hypothesis. He observes further, that probably among the heretics or schismatics some must be baptized by laics, and therefore wonders why

St. Cyprian did not make that an argument against their Baptisms, if he disowned Lay-baptism; since that would have been the most plausible argument of all. But in answer to this, I am far from thinking that that argument would have been plausible, or so much as pertinent or proper to support St. Cyprian's cause; because it would not have affected the heretics in general, but only some part of them, *viz.* those that allowed women or laics to baptize. Besides, amongst those, all were not baptized by women or laics, but only some few, very probably an inconsiderable number in comparison. Consider then how Mr. K. would make Cyprian argue. "Among some heretics it may sometimes happen, that persons may have no other Baptisms but from the hands of women or laics; therefore I would have all that come from heretics (though most of them have been baptized by heretical Clergymen) baptized in the Church." Would this have been a conclusion worthy of St. Cyprian? Would this have been the most plausible argument of all, which is so manifestly inconclusive, and would only have exposed the cause? In a word, St. Cyprian's drift and design was to prove all heretical and schismatical Baptisms null; and so there is a plain reason to be given why he would not use Mr. K.'s argument, which is vastly short of the point. I may observe here, by the way, that when the Church came to distinguish between heretics, allowing the Baptisms of some and not of others, they rejected the Baptisms of the Montanists, (among which you may reckon the Pepuzians and Quintilians,) while they allowed of Arians and Macedonians, as great heretics as the other. See Gen. Conc. Constant. can. 7. Yet it was not given as a reason for rejecting their Baptisms, that women and laics among them baptized, because there were other general reasons that were sufficient, which affected them all. But from hence I remark, that it does not appear that the Church ever received the Baptisms of any of these heretics, who allowed laymen or women to baptize; so that nothing can be

thence inferred in favour of Lay-baptism. To what has been said, I may add this, that there might be another such argument, every whit as plausible as this now mentioned; that some heretics, particularly the Montanists^m, did not baptize children, but delayed Baptisms a long time; from whence it might be that several heretics returning might happen to be unbaptized: yet neither did St. Cyprian use that argument; probably because it did not affect all, and such a particular case might be remedied as well as the other, only by demanding certificates of their Baptism before their admission into the Church.

Mr. K. next, in order to weaken the testimony of St. Basil, observes, that he does not give us the words either of Cyprian or Firmilian. But I have already proved that he gives us their sense, which is enough. And sure, if we could not prove it from Cyprian's or Firmilian's own works, so considerable a writer as Basil, who lived about a century after them, and was successor to one of them in his see, might be credited upon his bare word in a matter of testimony, as this is. As to the next exception, that Basil might mean, not Cyprian and Firmilian, but their adherents; I am persuaded upon second thoughts he will be inclined to believe that he meant both; especially if he considers that the tenet there laid down was the principle of the party, as I have observed above, was received by the Donatists, and does not appear to have been completely and solidly answered, before St. Austin undertook it. And then he did not pretend to confute the principle itself, (unless a few diffident conjectures brought in by the by may be called a confutation,) but in the main he confirmed the principle, and denied the inference drawn from it. And this is a sufficient answer to the other subterfuge, that St. Cyprian might perhaps "speak only his private opinion;" for though I readily own that the Church in a few years after determined against his principle of *heresy or schism's nulling orders*:

^m Hist. of Mont. p. 147.

yet they never so determined against his other, that *unauthorized Baptism is null*. And even as to the former principle, though in comparison it was novel, (since Cyprian himself could have it no higher than Agrippinus,) and never was general; yet the world was nearly divided into halves upon it in the time of St. Cyprian, and perhaps afterwards, till the Councils of Arles^a and Nice^o decided the question. What follows in Mr. K. has been answered already. And so I pass on to the Elvira, leaving St. Basil to come in again in due time and place.

COUNCIL OF ELVIRA, A. D. 305. 19 Bishops.

The thirty-eighth canon is what concerns our present dispute. The words you have in Mr. K. His reflection upon them is this. That the Fathers of that Council "do not so much assert, as *suppose and take for granted* the liberty of laymen to baptize in cases of necessity, (*nothing being more common in that age*,) but *restrain* the use of that liberty to such alone of the laity as had not unqualified themselves for holy orders." A strange account this of that Spanish Council, and in those few words no less than three either manifest mistakes, or at least groundless suggestions.

1. That "they supposed or took for granted" the liberty of laymen to baptize, how does this appear? Because they gave them such a liberty, therefore they supposed they had it before. The words of the canon are, "*posse baptizare*," *i. e.* such a person as is there described may baptize: he is impowered or authorized by this present canon to do it; therefore say I, he could not do it before, or else, what need of the canon?

2. "Nothing being more common in that age." Whence could Mr. K. learn this? We have seen what Tertullian's and St. Cyprian's authorities amount to; and shall inquire into the rest in order, who will be found to say no such thing: or does he ground it wholly on this

^a A. D. 314, c. 8.

^o A. D. 325. c. 19.

canon? That is what I imagine; and then it is an inference from what he said before; because the Council took it for granted, therefore it must be "common in that age." But the first is so far from being true, as I have observed, that the very words and intent of the canon rather prove the quite contrary. But he supposes the intent of the canon was,

3. "To restrain the use of some liberty" which they had before. This is very wonderful, that men upon a voyage and under great necessities, which might entitle them to the most favour and indulgence of any, should have a canon made on purpose to abridge them of a liberty, that any man might take at home. But waving the unreasonableness of such a supposition, which seems as absurd as to say, *because you have more occasion for liberty, therefore you shall have less*; I say, waving that, yet how is it reconcileable with the very frame and tenor of the canon, which upon Mr. K.'s scheme should have had a quite different turn, in the form of a prohibition, as thus: "Though it has been a custom for laymen to baptize in cases of necessity; yet in this particular case upon a voyage we strictly forbid it, unless with these provisos, &c." and so it should have been worded *negatively*, "*Non posse quenkum, qui sit bigamus, &c.*" which would, in my humble opinion, have suited much better with the wisdom and accuracy of the *Spanish Fathers*. But not to insist further in so clear a case; the truth is, here is a plain *permission* of Lay-baptism, though under several *restrictions*; and I wonder any man who is concerned for the credit of his cause should endeavour to make any thing more of it, because it betrays a bias, and makes the argument look less considerable than it really is. But to come to the point, we may observe as to this canon,

1. It must be in a case of *extreme necessity*. This gives no umbrage to the baptisms of Dissenting laymen with us, who can plead no such necessity. The administrator *must be one of the faithful, who has his one Bap-*

tism entire, i. e. probably confirmed, and one that is in communion with the Bishop. Therefore necessity alone is no sufficient plea, nor the *inherent right* mentioned by Tertullian; because if they were, there would have been no need of further restrictions. And yet besides the former, he was not to be a bigamist.

2. The most that can be made of this Council is, that the Spanish Fathers thought authorized Lay-baptisms valid; which does not affect our present question, as it has been observed.

3. It does not appear that this was the current doctrine of the Catholic Church at that time, but rather the contrary; because if it had been so, there had been no need of a particular canon to allow it.

4. It is not a testimony of fact, but the judgment only of a private council. However, I am willing to allow that a national council may afford as considerable an evidence of the doctrine and discipline of the Western Church, as St. Basil's single letter can of the Eastern and something more, provided it be meant only of the times when St. Basil wrote, and this Council was held. But then it is to be noted, that it does not appear that the Western Church ever received this canon of the Spanish Council^p, nor was its authority ever urged, as Dr. Brett well observes, by any of the Fathers, who pleaded for the validity of Lay-baptism; whereas the epistle of St. Basil is a canonical epistle, and received by the Greek Church, and as such is put into the canonical code of that Church, as early as the sixth century at least. This so important and material a difference between these two is of great force in the present argument, and should not, I think, have been concealed from the reader. When we quote the epistle of St. Basil, we give the authority of the whole Greek Church, who received it; but when we quote this canon, it is no more than the private opinion of

^p Bingham, Schol. Hist. p. 28.

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one national church ; and yet, to make the best of it, it comes not up to the matter in debate, but is wide of the question, since it allows no Baptism by laymen, but what is *authorized by Bishops*, done in *extreme necessity*, done by one in *communion* with the Church, and qualified for *orders*. Here are no less than four qualifying circumstances ; none of which are applicable to the pretended Baptisms of our Dissenters, about which we are disputing ; and therefore little use can be made of this canon in the present controversy.

COUNCIL OF ARLES, A. D. 314. 33 Bishops.

Having before mentioned this Council, it may be proper to observe, that the eighth canon determines the famous question about rebaptization of heretics ; ordaining, “ that if any one leaves a heresy, and return to the Church, he shall be asked concerning the Creed ; and “ if it be known that he was baptized in the name of the “ Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, imposition of hands only “ shall be given him, that he may receive the Holy Spirit ; but if he does not acknowledge the Trinity, he shall “ be rebaptized.” I shall only observe here, that the question in those days was not about Lay-baptisms, but about the Baptisms of heretical and schismatical Clergy ; and the Church still looking upon their *orders* as good and valid, and therefore operative and effective, even in heresy and schism, (contrary to what the *Cyprianic churches* before, and the *Donatists* then taught,) did of consequence receive their Baptisms, if administered in the name of the Trinity. For if the orders of those who first left the Church were really valid and indelible, why should not all their acts be valid too, and consequently their Ordinations and Baptisms ?

COUNCIL OF NICE, A. D. 325. 300 Bishops.

“ The eighth canon declares, that the Novatian Clergy, “ who return to the Church, may continue in the Clergy

“after having received imposition of hands. This was
 “determining the famous controverted point about the
 “validity of the Orders of schismatical Clergy. The
 “Novatian Clergy were allowed to be Clergy, that is,
 “their Orders were pronounced valid^s.”

This is what I presume St. Austin might have in his eye, when he so often appeals to the Catholic decision of the Church on his side in his disputes with the Donatists; from whence I cannot but again observe, that this was the principal point in debate, and that the other question about heretical and schismatical Baptisms depended entirely upon it. They were looked upon to be either valid or invalid, according as should be judged of the orders of those heretics or schismatics; so that both sides supposed Lay-baptism to be null and void.

The nineteenth canon ordains, that the Paulianists should be rebaptized, and their pretended Clergy not received as Clergy, till rebaptized and ordained in the Church. By Paulianists are meant the followers of Paul of Samosata, who denied Christ's Divinity, and consequently did not baptize in the name of the Trinity: so that this canon agrees exactly with the eighth canon of the Council of Arles cited above; only in both it were more proper to say *baptize*, than *rebaptize*; because no more is meant than that such should be baptized in the Church as had not received true Baptism before, wanting the due form. Rebaptization strictly so called was never admitted in the Catholic Church. About this time comes in the fable of Athanasius's baptizing his playfellows, and the pretended determination of Bishop Alexander upon it. Mr. K. is too conscious to vouch for the truth of it, but he observes, after Mr. Bingham^t, that “Ruffinus and Sozomen
 “do not censure the decree supposed to be made upon
 “it,” nay, he adds of his own, that they seem to applaud it. This is largely and solidly answered by Mr. Lau-

^s Brev. Not. ad Can. p. 61. Bret's Furth. Enq. p. 20. Laur. Suppl. p. 61.

^t Schol. Hist. p. 31, 32.

rence^u. I shall observe from him in short, that Ruffinus, the first relater of Alexander's supposed determination, relates it with such diffidence, as if he did not firmly believe it. Socrates Scholasticus, who comes after him, leaves out the latter part of the story; probably because he thought it not worthy of credit. Sozomen copies the story from Ruffinus, and leaves it as he found it; nothing can be concluded from their passing no censure upon it, but that either they thought it too improbable a story to make any serious censure upon; or that they looked upon it, if true, as done by a Divine instinct, and carrying something supernatural in it, upon which Alexander's determination might be founded; or, lastly, that in a very particular and extraordinary case they chose to suspend their judgment, and so leave it to the reader to think as he pleased of it. Any of these is as probable as what Mr. K. would insinuate; or however are enough to show, that the argument is very weak and inconclusive; or if you are not satisfied, be pleased to consult Mr. L. in the places cited in the margin.

As to Mr. K.'s further remark in relation to St. Jerome, I suppose it will weigh little. Ruffinus's History might not perhaps be published, when St. Jerome wrote his answer to the other's *invectives*; and it was hardly worth the while to renew the quarrel afterwards, especially when he had been bitter enough before. Besides that Ruffinus's History is faulty enough in many other things, which yet were never taken notice of by St. Jerome. You may please to observe Dr. Cave's censure upon it, Hist. Litter. vol. i. p. 218. "In historia isthac concinnanda temporisque ratione digerenda credulum admodum fuisse Ruffinum constat, in fabulas et incertos plebeculæ rumores nimis propensum, quos e triviis et tonstrina petitos literis mandare temere solebat."

I need not have troubled you with so much about this, but that out of respect to your friend, I thought it good

^u Part ii. p. 85, 88.

manners not to pass any thing over without notice, which he had thought worth his remarking. The next writer in order of time may be

HILARY THE ROMAN DEACON, A. D. about 355.

Probably the author of the commentary passing under the name of St. Ambrose. By the way, this Hilary was a stiff and rigid Luciferian; not only rejected the Arian Ordinations, but their Baptisms too, and would receive none without *rebaptizing*, nor so much as communicate with those that received them; which was a step beyond the rigour of the Cyprianists. I suppose a person of this character and principle could be no great favourer of schismatical Lay-baptisms; or if he were, neither his authority nor judgment should weigh much with us. But let us hear what advantage Mr. K. can make of him. He observes, that Hilary "supposes the office of baptizing and "preaching separable," though they are both joined together in the commission. I see no such supposition in Hilary's words; "Non omnis qui baptizat, idoneus "est et Evangelizare." A man may be invested in both these offices together by ordination, and may be fitter to perform one than the other, without supposing them *separable*. The occasion of the observation was what St. Paul had said, that he "was not sent to baptize, but to "preach the Gospel^{*};" *i. e.* not so much for the one as the other; preaching being his principal business. For he was certainly *sent* to baptize as well as to preach, was ordained and empowered equally to both, and so the offices were *inseparable*; but because he could do more good by one than the other, and was peculiarly adapted for it, he might leave the ministration of Baptism, more easily executed, to persons of inferior abilities, and who had less upon their hands than he had. How is this pertinent to our present case? or what would Mr. K. insinuate from it? That Baptism is not a clerical office, nor

* 1 Cor. i. 7.

to be reckoned among the sacerdotal powers? That is what I believe he would almost find in his heart to intimate to us; but it was wiser not to speak out. To proceed. This Pseudo-Ambrose, or Hilary, it seems, tells us, that at first, for the swifter propagation of the Gospel, leave was given to all promiscuously to teach, baptize, and explain the Scriptures; and that too *in Ecclesia*. To all, whom? Not to women, I presume. By whom was this leave given? By God, I suppose, or by his representatives the Apostles; which, if true, (as it is not,) is little to the purpose. Show any such leave for modern Lay-baptisms, and we need not dispute. Well, but what does this counterfeit Ambrose ground his observation upon? Nothing but the instance of Cornelius and his company, whom St. Peter "commanded to be baptized." Here was therefore something more than bare leave. Here was express order from an inspired Apostle. Therefore the persons, whoever they were, that baptized Cornelius and his company, were authorized to do it. Show this of our Dissenting laics. Further, it is not yet proved, nor ever, I believe, will, that those baptizers of Cornelius were laymen. Mr. Bennet thinks he has sufficiently proved them to be of the Clergy^y: if so, the whole argument drawn from hence falls to the ground. But had we no certain proof of that matter, yet I should very much suspect the truth of the observations made by this author, "that at first leave was given to all promiscuously to teach." St. Paul does as good as tell us^z, that all men were not teachers in his time; and why may not the author be as much mistaken in his other point in making all baptizers? St. Clement of Rome, a much more competent witness in the case than an author of the fourth century, takes no notice of this promiscuous company of Laics and Clergy empowered to teach and baptize; but expressly tells us^a, that the Apostles, as they went forth to preach the Gospel,

^y Rights of the Clergy, p. 236.

^z 1 Cor. xii. 29.

^a Clem. 1. Ep. ad Cor. sect. 42.

constituted a Clergy, "appointed the firstfruits of their conversions to be Bishops and Ministers over such as should afterwards believe:" and that the distinction between Clergy and Laity was early settled in the Apostles' days, is so clear from the Acts and the Epistles, that I need not prove it.

This author himself however is pleased to allow, that when the Church was spread "ubi omnia loca complexa est Ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et cætera officia in Ecclesia sunt ordinata^b." Very inaccurately expressed, if he means it of the times of the Apostles, a few years after our Lord's ascension; but perhaps he thought it later. He proceeds, "Ut nullus de Clericis auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, præsumere officium non sibi creditum vel concessum: et cæpit alio ordine et providentia gubernari Ecclesia." Though this author is something mistaken in his chronology, (not fixing the distinction of Clergy and Laity early enough,) yet he reasons very right; that after proper officers were once appointed, none should dare to usurp upon the sacred inclosure. And it is worth observing what he adds; "Hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque Diaconi in populo prædicant, neque Clerici vel laici baptizant." He may be a good witness of what was done in his own time, though a bad reasoner about the practice of the Apostles: so that at last this author, where he talks of matters he knew little of, is of Mr. K.'s side; but when he speaks of matters within his own knowledge, he is of mine. But Mr. K. observes, that the words above cited do not imply that laics were under a *total prohibition* from baptizing in all cases, but that they do not baptize *in populo*. This is his sense, and a pretty strained construction it is, to fetch *in populo* from its proper place, and put it in another not very proper, and which, I am sure, he can never certainly prove to belong to it. But his hypothesis required it, and that solves all. I cannot however but with

^b Com. 1. in Ephes.

some pleasure observe, that this anonymous author, who at first setting out seemed to threaten us terribly, appears at length so gentle and favourable to us, that he can hardly without violence be kept from declaring on our side of the question. But Mr. K. observes, that "much less do his words imply that Lay-baptism is not valid." I am content that the words should not of themselves imply so much: but they certainly do imply, that the practice of the Church was against Lay-baptism, as irregular and sinful at that time; and this is a better argument to prove it invalid, than any the author has furnished us with for the contrary opinion; and is sufficient to show, that what Mr. K. thinks the Council of Eliberis took for granted, and what he takes to have been very common in that age, was not the general sense and practice of the Church fifty years after, nor then neither, since this testimony of Hilary looks backward to the time when he supposed the distinction of the Clergy and Laity first fixed. But enough of this: the next in order may be

PACIAN, A. D. 360^c.

The most remarkable words in him are these: "Generat Christus in Ecclesia per suos sacerdotes—atque ita Christi semen, *i. e.* Dei Spiritus novum hominem alvo matris agitatum, et partu fontis exceptum *manibus sacerdotis* effundit.—Hæc autem compleri alias nequeunt, nisi lavacri et Chrismatis et Antistitis sacramento.—Lavacro peccata purgantur, Chrismate Sanctus Spiritus superfunditur, utraque vero ista *manu et ore Antistitis* impetramus." To these we may add what he says in another place, speaking of the power of baptizing and remitting sins^d. "Totum hoc non aliis quam Apostolis imperatum est;" but at the same time observes, that it must extend to their successors. From the whole we may remark,

^c De Bapt. Biblioth. Patrum, tom. iv. Lugd. p. 318.

^d Ad Sempr. Ep. i. Ibid. p. 307.

1. That the right of baptizing belongs only to persons of sacerdotal character; this right or power being committed to the Apostles only, and therein to those who derive it from them, *viz.* the Episcopal Clergy. This wholly destroys any pretended inherent right of laymen.

2. That the efficacy and validity of the sacrament depends upon the commission of the administrator, "Hæc compleri alias nequeunt." This leaves no room for any plea of pretended necessity without episcopal authority; and so utterly invalidates all unauthorized Lay-baptisms.

3. It is highly probable that laymen in St. Pacian's time had no episcopal power or licence to baptize in any case; because no mention is here made of any such power; the administration is confined to the Sacerdotes.

4. The least that can be supposed from it is, that it was so confined in all ordinary cases: so that whether you consider Dissenters' Baptisms as destitute of the plea of necessity, or as *unauthorized*, not to say *antiepiscopal*, they are by the principles of that age, so far as St. Pacian may be allowed to have understood them, null and void. If you desire to see more about Pacian, and what may be collected from him, I refer you to the second part of Lay-Baptism Inv. p. 99. and shall pass on to

OPTATUS OF MILEVIS, A. D. 368.

What Mr. K. has observed of this author is very just and right. For though I once was of opinion, that Optatus meant no more than our twenty-sixth Article teaches, that "the holiness of the Minister is not of the essence of the sacrament," (which was all that he needed to have said, or should have said,) yet, upon second thoughts, and a more careful perusal of him, I do find that he carries the point further. The words which Mr. K. cites from him, "Non dixit (Salvator) Apostolis, Vos facite, alii non faciant. Quisquis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizaverit, Apostolorum opus implevit;" I say, these words, besides others in that discourse, are too plain to admit of any other construction:

and yet, what you will wonder at perhaps, Optatus's reasoning would necessarily imply, not only that Lay-baptism, even by women, by Jews, Turks, and Pagans *in the name of the Trinity* is valid, but that it is lawful too; since he supposes that by the institution of Baptism any man has an equal right to administer it, as being not excluded by Christ from doing of it. This is contrary to Scripture, to antiquity, to reason, to Mr. K.'s scheme as well as to mine, and is too weak and groundless a notion to deserve any serious confutation. All that can be said is, that the good Father overshot himself, and in order to keep from one extreme in the heat of his dispute, as is very usual, run into another. He had not so clear and distinguishing a head as St. Austin, who engaged in the same cause, but came off much better; and knew how to prove the Baptisms of Catholics valid upon juster principles, *viz.* the *undoubted validity of their ordinations*. Though he likewise sometimes run into the same topics with Optatus, but as it were *ex abundanti*, not being willing to lay the stress of his cause upon them. For he first secured his point from the other topic, and would never lay himself so far open as to rest his cause upon such principles as would in their consequences overthrow all distinction between Clergy and Laity. Those who are for judging most candidly of Optatus are willing to think he designed no more. It was enough for him to prove that the personal faults of God's ministers did not null their orders, or hinder the effects of their ministrations. If he used an argument to prove this, which proved too much, he is blameable for it, and only shows that he reasoned ill, though he meant well.

However, be that as it will, I am not concerned to show, that he or any other always reasoned right. He has honestly given his reasons, and any man that understands them has a right to judge of them. In a word, he spoke the judgment of the Church in his conclusion, that the "Donatists did ill to rebaptize the Catholics," but not in his premises from whence he inferred it, defending

her on such principles as she had never owned. Upon the whole, I allow Mr. K. to have one beside Tertullian before St. Austin favouring his cause, not plainly and in terms, but implicitly and consequently; not as a witness of the doctrine or practice of the Church in his time, which was contrary; but as an author pressed in dispute, and delivering very unwarily "his own private opinion," his unaccurate determination about the "baptism of heretics, and the faith of the recipient" in that sacrament: points which were handled in a quite different manner, and differently determined by the acute St. Austin^f, sufficiently show that he came unprepared to his subject, before he had well considered of it, and engaged in an argument that he was not master of. And now we come to

ST. BASIL, A. D. 370.

He was called in before only as an evidence for Cyprian and the Cyprianic age; now let him speak for himself, and the sense of the Greek Church in his time upon the present case. Mr. K. is of opinion, that if we wrest St. Cyprian from him, "we must give him Basil in exchange." I am far from thinking there is any such necessity for it, hoping to make it appear that Basil is a very clear uncontestable evidence, as any can be, on our side. Mr. K., in order to draw him from us, observes,

1. That Basil took heretical and schismatical priests to be no more than laymen.

2. That notwithstanding he was willing to comply with the custom of the Church in receiving their Baptisms. Here he has so blended and confounded St. Basil's true meaning, that it will take some pains to set it in a true light. The truth is, St. Basil in his own opinion looked upon heretical and schismatical priests as laymen; but yet was willing to submit his judgment in that matter to the judgment and practice of the Church, which did not look upon them generally as laymen, but owned the va-

* C. i. cont. Parmen. p. 37, 38. ed. Par.

^f C. v. p. 91.

lidity of their Orders, and sometimes received them again, permitting them to officiate by virtue of the Orders they had during their heresy or schism; and upon this foot it was that St. Basil was willing to allow their Baptisms; not that he thought Lay-baptism valid, as Mr. K. mistakes the case, but because their Orders were looked upon by the Church as valid, he concluded their Baptisms were so too. To make the whole clearer, let it be observed, that St. Basil, going to declare what Baptisms should be valid, and what not, makes in the first place a distinction between heretics and schismatics; the pretended Baptisms of the former he rejects utterly, and observes, "that Cyprian and Firmilian and their adherents went further, rejecting the Baptisms of the Cathari, or Novatians, who were only schismatics, upon this principle, that they being no longer members of the Church, they had forfeited their Orders, and had no more power to baptize, &c. than mere laymen: yet since the Asiatic churches had received the Baptisms of such schismatics, he was willing to submit his judgment." I suppose he might have the determination of the Nicene Council in his eye, cited above, that declared the Ordinations of the Novatian Clergy valid, and consequently their Baptisms; and so the Church received both. He proceeds next to consider the Baptisms of the Encratitæ, another sort of schismatics, and seems inclined to reject them, but thinks there may be some reasons in some cases why they should be received. At length he concludes, with this remarkable observation: "But I know that we have received our brethren Zoïs and Sartinus, who were of that sect, into the episcopal chair: wherefore we can no longer separate those from the Church who were joined to them, having already made a kind of rule for their communion with us by receiving their Bishops."

You see from hence the rule and standard which St. Basil goes upon as to receiving of schismatical Baptisms: if their Orders were received, he would receive their Baptisms, and makes the latter depend upon the former.

He still adheres to his principle, that Lay-baptism is null; only, because he was willing to think that the Orders of schismatics were good, and that therefore their Baptisms were not Lay-baptisms, he is content to receive them. Can any thing be a clearer evidence for the invalidity of Lay-baptism than this is?

GREGORY NAZIANZEN, A. D. 370.

Mr. K. having only a Latin version of the author, therein, it seems, reads these words. "Tu vero neminem non
"satis dignum et idoneum ad Baptistæ munus obeundum
"existima: qui modo inter pios censeatur, ac non aperte
"condemnatus sit, atque ab Ecclesia alienus—omnes ci-
"tra ullum discrimen vim perficiendæ animæ habere ex-
"istima, qui modo eadem fide sint informati." And these he would interpret in favour of Lay-baptism, though it be clear to a demonstration, from what goes before and after, and from the whole scope, drift, and design of the place, that Gregory meant nothing like it. Read the whole passage, (but in English, because of its length,) and tell me if a man must not wink very hard to mistake it. Gregory is advising his catechumens not to be fanciful or curious in the choice of a minister to baptize them. "Say not thou, a Bishop shall baptize me, and he a Metropolitan, or one of Jerusalem. For grace is not the gift of the place, but of the Spirit. Say not, I will be baptized by one of noble birth, and that it will be a reproach to my quality to be baptized by any other. Say not, if a Presbyter is to baptize thee, that he shall be one that is unmarried, and one of the continent and angelic order; as if thy Baptism were defiled, when administered by another. Make not thyself a judge of the fitness or qualification of the preacher or baptizer; for there is another that judges of these things. Σοὶ δὲ πᾶς ἀξιόπιστος εἰς τὴν κάθαρσιν, μόνον ἔστω τις τῶν ἐγκρίτων καὶ μὴ τῶν προδήλως κατεγνωσμένων, μηδὲ ἐκκλησίας ἀλλότριος. μὴ κρίνε τοὺς κριτάς. Every one is qualified to thee for

* Orat. xl. de Bapt. p. 656. ed. Paris.

“thy purgation, provided only he be one approved, and
 “not under public censure, nor cast off from the Church;
 “judge not thy judges, thou that hast need of healing.
 “Tell me not of the dignity of thy purgators, make no
 “difference between one spiritual father and another; one
 “may be of more or less dignity than another, *but any*
 “*of them is superior to thee*: if there be two seals, the
 “one of brass, the other of iron, but both bearing the
 “same royal image upon them, and so making the same
 “impression upon the wax, what difference can you find
 “between one impression and another? None at all.
 “Οὕτως ἔστω σοὶ πᾶς Βαπτιστής, καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ προέχῃ, ἀλλ’
 “ἡγε τοῦ Βαπτίσματος δύναμις ἴση, καὶ τηλειποιός σοι πᾶς ὁμοίως
 “ὁ τῇ αὐτῇ πίστει μεμορφωμένος. So as to the ministers of
 “Baptism, though one be a better man than another,
 “yet the power and efficacy of the Baptism is the same;
 “and any of them indifferently may give you Baptism,
 “that *is of the same faith with you.*” By which I sup-
 pose he means one that is not an heretic. That all this
 relates only to the Clergy, as the proper administrators
 of Baptism, is, I think, evident beyond dispute;

1. From the comparison made between Bishop and Bishop, and between a Presbyterian and Presbyterian, not between Priest and Laic, or one Laic and another; intimating that men should not be too curious in the choice of their ministers, since all had the same authority.

2. From that it must be a person approved by the Church. Now I hope that Mr. K. will not say, that laymen were approved by the Church as the ministers of Baptism in ordinary cases, to which these words plainly refer.

3. From the administrators being here called the judges, implying some authority over them, which cannot be said of Lay-administrators; but it may truly and rationally be said, that catechumens should not pretend to judge of the qualification of those whom God had appointed to the office. And St. Gregory would argue very weakly and inconclusively on the other supposition.

4. Gregory mentions no administrator lower than a Priest. He begins with Bishops, bidding them not be curious whether this or that Bishop, and then proceeds to Priests, giving the like direction about them. Why did not he go on to Deacons, and so at last to laymen, or even women, upon Mr. K.'s hypothesis? In short, from Gregory's words we may sooner prove that even Deacons did not administer Baptism in his days, than that laymen did. And indeed that I take to have been the standing rule in the Greek Church especially, that none but Priests should ordinarily administer Baptism, nor any lower than Deacons in the greatest necessity; which seems to have been the rule of the Church also in the time of St. Chrysostom^h. Believe me, Sir, these good Fathers were men of true Church principles, and would have sooner laid down their lives, than have betrayed the rights of their order. To proceed.

Mr. K. imagines that Nazianzen "gives such advice as "any of us would give to an adult in the like case." I hope so too: and sure any of us in the like case would advise an adult to go to the minister of his own parish for Baptism, and not to ramble I know not whither for a gifted man to do it; much less should any of us advise him to take up with the first layman he could find, and to ask Baptism of him. But Mr. K. adds, "if any emergency "should drive him to desire Baptism at the hands of a layman, then, &c." but not a tittle is there of any such supposed *emergency* in St. Gregory. He is putting the case, that some may be scrupulous, nice, and humoursome, that any Priest would not satisfy them, unless it were an unmarried Priest, nor that neither, unless he were a Bishop, or even an Archbishop, or a Bishop of such a particular place as Jerusalem, or so and so qualified. Do not you see plainly by this time what an imaginary construction Mr. K. had been making from plain words, that bear quite another meaning, and are as far from coun-

^h De Sacerd. lib. iii. Hom. 61. tom. vii. ed. Savil. 423.

tenancing Lay-baptism, as preaching or praying in a schismatical conventicle? For the purpose: might not you or I advise any person not to have *itching ears*, not to be nice and curious about their ministers, but to be content to edify under any, and submit to such as God has appointed them, without making themselves judges of things and persons beyond their proper sphere: I say, might we not fairly offer such advice without being suspected of any design to commend Lay-preaching? And yet I am confident there would be as much ground for such a supposition, as there is for what Mr. K. would insinuate from St. Gregory about Lay-baptism.

APOSTOLICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

I shall here insert a few passages relating to our subject from the Apostolical Constitutions; not laying any great stress upon them, because of the uncertain authority of that work. “ⁱ As it was not lawful for a stranger “ that was not of the tribe of Levi to offer any thing, or “ approach the altar without a Priest; so do ye nothing “ without the Bishop. For if a man does any thing “ without the Bishop, *εἰς μάτην ποιεῖ αὐτό*, *he does it in vain*. It shall not be imputed to him as any service. “ As Saul, when he had offered sacrifice without Samuel, “ was told, *μεματαίωται σοι*, that it was of no effect; so “ whatever layman does any thing without the Priest, (or “ Bishop,) *μάταια ποιεῖ*, *he does it in vain*.” See Second Part of Lay-Baptism Invalid, p. 117.

“^k We suffer not laics to usurp any of the sacerdotal “ offices, as the Eucharist, Baptism, imposition of hands, “ &c. for no man taketh upon him this honour, but he “ that is called of God^l. For this dignity is given by the “ imposition of hands of the Bishop. But whosoever “ hath it not by commission, but seizes it to himself, “ shall bear the punishment of Ozias.”

All I shall observe from hence is, that no exception or

ⁱ Ap. Constit. lib. ii. c. 27.

^k Ibid. lib. iii. c. 10.

^l Heb. v. 4.

proviso is made for cases of necessity. The prohibition is general and full. The first quotation seems directly to make Lay-baptism invalid; the other is clear for the unlawfulness of it: both suppose Baptism a sacerdotal act, and found it upon sacerdotal powers, conveyed by episcopal ordination; so interpreting the commission to baptize, as to preclude the laity.

ST. JEROME, A. D. 384.

Great dispute has been about the sense and meaning of St. Jerome in relation to the present controversy; both sides contending that he is expressly for them, and both having something very plausible to urge for their respective opinions. I have considered this matter very carefully, and shall state it very fairly and impartially, as far as I am able to judge of it; and perhaps in conclusion Mr. K. himself will have no reason to complain of me. His Dialogue against the Luciferians is what we are to examine. The Luciferians, as is well known, so called from Lucifer Bishop of Caralis, (now Cagliari in Sardinia,) the head of the schism, separated from the Catholic Church, because they had received the Arian Bishops; yet they scrupled not to receive the Arian laymen to communion. St. Jerome undertakes to confute them upon their own principles, by showing them how inconsistent they were in rejecting the Bishops, and yet receiving the laics, and how they must upon their own principles either be obliged to receive or reject both. The Luciferians pretended that the Arian Bishops were by their heresy and crimes utterly disabled from acting *in sacris* to any purpose, that their ministrations were ineffectual, their light extinguished, their powers deleted, in a word, they unbishoped them. St. Jerome confutes their pretences by this single argument; that since they allowed their Baptisms, they must of consequence admit of their other sacerdotal ministrations as effectual and valid, and therefore own their character not to be extinct, nor their

sacerdotal powers deleted. The most remarkable words of the Dialogue to this purpose are the following :

^m " Quamobrem, oro te, aut sacrificandi ei licentiam tribuas, cujus baptisma probas, aut reprobas ejus baptismum, quem non existimas sacerdotem."

ⁿ " Arianus baptizat, ergo Episcopus est : non baptizat : tu refuta laicum, et ego non recipio sacerdotem."

^o " Tu eum Episcopum probas, quia ab eo recipis baptismum—Christianus non est, si non habuerit sacerdotem, qui eum faceret Christianum."

From these words, and from the whole scope and drift of St. Jerome's argument, Dr. Forbes and Mr. Reeves, and after them Dr. Brett and Mr. Laurence, thought it reasonable to assert, that the invalidity of Lay-baptism was the undoubted principle upon which the *orthodox* confuted the Luciferians in St. Jerome's times. For it is very plain, that the validity of the Arian Baptisms is here made an argument of the *sacred character* still residing in the Arian Bishops; from whence it may seem reasonable to infer, that according to the principles of that age the validity of Baptism depends upon the *sacred character*, and consequently *Lay-baptism is invalid*. St. Jerome seems plainly to suppose a reciprocal connection between the validity of Baptism, and the validity of the Orders of the baptizer; and it is very certain, that the Donatists afterwards laid a great stress upon this principle in their disputes against the Catholics, which made St. Austin labour hard to prove the validity of Orders once given, and that they could never be extinct or deleted afterwards, in order to establish the validity of the Baptisms of the Catholics. And it is worth remarking what he says relating to Fælicianus and those baptized by him, whom the Donatists received inconsistently with their usual stiffness and severity.

^m Dial. adv. Lucif. i. c. 2.

ⁿ Cap. 5.

^o Ibid.

^p Cont. Ep. Parm. lib. ii. c. 13.

“ In honore quippe suo sicut exierat, ita receptus est
 “ cum his omnibus quos ipse foris positus baptizavit,
 “ nullo eorum rebaptizato: quia si aliquem eorum, quos
 “ foris baptizaverat, rebaptizandum esse censerent, judi-
 “ carent eum amississe jus dandi, cum foris esset; et
 “ propterea consequens erat, ut ipsum quoque iterum or-
 “ dinarent, si illos iterum baptizarent.”

You may please to observe from hence, that the Dona-
 tists in St. Austin's time founded the validity of Baptism
 upon the right of the administrator. If the baptizer had
 not *jus dandi*, a right to give Baptism, it was looked upon
 as null. By the *jus dandi*, they meant the power received
 in ordination; for so St. Austin understands and explains
 it in the place cited, and in the other parts of the chap-
 ter. Therefore they founded the validity of Baptism on
 the validity of the baptizer's Orders; and therefore Lay-
 baptism in ordinary cases at least, upon their principles,
 was null and void. Now if you please to compare thus
 far the principle of the Donatists with what we have
 seen from Cyprian and Basil before, and now again from
 Jerome; you can hardly believe otherwise, than that that
 had been a standing rule of the Church at least in ordi-
 nary cases; and that the Donatists were so far Catholic
 in their principles, though they drew wrong conclusions
 from them. I know St. Austin endeavoured to resolve
 the validity of Baptism in another principle, as being
 Christ's Baptism if done in due form by any adminis-
 trator. But this was *ex abundanti*, more than he needed
 to have done, having before sufficiently vindicated the va-
 lidity of heretical or schismatical Orders, which was the
 main point. And what he adds further is a new notion
 of his own, unless Optatus may be said to have broached
 it before him. St. Jerome indeed in this very Dialogue
 has these words in relation to Baptism: “ Quod fre-
 “ quenter, si tamen necessitas cogit, scimus etiam licere
 “ laicis, ut enim accipit quis ita et dare potest.” A very
 wise reason! I hope the Church had a better, if that
 were her practice. However, I will not say, with Dr.

Brett and Mr. Laurence, that this was a slip of his pen, and inconsistent with the rest of the Dialogue. I will suppose that the practice of Lay-baptism in cases of necessity had got some footing in the Latin Church about his time. But then I say it was by the permission of the Bishops, whenever it was, and was not *unauthorized Lay-baptism*, nor was any such permitted in ordinary cases, or allowed to be valid: and so to make St. Jerome coherent and consistent, he might perhaps think Lay-baptism unauthorized, and in ordinary cases invalid; and yet allow of the validity of authorized Lay-baptism in cases extraordinary; or else, he might think that the *sacerdotium laici*, which he speaks of, might take place in such circumstances, and consistently enough allow laymen, when necessity makes them Priests, as he seems to imagine, to execute the priestly function: or, in short, he might suppose Lay-baptism *lawful*, and therefore *valid*, when permitted by the Church in case of necessity; and yet think it *unlawful*, and therefore *invalid*, in other cases. And indeed I take it for a certain truth, which I shall explain and prove in the sequel, that wherever Baptism is unlawful in the *whole act*, not circumstantially, but essentially unlawful, it is also invalid.

Thus I think the good Father is clear enough from contradiction; and yet nothing can be drawn from him in favour of our Dissenters' Baptisms, which have no permission from the Church, nor any plea of necessity: and therefore we are still as much at a loss as ever to find any principle of the ancient Catholic Church whereon to found their validity. And now let us take leave of St. Jerome, and come to

ST. AUSTIN, A. D. 400.

I have mentioned this Father more than once already. I shall now lay before you so much out of him, as may give you a sufficient idea of the principle he went upon. It was objected to him by the Donatists, that heretics or schismatics had forfeited their Orders, and therefore could

not validly baptize. Now observe how he answers this objection.

1. He absolutely denies the very supposition on which the objection was founded^q, proving that heresy and schism did not vacate Orders for these reasons, because neither heresy nor schism could vacate Baptism once truly given; and he thought there was a plain analogy between the *sacrament*, as he calls it, of Orders, and that of Baptism^r.

Because the Catholic Church always thought that Orders once truly given could never be deleted by any heresy or schism, or indeed by any thing. And here he observes, that if any of the heretical or schismatical Clergy upon their return to the Church were allowed to officiate again as Clergy, they were admitted without any new ordination; a plain argument that heresy or schism had not deleted their Orders: nay he observes further, that though they were often not allowed to officiate, but only admitted to Lay-communion; yet even then they were not looked upon as laymen, and therefore did not submit to penance and receive imposition of hands, which was the usual discipline for returning laics. "Non eis ipsa ordinationis sacramenta detrahuntur, sed manent super eos; ideoque non eis in populo manus imponitur, ne non homini sed ipsi sacramento fiat injuria." To this answer, though full, plain and unexceptionable, and agreeable to the known rules and practice of the Catholic Church, he subjoins another of his own with great diffidence and modesty.

2. He denies the consequence, that Baptism must necessarily be null upon supposition that heresy or schism did vacate orders; and he brings it in as it were by the by, and *ex abundanti*.

"Quamquam etsi laicus aliquis pereunti dederit (Baptismum) necessitate compulsus, quod cum ipse accipe-

^q Contr. Ep. Parm. lib. ii. c. 13.

^r Contr. Ep. Parm. lib. ii. c. 13. De Bapt. lib. i. c. 12. et alibi passim.

“ret, quomodo dandum esset addidicit, nescio an pie quis-
 “quam dixerit esse repetendum?”

Does this look as if Lay-baptism even in cases of necessity was a customary practice in the Church in his time? Would he have spoke with such diffidence, “nescio an pie?” would not he rather have urged the authority and custom of the Church, as in the case before mentioned, and have said, instead of *nescio an pie*, *certe impie* or *temere*? But he is here offering his own private conjecture in a case that had not been expressly determined in any council, though the reason of the thing, and the custom of the Church, were sufficiently against him. He has neither rule nor instance to plead in his behalf, and therefore endeavours to supply that want by his own private reason; and so he goes on to give his opinion that Lay-baptism may be valid even in ordinary cases, though irregular and sinful, upon this principle, “quod datum fuerit, non potest dici non datum:” which is either begging the question, or arguing thus; A person is washed in the name of the Trinity, therefore he is baptized. After he had wandered a while in the dark about this question, indulging too far his own private conjectures, he returns at length to his first answer, as being more just and solid, and abides by it; insisting again upon it, that heretical or schismatical Clergy had not lost their Orders; and he appeals to the decision of the whole Christian world in proof of his assertion, and so goes on triumphantly on that point to the end of the chapter. By the way, it is very apparent, that St. Austin never imagined that the Baptisms of the schismatical or heretical Clergy were Lay-baptisms, nor that the Council of Arles, or Nice, or any other, meant any such thing. That was what none but the Donatists pretended in that time, or since, till Mr. B. was pleased to oblige the world with the second part of his Scholastical History, which I heartily wish, for his own sake, and for the sake of his other excellent works, he had never published, so much to the discredit of himself and them. But to proceed.

It may be observed of St. Austin, that though at first in his disputes with the Donatists he was very modest and diffident in proposing any of his own private conjectures, keeping close for the most part to the known rules and principles of the Church; yet afterwards in the progress of the dispute, as men are apt especially when flushed with victory to grow both warmer and bolder, he ventured to proceed further, and to lay it down for a maxim, that any Baptism was good by whomsoever administered in the form of words, in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This was a short and easy solution for any difficulty; and were it as solid too, would justify all the lengths of Popery in the matter of Baptism, would not only prove that heretics or schismatics, whether of the Clergy or Laity, may validly baptize, but that women and children, and even Jews, Turks, and Pagans, either seriously or in sport and mockery, may administer true Baptism. But as that maxim of his was novel, and only founded on this weak pretence, that it is Christ's Baptism whenever it is administered in his form, (which is nothing but a *petitio principii*, or taking for granted the thing to be proved,) I shall not think it worth the while to say any thing farther to it: only observing this, that St. Austin, in his management of the controversy with the Donatists, says enough to silence and confound his adversaries without it. He proves unanswerably, that the validity of the sacraments does not depend upon any thing uncertain and precarious, as the personal qualifications of the minister, either known or secret, and neither the intention of the minister, nor his orthodoxy, nor his life and manners, can come into the question. But to infer further, that the validity of the sacraments depends entirely upon God, and not at all upon the administrator, is carrying the point too far; is dissolving all rule and order in the Church; is frustrating Christ's commission to his Apostles, and melting down all distinction between Clergy and Laity. He might safely enough have said, and consistent with his other principles, that God had tied down

the efficacy and validity of his sacraments to a regular and authorized ministry, acting in his name and by his commission. This hypothesis is not uncertain and precarious, but clear, certain, and evident, by a perpetual succession from the times of the Apostles; which can never fail, while the Church stands, or the world lasts. This secures all that St. Austin was contending for, and at the same time keeps up the honour and respect due to God's holy ordinances and institutions. In short, it is a middle way between the two extremes; ascertaining to us the validity of the sacraments without any diminution of the priesthood, or any breach of rules and orders. And here I might dismiss St. Austin, but perhaps Mr. K. may expect I should take notice of what he has said in relation to him, which I shall do in short.

He can hardly believe it possible "that St. Austin should be ignorant what was the practice of the Church in his time:" nor do I think it possible, or however not likely; and his proposing his opinion so modestly and with so much diffidence is to me a plain argument of it. But Mr. K. adds, that he would not "go about to innovate any thing in the rituals or discipline of the Church." Truly I believe not, upon his own authority. But he might nevertheless humbly offer his own private opinion; and it is no strange thing for great men to have some particular fancies to themselves, or to think out of the common road; and there is no harm in it generally, if they be but modest and humble withal, and be willing to submit to lawful authority and decisions of the Church. However it is fact, that St. Austin had his *nostrums* and particular opinions. He often left the notions of his predecessors to follow a path wholly new, as Dupin has judiciously observed of him, applying to him the character that Cicero gives of himself, that he was *magnus opinator*. After all, suppose it could not be proved, that the invalidity of Lay-baptism was the doctrine of the Church in St. Austin's time, must it therefore follow that they held the contrary opinion? Might not they be silent as to either

side of the question, or think little of it, having no occasion to dispute it? It is as plain and clear as possible from St. Austin, that he knew of no determination of the Church in favour of Lay-baptism. He would never have hesitated, as he does upon the case, had he known of any such decision, but would have appealed to the declared judgment and practice of the Church, as he does in many other cases, had there been the least ground or pretence for it. It is enough then for us to say, that in St. Austin's time there was no rule of the Church, no warrant for the validity of Lay-baptism. They that say there was, ought to prove it, and not to put it upon us to prove that the Church had determined expressly against it. We have enough from Scripture and from the reason of the thing for our side of the question, though antiquity had said nothing of it: and therefore they who make their boast of the ancients should show plainly that the ancients are for them; otherwise their cause drops, and has nothing left to support it. And yet when they come to speak of the ancients, the most that is commonly attempted is, to show that they have not spoken expressly on our side; which yet they can never show; but if they could, this would be only an artful way of turning the tables upon us, and, instead of proving their pretences good, is presuming groundlessly they are so without proof, unless we demonstrate them to be false. So that the greatest pretences to antiquity, when they come to be examined, amount only to this; that the Church has not in every age determined expressly against them in this point; when they ought to have shown that it always determined for them; or that it did so at least some time or other within the first six hundred years, which I am persuaded they can never prove.

But I must not forget to take notice of what Mr. K. subjoins, that he has *positive evidence* from St. Austin, that Lay-baptism in cases of necessity was a thing frequently practised. Let us see what this *positive evidence* is; for I much suspect it: the words are, "Etiam laicos

“solere dare sacramentum quod acceperunt solemus au-
 “dire.” It seems some reports were spread abroad, and
 came to St. Austin’s ear, (whether true or false is not
 said,) that laymen (in cases of necessity) were somewhere
 used to baptize. Suppose I deny the truth of the reports,
 how will any man prove it? And what becomes of the
positive evidence? Suppose I grant it; what does it sig-
 nify with regard to the general sense and practice of the
 Church, when it is not told, either how many laics were
 concerned in the practice, nor by what authority? Yet
 Mr. K. immediately advances this hearsay story into a
custom, (of the Church, I suppose, he means,) and tells
 us that St. Austin adds, that the custom took its rise
 from apostolical tradition. This, I confess, amazed and
 confounded me. What, St. Austin say it! *Believe it who*
can that knows St. Austin. Pray let him speak for him-
 self, if the words be really St. Austin’s; “Sanctum est
 “Baptisma per seipsum, quod datum est in nomine Patris
 “et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, ita ut in eodem sacramento
 “sit etiam autoritas traditionis per Dominum nostrum ad
 “Apostolos; per illos autem ad Episcopos et alios sacer-
 “dotes, vel etiam laicos Christianos ab eadem stirpe et
 “origine venientes.” You see the word *traditionis*, which
 there signifies Christ’s commission; and all that can possi-
 bly be drawn from the words is, that Bishops act by vir-
 tue of that commission, and may communicate the like
 power to laymen; which is an assertion precarious enough.
 But where does Mr. K. find that the custom of Lay-bap-
 tism took its rise from apostolical tradition? Where is
 there a word of *custom* or *tradition* in his sense in the
 whole quotation? To do Mr. K. justice, I believe Mr.
 Bingham led him into his mistake, who has these words
 relating to this passage of St. Austin. “‘This custom
 “he founds upon authority descended by Bishops from
 “the Apostles,” which being a little crudely and ob-

^s Apud Grat. de Consecrat. dist. iv. c. 36.

^t First Part of Schol. Hist. p. 35.

scurely expressed, might lead a man to say what Mr. K. does; though their assertions are very different from one another, and are both wide of the sense of the author, who has not a syllable about any thing of *custom* in the passage quoted; which notwithstanding is the most material word of all, upon which the argument depends. Having now done with St. Austin, we may take our leave of the ancients, after we have summed up their evidence.

1. As to authorized Lay-baptism in cases of necessity, you may observe, there is some plea for it in antiquity, from Tertullian, the Council of Eliberis, St. Jerome, and St. Austin; but all together make no proof of the *general sense and practice of the Church* in favour of it, but rather the contrary implicitly; as Cyprian, Basil, Pacian, and the Apostolic Constitutions do more plainly. And yet had all these authorities been for Lay-baptism in cases of necessity authorized by Bishops, it would make little for Mr. K.'s purpose, being wide of the question.

2. As to unauthorized Lay-baptism in ordinary cases, which is the point in dispute, there are Cyprian, Basil, Pacian, directly and expressly against its being valid; and the rest implicitly and consequentially; not one directly or implicitly for it, except Optatus and St. Austin; and that not as witnesses of the Church's general sense or practice, but as disputants in a nice and difficult controversy; or as private Doctors. However I am willing to admit, though not easy to be proved, that the doctrine of Lay-baptism's being valid in some cases crept gradually into the Western Church from the time of St. Austin, and, like other corruptions of Popery, came to its height in the following dark centuries; though it does not appear that it ever prevailed in the Greek Church so early as the twelfth century. However I do not think it material to make any nice inquiry into the notions or practices of later ages, which must stand or fall by the ancients, and are of small authority without them.

To what has been said upon particular Fathers, I shall

here subjoin two probable presumptive proofs to confirm the foregoing observations.

I. The first assertion I lay down is this ; that there was no universal standing principle among the ancients, whereon to found the validity of Lay-baptism.

II. There were some general standing principles universally held, which do by consequence overthrow it.

I. As to the first point ; in proof of it I shall examine the chief principles, that can be supposed to have any weight in the case, and show why I think none of them were universally held.

1. *The plea of necessity* could not be a principle universally held as sufficient to warrant Lay-baptism, or to make it valid ; for we find no mention of it in the earliest writers, and but little afterwards. Besides that the Baptism of women was always absolutely disallowed by all, as well as that of Jews and Pagans ; which shows that necessity alone was not thought sufficient ; and Tertullian, who is the first that mentions it, yet does not found the validity of Lay-baptism upon that only, but upon the inherent right, or baptismal priesthood of laymen.

2. That principle of inherent right of priesthood seems to bid as fair as any, several of the early writers having mentioned it besides Tertullian and Jerome. But there lies this presumption against the ancients giving universally into that notion, that they never allowed the Eucharist to be consecrated by laics in any case of necessity ; which they certainly would have done, as well as Tertullian, had they been of the same principle with him as to the inherent right of priesthood. For indeed it would have been a plain necessary consequence resulting from it.

3. The third principle upon which St. Austin founds the validity of Lay-baptism after Optatus, viz. *its being Christ's Baptism*, entirely God's and not man's, and therefore not depending at all on the administrator, is no

principle of the primitive Church. We find no author mentioning it before the two just named. We find as many against it, as confine the administration to the Clergy only. Most of the ancients held principles that were inconsistent with it; such as utterly disallowed of women's or Pagan's Baptism; such as held Lay-ordination invalid, which indeed were all to a man; and yet St. Austin's principle would make that as valid as the other. The like may be said of Lay-consecration of the Eucharist; which all the ancients with one voice reject. And yet the same reasons that St. Austin gives for Lay-baptism upon that principle would nearly affect the other too.

4. Another principle, mentioned by St. Austin, is, *quod datum datum*; and therefore Lay-baptism is Baptism, and must be valid. This would equally prove that Orders given by laics are nevertheless Orders; and consecration of the Eucharist by laics is nevertheless consecration; which is contrary to all antiquity, as was before observed.

5. Another principle, which Tertullian, Jerome, and Austin advance, is, that every one may give what he himself has received; and therefore every baptized person may baptize. This we never meet with in many of the earliest; nor could they hold it consistently with their other principles, that a Deacon could not make a Deacon, nor a Priest a Priest, nor a layman give the Eucharist, though he may receive it.

6. Another principle, whereon some would found the validity of Lay-baptism, is, the permission or authority of the Church, or of the Bishops, as in the Council of Eliberis. There is the most to be said for this of any. Yet there is no proof that the general sense or practice of the ancient Church ever countenanced it. St. Austin seems to have known nothing of it. It has never been shown, nor, I believe, ever will be, that this principle was general or universal, or if it could, it does not affect our present question, as has been often observed.

7. The last principle which seems to prevail most now, and is contended for by Mr. K., is, that a subsequent act

or ratification of the Church supplies all deficiencies, and renders any pretended Baptism valid. This I do not meet with in any of the ancients, I mean Catholic ancients. I know the Luciferians had a notion very like it, and were confuted by St. Jerome. None ever that I know of among the orthodox pretended that any subsequent act of the Church could make that valid which was not so. It might make Baptism before valid, effectual, and saving; that is the most the ancients ever thought of it. Confirmation was a distinct thing from Baptism, and not an essential of it; and it was always supposed that Baptism was complete and entire as to essentials without it. Confirmation helped to improve and advance what was begun in Baptism; and the same may be said of the Eucharist. And so either, or both, might contribute to make Baptism more effectual to the purposes of salvation, but not to supply any thing wanting in the essentials of it. Having seen then, that there was no general universal principle, whereon to found the validity of Lay-baptism in the ancient Church, I beg leave to infer from hence, that the ancients never universally held any such doctrine, or gave into such practice; unless you would imagine they might come into it by apostolical tradition, without any other reason; which it will be time enough to consider, as soon as any one of the ancients can be brought to vouch for any such tradition. I proceed now to show,

II. That there were some general standing principles almost, or entirely universally held by the ancients, which seem by consequence, or virtually or implicitly, to overthrow the pretended validity of Lay-baptism.

I. I observe that laymen were absolutely forbid to intermeddle in sacred offices, as we learn from the earliest Christian writers, *no proviso* being inserted for cases of necessity. Lay-baptism therefore was certainly upon these principles sinful and criminal, and therefore probably null. And it is very observable, that not one writer before St. Austin ever thought Lay-baptism valid, but

what thought it lawful too, and so probably founded its validity upon the supposed legality of it. This were easy to show of Tertullian, the Council of Elvira, Optatus, Jerome, or any other. If it be objected, that the Church admitted the Baptisms of degraded clerks, heretics, and schismatics, and yet did not think it lawful for them to baptize, having forbid them the exercise of the sacred function; I must distinguish between what is essentially and what is circumstantially unlawful; and between an absolute prohibition to act at all, or only to act in such and such circumstances. It is well and judiciously said by St. Austin, with respect to the Baptisms of such persons, "Non eis dicimus, Nolite dare, sed Nolite in schismate dare." The Church thought such Baptisms to be legal, authorized, and warrantable in the main; and only illegal, unauthorized, and criminal in some particular circumstances. That is, in short, they were what the persons had a right to do, and were so far lawful, and therefore valid; but at the same time they should not have been done in that manner. Or to be yet plainer, the fault lay not in the exercise of the sacerdotal function abstractedly considered, for they were priests; but in the heresy, schism, &c. It was therefore a rule of the Church, as far as appears, till St. Austin, that no Baptism was valid, but what was for the main lawful, or what the baptizer had a right to execute in the general, though forbid to do it in some peculiar circumstances. Seeing therefore that laymen were entirely and absolutely forbidden to intermeddle with the sacred offices by the earliest Christian writers, as persons who had no right at all to do it, no title or claim to such offices, either in whole or in part; I must conclude from thence, that the Church upon these principles looked upon all pretended Lay-administrations as null and void.

2. Another avowed standing principle of the primitive Catholic Church was, that the Christian Clergy were proper priests, or that their priesthood was as well mystical as mediatory, as truly and properly as the Levitical

priesthood, though not of the same kind or order. For proof of this I refer you to Mr. Dodwell *Of one Altar, &c.* and *De Jure Laico Sacerd.* p. 30. Dr. Hicks's *Christian Priesthood Asserted*, chap. ii. sect. 4. p. 315. Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*. From this principle I infer, that no ministration can be valid that is not sacerdotal, or is not performed by God's designation, commission, or appointment. The sacrament loses all its virtue and efficacy, or rather is no sacrament, if administered by profane unauthorized hands. This argument against the validity of Lay-baptism appeared so strong and forcible to a learned writer^u, who was in the main of Mr. K.'s opinion, that he could find no other way of getting clear of it, but by denying the Christian Clergy to be proper Priests, against all antiquity. And indeed it seems to me very plain, that if the Clergy act *in sacris*, as God's peculiar priests, proxies, or representatives; the validity of the sacraments must depend upon God's commission, which laymen are supposed to want. If therefore the primitive Church took Baptism to be a sacerdotal act, and the Clergy to be proper Priests, both which are very certain, they did by consequence disallow and invalidate all pretended Baptisms by laymen.

3. Another general prevailing principle of the primitive Church was, that the consecration of the Eucharist was so entirely a clerical act, that there could be no such thing as Lay-consecration. If you want to see this proved, I refer you to the forementioned authors, Dodwell, Hicks, and Johnson. Now the inference drawn from it is, that Lay-consecration of water, or of the person baptized in it, (*i. e.* Lay-baptism,) must upon that principle be null too; since the reason is much the same in both. If the Eucharist be a sacrament, so is Baptism; if the virtue and efficacy of the Eucharist depend upon Christ's commission given to the administrator, why should not the virtue and efficacy (by which I mean the

^u Vind. of Def. of Dr. Stillingfleet, p. 350.

same with the validity) of Baptism depend upon the commission also? or if the latter be supposed valid without commission, why should not the former also? ^x Further, that there is a mysterious change wrought upon the bread and wine in the Eucharist upon the prayer of invocation, is the unanimous doctrine of the ancients; ^y and the like mysterious change in Baptism upon the water by the prayer of invocation is taught by the ancients also. Seeing then there is so plain resemblance and analogy between the two sacraments, both being of a very sublime and mysterious nature, and therefore proper to be administered only by sacred hands; it would be very strange, that the ancients should think one appropriate to the Clergy, and not the other. It seems to have been a disputed point among the ancients, whether Deacons could baptize; and that they did not do it ordinarily is plain enough from many authorities cited by Mr. Bingham ^z; which I do not so much wonder at, as that they ever were allowed to do it at all. But I suppose the Scripture instances of Philip and Ananias, and the ancients looking upon Deacons ^a as *priests of the third order*, might reconcile them to it. But then this makes nothing for the Baptisms of laics. There are no Scripture instances of these, nor are they in any strict sense Priests.

4. Another general principle of the ancients was, that Lay-ordination was null and void. This need not be proved directly. It is very certain, that no pretended ordination less than episcopal was ever admitted as valid in the Christian Church; and therefore certainly there could be no such thing as Lay-ordination. And does not this principle equally affect Lay-baptism? Why cannot laics ordain, but because they have no commission or authority to do so? And there is the very same objection lies against their baptizing. It were easy to show, that most

^x See Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice.

^y See Bing. Orig. vol. iv. chap. 10.

^z Schol. Hist. part i. p. 12. Hieron. Ep.

^a Optatus, lib. i.

of the arguments brought in vindication of Lay-baptism would be equally forcible in favour of Lay-ordination. For the purpose; if it be so, that Baptism is God's act, so is ordination; if necessity be pleaded in the former, so it may happen also in the latter; if *quod datum datum* be a rule, it is as good for one as for the other; if a subsequent ratification of the Church would do in pretended Baptism, it might as well in pretended Ordination; and so the ancients need not have ordained any that had been pretendedly ordained before, but only have received them. Since therefore there appears the same or the like reasons for nulling Lay-baptisms as for Lay-ordinations; and since the latter was the undoubted practice of the Church, it may reasonably be inferred, that the general practice and judgment of the Church was alike in both.

These may serve as probable arguments, or indirect proofs of what I am contending for; and are, I think, far more considerable than any thing that I have yet seen urged from the ancients in favour of the contrary opinion. However, I lay not the stress of the cause upon them, because it does not want them. Two inferences I draw from the whole.

1. That it is very certain that the *general sense and practice of the primitive Church* did not countenance or establish the validity of Lay-baptism.

2. It is more than probable, that they did both in judgment and practice favour the direct contrary to it. And the chief, if not only reason why we have not fuller and more repeated proofs of it is, because the matter came not into dispute; no laics ever attempting to baptize, except among heretics; nor then without the countenance and approbation of the Bishops. For any company of laics to pretend to be a church, or to act independently upon their Bishops, would have been thought as absurd and strange among the ancients, as if so many women only had pretended to be successors to the Apostles, and to ordain, baptize, and teach, &c.—Pretty remarkable are the words of St. Jerome, in relation to Hilary the

Roman *Deacon*^c, who was therefore a degree above a laic.

“ Hilarius, cum Diaconus ab Ecclesia recesserit, solus-
 “ que, ut putat, turba sit mundi, neque Eucharistiam con-
 “ ficere potest, Episcopos et Presbyteros non habens, ne-
 “ que Baptisma sine Eucharistia tradere; et cum jam
 “ homo mortuus sit, cum homine pariter interiit et secta,
 “ quia post se nullum Clericum Diaconus potuit ordinare,
 “ *Ecclesia autem non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes.*”

But it is time now to return to Mr. K. I had said in my letter, that I should be thankful for one *plain* authority (except Tertullian) for the validity of Lay-baptism, *as such*, before St. Austin. Upon this Mr. K. thinks he has a just claim to my thanks, if he knew but what “ I meant by the restriction (as such).” That is easily known: I meant *unauthorized* Lay-baptism. If any be authorized by Bishops, and thereupon be valid, it must be on this account, that it is an act of the Bishops by lay hands, and so a *clerical* act interpretatively, and no properly a lay act. Whether such acts may justly claim the benefit of such an interpretation, and whether that would make them valid, I dispute not here; it being foreign to our debate about Lay-baptism as such, *i. e.* unauthorized Lay-baptism, such as that of our Dissenters undoubtedly is: and Mr. K. has not yet brought any one plain authority before St. Austin for such Baptism. Pseud-Ambrose’s notion has been shown to be a gross mistake of that author. Gregory Nazianzen has not a word to the purpose, but means a quite different thing. Ruffinus only gives you a hearsay story of a very improbable fact. The Eliberitan Council, and perhaps Jerome, are to be understood of authorized Baptism. Optatus is no *plain* authority; * it being highly improbable that he meant the words in that gross sense (attended with all its consequences) in which Mr. K. takes him. It is plain, however, that he supposes no Baptism valid, but what he

* Dial. adv. Lucif.

supposes lawful. St. Austin is the first that ever presumed to think that illegal unauthorized Lay-baptisms are valid; the first that ever spoke home to the purpose on Mr. K.'s side of the question; and his reasons on which he built it have been shown to be weak enough.

Mr. K. has been pleased to promise me his thanks, "if within a thousand years after Christ I produce either one single canon of any council to confront that of the Eliberitan Fathers, or so much as a testimony of one single Father, that speaks home to his side of the question." By the way, it is their business to produce Councils and Fathers for the validity of unauthorized Lay-Baptism, who assert it. *Affirmanti incumbit probatio*. It would be but small satisfaction in a case of everlasting concern to a considerate man to be told that Fathers and Councils had not expressly declared against it, while there appears little or no ground any where for it. However, Sir, I think, besides Scripture and the reason of the thing, the Apostolical Constitutions, the Cyprianists, and St. Basil, have *expressly* declared against it; and the main stream of Christian writers before St. Austin, *implicitly*. This is enough, especially against a thing which because of the great moment of it ought not to be admitted without clear and certain proof on that side. Let us see how they can answer it, who would rest men's salvation upon such weak and precarious foundations; especially when the remedy, the certain remedy, is near at hand, and may be easily applied. I have often observed that the Eliberitan Council is not pertinent to the case of unauthorized Lay-baptisms; or if it was, such a particular case as that was not of weight sufficient to rest a cause of such importance upon. Mr. K. says further, that he will be thankful "for so much as an instance within that period, (a thousand years,) of any one Christian re-baptized by or in an episcopal church, merely upon account of his having been before only baptized by lay hands." But we should first have an instance, I do not say within that period, but within five or six hundred

years after Christ, of any being so baptized and received into the Church without another Baptism. (I take Baptism here in the large sense.) Strictly speaking, neither Catholics nor heretics (except the Marcionites) ever allowed a second Baptism; but when they gave a second, they understood the first to be none.

Mr. K. says, "Instances may be produced of the Church's receiving the Baptisms of those, whose Ordinations she had before declared void." That we deny utterly, and challenge any man to give but one instance in all antiquity. I know what Mr. K. means, *viz.* that degraded Clergy became Laymen, and yet their Baptisms were received. I deny not that their Baptisms were received in most churches, especially after the determinations of the Councils of Arles and Nice: but then these churches did not think the degraded Clergy, or heretical and schismatical Clergy, were Laymen. For a confutation of Mr. Bingham's notion, that the censures of the Church null orders, I refer you to St. Austin^d particularly among the ancients, who is very full and positive against it; and to Dr. Potter amongst the moderns, and to Mr. Bingham himself, who is an ingenious and a learned man, but cannot reconcile contradictions. As to Mr. K.'s queries,

1. The first is, "Whether the same Lord and Head of the Church, which gave, cannot withdraw his commission?" I answer, Yes, he may.

2. "How can this be done otherwise than by the Church's acting in his name, &c." I answer, By express order from Christ, revealed from heaven. The Bishops have a delegated power to give orders, but none that I know of to take them quite away: it is no strange thing for a man to be able to do what he cannot undo.

3. "Whether the Church has not full authority to do this," &c. I answer, No; at least it does not appear that she has.

4. "Whether she has not expressed herself in such

^d Con. Ep. Parm. lib. ii. c. 13. De Bapt. lib. i. c. 1, 2.

“ language, as if she thought she had such a power ? ”
 I answer, None but the Cyprianic churches, and those who comply with them in nulling the heretical and schismatical Baptisms. The main body of the Church, both before and after, were of another judgment, as is plain from St. Austin.

In short, it is as clear as the sun, that whatever churches looked upon degraded Clergy, as Clergy, received their Baptisms ; and whatever looked upon them not as Clergy, rejected their Baptisms. This latter was the case of the Cyprianists, who acted consistently enough, but went upon false premises ; and it is pleasant to observe how some would now lay down the same premises, and yet reject the conclusion ; blame Cyprian for what was right, and admire him for what was wrong. He was right in his conclusion, and wrong in his premises ; but these will be wrong in both, as if resolved to be inconsistent, and confute themselves to save others the trouble of a confutation. All Mr. Bingham's quotations prove no more, than that the degraded Clergy were reduced to Lay-communion, were suspended *ab officio*, either for a time, or deprived for life ; and if they were excommunicated too, they still retained their orders, as much as they did their Baptisms, and could not in any strict sense forfeit either.

Mr. K.'s next attempt is to prove by instances that the primitive Church sometimes received the Baptisms of those, whose Orders she rejected as invalid. And his first instance is of Ischyra, once a pretended Presbyter, afterwards a Bishop. To make this matter serve his purpose, he has first strangely misrepresented the case, mingled very foreign and distinct things together, supposed some things without any certain ground, drawn wrong inferences from them ; and yet if you grant him all he would have, his whole argument is inconclusive^f. Ischyra, he observes, was made a “ Bishop, without being previously

^f See Bingham's Orig. Eccl. vol. i. p. 135, 138.

“ordained either Priest or Deacon.” This certainly made his consecration uncanonical; but he might be a Bishop notwithstanding, and undoubtedly was so. Next, he observes, “that this man among other enemies of the Nicene faith and accusers of St. Athanasius was condemned and excommunicated:” right, for being an enemy to the Nicene faith and a false accuser of St. Athanasius: and many other Bishops, as Theodorus^g, Narcissus, Ursacius, Valens, &c. were condemned by name: Ischyrras himself is not named among the persons anathematized, though I grant it reasonable enough to conclude him among the rest. But Mr. K. adds, “No decree was made for annulling the Baptisms administered by him.” No, it would have been strange if there had; for it is not at all necessary that, as often as Bishops are deposed or excommunicated for crimes or heresy, as the case was here, that their ministrations, which were not affected by it, should be nulled. It would have been more to Mr. K.’s purpose to have alleged that the Council of Alexandria eight years before declared this *Ischyrras*^h to be no more than a pretended Presbyter, a mere laic, without making any decree to annul his Baptisms. But these negative arguments prove very little generally: besides if it was a rule of the Church before, there was no need of a special decree to annul those Baptisms, which were void of course; and after all, it does not appear how long, or in what instances Ischyrras officiated as a Presbyter, or whether he baptized any at all. The like answer may serve for the two other instances of Musæus and Eutychianus, whom the same Council declared not to be Bishops, and those pretendedly ordained by them not to be Clergymen, without adding any decree to annul their Baptisms. And it were to be wished that when Mr. K. cited Balsamon in favour of his interpretation of the Canon, in order to prove from thence Lay-baptism invalid according to the prin-

^g Theod. Ec. Hist. l. ii. c. 8.

^h Athan. Ap. 2. cont. Arian. p. 784. ed. Par.

ciples of *that bright age*, he had observed withal, that the very same Balsamon does from the same nineteenth canon infer the quite contrary, arguing by parity of reason from the invalidity of Lay-ordination, or non-episcopal, to the invalidity of Lay-baptism¹. So easy is it for ingenious men to draw contrary conclusions from the same premises.

And now let us take our leave of antiquity; the tracing of which, though it be something tedious, is of great satisfaction, and carries its reward along with it. I promise your friend to abide by it, and to throw up all my reasonings as uncertain conjectures, rather than run cross to it. I hope he will be so kind as to do so too, and after this view of the ancients not lay so great a stress upon some very uncertain reasonings in the present case, which he has advanced with pomp and triumph, as if they had never been considered, nor were capable of any just and solid answer. These I have had in my eye, and reserved them for this place under a third general head, after what related to Scripture and Fathers.

III.

We are now then to manage the debate in point of reason. We have, we imagine, many and great reasons for our side of the question. We think it very absurd that any thing should be valid without some certain principle to found its validity upon; especially a thing of this moment, wherein the everlasting salvation of thousands is concerned. We think it very unreasonable to rest a matter of such importance upon weak and precarious foundations; and should expect, if it were true, to find it writ in legible characters in sacred Scripture, or at least in the judgment and practice of the ancients. On the contrary, we find nothing but obscure hints, and dark and remote inferences that look that way. Nay, so confident are some among us, Mr. Laurence in particular, that he thinks our side of the question demonstrable; and has laid down

¹ See Bevereg. not. ad Can. 19. Conc. Sardic. p. 201.

five or six reasons in the way of *mathematical demonstration* to prove his opinion. We think it a little strange, that, among so many adversaries as that gentleman has met with, no one has yet given himself the trouble to unravel those reasons; to show where they are fallacious; where he has laid down false premises, or drawn false conclusions. It is a little surprising that the advocates of Lay-baptism should raise so many scruples and difficulties on one side, and yet pass over in silence those many and great difficulties which are urged on the other; as if it concerned them not to answer objections sometimes, as well as to make others. Yet it is usual with them after this partial management of the cause to cry victory and to triumph; whereas at best they ought only to suspend and to leave the matter undecided. For suppose their objections were really such as we could not answer, yet as long as they do not answer the difficulties on the other side, which seem equally forcible, at least must be thought so till we see them answered; the utmost that they ought to conclude from it is, that we are upon a par, and that the cause is doubtful. I speak this of the advocates for Lay-baptism in general, not including therein Mr. K. I must do him the justice to say, he has managed the debate fairly, so far as he undertook in answer to my letter; and has not only given his own reasons, but has also considered mine. I shall first endeavour to vindicate the reasons hinted at in my letter from his exceptions, and then let you know what I have to say further in answer to his.

I argued from the nullity of subjects acting in a civil government without a competent authority, *viz.* levying soldiers, naturalizing strangers, &c. in the name of the sovereign without orders or warrant. To which Mr. K. answers, that "he knows not in what sense levying of soldiers without authority can be said to be null and void." To which I reply, I know not how he can mistake or want to understand so plain a thing. May not a man pretend a commission from his Majesty, call him-

self an officer, beat a drum, and list men in the usual form into the King's service? But as soon as the cheat is discovered, the whole engagement is dissolved, the listed men are set at liberty, and *the imaginary contract null and void*. Apply this to the case of listing men into Christ's service by an imaginary Baptism without a competent authority, and you will find it parallel and to the purpose, or I am very much mistaken. But, says Mr. K. "does the consequence hold from things civil to sacred? Are the reasons the same in both?" Yes, I humbly conceive it does hold, and the reasons are the same in both, because drawn from one and the same general principle, that no man can act under another and in his name without his leave or order. But Mr. K. excepts "that all grants, commissions, &c. from earthly princes ought to appear genuine and voluntary, and must therefore pass under forms of law to ascertain the rights of the parties concerned, and to prevent mischiefs which may accrue through fraud and forgery." And so likewise all grants from God ought to have his seal and stamp, and pass under such forms as he has appointed to ascertain the rights, &c. Are not our Christian rights as dear to us and as valuable as any; and as much want to be ascertained in a regular and uniform method to prevent tricks and frauds and counterfeits from such as would beguile the simple, and take the honour upon them of being ambassadors from heaven without being sent? "But may we not trust God without such securities?" No: because it is presumption to slight such securities as he has appointed, or to expect his favours without them. Mr. K. adds, "God is not under the like necessity with earthly princes to annul what is done, much less to do it to the prejudice of an innocent person." True, God is under no absolute necessity; and he might have contrived many other methods in his infinite wisdom. But he is a God of order and not of confusion, and, in a moral sense, is under a necessity of acting wisely; and therefore will not leave the weighty business of the priesthood in common to all, but is pleased to con-

fine it to a select body of men that shall act by his authority. But will he annul any usurped acts "to the prejudice of innocent persons?" I presume he will annul the acts, *i. e.* the acts shall stand for nothing; but he may possibly receive the innocent persons, not upon the account of these acts, but of his own free mercy. And is it not better to trust God without doing an unwarranted thing, than to run the risk of offending him to no purpose, but what may better and more safely, for ought we know, be had without^k? Cannot God be merciful to the innocent without our presumption? Is he less concerned for them than we? Or does he stand in need of our sins? What does all this mean? May we not trust God without such wretched securities? What Mr. K. adds about an adult's receiving Baptism of a schismatical usurper, if he means of a schismatical Clergyman, it is true, but not to the purpose; if he means it of a schismatical Layman, or any Layman, we want proof. His next observation about an infant "being as sure of the grace attending, (Christian Baptism,) as all the promises of the New Testament can make him," though washed by a layman only, is only so many words put together; unless it can be shown that there is any one promise in the whole Old or New Testament annexed to such pretended Baptisms. True, there are many promises annexed to Baptism; but the question is, whether what we are speaking of be Baptism or no; and it should not be taken for granted that it is, when a disputant is concerned to prove it. He says "he can by no means think it all one to the future condition, (of an infant,) whether he be baptized or not, as some notions lately advanced would incline us to believe." I do not say or think it is all one whether an infant be baptized or not. But a pretended Baptism and no Baptism are so much alike, that upon either supposition, as I take it, the infant dies unbaptized. I see not therefore to what purpose all this is, till it be proved that Lay-washing is Christian Baptism. As to the

^k See Bennet, p. 342.

doctrine of the absolute necessity of Baptism, whether it be true or false, it concerns not the cause. Let Baptism be ever so necessary, yet till you prove Lay-washing to be Baptism, or a counterfeit seal to be a true seal, we are just where we began. However, if Baptism be so absolutely necessary as some suppose, great care should be taken that every man may be certain that he is baptized; and then I am sure Lay-baptism must be out of doors, which at best has but a chance whether it be Baptism or no. Not that I think Baptism, truly such, so absolutely necessary to salvation, as some have pretended; and if you please to consult Forbes's *Instruct. Hist. Theolog.*¹ upon this question, or only observe from Mr. Bingham^m what allowances the ancients used to make in some cases for persons dying unbaptized, you may possibly incline to be of my mind. It would be needless and tedious in me to enter into that dispute here; and so I choose to wave it, and to come to another point.

I had argued in my letter against the validity of Lay-baptism from the unlawfulness of it; thinking that if it was sinful *in the whole act, i. e.* such as could never in any case be done by a layman without sin, it must be void. Here Mr. K. is pleased to mistake me for near a page together, till at last he comes to understand me, and to put the case right, and then he is of my mind; that supposing Lay-baptism to be valid, which is the same in effect with what he says, ("supposing the principle they act upon to be no mistake,") there is neither sin nor danger in a layman's administering in extreme necessity. Which was the same thing I had asserted, only I inferred further from it, arguing backwards; that if there were sin and danger in a layman's administering in such a case, then Lay-baptism could not be valid. And I am now fully satisfied, though I spoke of it before with some diffidence, that the argument is just and right. If the validity of Lay-baptism in a case of extreme necessity, necessarily implies it to be law-

¹ Vol. i. l. 10. c. 6.^m Vol. iv. p. 43, 56.

ful; then its unlawfulness in the same case necessarily implies its invalidity. It is an established rule in logic to argue as a *positione antecedentis ad positionem consequentis*, so a *remotione consequentis ad remotionem antecedentis*. And the reason of it is plain; for if the antecedent cannot be without the consequent, it is evident by taking away the consequent, you take away the antecedent also. So that now the first question between Mr. K. and me is, whether the validity of Lay-baptism in a case of extreme necessity, does not necessarily imply that it is lawful in that case: but this I think he has given up. And next, whether its being sinful even in this case does not imply that it is invalid, cannot be a question between us, since it evidently follows from the former. The only question then is, whether in such a case it be a sin or no. I think it is, because it seems to be an unwarrantable usurpation of the priestly office, a breach of rules and orders, a bold presumption without any leave, command, or commission for doing it, or in Mr. Bennet's words^a, "a downright lying and forgery, a cheat upon one's neighbour, and an affront to God." Seeing therefore that it is a sin for a layman to pretend to baptize, even in cases of necessity, as they are called, though improperly, it follows by what has been said, that it is null and void. Not that every sinful act is always void; for "we were in an evil case," as Mr. K. justly observes, "if every sinful circumstance in the administration should make the administration itself null and void." But I had guarded against this by calling it *sinful in the whole act*; not accidentally, nor circumstantially, but entirely and essentially, as having no manner of plea, pretence, or warrant, to justify it either in whole or in part. A Clergyman may baptize a person against the order of the Bishop. He sins in doing so; not as to the act of baptizing, for that he has authority to do as a Clergyman; but in that circumstance of disobedience to his Diocesan. So the schismatical and heretical

^a P. 336.

Clergy formerly were guilty of a sin in baptizing, in such manner, and in such circumstances. But separate these circumstances from them, and it was no sin for Clergymen to baptize. But as to a layman's baptizing, the flaw is in the act itself, not in the circumstances; as having no power or authority to do it in any circumstances whatever. The fault is not only in doing it at a wrong time, or in a wrong manner, but in doing it at all. And I am persuaded it will be difficult to show how any act can be valid, where a man has no power, right, or authority, to act at all: which is certainly the case of *unauthorized Lay-baptisms*, about which we are disputing.

Having thus endeavoured to vindicate and clear up the reasons hinted at in my letter against the validity of Lay-baptism, I now come to consider Mr. K.'s reasons for it. His reasoning part chiefly consists of one argument drawn *ex absurdo*, and may thus be represented in his own words.

“To suppose (Lay-baptism) altogether null and void, must needs have a terrible influence upon the state, not of the Church of England alone, but of all the churches in Europe: for if the Baptism of such Clergymen as we now speak of (Clergymen baptized by lay-hands) was invalid, so was their Ordination too. They could not have the keys of the Church delivered to them before they were members of it; the effect whereof must be an endless propagation of nullities, &c.”

This is the terrible objection against us, so often boasted to be unanswerable; wherefore I shall not attack it all at once, but try if I can weaken it, and break the force of it by degrees.

1. I observe, that every difficulty urged against an opinion that is supported by great and solid reasons, ought not presently to make us conclude, that that opinion is false. A man may prove his position, and not be able always to answer the objections on the other side.

2. However certain and terrible this consequence may

seem against us, there are others as certain and terrible against those who hold the contrary opinion. Hear Mr. Laurence urging consequences against them^o: "If Baptism performed by persons who were never really and truly commissioned to baptize, and who act herein rebelliously against and in opposition to the Divine right of Episcopacy, be good and valid; then authoritative preaching, administering the other sacrament, the power of binding and loosing, of retaining and absolving men's sins, and all the spiritual functions of the Clergy are good and valid also, when attempted by unauthorized, never commissioned lay-persons; the consequence of which is the utter dissolution and taking away the necessity of the *Christian priesthood*, therefore of *Christ's authority here on earth*, and so of all *revealed religion* too, which is a dreadful consideration." Thus far Mr. Laurence. And being called upon by Mr. Bingham to prove it^p, he does it most admirably in one continued chain of close reasoning, too long to be here inserted. Here then I set consequence against consequence, equally dreadful and terrible, and not less certain; and had I nothing more to say, yet I think we should be pretty even, and it would be but a kind of drawn battle betwixt us; but this is not all, for,

3. I do not think the objection in that latitude which Mr. K. gives it comes up to the point of *unauthorized* Lay-baptism, about which we are debating. All that Mr. K. himself pretends is, that the Church, from the time of St. Austin, has generally permitted Lay-baptism in cases of necessity, which might perhaps be denied; but however, if it has been so for five hundred years, it is enough for his purpose, and that I will readily allow. But then what is done by permission of the Church, and stands upon canons and episcopal licence, is not wholly unauthorized, and so does not affect the question. We are disputing

^o Pref. second part of Lay-baptism Inv. p. 20.

^p Pref. to Suppl. p. 59.

about pretended Baptisms, unauthorized, uncommissioned by Bishops. Will Mr. K. show that such ever obtained in the Church, I do not say from St. Austin's time, either in East or West, but that they were any where received, except in this island, scarce an hundred years upwards? Lay-baptisms in England had some authority from the Church, till the Rubric was altered in the reign of King James the First: from that time they have been wholly unauthorized; and all such we pronounce invalid, neither affirming or denying any thing of the other, till it can be shown that the case is the same in both. So that if Mr. K.'s charge should chance to fall heavy on those who reject all Lay-baptism, authorized or unauthorized, without distinction; yet it does not affect us who confine our dispute to *unauthorized* only, such as those of our Dissenters have certainly been ever since the Rubric was altered; and what the consequence of disallowing them only would be, I hinted in my letter, and am satisfied that the objection so stated as it ought to be with regard to the point in question, *neither deserves nor requires a better answer*. We condemn none absolutely by this doctrine, but those who are culpable, those who want true Baptism, or at least may suspect they want it, and yet will not have it, though it be easy to be had.

4. Suppose the objection to be ever so much to the purpose; yet the whole force of it depends upon one uncertain proposition, *viz.* that one not validly baptized cannot have valid orders, or cannot validly baptize others. As to which give me leave to observe, that the advocates for Lay-baptism have not yet offered any thing that amounts to a proof of that proposition; which it is their business to do, who press the objection. Mr. K. asks, can any one that is no Christian, be a Christian Priest? One that is not of Christ's family be a steward of it? One that has no right to partake of the body of our Lord be a sufficient dispenser thereof? One that is not a member of the Church be a *governor of it*? for so it should be put, and not a *governing member of it*. We ask, why not, and de-

mand a reason; but all that we find alleged amounts to this only, that an unbaptized person is utterly incapable, because he is so; and that he cannot administer, no, that he cannot. The very same questions which Mr. K. asks may be applied to heretical, or wicked, or excommunicate Priests, who are Priests notwithstanding, as appears from St. Austin, as cited above^q. Besides that I hope such Clergy as we are speaking of may have as good a right to the title of Christians, as catechumens had formerly; who, though unbaptized, were reckoned Christians in a large sense. This might be enough to show the supposition not to be so very absurd as he thought; which is all we are concerned to show in point of reason; and there is no need of Scripture proof, which Mr. K. calls for, to ward off an objection of little weight, unless it appear to involve us in a contradiction. Yet I shall say something from Scripture by and by. That there is no contradiction or absurdity in the supposition appears further from hence, that it is not a man's Baptism, but his commission, that impowers him to act as God's minister. They are things of a very distinct nature, and given for different ends; and it cannot be shown that they are essential parts, or at all parts of each other. A personal qualification may be often wanting, where the authoritative one stands good. A man may be a Heretic, a Deist, an Apostate, an Atheist, and yet be a Christian Priest; and it will be hard to prove that the validity of his ministrations depends any more upon his Baptism, than it does upon his faith or manners^r. A man may be an instrument of conveying that to another, which he does not enjoy himself; and nothing more usual than for proxies and representatives to confer rights, privileges, and powers, to others, which they have not of their own. A person need not be married to be capable of marrying others, nor be free himself to enable him to make others so: provided

^q Bingham's Orig. Eccl. vol. iv. p. 29.

^r See App. to Lay-Bapt. Invalid. p. 130.

he has but a commission (ordinary or extraordinary it matters not) to empower him to do it. And why may not the case be the same with regard to Baptism, that any person commissioned to baptize may do it, whether he himself be baptized or no? Besides, it seems not only the safest, but the only certain rule we have in such cases, to look to the visible commission and authority, and to inquire no further. Whatever becomes of this point of Lay-baptism, if secret nullities affect the succession of the priesthood, and render all their ministrations afterwards invalid; there is no being secure of any such thing as a visible uninterrupted succession at seventeen hundred years distance from the times of the Apostles. Who can assure us that there have not been several in pretended Orders, who have acted as Priests or Bishops, who really had no Orders; or several that have had no Baptism of any kind, who have done the same? From a few such instances might ensue an endless propagation of nullities in Mr. K.'s scheme; and we should now be to seek for a succession in the Church. But such nullities I take to signify little, when either past discovery or past remedy. If we know of any such instances, we must pronounce such ministrations null; if not, there is no remedy for invincible ignorance; God will mercifully ratify and make good all such secret nullities, nor are they such to us till they appear such. Dr. Hicks* gives a very good resolution of this in the case of "an unbaptized Clergyman" "believing himself to have had valid Baptism through invincible ignorance. I make no scruple to tell you, that "a Priest in this case is in the eyes of God a valid Priest; "and that all his priestly administrations by his merciful "allowance are also valid and effectual, and as acceptable "as those of other Priests to him, who can make allowances where men cannot, and ratify what men, if it came "to their knowledge, *could not ratify, but must pronounce* "null. The priesthood was hereditary among the Jews;

* Letter to Mr. L. p. 38.

“ and it is not unreasonable to suppose that one priest or
“ other in such a long tract of time might without any
“ suspicion have an adulterous son ; upon which supposi-
“ tion I believe you will not doubt, that when he was at
“ age to administer, God would reckon him among the
“ Priests, and accept of all his ministrations at the altar ;
“ or if such an one happened to be high priest, even in the
“ very holy of holies, though if his incapacity had been
“ known, he must have been deposed.”

This is a very clear and sufficient answer to Mr. K.'s grand objection, and it ought the rather to satisfy him, because it puts the succession of the Clergy upon a right foot, and secures all that is worth contending for: whereas his way of reasoning would leave it liable to a thousand doubts and scruples, and not only strike at the doctrine we assert, but at the succession *itself abstracted from the consideration of the present subject*. Supposing then, but not granting, that their ministrations are not good and valid in themselves, yet they may by an all-merciful God be reckoned to us as such ; and that serves the purpose as well. If we know of the defect, we should be obliged to do our best to remedy it ; but upon supposition that we are invincibly ignorant of it, it may be construed to us as no defect at all, while we are supposed to have done our best.

The like sort of reasoning may be applied to the case of such as have received no valid Baptism, yet have believed they had, and lived and died in invincible ignorance: it would be hard to call them heathens, or no Christians, and harder to suspect that they should suffer eternally for no fault of theirs. I should be willing to think with St. Cyprian in a case of this nature: “ Po-
“ tens est Dominus misericordia sua indulgentiam dare;
“ et eos, qui ad Ecclesiam simpliciter admissi in Ecclesia
“ dormierunt, ab Ecclesiæ suæ muneribus non separare;
“ non tamen quia aliquando erratum est, ideo semper er-
“ randum est.”

“ Ep. ad Jubaianum.

Upon the matter then, our doctrine of the invalidity of Lay-baptism need not appear so terrible and shocking as some would represent it. I have shown that it does not necessarily affect the succession of the Clergy, even though want of Baptism might incapacitate a man for Orders; much less can it affect it on the other supposition, that a visible commission is all that is required to make Orders good and valid. I have hinted further, that our doctrine does not necessarily condemn all that have lived and died without any other Baptism, but what they had received from lay hands. Indeed it condemns none but those who are either culpably ignorant of their duty in that respect, or wilfully neglect it. Those that will not examine what sort of Baptism they have had, or content themselves knowingly with a pretended Baptism, when they may have a true one; I have nothing to say for such persons, and I leave it to Mr. K.'s coolest thoughts to consider whether he shall think it reasonable, prudent, or pious, to plead for them. All that we desire is, that persons in that case be baptized by a lawful Minister. There is no comparison to be made between the hazard of one and that of the other. A man in these circumstances may be only *hypothetically* baptized, as one that doubts whether he has been baptized or no. There is a rule laid down for Baptisms in doubtful cases by canon 72. of Conc. 5. of Carthage, held A. D. 401: and the Church of England in her Rubric to the Office of Baptism has in a manner adopted it for her own, by ordering in doubtful cases a conditional form, "If thou be not already baptized, I baptize thee, &c." There is no danger at all in this, if done with a religious and pious intent. But as to the danger of leaving persons in so uncertain and doubtful a condition, as every man must be in, that has no other Baptism but Lay-baptism, which it is impossible for any man to demonstrate to be true, and which has hardly any probable ground for its being so, I tremble to think on it. Judge then, Sir, with yourself, whether it be more advisable to take Mr. K.'s scheme or mine. If

it is not probable, if it is not certain that Lay-baptisms are good, it is of the last moment not to trust to them: but if it be barely probable, or even possible that they should be null, what wise man would not choose the only certain and secure method, to be conditionally baptized by a proper Minister, which is all I am pleading for?

And here I might take leave of the great unanswerable objection so much insisted on, having, I hope, sufficiently disarmed it. But the regard I have for two very worthy gentlemen, Dr. Brett and Mr. Laurence, obliges me in this place to do justice to them, and to wipe off the suspicion of mistake and fallacy, which your friend has been pleased to fix upon them. They give two Scripture instances to show that a man may be capable of valid Orders that is not baptized. Dr. Brett's instance is St. Paul^t, whom he shows to have been ordained before he was baptized. Mr. K. denies the fact, not conceiving how a miraculous call from Heaven (the design of which was to make St. Paul *a minister* and *a witness*^u, and upon which he was immediately declared a ^x "chosen vessel to "bear God's name before the Gentiles") should amount to an ordination: though for that very reason most probably St. Paul calls himself ^y "an Apostle, not of men, "neither by man." But he thinks his "solemn consecration to the apostolical function came afterwards, and is recorded Acts xiii. 2, 3." That is, after he had been preaching and making disciples about ten years, according to the best chronologers, at Damascus, Tarsus, Cilicia, Antioch, Jerusalem, &c. he came, it seems, to Antioch, and was there first ordained by his own converts. I hope this does not need confuting. Dr. Brett's instance therefore may stand good yet for any thing that appears to the contrary; and may still "be a demonstrative argument, that "the want of Baptism does not render an ordination null "and void." St. Paul indeed did not execute his commis-

^t Acts ix.

^u Acts xxvi. 16.

^x Acts ix. 15.

^y Gal. i. 1.

sion before he was baptized; but when he did officiate, he did it by virtue of that commission, which he had before Baptism; and therefore want of Baptism did not void it; which is all that Dr. Brett meant to prove.

So much for him. I come next to Mr. Laurence; who according to Mr. K. urges "the similitude of circumstances" betwixt a person uncircumcised and one unbaptized, and "*pretends* that as the want of circumcision during the "forty years abode of the Jewish Church in the wilderness "did not vacate the ministry of those Priests and Levites "who were born in that time; so neither can the want "of Baptism now vacate the ministration of one that is "consecrated to the Christian priesthood^a." Under favour he does not pretend quite so much. He does not bring the instance to prove the want of Baptism *cannot* vacate Orders, but that it *need not*, or always *does not*, *i. e.* they may be consistent; which was all that Mr. L. was concerned to prove. Against which Mr. K. objects thus:

1. "Admitting the fact to be true, it was an extraordinary case, and proves only this, that God may dispense "with his own institutions, though we must not, and so "ratify things transacted in his name by persons unbaptized. But that he does so, it is presumption in us to "imagine, without Divine warrant, signifying his will and "pleasure." By the way, could Mr. K. write this, and at the same time remember that he was pleading for the validity of Lay-baptism? Is it not as great *presumption* to imagine that God will ratify what is transacted in his name by persons *unordained*, as by persons *unbaptized*? Is not the reason equal, nay stronger in one case than in the other? and does not the argument recoil strangely? But to let that pass. With submission, he mistakes Mr. Laurence: his argument proves something more. It proves that want of circumcision (or Baptism) is not in the nature of the thing inconsistent with valid Orders; as

^a Append. to the First Part of Lay-Bapt. Inv. p. 137.

it certainly is not, if God allowed both; whether ordinarily or extraordinarily is not the point. But,

2. Mr. K., to make all sure, denies the fact. Why? because the Priests and Levites born in that time *needed not* to exercise their function, there being enough besides to do it without them; therefore they *did not*. Is this any consequence? Does this make Mr. L.'s supposition *evidently false*? I do not find that he ever went upon a supposition that the whole number of Priests and Levites must necessarily officiate, or that otherwise there would be wanting men for the service. All that he supposes is, that in forty years time many born in the wilderness might grow up to the age for service, and be admitted to serve, having an hereditary right to it; and there is all the reason in the world to believe they did so, notwithstanding their want of circumcision. And Scripture says nothing to the contrary, which makes me wonder at Mr. K.'s attempt to prove what it is impossible for him to know, upon nothing but very uncertain and precarious conjectures against the highest probability imaginable. How shall we know precisely how many or how few Priests or Levites might be needful for the service? What probability is there that such a number as this supposes should be excluded from their birthright, and discarded only for not being circumcised, when it does not appear that God required it? Or how is it possible that so remarkable a matter of fact, and so instructive, if true, should be passed by in silence, and no notice taken of it by the sacred writers? Is it reasonable to call Mr. Laurence's stating the case "altogether fictitious and imaginary," upon no better grounds than this, that possibly there might be circumcised Priests and Levites enough to do the business all the forty years, without any of those who were born in the wilderness? But let us hear how he attempts to prove it. First, he observes that Aaron lived almost to the end of that period, which is very true, and that "he had to assist him Eleazar, Ithamar, Phinehas, &c." I put Phinehas last, because he was the

youngest, and, for ought that appears, born in the wilderness; and if so, he should be struck out of the account. But what do we do with that *et cætera* at the end? Can Mr. K. or any man else name ever another Priest born in Egypt besides these? Yes, he adds, "Such in general of the tribe of Levi, as came out of Egypt, and were afterwards consecrated to the priesthood." But how could he imagine that the Levites *in general* could be consecrated to the priesthood; which every body knows was confined to the family of Aaron only, which family was no more than a branch of the Kohathites^b, who were a branch of the tribe of Levi? All Priests were indeed Levites, but yet no Levites could be Priests, but those of the race of Aaron. So here is a fine argument spoiled at once by an unlucky mistake at first setting out, which renders all the rest a mere airy speculation. We have found then but three Priests that could have been born and circumcised in Egypt, or at most four, Aaron, Eleazar and Ithamar his sons, and Phinehas his grandson. Nadab and Abihu perished soon after they came into the wilderness; and these are all we read of: yet it is reasonable to believe that Eleazar and Ithamar, not to mention Nadab and Abihu, might have sons born to them in the wilderness, who officiated as Priests, as soon as they came to be twenty, or however thirty years old.

This, I believe, is what Mr. Laurence supposed; and he might very reasonably do so: or however I am sure Mr. K. has not disproved it. Mr. L.'s observation takes in the Levites as well as the Priests, and either is sufficient for his purpose. Mr. K. seems to think that there must have been Levites enough without dispute, and is therefore chiefly concerned for Priests. But I must ask his pardon, and beg leave a while to try if I cannot show, that there would have been wanting Levites for the ordinary service upon Mr. K.'s supposition.

The number required for the ordinary service may best

^b Numb. iii.

be known from the number first appointed by God himself, *viz.* ^c eight thousand five hundred and eighty, all that were between thirty and fifty years old. (This is to be understood of the most laborious and burdensome part of the Levites service, to reconcile it with Num. viii. 24.) The whole number of Levites from a month old was twenty-two thousand, out of which take eight thousand five hundred and eighty, between thirty and fifty years old, and there remains thirteen thousand four hundred and twenty, of which we may fairly suppose there might be about a thousand fifty years old, and consequently superannuated, and as many as had been born within a year before, were born in the wilderness^d, and therefore should not come into this account. We will suppose then that about twelve thousand might remain for future service upon Mr. K.'s hypothesis. In twenty years time the whole eight thousand five hundred and eighty would be superannuated one after another, going off from the service yearly, one year with another, four hundred and twenty-nine in number, and new ones coming in to supply their places. Allow then out of the first remainder eight thousand five hundred and eighty more, and there remains three thousand four hundred and twenty. Now in ten years time further, about half the former number would be gone off, as superannuated, besides accidents and casualties, and the whole last remainder would hardly be enough to supply the deficiency; and so after all were come in, there would be a strange blank in the succession for the nine following years, about four hundred at least going off yearly, and none coming in to supply their places; which to me seems a very unfortunate business, and to bear hard upon the Levites that came last. There might, it is true, be some left notwithstanding at the forty years end, if not perishing by casualties, or worn out with labours, but not near the number of eight thousand five hundred and eighty, which God chose at first as requisite for the service: and I know not how we can

^c Numb. iv.

^d See Exod. xvi. 1. Numb. i. 1.

otherwise make any probable guess what number might be needful, but from God's own appointment of such a certain number at the first. Upon the whole, I think, Mr. Laurence's observation is highly just and reasonable with respect to the Levites; and as to the Priests, a probable conjecture, which as it is hard to prove, so it is harder to disprove: and so I leave it. I shall take no notice of Mr. K.'s observation from Scripture relating to this point, and importing that the first Clergy of the Church were Christians, because nobody, I believe, doubts of it; and as to the inference he would draw from it, it has been obviated above. A word or two must come in here about the Reformed Church abroad, and then we have done with this head.

I had said in my letter with relation to them, that we need not be very solicitous for them in the present dispute; because to defend them upon principles which themselves many of them disown, was what they would not *thank us for*. This I thought answer sufficient to an objection, which has not much weight in it, but that it seems to tax with severity and want of charity. And what could be more to the purpose, than to observe, that we are as kind to them in that respect as themselves desire; and that they cannot and will not complain of it? To defend them upon principles which they will not own, but reject in disdain, is only bantering them, and exposing ourselves. Besides that allowing their Baptisms and disallowing their Orders, seems only to be playing fast and loose, and giving in one hand to take away with the other. The Church of England, he says, does so: if she does, I am sorry for it, and wish either to see practice changed or defended. I am sorry that what was condemned as an inconsistency in the Luciferians of old should be thought the current doctrine of our Church now. As to rejecting the pretended ordinations of mere Presbyters, the practice is consistent with the doctrine of our Church, and conformable to our twenty-third canon^e.

* See Stat. 13 Eliz. c. xii. Act of Uniform. Car. II.

But I yet want to know how receiving the pretended Baptisms of laics is either conformable to canons or consistent with them. But that shall be considered in another place. Mr. K. in behalf of the Reformed proceeds thus: "All my request is, that seeing by command of our ecclesiastical superiors we have often prayed for them by the title of Reformed Churches, we would allow them as good a right to that appellation, as in defect of other ministrations a valid Christian Baptism can confer upon them;" that is as good as none. For if we allow them to be Christians by virtue of their Baptism, yet according to the unanimous doctrine of the ancients, *ecclesia non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes*; they will have no band of unity, no cement to unite them as a church, but will be a disjointed number of independent Christians; no church in a strict sense, though we may allow them that title in a large and popular sense, which I suppose is sufficient, whatever our opinion be, for giving them that appellation in our prayers; especially when commanded by public authority, which ought to be submitted to, though it were meant in the strict sense, (as it certainly is not,) unless we have full conviction that the appellation is false, which few perhaps have in so disputed a case. But it is now time to subjoin something with relation to the judgment and practice of the Church of England in our present debate.

IV.

I shall be brief upon this last, concluding that by this time you are heartily tired. Upon a careful view of what has been said on both sides relating to the judgment and practice of our Church, I take the case to be thus.

1. The Church of England has no where expressly and *in terms* determined the controversy either way.
2. Her practice as well as the stream of her Divines has all along been against us.
3. Yet she has laid down such principles and positions in her public acts, as will, if pursued in all their consequences, bring us to the conclusion we are proving.

And this is all, I presume, that Mr. Laurence means in reckoning the Church of England on his side of the question: not that our first Reformers, or other great Divines since, actually thought as he does; but that in pursuance of the principles laid down in the Articles, Canons, and Rubrics, they must have thought so, had they attended to all the consequences deducible from them. And indeed if the case be thus; if the doctrine of the invalidity of Lay-baptism can be shown by necessary consequence to be implied in what the public voice of our Church has asserted, and we subscribe to; it must be said that the Church of England is for us; and every subscriber that attends to such consequences, and believes them certain, does implicitly or virtually subscribe them also. And this is what I am persuaded Mr. Laurence has proved sufficiently in the pamphlet entitled, *Dissenters' Baptisms Null and Void by the Articles, &c.* It must therefore be observed, that those gentlemen take a wrong method of answering Mr. L. who object to him the judgment of many of our eminent Divines since the Reformation: all that is wide of the point. He may think that many of our Divines, and even some compilers of our public forms, had not sufficiently traced all the consequences of their own assertions, or might have drawn conclusions inconsistent with them. And therefore the ready and the only way to confute him is, to show that the consequences which he draws from the premises laid down in our public forms are ill drawn, or are no just consequences from them. Till this be done, the public voice of the Church, as it stands in our Articles, Rubrics, and Canons, will be thought to be on his side of the question; and he that consents to them, must consent to him too; because there is no rejecting a necessary consequence once seen, without rejecting the principle itself, from whence it flows. We need not therefore talk of the Whitgifts, the Hookers, the Bilsons, the Bancrofts, or others. The Church's public acts are open and common, and he is the truest Church of England-man that best understands the prin-

ciples there laid down, and argues the closest from them: all the rest are but assertions, fancies, or practices of particular men, and are not binding rules to us. And this is all that need be said to the present point; and I shall here only subjoin some few remarks on some passages of Mr. K. under this head. "He seems very angry, that some who call themselves the most zealous assertors of the rights of the Church, should embrace this Puritanical notion, (of Lay-baptism being null,) and cast dirt upon the memory of those excellent men, (Whitgift, Hooker, &c.) and hardly allow any who come not in their measures, &c." It were easy to retort in that way, and to run out into satire and declamation. But to speak to the point; it is no reflection upon the memory of any men, to suppose them fallible; nor any fault in us to set aside their authority, when we can confute their reasons. The gentlemen whom Mr. K. so unkindly censures are, if I know any thing of men, persons of as great simplicity, candour, and integrity as any men living; true lovers of religion in its primitive beauty and purity, and sincere promoters of it in their writings, and what is more, in their lives. If it be their misfortune to mistake in the point before us, which does not appear, yet their pious intentions and well meant zeal for the honour of God and the souls of their brethren plead strongly in their excuse; and it must be owned that their reasons, if not absolutely convincing, are yet weighty and considerable enough to sway honest and wise men. Their love as well for the order as for the persons of the Clergy is in a manner their distinguishing character; and it is therefore pity that the least spark of indignation from any Clergyman especially should fall upon them, particularly at a time when there is occasion enough to spend our zeal another way; when we are running into Deism with a precipitate course, and Arianism by shaking the prime fundamentals is paving the way to it. But to return.

Mr. L., it seems, "with a very authoritative air takes upon him to instruct and admonish the Clergy, and to

“interpret the Articles, Canons, &c.” To which I shall only say, that innocence makes a man sometimes bold, and a religious zeal will break out into tender and pathetic expostulations. As to his interpreting the Articles, Canons, &c. I find nothing objected to it by Mr. K. but that it makes “the Church inconsistent with herself,” an undertaking, he thinks, “not very suitable to the character of so zealous a proselyte, &c.” But what does Mr. K. call the Church? Has Mr. L. any where pretended to show that the Church contradicts herself in her public forms? No, but practice has run contrary, and some Churchmen, or most Churchmen, have done so too. It may be so: yet the Church is consistent with herself; for the public voice of the Church is the Church, and while she lays down premises, consequences make themselves. However, all such kind of arguments signify little. Is the practice defensible, or is it not? If it be, show it upon principles, and argue not from practice only, the weakest reason in the world. If it be not, the obvious conclusion is, that it ought to be changed. I cannot but think it a wrong way to plead practice and custom for the validity of Lay-baptism, when we want a law to found it upon. What law of God, nay, what law of our own Church, authorizes any laic to baptize, that we may have some shadow of authority to pronounce it valid? But the Church, you will say, that is, Churchmen, have so practised, therefore the Church approves it. I deny the consequence. Churchmen have sprinkled in Baptism now a hundred years, or it may be more, without ever inquiring whether the child be weak, and the Rubric in that case is grown obsolete: does it follow from thence that sprinkling without necessity is according to the sense and judgment of the Church of England? The like may be said of the Clerk’s placing bread and wine on the communion table, and perhaps of reading the Communion Service in the desk; all practised by public allowance, and yet no where warranted by the public acts or voice of the Church. Mr. K. observes, that the Church of England

“ never made any canon or law for the punishment of a Lay-baptist, who shall presume to do that office in extreme necessity.” But what think you of these words in the preface to the Ordination Book? “ None shall be suffered to execute any of the functions, (of a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon,) except he hath had formerly episcopal consecration or ordination.” Is not this part of her laws, and Baptism one of her functions? And whence is it that none of our midwives, or any beside Clergymen, pretend to baptize in cases of extreme necessity, but that they think it against law? I deny not however that Lay-baptisms have been constantly received as valid among us. Were it not for that, there would be less occasion for this dispute, designed, if possible, to put a stop to an inveterate practice that has so little to be said for it. Mr. K., I think, is a little too severe upon Mr. Laurence, when he calls his Baptism “ a second Baptism, irregular, clandestine, unauthorized, antiepiscopal.” It is impossible it should be *a second Baptism*, because he was baptized hypothetically only; and therefore if the first Baptism was good, the last was none. It was not *irregular*, because, as he tells us himself, the minister that baptized him had his proper Diocesan’s general licence to baptize adult persons, without giving any particular notice first to the Bishop. It was not *clandestine*, being in the public face of a great congregation on a holyday in the time of evening prayer. Lastly, it could not be *antiepiscopal*, being by an episcopal minister, and with the Bishop’s licence. I hope Mr. K. will think more kindly, and express himself more tenderly of an innocent well-deserving gentleman another time.

Mr. K. having before mentioned the custom of our Church in confirming all without distinction, whether episcopally baptized, or only by lay hands, ends with this dilemma, that we must (upon our principles) either assert that for an important article of doctrine, which the Church of England denies, or accuse her of communicating and ordaining men, whom she knew to be unbaptized. As to the

first part of the dilemma, we do not assert any thing for an important truth, but what the Church, that is, the public voice of the Church, asserts likewise, though not directly, yet consequentially. As to the second part: it does not follow, that because Bishops confirm all without distinction, that therefore they know any of them to be unbaptized, but only that they do not know to the contrary. I grant, however, that the practice argues so far, that they have in general looked upon it as an indifferent thing, as to the validity of Baptism, whether it be by a Priest or a Laic. And how far their judgment ought to weigh with us has been considered above; ^f“non quia aliquando erratum est, ideo semper errandum est.”

Thus, I hope, we have got fairly off from the dilemma; or if not, let me propose another, and leave it with Mr. K. to show that we are pretty even. It is very certain that the Church of England forbids Baptism Lay, in all ordinary cases, directly, and in extraordinary, implicitly; having made no provision for cases of necessity; which yet she ought to have done, and very probably would have done, had she thought Lay-baptism valid, since the salvation of many infants may be nearly concerned in it.

“I do not therefore see but that those gentlemen who affirm Lay-baptism to be valid, lie under a necessity either of owning that they assert that for an important article of true doctrine, which the Church of England denies, or of accusing their Mother the Church of England” of a very culpable omission in making no provision for a case that may often happen, and is of everlasting moment. “I shall be heartily glad to see these gentlemen get handsomely clear from this dilemma:” and in the interim, I presume, we shall have time enough to consider how to deal with the other.

From what has been said, it appears pretty plainly, that there is no law either of God or man, either of the primitive Church, or our own, whereon to found the validity of Dissenters' Baptism. As to making any thing

^f Cypr. ad Jub.

valid *ex post facto* by a subsequent confirmation, which was not valid before ; it is too romantic a notion to need confuting, having no countenance from Scripture, antiquity, or reason, or the principles of our Church, or our Office of Confirmation, which supposes persons baptized, validly baptized before. Seeing therefore the thing looks so suspicious and doubtful, and withal very dangerous, it concerns us to take the safest way, and to act as all wise casuists would advise us in doubtful cases. Mr. Bennet, who had well considered this subject, speaks like a wise and good man. "At present," says he, "I am not able to prove the validity of sacraments administered by lay persons in any case whatsoever ; nor on the other hand am I willing to pronounce them utterly invalid. But this I own, that if it had been my misfortune to have been baptized by such a person, as was not authorized by God to perform that office ; I would be conditionally rebaptized, after the same manner, which our Church prescribes in dubious cases. For I do not think that it would otherwise be possible for me to enjoy peace of conscience for one single moment."

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

In the close he subjoins a summary view of the principles which he espouses, relating to the present subject, in twenty-six particulars. The first five are very good ; the rest are mostly, in my opinion, either not true, or not accurately expressed. I shall take notice of but one or two.

His twenty-first is, "that the minister is not of the essence" (of Baptism). His twenty second, "Consequently the Church being, as has been declared, the su-

“preme judge of this matter, if she shall think fit to order those who have been baptized by laymen to be baptized again, I am not the man that shall gainsay it.” He must certainly have been under some confusion of thought when he wrote this; for I verily believe he does not mean it. Would any man else argue thus? The minister is not essential, therefore Baptism is valid whether by a Priest or Laic; “therefore the Church may choose whether she will receive it or no,” when the irresistible consequence from these premises is, that the Church cannot choose but must receive it, since it is valid on either supposition. I suppose he means, that since it does not certainly appear, either that the Minister is essential or not essential, in so doubtful a case, let the Church determine whether the disputed Baptisms shall be valid or not. If the Minister be supposed not essential, there is no room left for the Church to order a rebaptization. What Churchmen, nay what heretics, (except the Marcionists,) ever allowed rebaptization in the strict and proper sense, or did not utterly disclaim it? However, if your friend will be so generous as to admit of two Baptisms in some cases, I hope we may be excused hereafter if we contend for one. Could Lay-baptism be shown to be truly Baptism, I should be the last man that should plead for rebaptization; nay, if all the churches in Europe should order it, I should *gainsay* it, and protest against it as an innovation.

But since it does not appear that such pretended Baptisms are truly Baptisms, but that there is all the reason in the world to think they are not, I must beg leave still to insist upon it, that all such as have been so pretendedly baptized, ought to have the true and only Baptism, episcopal Baptism, and so become not pretended but true and real members of the Church of Christ.

Thus, Sir, you have my thoughts at length upon a subject difficult enough for wise and good men to differ upon, and yet perhaps clear enough to a careful and diligent inquirer. You had had this long ago, had not my

other business and many avocations hindered; and I might no doubt have been more exact in many things, had I more leisure, or could I bear the trouble of transcribing. But since these papers are designed only for private use, I am content to let them pass. You may please to communicate them at leisure to your learned friend, whom I have a great respect and value for. He has shown in espousing the cause of Lay-baptism, that he is very able both to defend and adorn a better; and if he has failed in it, it may be considered that the great Mr. Bingham, not to mention others, has sunk in the attempt before, and neither his fine parts nor voluminous reading could support him against an adversary, who in learning certainly, not to say in abilities, is far inferior to him. I have endeavoured every where to treat Mr. K. with that civility and respect due to his character and personal merit. But if any thing has dropt from me unawares that seems different from it, I desire you to blot it out with your pen, it being what I should certainly do myself, as soon as apprized of it.

While I differ from him in this, I shall be ever, I hope, ready to join with him in a fervent zeal for God and religion, and vigorously opposing the growing heterodoxies and prevailing corruptions of the present times.

May the Giver of all truth direct us in our searches after it, and both incline us to embrace it, and enable us to pursue it.

I am, dear Sir,

your most affectionate

humble Servant.

DR. WATERLAND'S LETTERS

TO

THE REV. MR. LEWIS,

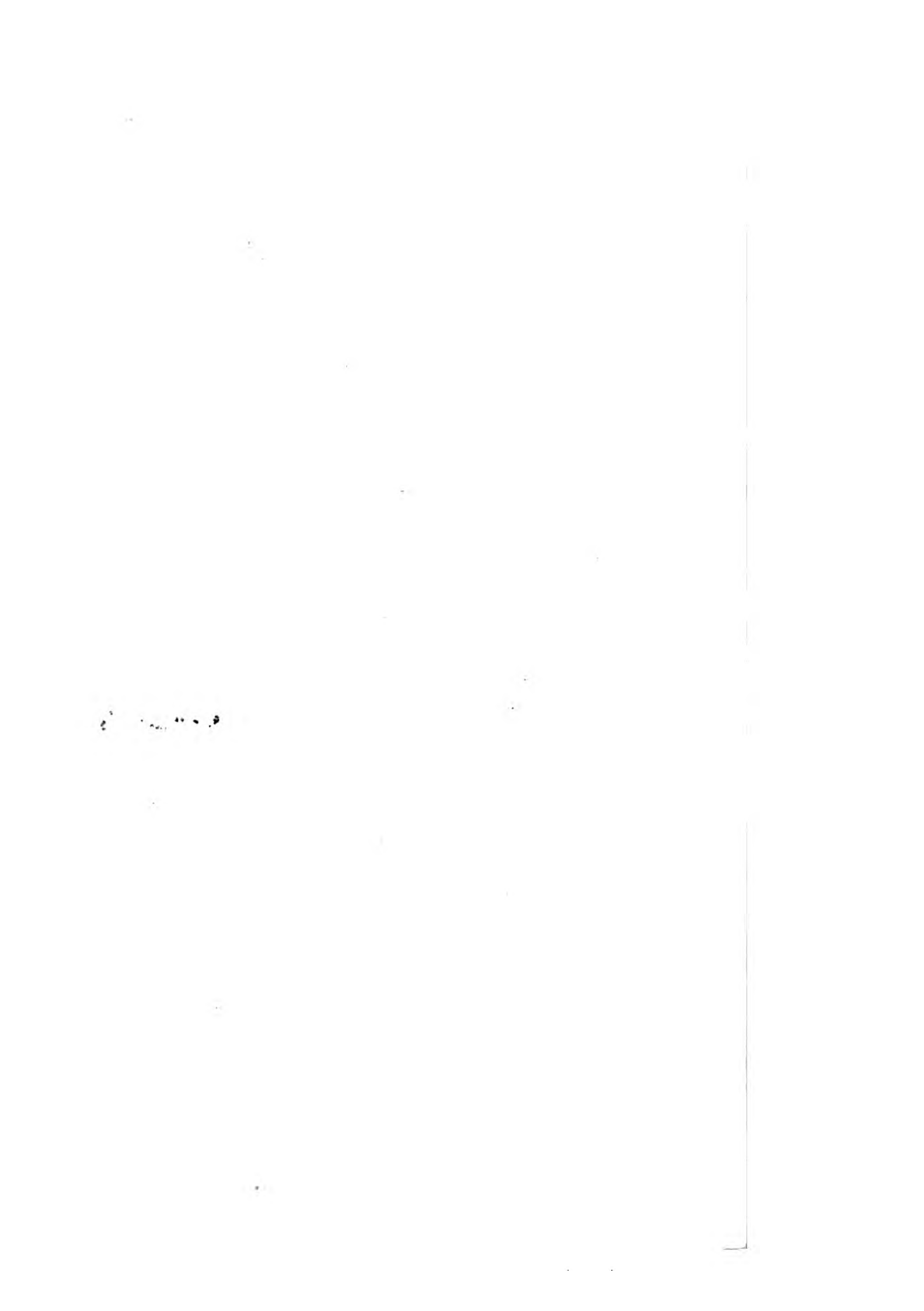
MERGATE, KENT.



THE following Letters were transcribed from a folio volume in Rawlinson's Collection of MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The Letters not having been copied in chronological order, and some of them having *no date*, considerable difficulty was found in properly arranging them. But this difficulty, it is hoped, has been so far surmounted, as to remove any perplexity that might otherwise occur, in referring from one Letter to another, for the elucidation of any particular subject. To facilitate also the reader's researches, a short Table of the Contents of each Letter is prefixed to this Volume.

The twelve first Letters were written in the years 1724 and 1725, and relate chiefly to the life and writings of Bishop Pecock. The remaining Letters relate almost entirely to a history of the English translations of the Bible, and were written in the years 1728 and 1729. *Recol. D. 376.*

The Notes inclosed between brackets are in the original manuscripts. The other references are by the Editor.



LETTERS

TO

THE REV. MR. LEWIS,

MERGATE, KENT.

Nº. I.

REVEREND SIR,

I HEARTILY thank you for the favour of your papers, containing *Cursory Remarks on my Critical History*^a. I am very desirous of any hints that may contribute to the correcting or improving any part of that work: and some of yours will be serviceable; while the rest show your kind and friendly endeavours towards me.

Sir Francis Kynaston's observation relates to the division of the day into four equal parts, where *prime* has a particular sense; how justly I do not say. My sense of *prime* is founded upon another division of the day, into twelve equal parts, or hours, and is certainly right with respect to the subject I am upon.

As to Beleth, I am not sensible of any *slip*. He is an evidence of the Creed's being *commonly* ascribed to Anastasius in his time, which he judges to be *wrongfully* done, (*falso*,) ascribing it himself to Athanasius. The word *licet* is indeed dropped in my quotation, by some accident^b; or if I designedly left it out, there should have

^a Waterland's *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*; the first edition of which was published in 1723, the second in 1728.

^b It is inserted in the second edition, p. 45.

been a full stop at *est*, to make two sentences instead of one, the two parts being produced to prove two distinct things.

Dr. Clarke is obliged to your kind endeavours for him. But no man whose thoughts were not absent would have expressed, *about* 429, by *near* 400, or *above* 300; either of which implies a number short of 400. I must own however that such a slip might have been passed over in silence, had not the Dr. had seven years time to correct it in, and had not he been a man that values himself upon his accuracy, and is pretty severe upon others on as slight occasions.

I have not your Life of Wicklif by me. But I shall consult it the first opportunity in the pages referred to.

I thank you for your hint about Trevisa^c: and shall correct the mistake about Berkeley. I forget now whose authority it was that I then followed implicitly, without inquiring farther.

What I say of the Gallican Psalter^d being retained in our Common Prayer Book, I took from Dr. Hody, who was, generally, a very careful and accurate writer; though, as I now conceive, mistaken in this particular. I thank you for your valuable hints on this head, and shall, as I have leisure, make more strict inquiries into that matter. I have for the present only compared two or three Psalms of our old version with the Gallican Psalter: and I find that even these few do not answer. Which confirms me in it, that your observation is very right and just. Farther inquiries may give me still more abundant satisfaction.

^c As to what I say of the Latin versions used by the Popes at different times, my authorities are certainly very good; Cardinal Bona, Mabillon, and Martianey the late editor of Jerome. What I hint about the Council of Trent, particularly, is taken from the last. My account, I conceive, is very consistent with your remarks. The

^c See Crit. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 176, 177.

^d Ibid. p. 201.

^e Ibid. pp. 198—203.

edition of 1532 is above thirty years before Pius V. who introduced the Gallican Psalter into common use. And as to what you observe of the Council of Trent, (though I have not their *Acta* at hand,) I suppose it may be meant not of the Psalter in particular, but of the Latin Bible in general.

I am undoubtedly right in setting Bryling's Greek edition^f before the rest, and in calling it *first*, as first in order of time. Fabricius's naming it *tertia* has reference only to Montfaucon's order of placing the copies in his edition of Athanasius's works; this copy being the *third* in his way of placing them, though first printed. There have been in reality six several copies of that Creed, though three of the six are so like one another that they have been thrown into one, as I observe vol. iv. p. 215.

I am obliged to you for intimating how long the mistake of *holy* for *whole* continued. I was not furnished with a sufficient number of Prayer Books of several editions, to trace that matter far enough down. I made a small slip in the same page, (which you have not observed,) for want of King Edward's Prayer Book of 1552. Instead of saying, *under Queen Elizabeth*, I should have said, *in the year 1552, under King Edward*.

You seem not satisfied with my conjecture about the occasion of the mistake; though it be very easy to change *hole* into *holi*, and so into *holy*. Could I [have] thought of any other more probable account, I should have preferred it before this. You may imagine that I had consulted all the Greek editions first, and particularly that copy from which our version was made. I was certain that none of the copies gave any ground or umbrage for the word *holy*. In Bryling's copy, from which our version was taken, the word is *σῶαν*; in the Dionysian copy the same; in the Constantinopolitan, *ἀκεραία*; in the Commeline it is *ὑγιῆ*; in Usher's, *ἀμόλυντον*; in Labbe's, *σῶαν*. But it is sufficient to have mentioned the first; because our translat-

^f Crit. Hist. vol. iv. pp. 213, 216.

ors had seen no other. If you have met with any copy that has *ἀγία*, it will be found, I believe, to have been none other than a Greek translation from the English, together with the rest of the Prayer Book in Greek. I have been told of *ἀγία* appearing in a Greek copy; but have not had an opportunity of looking into one of those Greek Prayer Books, to see how the matter stands.

You will easily apprehend whence I took my Latin copy of the Creed, when you consider the manuscripts which I refer to, and their various lections noted at the bottom. I followed no one particular copy, but chose out of all what appeared to be, upon critical reasons, the true and ancient reading.

As to Dr. Tarentinus^g, he was (very probably) Pater of Tarentum, a noted scholastic Divine; made Archbishop of Lions in 1271, and Pope under the name of Innocent V. in 1276. He has a Compendium of Theology, which was printed at Paris in 1551, where probably may be found what you cite. But I have never yet seen the book. I am obliged to you however for the hint: I shall search after him. If his opinion be such as is represented in the quotation, it may deserve some notice, though there was no just ground for any such opinion. All the Latin copies I have hitherto seen, ancient or modern, have the article of Christ's descent into hell. Possibly, some use may be made of the observation for settling the age of Usher's form, which also omits that article.

Some Latin copies have *firmeque* instead of *firmiterque*. But they are modern and few: and it concerned me not to take notice of that slight variation, where I was noting only the difference between Bryling's copy and the rest, as a farther argument of our translators following that copy.

I beg leave in the close to repeat my thanks to you for your kind remarks. I shall make some corrections

^g Lewis's Life of Peacock, p. 225.

from them where just. And I thought it a piece of civility to you to intimate my judgment of the rest.

If any other hints occasionally come in your way, I shall think myself much obliged to you for communicating them to me. And if any thing brings you to Town while I am here, your calling upon me at my house will be an additional favour to,

Good Sir,

Your obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Watling Street, by St. Austin's Church,
March 31, 1724.

To the Rev. Mr. Lewis, of Mergate in Kent.



Nº. II.

The Tretiis that is clepid ^a *The pore Caitif*.

Publ. Acad. Cant. N. 466.	-	A.	
Publ. Acad. Cant. N. 467.	-	B.	
Coll. Trin. Cant. B. 8. 37.	-	C.	} These two the oldest.
Coll. Joh. G. 28.	- - -	D.	

^a [Note, that the *pore Caitif* contains, besides the prologue, fifteen pieces, ending with the Myrror of Chastite, which has five chapters. Those fifteen pieces are the same that are numbered up in Wiclif's Life, p. 170. A. C. and D. are three entire copies of the *pore Caitif*. C. ends in these words, (after the Mirror of Chastite,) *here endith the tretiis that is clepid the pore Caitif*. B. contains but a part, namely the three first pieces, Creed, Commandments, and Pater Noster: to which are added five other pieces, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, in Wiclif's Life, p. 357.

Trin. Coll. MS. formerly I. Laughton's, is much the fairest and best of the four.

N. B. The MSS. A. D. particularly name the several Apostles before every article. But B. and C. name them not, but in the entrance to the Creed they read thus: *Muse we not what Apostil made which part, either article, of this holi Crede, but bileve we stidfastly, &c.* From hence I suspect, that though B. and C. appear the older MSS. yet A. and D. were copied from one older than both. But I am doubtful in the case.]

THE CREDE.

- St. Petir.* 1. I bileve into^a God Fadir Almyghty,
Maker of hevene and of erthe.
- St. Andrew.* 2. I bileve * into^a Ihū Crist, his oonli Sone
oure Lord.
- St. Jame. Zeb.* 3. I bileve that he is conseved of the Holi
Goost, born^b of the Virgine^c Marie.
- St. John.* 4. I bileve that he suffride passioun^d undir
Pilat of Pounce †, doon upon the cross,
deed, and biried.
- St. Thomas.* 5. I bileve that he wente down to hellis^e:
the thridde day he roos fro deeth to lyf.
- St. Jame. Alf.* 6. I bileve that he stied to hevenes, there^f
he sitteth on the right side of God thes
Fadir Almighty.
- St. Philip.* 7. I bileve that he is to come to deme quike
and deede.
- St. Bartilmew.* 8. I bileve into^h the Holi Goost.
- St. Matheu.* 9. I bileve holiⁱ Chirche, † feithful^k; co-
munynge^l of seyntis.
- St. Symount.* 10. I bileve forgevenes of synnes.
- St. Jude.* 11. I bileve agenrisynge of fleisch^m.
- St. Mathi.* 12. Andⁿ I bileve an everlastynge lyf.

VARIOUS LECTIONS.

[^a into] so B C. And the comment seems to require it. But the rest read *in*.
^b and born A. D. ^c maide D. ^d payne A. D. ^e helle A. C. D.
^f and there A. D. ^g the deest A. D. ^h in A. C. D. ⁱ in holy A. D.
^k feithful deest A. D. ^l and comynge A. D. ^m risinge of body A. D.
ⁿ and deest C.]

* [The repetition of *I bileve* is owing only to this, that the Creed is here extracted out of a comment, where the parts are broken, and so every article so taken separately wanted it.]

† [Theophylact deduces the name of *Pontius*, fancifully, from *Pontus*, as Eutychius of Alexandria from *Ponta*, an island. It does not appear from the comment, which of these our author followed, but probably the former. The Saxon version reads *Pontiscean Pilate*, and, after the Norman Conquest, *Ponce Pilate*; as in Wanley's Catalogue, p. 228.]

‡ [Feithful, for *Catholick*; following the popular rather than strict grammatical sense. The like may be observed in the Saxon version of the Nicene Creed, in Whelock's edition of Bede's History. So *πιστοι*, and *fideles*, were equivalent to *Catholicks*.]

THE TEN HEESTES.

1. I am the Lord thi God that ledde thee out of the lond of^a Egipt, out of the hous of thraldom^b.

Thou schalt not have aliene^c Goddis before me: thou schalt not make to thee a graven ymage, ne ony liknes that is in hevene above, and that is in erthe binethe, ne of tho thingis that ben in watris undir the erthe: thou schalt not^d worscipe hem ne loute hem^d; I am thi Lord God, a strong, gelous lovier, visitinge the wickidnessis of fadris into sones^e into the thridde and the^f fourthe generatioun of hem that hatiden me, and doinge merci into thousinds of kinredes^g of hem that loven me and kepen myne heestis.

2. Thou schalt not take the name of thi Lord God in veyn; ^h forsothe the Lord^h schal not have him innocentⁱ, or unponished, that takith the name of the Lord his God^k idilly^l.

3. Have mynde that thou halewe the haliday (that is, Goddis^m sabath). ⁿ Sexe daies thou schalt worche^o, and schalt do alle thi werkis: ^p in the seventhe day forsothe^p is the haliday^q of thi Lord God: thou schalt not do in that day ony servile werkis, ^r thou and thi sone and thi doughtir, thi servaunt, and thin hondmaiden, thi werkbeest, and thi straunger that is withinne thi gatis^s. In sexe daies ^t God made hevene and erthe and the see^u, and alle thingis what ben in hem, and restidde in the seventhe day, ^w therefore the Lord^w bleside to the haliday, and halewide it.

VARIOUS LECTIONS.

^a [the lond of desunt A. D. ^b add, eithir bondage A. D. ^c straunge A. D. ^d not prie to hem, neithir worscipe A. D. in soule A. ^e in the children A. D. ^f the deest A. D. ^g a thousand of them that A. D. ^h for, God A. D. ⁱ withouten gilt that A. D. ^k his Lord God B. ^l his name in ydil, eithir without cause A. D. ^m The words of the parenthesis are only in B. and there in the margin. ⁿ in sixe D. A. ^o worche thi owne werkis A. D. ^p the seventhe day is the A. D. ^q reste A. C. D. ^r neithir thou, ne thi sone, ne thi servaunt, ne thi werkbeeaste, ne thi str. A. D. ^s dwellith in thi hous A. D. ^t for in sixe daies A. D. daies forsothe C. ^u and the see desunt A. D. ^w and therefore he bleside the A. D. haliday. This paragraph wanting in MS. C.]

4. Honoure ^x thou thi fadir and thi modir, that thou be of long lyf^y upon erthe, the whiche the Lord God schal geve to thee.

5. Thou schalt not slee.

6. Thou schalt do no letcherie.

7. Thou schalt do no thefte^z.

8. Thou schalt not seie ^a fals witnessynge ^b agens thi neighbore.

9. Thou schalt not coveite thi neighboris hous.

10. Thou schalt not desire the wyf of thi neighbore^c, not servaunt, not hondmaide, not oxe, not asse, ne oni thing that is his.

Magd. Coll. Cant. June 9, 1724.

SIR,

I HAVE here at length sent you a transcript of what you desired, gathered from four MSS. which I denote by the four first letters of the alphabet. The MS. B. I took for my text, with which commonly agrees C., as A. and D. do likewise tally with each other. I have hinted that A. C. D. are three entire copies of the *pore Caitif*. I understand there is another at Lambeth, and a fifth in the College of Dublin, Cod. 672. Whether the whole collection, or any part be really Wiclif's, I cannot say, not being sufficiently versed in his writings. The authors quoted, as I remember, in this collection are chiefly Austin, Jerom, Chrysostom, Gregory, Bede, Anselm, Grostead, and Odo, and none later. You may know whether it be his custom to quote authors, and those authors. The discourses are wholly practical, calculated for common readers, and breathing a spirit of piety all the way through, with great simplicity.

I have not yet met with any thing considerable relating

VARIOUS LECTIONS.

^x [worchiþe A. D. ^y longlyved D. ^z thou—not do thefte A. D. ^a speke C. ^b witnes C. ^c ne his servaunt, ne his maide, ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne no thing A. D.]

to Bishop Peacock. We have one of his MS. pieces here in our public library: but Wharton has given a very full account of it in print. Pepys's library is packed up in boxes for the present: I am making all the haste I can to provide chasses, (sic) and to set the books up in order. The catalogue, which I have looked over, promises me nothing of that kind. I can find nothing yet of Dr. Tarentinus. I looked for him in many libraries both at London and Oxford, and in some here at Cambridge; but he is not to be found. I met with a Prayer Book at Oxford of the year 1627, where the reading is *whole*, and this is as far backwards as I have found that reading. I believe you are very right in fixing the alteration to that very year. I have a suspicion that though *holy* was the old reading, *wholly* was understood; and the rather because Queen Elizabeth's of 1561 reads *wholy*, and the metrical version joins to it *undefiledly*: if so, there was nothing more in it than an antique spelling. I have seen *holi* and *hooli* in old English books for *wholly*, and the very same spelling for *holy*, in the same books.

I formerly made mention of the Shepherd's Almanack, or Calendar; I have seen it in Pepys's library, and find Mr. Johnson's remark from it to be just. It was first in French, composed about the year 1596. It was twice translated into English. The last edition or translation (which is what I have seen) was in the year 1618. I have nothing farther to add at present, but to assure you, that if I can meet with any thing here that may be serviceable to your work, I shall give you notice of it. And if you think of any thing else that may be of use to you, do but intimate your requests, and they shall be readily answered, as far as may be, by,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.

^a No. III.

REVEREND SIR,

OUR librarian happening to be out of the way, I could not get the MS. soon enough to return you an answer by the first post. Before I come to what you desire, it will be proper to give you, as it is short, the author's division, or method, in his own words as follows.

"^b Y schal justifie xi gouernauncis of the Clergie
 " whiche sume of the comoun peple, unwiisly & untreuli
 " jugen, & condempnen to be yuele: of whiche xi gouer-
 " nauncis oon is the having & using of ymagis in chirchis.
 " And an othir is pilgrimage in going to the memorialis,
 " or the mynde-placis, of seintis, & that pilgrimagis &
 " offringis mowe be doon weel, not oonly priuely, but
 " also openli; & not oonli so of laymen but rather of
 " Prestis and of Bischopis. And this schal y do bi writ-
 " ing of this present book in the comoun peplis langage
 " pleinli, & openli, & schortli: and to be clepid *The re-*
 " *pressing of ouer miche wiiting* (sic) *the Clergie*. And he
 " schal haue v. principal parties. In the firste of whiche
 " parties schal be maad in general maner the seid repress-
 " ing, and in general maner proof to the xi seid gouer-
 " nauncis. And in the ii. iii. iiiii. & v. parties schal be
 " maad in special maner the seid repressing, and in spe-
 " cial maner the proof to the same xi gouernauncis."

Thus far the author's words concerning the partition of his work. I have imitated the way of writing, and followed the spelling; excepting that I have given some words at length instead of the abbreviations.

I now come to the place you inquire after. It is in the very last page, and makes but a small part of it.

^a This letter is without a date; but, from what is said respecting *Pilate of Pounce*, and other internal evidence, it seems to have followed not long after the letter of June 9, 1724.

^b See Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 163.

"^c The X. principal gouernaunce, agens which sume of
 " the comoun peple erren, is this: that the Clergie in
 " certein causes and maters swerith & makith othere
 " persoones for to swere; & allowith weel that princis &
 " her officers, being undir hem, bothe swere & make
 " othere men of the layte for to swere. Certis sume of
 " the lay peple holden this gouernaunce to be unleeful, &
 " agens the comaundement of God; and that it is uttirli
 " unleeful eny man for to swere. Neuertheles for as
 " muche as this unwiis holding is sufficientli proved to be
 " untrew in *the book, filling the iiii tablis*, in the secunde
 " partie bi manye chapitris; therfore nothing therof
 " here."

This is all the author here says to that article. As to the book about the *four tables*, I suppose it is lost. But you may probably spell out his meaning from the hints here given. I shall transcribe the conclusion, because of the author's there intituling his book something differently from what he had done in the entrance.

" And thus y eende this present book, clepid *The Re-
 " presser of ouer myche blamyng the Clergie*. For which
 " book to thee, Lord God, be preising & thanking: and
 " to alle the seid ouermyche undirnemers and blamers
 " ful amendement. Amen."

Undirnemers, or *undirnymers*, is a very common word with him. He ushers in his discourse with part of 2 Tim. iv. 2. which he thus renders; *undirnyne thou, biseche thou, & blame thou in al pacience & doctrine*. It is, as it were, the text or motto to his book: Wicklif renders the same place thus, in his first edition, as I take it: *argu, or proue, byseche, blame in all pacience and doctrine*. But in the other it is, *repreue thou, biseche thou, blame thou, &c.*

Having spare paper enough, permit me now to run out into other matters. Wicklif's Wicket, however small a piece, I have never read, but design to do shortly, having it now in our new library which was Mr. Pepys's. The title of

^c See Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 147.

Masse Crede is of some antiquity, appearing in the Saxon versions as early as 950, or higher; *mærre cræda*. One good use may be made of the observation, for the proving that we received the Nicene Creed into our Communion Office before the Roman Church did; following therein the Gallican Churches, (as in many other customs,) rather than Roman.

Since my last to you, I had the curiosity to search a little farther into the reason of the title of *Pilate of Pounce*^d, in Wiclif's version of the Roman Creed. I thought it not likely that it should be borrowed from either of the Greek writers by me mentioned, or indeed from any Greek writer, our countrymen formerly having had very little acquaintance with Greek. Besides that the Saxon versions are some of them undoubtedly more ancient than either Theophylact or Eutychius; and yet they in the word *Pontife* seem plainly to go upon the same notion, understanding *Pontius* as denoting some place where Pilate was either born, or lived, or governed. To be short, I met with several Latin writers, upon search, that adopted the same notion; as Bruno in his Comment on that Creed, A. D. 1030, and the author of the tract de *Divinis Officiis*, falsely ascribed to Alcuin, in his Comment on the same: he lived probably about A. D. 1000. But there is an older still, Amalarius Trevirensis, who wrote A. D. 813, and says the very same thing in his comment on the same Creed, in the Treatise, or Epistle, de *Ceremoniis Baptismi* among Alcuin's works. Having traced it thus high, I was then very well satisfied; not doubting but our Saxon ancestors had from thence borrowed the notion on which they formed their language in that article.

However, among many copies of the Apostles' Creed, which I have searched down from the ninth century, I have met with none but Wiclif's that has *Pilate of Pounce*; the same expression which he uses in his version of the New Testament, in both editions, (so I call them, and

^d See Letter II. The Crede. Article 4.

have both by me,) in Matt. xxvii. 2. Whether this may be an additional argument for ascribing *the pore Caitif* to Wicklif, I leave to be considered. I have met with an English author who talks sillily enough upon this matter; but he is valuable for his antiquity, and as discovering the current language in his time. The book was printed A. D. 1500, written perhaps several years sooner. It is called *Liber Festialis*, containing plain simple Homilies, (drawn chiefly out of the *Legenda Aurea*,) upon the principal feasts in the year. He tells his tale thus.

“Themperoure by counseyll of the Romainys sente Pylate into a contree that was called *Pounce*: where the people of that contrey where so cursed that they slewe ony that come to bee thyr mayster ouer hem. Soo whan this Pylate come thyder, he applied hym to her maners: soo what wyth whyles and sotyltye he ouercome hem, and had the maystrye, and gate his name, and was called *Pylate of Pounce*, and had grete domynacion and power.”

Yet this very author in his copy of the Creed does not read *Pylate of Pounce*, but *Pounce Pylate*, according to the usual style (excepting *Pounce* for *Ponce*) in that article from the twelfth century down to Wiclif, and after Wiclif, in all other copies I have met with, down to the year 1535, when the English Primmer put *Pontius* instead of *Ponce*. And yet the Bishop of Rochester's Primmer in 1539, and Henry the Eighth's in 1545, still retained *Ponce*; but our Reformers, being better learned, rightly preferred *Pontius*, as it stands at this day, having no mystery in it more than its being a Roman name, which Bishop Pearson has sufficiently shewn.

As to the false notion or hypothesis which Wiclif, with many others, went upon, no one expresses it more briefly or clearly than the author of the tract de *Divinis Officiis* in Alcuin, in these words: “*Pontius dictus est, vel a Ponto regione, vel a Ponto insula in qua natus est, vel a familia, ut quibusdam placet.*” Alcuin. Op. p. 1125.

Whether what I have been talking about may be of any

use to you, I know not. But I have the pleasure of shewing you how ready I should be to serve you in 'things more material, (were it in my power,) by these pains spent upon a trifle. I have dipped in several books in hopes to furnish you with something about Bishop Pecock, but have not been so happy as to meet with any thing. I design (God willing) to continue here about a month longer, before I return to London. If you think of any thing further that I may serve you in, while I stay, fail not to acquaint,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

P.S. I know not whether you have seen Oudin's last edition of his *Commentarius de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, A. D. 1722. He takes Pecock in at the year 1450. He has done little more than the transcribing Wharton; excepting that by diligent searching into the Oxford Catalogue of MSS. he has found out the names of some pieces ascribed to Pecock, which Wharton had omitted, and offers his conjectures about another piece which nobody before himself every suspected to be Pecock's. He takes notice of a MS. in the Bodleian, (B. 1. 18.) intituled, *‘Johannis Bury Theologi Oxoniensis Responsio ad Conclusiones Reginaldi Peacocke*; and observes that the book must be of good use for setting Pecock's case in its full light. I doubt not but you have consulted your friends at Oxford about that matter, and so I need not say more.

I suppose you design an exact account of the Author's works along with his life. I have now in my keeping his two principal pieces extant: his *Represser*, out of the public library; and his book of the *Rule of Christian Faith*, out of Trin. Coll. Library. I shall have these

* Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, pp. 274—284. The manuscript is there stated to be, B. 1. 1960. 18. and containing sixteen sheets of vellum in quarto.

pieces with me some time longer. If you desire any hint about any particular relating to them, you may please to give me speedy notice, and I shall consult them for you. I shall probably run them both over superficially before I part with them. One thing I intend for my own satisfaction as I go along; which is to take down the names of such books as the author wrote, and referred to himself. Mr. Wharton's account appears to me somewhat confused, that I scarce know from thence what the true titles of some pieces were, or whether English or Latin.

If you once have the English titles in the author's own style, it would certainly be proper to recount all his English pieces under the English titles, as the Latin ones under Latin titles. If you approve of this hint, please to give me a line, and I will send you up as many as I can find, in the reading those two pieces.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. IV.

† Bishop Pecock's English Books, or Tracts.

1. *The Forcrier* : alias, *The bifore Crier*.
2. *The Donet into Cristen Religioun*. Among the Collectanea Richardi Jamesii, this book is mentioned, and so perhaps may still be extant. See Oxon. Catal. of MSS. p. 260.
3. *The folewer to the Donet*. This book is also mentioned in the Oxon Catalogue, numb. 6627. p. 202. MSS. Codd. Caro. Theyeri, where it is misnamed, The Follower of the *Devout*. I may note that *Donet* is mentioned by Chaucer as the name of some book, which I learn from the Glossary at the end, but have not had leisure to look

† See Lewis's Life of Pecock, chap. vii. p. 315. et seq.

out the place. This tract is also called, *The Key of Cristen Religioun.*

4. ^g *The Book of Cristen Religioun.*

5. *The Book of Matrimonie.*

6. *The filling of the iiij Tablis.* The third part of which book, as the author informs us, (Repress. part i. c. 3.) is chiefly upon usure.

7. *The just apprising of holi Scripture in iii parties.*

8. *The Provoker of Cristen Men.*

9. *The Book of Counceilis.*

10. *The prouyng of Cristen Faith.*

11. ^h *The Spreding the iiij Tablis.*

12. *The Book of Signis in the Chirche: alias, The Boke of worschipping.* The subject whereof he expresses a little more fully, (Repress. part ii. c. 12.) *uce of worschipping doon bi seable rememoratiif signes.*

A. D. 1449.

13. *The Represser of ouer myche blamyng the Clergie.* Ext. Bibl. Cant. num. 190. folio. Mr. Wharton has fixed the date to the year in the margin.

14. *The Boke of Leernyng.*

15. *The Boke of Presthode.*

16. *The Book of Baptȳ.*

17. *The Book of Eukarist.* N. B. Put this below, among the promised.

A. D. 1455.

18. *The Book of Faith,* in two parts, written in the way of dialogue between a father and a son. Ext. Trin. Coll. Cant. N. R. 11. 2. 8vo. The date of this book is certain, if that of the *Represser* be so. For the author himself, in the entrance, reckons six years from the time of his writing the *Represser*: and afterwards, speaking of the same war between England and France, he sets it at forty years in this book, as he had in the former at thirty-four. Mr. Wharton is mistaken in his report of this MS. of Trinity

^g No. 2. in Lewis's List.

^h Lewis considers this to be the same with No. 6.

College as being *perfect*. It certainly wants a considerable part at the latter end. How much I cannot say, because I have never seen the entire second part published (as Mr. Wharton says) Lond. 1688. This book in the close begins the subject of the article of the Creed, (Christ's descent into hell,) as having been anciently wanting, and there breaks off abruptly.

ⁱ *English Tracts promised only, so far as appears.*

1. *A schort Compendiose Logik* : of which he says, (after expressing the great need of such a thing, *in her modires langage*, and the excellent use it might be of,) as follows : "into whos making, if God wole graunte leue and leyser, "y purpose sumtyme after my othere bisynessis for to "assaie." Repress. part i. c. 2.

2. *A Book of Legendis*. Of this design he says, "in "legendis ben founde manie ful untrew fablis, as in a book "therof to be maad schal appeere." Repress. part iii. c. 12^k.

I conjecture that this book was to be in *English*, because the author says nothing of its being intended in *Latin*; as he commonly does whenever he refers to his Latin treatises.

After this list of his English works, I shall transcribe you two passages, wherein the author himself numbers up most of them, and shews some fondness for them.

"^l Ful weel oughten alle persoones of the lay parti, not "leerned oughtwhere ellis—for to make miche of bokis "maad to hem in her modiris langage; whiche ben clepid "thus. *The Donet into Cristen Religioun. The Folwer to "the Donet. The Book of Cristen Religioun*; namelich the "first parti fro the bigynnyng of the iii. treti forthward : "The Book filling the iiiii Tablis. *The Book of worschip- "ing*: the book clepid *The just apprising of holi Scrip- "ture*: the book clepid *The Prouoker of Cristen Men.*

ⁱ Lewis, p. 323.

^k To these two tracts Lewis adds a third, *The book of Eukarist.*

^l Lewis, p. 319, 320.

“ *The Book of Councelis* : and other mo pertenyng to the
 “ now seid book of Cristen Religioun.—Miche oughten
 “ lay persoones for to make and apprise & loue the now
 “ spoken bokis. And ferthermore ouer this now seid, the
 “ now spoken bokis techen ful clereli & bihouefulli the
 “ treuthis & gouernauncis of Goddis lawe whiche ben
 “ groundid in holi Scripture, and also other treuthis of
 “ feith whiche ben not lawis & ben groundid in holi Scrip-
 “ ture. And also thei treten ful nobili the positiif lawis
 “ of Criste aboute the newe Sacramentis.—Of this same
 “ mater it is quikli & smertli spoken in a litil book, therto
 “ and therfore maad, whiche y clepe *The Provoker of*
 “ *Cristen Peple*, & therfore no more therof here.” Repress.
 part i. cap. 10.

“ If ye asken, who y am which makith him so bisi
 “ here agens you; forsothe he is the man which hath
 “ more labourid & doon into youre goostli availe, as of
 “ trewe kunnyng to be had of you, & errour to be re-
 “ moued fro you, than ye you silf ben of kunnyng and of
 “ power for to so do to you silf. In more special for to
 “ seie, He is the man which for you and for alle lay men
 “ hath write in lay mennys langage these bokis. *The*
 “ *Forcrier: The Donet into the book of Cristen Religioun:*
 “ *The Follower to the same Donet: The Boke of Cristen*
 “ *Religioun: The Provoker: The Represser: The Book of*
 “ *Signis in the Chirche, which y clepe the Boke of Worschip-*
 “ *ing: The Boke of Leernyng: The Booke of filling the*
 “ *iiii Tablis: this present Book of Feith: The Book of*
 “ *Presthode: with summe other mo.* Whiche bokis, if
 “ ye wolen rede diligentli, and attende therto studioseli,
 “ & be wel acqueyntid with hem, and not for to take an
 “ hasti smel or smatche in hem, and soone leie hem
 “ aside; ye schullen fynde in hem so great witt and leern-
 “ ing of Cristen religioun, that ye schullen holde you
 “ bigilid in the trust which ye had bifore in youre othere
 “ studies and laboris for leernyng. And ye schulen se
 “ that so fer the wittis & kunnyng of clerkis passen youre
 “ wittis & youre leernyng in maters of Cristen religioun,

" that ye schulen not truste so moche to youre kunnyng
 " as ye now doon. And ye schulen truste more to the
 " kunnyng of clerkis & seche bisili to have her helpe &
 " counseiling in tho maters, than ye have bifore this doon.
 " And ye schulen chastise you silf ful wel and ful vertu-
 " oseli fro pride and ^mpresūpcioun bifore had in setting
 " and in apprising youre leernyng & kunnyng in maters of
 " Cristen religioun bifore the leernyng and kunnyng of
 " Clerkis & of the Chirche as ye bifore this han doon.—
 " Forsothe summe of the kunnyngist men of youre soorte
 " aftir that thei han red of summe of these spokun bokis,
 " & han take bi notable tyme assaie and acqueyntaunce
 " in hem; han hungrid and thirstid for to have hadde the
 " copie & the contynual uce of tho bokis to hem, as
 " moche as euer thei hungriden & thirstiden after mete
 " and drinke." *Book of Faith*, part i.

ⁿ I shall subjoin another passage, not far from this now
 cited, to give a little farther light into the author's temper
 and manner, in regard especially to the Lollardis, Wick-
 lifitis, (so he calls them, and their leader Wiclif,) and his
 contests with them.

" I haue spoke oft tyme and bi long leiser with the
 " wittiest and kunnyngist men of thilk seid soort contrarie
 " to the Chirche, and which han be holde as dukis amonge
 " hem, and whiche han loued me for that y wolde paci-
 " entli heere her euydencis & her motyues, without ex-
 " probracioun. And verili noon of hem couthe make eny
 " motiue for her parti so stronge as y my silf couthe
 " haue made therto. And noon of hem couthe make eny
 " motiue which schulde meue a thrifti sad Clerk nedis
 " into concent: but ech thrifti sad Clerk in logik, phil-
 " sophie, & divinite, schulde soone schewe her motiue to
 " be ouer feble to be a cleer & undoutable prof. And if
 " y may not herynne be bileeved of hem, write thei her
 " euydencis & motyues in which thei trusten, and thei

^m In the next letter Dr. W. requests Mr. Lewis to write *presumpcion* for
presupcioun: and it is so written in Mr. L's quotation.

ⁿ Lewis, p. 333. *note*.

“ schulen se, bi writyng agen, that thei kunne right litil
 “ maistrie do for her party: yhe, moche lasse than good
 “ Clerkis kunnen for her party do. Ceese thei therfore
 “ & leue thei werk: for y wote weel, thei hewen (sic)
 “ aboute her heedis, & weenen that thei han more and
 “ clerer sight in kunnyng thanne thei han, or mowe haue
 “ without Clergie or greet helpe of Clerkis.”

° Here and in other parts of his pieces may be seen the good Bishop's excellencies, and at the same time his foibles. He had great parts, learning, and abilities; and was too confident in them, and trusted too much to them: while he hoped to be able at pure reason and argument to defend a very corrupt Church, in all, or its main, doctrines and practices against all assailants. Yet he is to be commended in preferring the rational way of dealing with adversaries before fire and fagot. The good man was forced to sweat and labour hard in so difficult an undertaking; and here and there to drop many a concession, such as the warm men of the Church could by no means brook or consent to. He hoped, since he was writing on the Church's side, and since his concessions were such only as plain force of reason, or as plain fact extorted, that he might be safe enough from censure; judging too kindly of other men's moderation and candour by his own. But enough of this.

¶ *His Latin works, finished and published.*

1. *Liber de Fide et Sacramentis*. This he mentions as being in *Latyn*. Repress. part i. p. 8.
2. *Liber de Baptismo*.
3. *Liber de Pœnitentia*. } Repress. part iv. c. 2.
4. *Iusta Doctorum Æstimatio*.

Latin works, promised only, so far as appears.

1. *Lectiones e Cathedra Academica*. Repress. part v. c. 6.
2. *Demonstratio Christianæ Fidei*. Of this he says,

° Lewis, pp. 333—335.

¶ Ibid. pp. 323, 324.

(Book of Faith, fol. 15. col. 2.) "Y hope to make in Latyn, "and to be clepid, *The Prof of Cristen Faith*." He refers to the same again, c. 10.

3. *Liber de Ecclesia*. De predicatione, promised in the same treatise, *to be maad in Latyn*, part i. c. 10.

These are all that I have observed any mention made of, in the two treatises cursorily read over. Please to correct a misspelling in my last, *layte*. The word is *layfe*, as I have since found by clear and certain instances. But being then new to me, I put *t*, by conjecture, for what now appears to be *f*.

As to the note at the end of the Represser, it is but a blind one, and in a hand quite different from that of the book itself. What you write *hunlith*, the Oxon Catalogue (n. 2370.) makes *humhich*. He must have better eyes or judgment than I pretend to, that can be positive in either. My opinion is at present, (but report it not from me till I have consulted more experienced men,) that the word is *Lambyth*; and that this was entered by a Notary, after the copy had been taken, or perhaps read in Lambeth Chapel, in the year that Bishop Pecock was called to account, namely, 1457. I read it thus:—*Explicit coram Domino, in Capella sua, apud Lambyth: xi Novemb. Anno Domini 1457*. The Oxon Catalogue erroneously claps in *Rege* after *Domino*: otherwise they might the more easily have thought of *Lambeth*. *Coram Domino*, as I apprehend, means the *Archbishop*.

As to Mr. Wharton's account, it is pretty right in the main, but rather too general, and not distinct enough, nor every where accurate. I am not aware that Pecock ever allowed or admitted that the Church had *actually erred in matter of faith*, as Mr. Wharton represents. In his Book of Faith, two principal faults he finds with the Lollardis; 1. "Ouer myche leenyng to Scripture, and in "such maner and wise as it longith not to holi Scripture

¹ The Archbishop's mandate to appear on the 11th of Nov. 1457, at *Lamhith*, is given at length in Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 215, 216. and the Notary's entry of his appearance on that day is mentioned, p. 217.

“for to receyue.” 2. “Setting not bi for to folowe the “determinations & the holdingis of the Chirche in mater “of faith.” The first of these, he observes he had sufficiently removed in his two former pieces: Just Apprising of Holy Scripture, and Represser. The second he reserved for the present treatise^r. And here, though he admits that possibly the Church *may err*, yet he constantly insists upon it that the Church has not *actually* erred: I mean in matter of faith. And that it *may err*, is rather by way of *supposition* for argument sake, than formal admitting it. Having observed, that a true conclusion in *reason* is of that strength, that though angels of heaven should contradict it, we must yet trust more to such plain proof, than to all the angels together: and having at the same time admitted, that though the Church were to determine against *plain proof* of reason, yet reason must be heard even against the Church: I say after this, he still guards in this manner, and in these words. “Neuertheles, “Some of this that y now haue grauntid to thee folowith “not, that the Chirche in erthe errith or may erre in mater “of feith, no more than folowith, of my graunt, that the “Chirche now in heuene errith or may erre in feith.” His standing doctrine in this article is, that a man is bound under pain of damnation to believe whatever the Church holdeth as faith, or has determined to be an article of faith, (even though the Church determined falsely or amiss,) unless such men can evidently, and openly, and indubitably prove that the Church has determined wrong. He further holds, that it is not proved, nor can be proved, that the Church has determined wrong, by this pleasant argument; that if it could be so clearly and indubitably proved, then the Church must of course have submitted to such clear and strong proof; which being contrary to fact, it must follow that there is no such clear and strong proof producible in this case. I shall give you the summing up of the argument in his own words. “If thou

^r Lewis, p. 265.

“ canst not proue cleerli & undoutabli the Chirche erre
 “ agens thi parti, thou art in dampnacioun for to holde
 “ agens the Chirche : and agenward, if thou canst prove it
 “ cleerli and undoutabli, thou art in dampnacioun for that
 “ thou conquerist not other men and the Chirche ; sithen
 “ it is proued that thou maist so do, if it be trewe that
 “ thou canst prove cleerli and undoutabli what thou pre-
 “ tendist & knowlechist thee kunne so proue.” As to
 what Mr. Wharton says, of the Bishop’s disapproving, as
 well as confessing the use of too many *rites* and *ceremo-*
nies, it may be proper to give the Author’s words. *Repress.*
 part iv. cap. 9.

“ Y hold this, that ouer greet multitude of mennys
 “ posityue lawis oughten not to be maad ; but Prelatis and
 “ Princis oughten be weel waar that ouer mayne posityue
 “ lawis be not gouen to her peplis. For sotheli therof
 “ cometh causeli nedis ful myche yuel more than y se
 “ men considere so to come. Of whiche yvelis y desire in
 “ my herte for to haue leiser & space to write my con-
 “ seite ; whiche God graunte to be done. But certis for
 “ to holde that it is unleeeful, or unexpedient eny suche
 “ posityue lawis be maad & be gouun to the peple, is fer
 “ fro my witt and my resoun.”

You may please to consider whether to add one book
 more to the *promised* tracts. Mr. Wharton did not reckon
 this in the Catalogue, nor have I.

Possibly, upon a little farther view into these matters, I
 may have a few more things to observe to you. If I
 think of any thing material, it may make the subject of
 another letter. This is crowded sufficiently already by,

Sir,

Your assured humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Oct. 17, 1724.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
 of Mergate in Kent.*

N^o. V.

SIR,

I SEND you this by way of supplement to my last, to fill up defects, or to correct mistakes. Please to correct the word *presupcioun*, and make it *presumpcioun*. I followed the MS. in that place too closely: for I find that elsewhere there is a stroke over the second syllable thus; *presūpcioun*.

As to the note at the end of the Represser, having now narrowly viewed it, along with a judicious friend, I find the word to be *Lamhith*. We were both agreed in this reading from a careful view of the letters: but afterwards, looking into Bishop Gibson's explication of places at the end of his *Chronicon Saxonicum*, and there finding that *Lamhithe* has been the ancient and common way of writing *Lambeth*; we were then sufficiently confirmed in it. If you have occasion to publish that note, you may give it thus, with full assurance. *Explicit coram Domino in Capella sua apud Lamhith xi. Novembr. Anno Domini MCCCCLVII^{mo}*.

I shall now proceed to give you a little deeper insight into Pecock's principles, and the turn of his thoughts in relation to the disputes then on foot between the Church and the Lollards.

In the entrance to his *Book of Faith*^s, he observes how fruitlessly many have endeavoured to reduce the Lollards by this principle: "that the Clergie or the Chirche of the "Clergie may not erre in matere of feith." He disapproves of any further attempt of compassing the thing in that method, or by those means. His reasons, in brief, are these: 1. Because that principle has too much the appearance of improbability to be taken for granted. 2. Because many laymen of strong parts and high reputation will never tamely submit to any such principle. 3. Because a colourable opposition may be made against that

^s Lewis, pp. 200, 201.

principle from the writings of many celebrated Doctors.

4. Because this presupposing the infallibility of the Church appears extremely partial on the side of the Clergy, and sets the laity against them as being biassed, and not indifferent, judges in their own cause: and *therefore to allegge the seid meene into erris of the seid lay-men, is not expedient into her conuersioun.* After these preliminaries, he proceeds to open his own purpose and design, in these words:

“Wherfore y unworthiest, & yongist, & loughest of Prelatis—entende & purpos in this present book for to mete agens suche unobediencers bi an othere wey & in another maner, & bi meene which the lay persoonys wole admit & graunte; which meene is this: that we owen to bileeve & stond to sum seier or techer which may faile, while it is not knowe that thilk seier or techer therynne failith.”

^u Hence it appears that though the author never formally asserts that the *Church may err* (much less that *it has erred*) in matter of faith; yet for argument sake, and in hopes to reduce the Lollards, he was willing to go upon that supposition that *the Church may err*, in his dispute with them; being confident that notwithstanding he should be able to cope with them, and to beat them at their own weapons. And this because they never had, never could prove, that the Church had actually erred in matter of faith.

“Y dare wel this seie and avowe; and this reuerence y geue to the Chirche in erthe, that whanne euer the Chirche of God in erthe holdith eny article as feith, or hath determyned thilk article to be feith, euery singular persoone of the same Chirche (hou wise euer he be, and hou digne & worthi euer he be) is bounden undir peyne of dampnacioun for to bileeue thilk same article as feith, and so therynne for to obeie the Chirche, (yhe though the Chirche therynne bileeued or determyned falseli or amys,) but if he can euydentli, and openli,

^u Lewis, pp. 294, 295.

“ without eny doute, schewe teche and declare that the
 “ Chirche bileeueth, or hath determyned thilk article
 “ wrongli & untreuli; or ellis that the Chirche hath no
 “ sufficient ground for to so bileeue or determyne.” C. 7.

He insists however upon it over and over that it has not, and cannot be proved that the Church has erred in matter of faith; insomuch that supposing the Church really to err, yet she is excusable in so erring, and others inexcusable for disobeying her, because the Church has done all that was possible to guard herself against error; and if she at length be found to err, it must be resolved into invincible ignorance and incapacity.

“ If it so be that the Chirche errith in the maters into
 “ whiche he is so bisi for to knowe aright, and that bi
 “ manye yeeris & bi manye helpis of persoonys, and bi
 “ meenys leding into kunnyng aboue al that laymen
 “ mowe streeche to, the Chirche muste nedis be excused
 “ of God: for whi the Chirche *dooth al that he can do*
 “ *therynne, and al that he may do therynne.* For whi he
 “ seeth not, *neither can se* where & hou he schulde seeke
 “ ferther or better for to come into the trew kunnyng than
 “ he now seeth. And wittingli & willingli he taketh not to
 “ him eny lette, which he knoweth, to forbarre the wey
 “ into sufficientli to be hadde trewe kunnyng.” Ch. 8.

The author therefore condemns all the ancient heretics, as well as the then modern Wiclivites, upon this principle, that they could not *prove* their doctrines against the Church. “ Noon of hem couthe proue that his opinioun, for whiche he agenstode his prelatis was trewe: as y wote wel undir greet perel of my soul for to seie.” Ch. 7.

I shall give you one passage more, which will discover the secrets of his heart or judgment as to the deference due to Scripture, or to Papal authority. In the *second* part of his Dialogue, or Book of Faith, there is this objection put into the mouth of the *Sone* for the *Father* to answer.

“ The Pope geueth leue to a *bigam*, that is to a man
 “ that hath be twies weddid, for to be a *Dekene* & a

“ *Prest*, notwithstanding that holi Scripture forbedith it.
 “ 1 Tim. iii. Wherefore the *Clergie* of holi Chirche is
 “ worthier, myghtier, & of gretter auctorite than is *holi*
 “ *Scripture*.” Chap. i. part 2.

The answer is, chap. iii. thus.

“ ^u Summe parties of the seid Scripture techen to us
 “ positue ordinauncis of Crist; as ben the Sacramentis :
 “ and summe parties therof techen to us ordinauncis of
 “ sum Apostle; as the lawe of *bigamie*, &c.—The Pope
 “ that now is may dispense with it that Scripture techith
 “ as the ordinaunce of an Apostle, and *may revoke* it——
 “ bicause that the Pope is of liik auctorite & of juresdic-
 “ tioun with ech, or *with the grettist of the Apostlis*. Yitt
 “ herof folewith not that the Clergie now livyng or the
 “ Pope now livyng may dispense with this that Scripture
 “ techith as the positue ordinaunce of Crist, or that he
 “ may reuoke eny of tho ordinauncis : forwhi, so reuoke
 “ or dispense myghte noon of the Apostles.”

^x This is plain enough : and so we may observe that it was with some distinction and qualification, that this author allowed *Scripture* to be the *primary* or *only* rule of faith and manners. And to me it seems that Mr. Wharton has written rather too favourably of this author, as being more of a Protestant than he really was : though all things considered, the steps he made towards it are worthy of much commendation.

Mr. Wharton's translation of a passage from the Re-presser, part iii. c. 15. wants some correction, for which reason I will transcribe part of the original, scoring the words underneath where I think the translation faulty.

“ What euer deede eny Apostle, or his writing *allowith*
 “ to be in a prestis moral conuersacioun, thilke same
 “ deede is not agens resoun to be in the same prestis
 “ moral conuersacioun : for ellis the Apostle and his writ-
 “ ing schulde *reule* agens resoun, which is not to be
 “ grauntid. But so it is that this deede a preste & ech

^u Lewis, p. 286, 287.

^x Ibid. p. 287.

" other Cristen man, for to frely receyue, take, & uce,
 " alle maners of metis, and all maners of drinkis, into his
 " sufficiencye, with thankings to God, holi Writt weel
 " allowith, as it is open 1 Tim. iv. 4.— Also this deede,
 " a prest for to freli take and chese of alle maidens to
 " him a wiif, (so that he wedde not of the newe *eftsoone*,
 " if his first wiif die him lyuyng,) & for to bigete children,
 " and for to have *meyne*, and *holde house*, and for to nu-
 " rische and bringe up hise children, and for to reule his
 " wiif, *meyne*, and children, and for to purveie for hem was
 " allowed of Poul, and bi liik skile of the othere Apostlis;
 " as is open of Poul bi what is writtū." 1 Cor. vii.

I shall take no notice here of Mr. Wharton's misunderstanding the word *meyne* twice, as if it signified the same with the English *means*, or possessions; nor of one or two more slight inaccuracies: but his rendering *eftsoone* in that place by *statim*, is wrong, and suggests a meaning very different from what the author intended. For Pecok never meant to say, that St. Paul allowed *second* marriages of the Clergy, as that rendering intimates, where nothing is guarded against but a Clergyman's marrying *statim*, or *soon*, after the decease of his first wife. The author's meaning undoubtedly was to this effect; *so that he marry not again afterwards*; and that is there the meaning of *eftsoone*. All the author's examples or authorities, afterwards cited, reach no farther than *single* marriages of the Clergy: and you may see, in the quotation above, that according to Pecock, St. Paul had forbidden *second* marriages in the Clergy, but that the Pope might *revoke* the prohibition, as having *equal* authority.

I shall be very glad to see such a history as you design by way of introduction. It will be very proper, and very seasonable. I am sorry you have not some friend at Oxford, to give you some brief general account of Bury's Treatise against Pecock, which would be highly serviceable, and give light to his life and story. Are you acquainted with Dr. Felton, Principal of Edmund Hall? He is a man of great humanity, and a lover of letters. I

am persuaded he would readily do such a service, if application were made in a proper manner. But this I leave you to consider of. I could never get any further intelligence about Dr. Tarentinus: only that I have reason to believe that he is the same man with Petrus de Tarentasia, otherwise called Innocent the Fifth.

The sense of *undernyme* in our author is clear, though we had no other voucher. But what you cite from Chaucer confirms it. Mr. Hearne's Glossary gives another meaning to the word: I wish he had referred oftener to the places in the book itself, that the reader might judge for himself. His Glossary however is a very useful one, and one of the best I have seen.

But it would have been still better, had he had the good fortune to meet with a MS. here in Trinity College, which he was in quest of; and which by diligent search I have at length found, and intimated as much to his friends, that he may let the world have the benefit of it in a second edition. The copy that Mr. Hearne printed from is a very faulty one, and taken by some ignorant scribe, that had no ear for metre, having (besides other faults) disturbed and blundered the measures all the way through. Robert of Gloucester was not such a hobbling rhymers as that copy makes him, but a strict observer of measure.

By the way, now I am mentioning this author, I wonder how the Editor, so conversant in the language, came to stumble at a very easy place in p. 118. In his Notes, and in his Glossary, he raises strange speculations upon the word (for one word it is) *fairhede*; that is, *fairness*, beauty; and the very Latin word, *decorem*, which he cites, might have hinted the thing to him. Most of our abstract words, which we now terminate in *ness*, at that time had the termination of *hede*: *yonghede*, for youthfulness or youth; *lutherhede*, for lutherness; *wrechede* for wretchedness: and I have seen, in old MSS. *derkhede* for darkness, with numberless other words of like kind. But enough of this. I design, God willing, to take up my winter quarters in London some time next

month. If any thing calls you thither during my stay there, forget not to call at St. Austin's, where you will be gladly received by,

Sir,

Your assured humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Oct. 22, 1724.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. VI.

St. Austin's, Nov. 26, 1724.

REVEREND SIR,

THOUGH I have not had time so much as to read a page of either of your kind presents, yet I cannot any longer defer my acknowledgments for them. I shall read them, I am sure, with a great deal of satisfaction, as soon as my leisure permits, and before I may have occasion to write again. What relates to Oxford, will take time to consider of here, or to execute there. I must inform you, that before the receipt of yours, Mr. Wheatly (who is a good-natured man, and means very well) had been conferring with me about it. I know what you have written to him since, (for he showed me both your letters to him,) but I thought it prudent to conceal from him what you had written to me; nor indeed did I think it proper to take the least notice that I had heard from you at this time.

I am endeavouring therefore to bring things back to the state they were before in. I told him, I verily believed that the person meant in your letter was myself, and that it proceeded from my mentioning Dr. Felton in a letter to you: so that notwithstanding, Mr. Wheatly and I might go on in consulting upon the case as before.

We were thinking of Dr. Haywood, (a person whom I have been extremely obliged to in that kind,) of St. John's College. No man more fit to undertake such a business, if we can handsomely engage him in it. I gave Mr. Wheatly leave to use my name in it, and to break the matter to him with as much address as he could. This is the course we have almost concluded upon, but have not yet executed. I can make trial, if the first fails, by Dr. Felton. But my acquaintance with him is very young; and I am somewhat scrupulous about it, not knowing how he stands inclined to such kind of business, though a very kind and good man, and a man of learning. Please to leave this matter a while in suspense with me. I will take the best care I can about it. I suspect that Bury's *Responsio* is a large book: and therefore I shall not directly ask to have it copied, but rather to have some general account of it first. I remember Oudin's calling it *opus grande*, though I forget at present from whence he had his information.

As to the Earl of Clarendon's MSS. there are no such in the Library of the Royal Society that I can find: I was there this day to make search. Did not Arundel run in your mind, and the similitude of the sound occasion your thought about Clarendon? What you are pleased to hint about the publishing Wickliff's Testament, I will consider of, and give you my thoughts of it another time. If you make any glossary to Pecoock, (which perhaps is needless,) I can furnish you with authors enough for the sense of *undernyme*, the same with his. By the way, Mr. Hearne widely mistook it in his Glossary, where he explains it by *excommunicated*, see his book, p. 368. in the prose part. I have company with me, and write in haste. I am heartily sorry for your illness, and am,

Good Sir,

Your obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.

N^o. VII.

REVEREND SIR,

I AM very sorry to hear of your so frequent returns of illness. I am afraid you have too much fatigue in your large cure, or else sit too close to your private studies. Give me leave to hint a caution to you (such as I have dearly wanted myself formerly) against night study, and against studying soon after your great meal. Possibly you may want no such caution: but excuse my over officious concern for you.

I am willing to acquaint you what I have been doing, though nothing is yet brought to perfection. Mr. Wheatly, poor man, has been so fully taken up with attending his sick wife, that I could not have his company for more than a minute or two at a time, and could do no business with him. She is since dead, very lately: and he is now in his mourning retirement, shut up from all but particular acquaintance and relations. I wrote to Dr. Felton, who received my letter in Hampshire, and upon his return to College sent me a very kind and good answer, containing a promise to look into the MSS. the first opportunity, and to send me such an account as I desired. I modestly asked no more than a short general account of them, thinking it might suffice, at least for the present: and I could not handsomely ask more of a person with whom my acquaintance is yet but slender. When I receive his account, you shall hear again from me; and we may then consider what to do farther.

I have entered some references about the word *undernyme*, in the margin of my Robert of Gloucester. The books from whence I took them are all in Pepys's library at Magdalen College. I can procure you extracts of them at large in due time, if you desire it. In the mean while please to take this brief account. The old sense of the word in Robert of Gloucester's times, is as Mr. Hearne represents in the word *undernom*. I will give

you one instance out of Robert of Gloucester himself, according to the reading of the MS. in Trin. College. Please to turn to p. 239 of the print, the third and fourth lines read thus :

And be ifolled in holy water and to Cristendom eu gime
ge mowe sauflýche that holy thing, as he dude, undernyme.

Such probably was the constant sense of *undernyme* in that age. But afterwards it came to signify the same as the Latin *corripere*, to reprove, blame, rebuke, &c. One instance whereof you found in Chaucer. Another you may find in Piers Plowman, f. 61. It is several times so used in a printed book, entitled The Chastising of God's Children, published, I think, soon after printing here. I observed it twice in a MS. Chronicle a little older, I conceive, than Bp. Peacock. But the oldest instance I have met with, is of the year 1388, in Wimbledon's Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, manuscript. But the Sermon is in print too, though scarce to be met with. Wimbledon translates the text in the second of Timothy as Peacock does, and there uses the word *undernyme* more than once in his comment upon it. I observed also in Wiclif's MS. Gospels, the word *withnyme* for *corripere*, as well as the other. These authorities I can send you, when I return to College : or if you shall want them sooner, I can direct a friend where to find them at Magdalen College, and desire him to send them up to me.

I am sorry you have met with ill treatment for deserving very highly of the public, in your Life of Wiclif. But there is no accounting for the madness of parties. That spirit is however daily wearing off, with the hopes of a Popish successor. And your labours against Popish counsels and measures will, I doubt not, grow in repute, as fast as those airy schemes sink and dwindle.

I do not forget what you hinted in your last but one, about the printing of Wiclif's Testament. I could heartily wish for such a thing : and could I find a proper person to undertake the laborious part of transcribing,

would readily join in promoting so good a work. We have in our College, in Pepys's library, two very fair and old copies of that which commonly goes under the name of Wicklif, and is annexed to his Bible in Emanuel College copy. This I call the second edition, because, upon comparing, I am fully satisfied that it is later than the other copy of the New Testament, which we have in our old library in the same College: and yet the two copies are much alike, and so nearly the same, that it is plain enough that the one was taken from the other. I shall consider further of this matter at leisure. As to the letter, should such a thing be resolved on, I think the black letter, such as Mr. Hearne has chosen, and retaining two of the Saxon letters, as the MSS. do, would appear best. But I should herein be determined by advice of friends.

Mr. Hearne's Robert of Gloucester is a book I have taken some pains with, having collated it all the way through (so far as they go on together, that is to King Stephen) with the Trin. Coll. MS. and noted all the considerable variations. Indeed, the differences are very considerable every where, as to the metre, and spelling, and often as to the sense. This he could not help; it was the fault of his copy. Had he had the better copy, he would have found *i* instead of *e*, at the end of verbs especially, which would have fixed the pronunciation. As p. 239. verse the eighth, for *grante* the MS. has *graunti*: p. 334. ult. for *skere* read *skeri*, and so in a multitude of other places. I have noted some mistakes in Mr. H.'s Glossary, owing to his bad copy, and his taking upon him to guess at the sense of a word (a fictitious word sometimes) from the context only, without farther authority. To give a few instances, *abowes* (p. 475.) he construes *abbats*. Whatever the word be, it is plain from all the Latin historians, as well as from the reason of the thing, that it there stands for *sanctis patronis*, and should be rather *avows*, that is, patrons; as *avowson* is patronage. I have a MS. legend which has the same verses in it, and reads

vowes in that place. *Antuo*, a corrupt fictitious word, p. 431, 432. read *one to-name*, with the MS. *To-name*, a very proper expression of *agnomen*, or *sur-name*. *Anye*, p. 168. Mr. H. guesses well, *nine*: yet that is not exact. The MS. reads *O nyge*, one nine.

Bryde, p. 207. a corruption for *buxde*; but he guessed the sense.

Croune of, a corruption for *corue of*, p. 208.

Dorre or *durre*, he explains by *durst*; where he mistakes the sense, see p. 457, 458. It signifies the same with *tharf*, that is, *need*, or *needs*: as the Dutch *dorven* answers to the Saxon *peapran*. The Trin. MS. accordingly has *tharf* in the first page, verse the fourth, instead of *durre*.

Ekyn, p. 165. nothing but a corruption of *ek eny*.

Fair hede I mentioned formerly. Besides the MS. of Trin. Coll. I have since seen the word *fairhede*, or *fayrhede*, for beauty, in other MSS.

Lyste, p. 279. a fictitious word for *lyfte*, the firmament. Trin. MS. reads in that place *lofte*, and another which I have seen reads *left*.

Ney, or *a ney*, an egg, well guessed. But *ey*, not *ney*, is the word for an egg. The MS. reads *on ey*, p. 404.

Matresche, p. 344. corrupt for *in a treche*.

Roters, *eradicatores*, p. 297. there, I believe, he is mistaken. *Rutur* is the Islandic word for a *ram*: and my countrymen in Lincolnshire have the word *rutting* to this day; and *rutting time* is a phrase well understood there. Hence *rotors* (as the MS. reads it) is used to signify any that run madly and wildly about. This I speak by conjecture: but such as is confirmed by the use of the word in *Piers Plowman*, fol. 26, 58, and some MSS. which I have dipped into.

Vagt, p. 253. a fictitious word for *naht*.

These are the principal slips that I have yet observed in Mr. Hearne's Glossary. Nevertheless he has deserved well of the public in his performance, and ought to have

his due commendation, provided he be but reasonably candid towards others. You will hear from me again as soon as I have any news from Oxford. I still hope you may be well enough to see the town before I leave it. It is no compliment to assure you, that I shall be extremely glad to see you at St. Austin's whenever your affairs may permit.

I am, Sir,
Your affectionate humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

St. Austin's, Dec. 19, 1724.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. VIII.

** Caxton's Chron. 1480 printed.*

AN. M.CCCCLVII. In this yere Raynold Pecok Bishop of Chichestre was founden an heretike, and the iii day of Decembre was abjured at Lambhyte in the presence of the Erchebishopp of Caunterbury and many Bishoppes and Douctours, and Lordes temporall, and his bookes brent at Poulis Crosse.

Fabian's Chron. written about 1500. printed An. 1559.

Note, that he begins the year at Michaelmas.

M.CCCCLVIII. In this yeare, and the iii day of December, Reynolde Pecok then being Bishop of Chichester, at Lambith by y^e Archbishop and by a Cot of Di-

* This letter has no date, unless it be July 8, 1725. It seems, however, properly to follow that of Dec. 19, 1724, and to be immediately introductory to that of July 18, 1725, which resumes the subject adverted to at the close of this letter.

vines was abjured for an heretike, and his bokes after brent at Paules Crosse, and himself kept in mewe ever while he lyved after, p. 463.

MS. *History of England from Will. Rufus to H. 8. 1540.*
He begins the year as Fabian does.

M.CCCCLVIII. 36. H. VI.

In the xxxvi yeare, and the thrid day of Decembre
One Reynolde Peacocke beinge the Bishoppe of Chester,
At Lambeth, by y^e Archebishophe and a Coote of Diuines,
Was abjured for ane heretike, and frome Gods worde repines :
His bookes brent at Paulis Cross, he in Newgate kept
All hys liffe after, for the heresyhes he had hept.

N.B. Here is a material difference between Fabian's *Mewe*, and this author's *Newgate*. I suppose the last is a blunder. Hall, in his Chronicle, says, the Bishop was confined in his *awne house*, as says Grafton also, who transcribes Hall.

As to the old grammar, it has this naked title, *Donatus pro pueris*^f, in the first page: and in the last page, *Richard Pynson*, without any date. Then follows an *accedence*, which word is the running title. At the end this note, in the same letter or character, *Prynted at Westmynstre in Caxtons hous by Wynkyn de Worde*. The next piece bound up with the former is, *Libellulus que informatio puerorum appellatur*. It is a Grammar, and in English. At the end, *Emprented by Richard Pynson*, without date. Then follows another tract entitled *Introductoriū Lingue Latine*. The date of this is fixed by these words in the

^f This inquiry into the work so entitled appears to be intended to illustrate the meaning of the title to one of Pecock's tracts, called "The *Donet* into Christen Religioun;" denoting it to be an *introductory* treatise, similar to the *Accidence*, or *Grammar*, by *Donatus*, for the instruction of children, *Donatus pro pueris*.

second page, *Nos sumus in Anno Salutis M.CCCCXCV.* But I am not certain who the printer was. Perhaps it might be Caxton. The mark at the end is  or something like it. Upon this stricter revisal, I can only say, that the *Donatus* was printed by Pynson: I was too hasty in fixing the date to 1495, which occurs only in this smaller tract bound up with it.

I have now found out the reason of the title *Donatus pro pueris*, affixed to the first piece. That piece is an abridgment of a treatise ascribed to Bede, which stands first in his printed works, and has this title; *Cunabula Grammaticæ Artis Donati*, as also *Artium Donati Liber*. In short, it is Donatus's own grammar, put out by Bede, according to the best copies he could get: and this other *Donatus* is an abridgment of it, or extract from it. One particular grammar having thus got the name of *Donatus* from its author, the name at length became a general name for a grammar, and from thence has been further extended to signify any enchiridion, or introductory manual to any art, science, or profession. I do not doubt but the *Donati pro puerulis*, of which you make mention, were so many copies of *Donatus's* Grammar, or of *Donatus* abridged in like manner as in the piece I spoke of. And they were called *Donatus's* much in the same way as we should speak of so many *Terences*, or *Virgils*, meaning so many copies of their works. But I have said more than enough upon a plain case, though not plain to me till now lately upon examining into it. I find a remark in Bayle's Dictionary, p. 53. under the name *Accursius*, that *Donatus's* Grammar on vellum, with another book entitled *Confessionalia*, were the first books printed by *John Faust* of Mentz, 1450. The truth of the fact seems to stand on the credit of *Accursius*, who entered the remark upon the first leaf of one of the Grammars. Other accounts differ from this, as I find in Oudin's *Commentarius*, &c. vol. iii. p. 2743. And because probably you have not the book, I will transcribe some periods.

Cornelius a Beughem Embricensis, de incunabulis Ty-

pographiæ p. 54. his verbis &c. "Donatus, non autoris
 "sed libri cujusdam titulus: estque institutio Grammati-
 "ces, *Harlemi* ligno foliatim incisa, ibidemque circa An-
 "num Xti 1440 edita, et sic conglutinata, Teste *Scriverio*
 "Tractatu de Arte Typographica, quæ vulgo Artis Ty-
 "pographicæ primum specimen habetur."

Verum istud incertum est, nam præfatæ Grammaticæ,
 seu *Donati* istius, nec Annus, nec Locus Editionis designatur.

Angelus Roccha, in *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, tradit, *Al-
 dum juniorem* monstrasse sibi *Donatum quendam*, primo
 fere impressum, in cujus prima pagina *Mariangelus Ac-
 cursius* sequentia scripsit: *impressus est autem hic Donatus
 et Confessionale* primo omnium, an. 1450. Idem habet
Cornelius a Beughem &c.—Verum sive *Donatus* ille, seu
 Grammatica *Alexandri Dolensis*, vel, de villa *Dei*, anno
 1442 impressa sit, ut scribit *Adrianus junius*, sive anno
 1450, ut habent *Angelus Roccha* et *Cornelius a Beughem*
 locis allatis &c.—Longe autem probabilius est nullam
 aliam hujus Grammaticæ *Alexandri de villa Dei* impres-
 sionem *Mogunticæ* factam esse, quam, anno 1462. ut tra-
 dit *Cornelius a Beughem*—verbo *Alexander Dolensis*, p. 9.

I cannot but take notice of the words *Donatus, non
 autoris, sed libri cujusdam titulus*. Why might not *Dona-
 tus* be the title of the book and the name of the au-
 thor too? I think, it is not doubted but that the Gram-
 mar in Bede, and put out by Putscius, among other old
 Grammarians, belongs to *Ælius Donatus*, the famous
 Grammarian, who was St. Jerome's preceptor in that art.
 Unless perhaps some may suspect that the Grammar got
 the title of *Donatus* from the use of the name *Donatus*
 frequently in it. For this I observe in the reading of it,
 that the name *Donatus* is the example given of a *proper
 name*. And there it is asked, whether *Donatus* be a *com-
 parative* or otherwise, of what *gender* and *number*, and
 the like. I doubt whether *Donatus* himself would thus
 have made use of his own name for the *example* all along.
 But possibly he might, among his scholars, and without

breach of modesty. Once more let me take leave of this subject.

Having cited some MS. verses above, I have a mind to offer you a conjecture about the unknown author. Bishop Nicolson in his *English Historical Library*, (p. 69. second edit.) after speaking of Fabian, says, "Cardinal "Woolsey's menial servant (John Skuish, Squisius, or "Squisus) is reported to have compiled a notable epitome "of our Chronicles about the year 1530. But I am not "able to direct the reader where to meet with it."

He refers to Bale and Pitts. I have consulted Bale, but have not Pitts by me. Had the Chronicler spoken of been mentioned as a poet or rhymers, I should have readily concluded that this is the man, and this the chronicle. He has an epilogue at the end, which he entitles, *Ane Lenvoy to his iiii Volumes*. The last stanza runs thus.

O noble princes, with hole harte and enteare,
Lyfte up youre curragies ; and holde y^s no fable :
Though ye sitt hye, conceyve with good chere
No worldely lordeshippe in eearthe is perdurable :
And sithe ye be of nature and witte reasonable,
Amonge thinges remembre, as thynges most necessary,
The high falle of the Archebishoppe Cardynall Wolsy.

Who so likely to have the Cardinal so fresh and strong upon his mind, as one that had been among his retainers ? But this is a conjecture, and may be farther looked into at leisure.

I shall be very glad to see your *History of our Liturgys*, and to examine it with all the care and exactness I

* This subject is resumed in the next letter. It appears from Mr. Masters's Hist. of C. C. C. that this work was written in 1723, in 394 pages, with a large Appendix, and was sold by Thomas Pain to Mr. Calamy, for 1*l.* 1*s.* No reason is assigned why it has not been printed.

How well qualified Dr. Waterland was to assist in such a design, is evident from the Notes upon Wheatly's book, which will be found in this edition of his works ; and also from the judicious observations which occur in the letter that follows this.

can, while I have leisure and proper books about me. I am confident you have no intent but to speak the truth; nor shall I have any other intent, while searching into the same thing. Mistakes may, and will sometimes happen to all: and it is a pleasure among friends, when any slip is discovered, to undeceive one another. For my own part, when I undertake any work, my main ambition is, that it may be as complete, accurate, and perfect as the nature of the thing will admit. And if after it has gone through my hands, it receives any additional improvement or correction from friends, I look upon the gains as mine; as much as if any one had built upon my ground, or enriched my estate, or added to my furniture, and I receive it with the like pleasure. For what do we in reading books, but gather from the *dead* as much as we can, to furnish out a stock of our own? And if by the help of the *living* and *dead* too, we may chance to improve it the more, our industry either way appears equally useful, and equally commendable.

I am, good Sir,
Your obliged Friend and faithful Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

Magd. Coll. July 8, 1725.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. IX.

SIR,

I **TOUGHT** to acknowledge the receipt of your History, and to thank you for it, though I have not had time to look far into it. It is a large book, as I now perceive: and perhaps my time here will scarce allow me to give it all the examination which may be due to it, much less to write observations corrective for it, or supplemental to it. I have gone a little way into your introduction, and have

skimmed over some parts of the History itself, in order to get a general view of your design. When I have leisure, I shall peruse the whole with some care, and doubt not but to meet with a great deal of useful instruction. But whether I shall have time to make any observations upon the several parts, and to commit them to writing, I know not. So far as I can judge from a transient view, your History is more exact than your introduction: perhaps you made the History your more especial care, and threw in the introduction as a by-work, of less concern, and not deserving to have much time spent upon it. I will frankly tell you what thoughts I have of it. You seem to me to date the beginning of the gradual corruptions too high, and to lay the primitive churches under a disadvantageous character which they do not deserve. You do them an injury in straining things too far to make them as like Popery as you can: and it is complimenting the Papists too far to allow them so much of primitive precedents, which they really want. I will show you what I mean by a detail of particulars.

P. 2. "In the fourth century, or fifth, when Christians "grew wanton." Here your charge is general upon the Christian churches of those centuries: and you charge them with *wantonness*, nay and *forgery* too, in respect to their Liturgies. For my part, I know of no *written* Liturgies so early, except Basil's, or Chrysostom's, (to be collected out of his works,) and I am satisfied that the composers of Liturgies in those ages were the wisest and best men of those times, and were under a necessity of doing what they did, to correct the growing *wantonness*, either of the populace, or of indiscreet Clergy that were not fit to be trusted with so weighty an affair. And this was the reason of what you mention from St. Austin, of the orders made that no prayers should be used in the Church but with the common advice of the Bishops. A wise and wholesome order, such as was highly necessary upon the increase of the Church. And the Bishops that laboured in modelling and settling proper Liturgies, should

be commended for it. As to the Pseudonymous Liturgies you speak of, they were none of them of such early date: besides that the compilers of them (whoever they were) could certainly have no design to recommend them as the works or compositions of those Apostles, &c. whose names they bear. All they meant was, to remind the people, by the names of their Liturgies, of the founders of their respective Churches: as the Church of Jerusalem by St. James, of Antioch by St. Peter, of Æthiopia by St. Matthew, of Alexandria by St. Mark, of Ephesus by St. John. It is plain from the whole tenor of those Liturgies, that the compilers could have no design to make them pass for the works of those whose names they bear: they could not be so stupid, when every page almost discovers that the Liturgy is later, even to the meanest capacity. There is no *forgery* in the case; but those Liturgies were the Liturgies of the Oriental churches, in the middle or later ages.

The oldest of them cannot be proved to reach higher up than the seventh century: most of them appear to be as late as the ninth or tenth; or cannot, by any certain evidence, be proved to be more ancient.

Under correction therefore, I think you introduce them too soon, and make an argument from them which will not bear. I need not mention that your hints of their novelty is not full enough: Fabricius, in his edition of them, (Codex Apocryp. N. T. pars Tertia,) is much more complete. You might have named the Ephesine Council, as well as Constantinople: but the latter you place in A. D. 336, instead of A. D. 381, meaning, I suppose, another Council, which is better placed in 325.

Give me leave to say, that I should have liked your introduction better, if, instead of pointing your satire entirely against one extreme, you had stated the due and proper medium between foppery on one hand, and slovenliness on the other. I am persuaded that a just apology may be made for the fourth or fifth age, upon the foot of

decency, comeliness, and a proper solemnity due to sacred and high things. And though philosophers might be content with the most naked simplicity, the generality of the populace must have something of outward pomp and solemn form, to raise in them a proper awe, veneration, and reverence. The Romanists have carried it to an excess with a witness, and have made their offices ridiculous, rather than grave or solemn. But I think the churches of the fourth or fifth age are far from that character, as far as our own is, or any of the Reformed Churches. As to some things indeed which were of primitive use, and left off by the Reformers, they were proper enough, all circumstances considered, at the time they were used. But change of times and circumstances make them not proper now. I would not have them absolutely condemned, nor those primitive Churches ridiculed on account of them. Nor was the *Disciplina Arcani*, all things considered, either superstitious or without its use, while the world was mostly Pagan, and the generality of Christians not able to cope with Pagan wit and drollery. But to speak at large of this matter would carry me too far.

You will give me leave to say, that you seem to represent the primitive churches in their worst light, and not to take in such considerations as would quite alter the face of the representation. You take advantage of the weak author of the Apostolical Constitutions, and say, "They had no better a reason," meaning the primitive Christians, instead of saying *he*. And yet you do not do him justice; for Deut. xxvii. 9. is quoted only in favour of a reverential *silence*: and the text, as it lies in the LXX. is full to his purpose. And as to chap. v. 31. if represented entire, it would appear tolerable.

What you have, p. 7. about the reason given for *fasting before Baptism*, is not strictly fair, nor is the author quite so ridiculous as your representation makes him. However it be, it is but just to distinguish between the churches in general, and one trifling nameless author, and

a manifest impostor. Wiser men upon the same ceremonies would have said, and have said, wiser things. Upon the whole, my opinion is that the practice and usages of the fourth and fifth centuries will bear a better colour, and deserve a more candid treatment. I would have all corruptions of Popery exposed, as much as you please: and the lower you date them (when there is no necessity of dating them higher) the more you expose them. If your first eight or nine pages were altered, or struck out, I should have nothing to except against the rest. Corruption came on fast enough in the eighth century, and crept into the Liturgies daily more and more till the time of the Reformation. And so it was high time to castigate the Liturgies, and to reduce them nearly to the standard of the fourth and fifth and sixth ages; the properest model for us, because our circumstances are most like theirs, and their Liturgies were formed upon their then present circumstances, as well as human wisdom could form them.

Enough has been said of the first part of your introduction. The remainder, I doubt not, will please me much better. But as I have only dipped cursorily into it, I shall say no more now, but reserve it for another time. You will take in good part the frankness I use with you; or perhaps you expect it of me.

If you are of another judgment, or disapprove these remarks, you are at full liberty to reject them, without the least offence to me, and to abide by your own first sentiments. I aim at nothing but to serve truth and you.

I believe I have at length found out Dr. Tarentinus, but cannot be positive for want of farther searches. You will find in Cave, Johannes Tarentinus, a famous man of the fifteenth century, who flourished A.D. 1432. He, very probably, is your man. The disputes in the Councils of Basil and Ferrara might occasion his speaking of the Creeds. But I have not yet consulted the *Councils* to see what occurs there. And I have almost forgot what it

was that you told me of him. In your next you may please to refresh my memory on that head.

I am, Sir,

Your most assured and faithful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Magd. Coll. July 18, 1725.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. X.

^hPECOK takes notice of a false position of some that bore too hard upon the Clergy: which position, in his words, is as follows, part i. c. 1.

“That no gouernaunce is to be holde, of Cristen men,
“the seruice, or the lawe of God, saue it which is
“groundid in holi Scripture of the Newe Testament, (as
“summe of the bifore-seid men holden,) or namelich
“save it which is groundid in the Newe Testament or in
“the Oold, and is not bi the Newe Testament reuoked, as
“summe othere of hem holden.”

Pecok's opposite positions, c. 2.

“ⁱ It longith not to holi Scripture, neither it is his
“office, into which God hath him ordeyned, neither it is
“his part for to grounde eny gouernaunce, or deede, or
“seruice of God, or eny lawe of God, or eny trouthe
“which mannis resoun bi nature may fynde, learne, and
“knowe.”

Pecok's Reasons in brief.

1. Scripture does not contain all that is necessary for the clearing or supporting of moral virtues, and therefore is not properly the foundation on which they stand:—

^h Lewis, p. 64.

ⁱ Ibid. pp. 67—71.

“there mai no thing be fundament and ground of a wal,
 “or of a tree, or of an hous, save it upon which the al
 “hool substaunce of the wal, or of the tree, or of the hous
 “stondith, and out of which oonly the wal, tree, or hous
 “cometh.” c. 2.

2. That is properly the foundation, which is alone sufficient for the purpose, as natural reason in this case is.
 “Al the leernyng and knowing, which holi Scripture
 “geueth upon eny bifore-seid gouernaunce, deede, or
 “trouthe of Goddis moral lawe, mai be had bi doom of
 “natural resoun, ghe though holi Writt had not spoke
 “therof,” &c. c. 3.

3. The law of reason obtained from the time of Adam, and long before any positive laws were given, or any Scriptures written. “This lawe was whanne neither of
 “the Newe neither of the Oold Testament the writing
 “was, and that fro the tyme of Adam,” &c. c. 4.

4. The most that Scripture does, is only to remind, exhort, stir up, command, or counsel to the practice of moral virtue: which supposes the thing to have been before known. “For he biddith a man to be meke, and
 “he techith not bifore what mekenes is: he biddith a
 “man be pacient, and yit he not bifore techith what patience is: and so forth of ech vertu of Goddis lawe,
 “wharfore no such seid gouernaunce, or uertu, or trouthe,
 “is to be seid groundid in holi Scripture, no more than it
 “oughte be seid if a Bischop woulde sende a pistle or a
 “lettre to peple of his diocise, and theryn wolde remembre hem, exorte hem, and stire hem, and bidde
 “hem, or counseile hem for to kepe certeyn moral virtues,” &c. c. 5.

He has a fifth and sixth argument, much to the same purpose with the fourth. Enough has been given in order to take his true and full meaning. In the conclusion he has a coarse comparison, which however sets forth his notion in a lively way, and is worth the transcribing for the testimony it bears to an old custom on Midsummer-eve.

" Seie to me, good Sire, and answere herto: whanne
 " men of the cuntree uplond bringen into Londoun in
 " Mydsommer-eue braunches of trees fro Bischopis
 " wode, and flouris fro the feeld, and bitaken tho to cite-
 " seins of Londoun forto therwith araie her housis,
 " schulen men of Londoun receyuyng and taking tho
 " braunchis and flouris, seie and holde that tho braunchis
 " grewen out of the cartis whiche broughten hem to
 " Londoun, and that tho cartis, or the hondis of the
 " bringers weren groundis and fundamentis of tho
 " braunchis and flouris? Goddis forbode so litel witt
 " be in her hedis. Certis though Crist and his Apostlis
 " weren now lyuyng at Londoun, and wolde bringe, so as
 " is now seid, braunchis fro Bischopis wode, and flouris
 " fro the feeld into Londoun, and wolden delyuere to men,
 " that thei make therewith her housis gay, into remem-
 " braunce of Seint Johnn Baptist, and of this that it was
 " prophesied of him, that manye schulden joie in his
 " burthe; yit tho men of Londoun, receyuyng so tho
 " braunchis and flouris, oughten not seie and feele that
 " tho braunchis and flouris grewen out of Cristis hondis,
 " and out of the Apostlis hondis—tho braunchis grewen
 " out of the bowis upon whiche thei in Biscopis wode
 " stoden, and tho bowis grewen out of stockis or tron-
 " chons, and the tronchons or schaftis grewen out of the
 " roote, and the roote out of the next erthe thereto, upon
 " whiche and in whiche the roote is buried. So that
 " neither the cart, neither the hondis of the bringers,
 " neither tho bringers ben the groundis or fundamentis of
 " tho braunchis." c. 6.

He has some other as low comparisons, and some blunt
 expressions, which might perhaps give offence: but his
 meaning appears to be sound and good all the way, being
 no more than this, that the law of nature is prior to all
 Scripture, and therefore not grounded thereupon; though
 its rules and precepts may, in part, be conveyed to us
 thereby, and not so fully as by rational searches, and deep
 study.

^k The secunde principal Conclusioun and trouthe is this :

Though it perteyne not to holi Scripture for to grounde eny natural or moral gouernaunce or trouthe, into whos fyndyng, leernyng, and knowing mannis resoun may bi him silf and bi natural help com, as it is open now bfore —yit it mai perteyne weel ynough to holi Scripture, that he reherce such now-seid gouernauncis and treuthis, and that he witnesse hem, as grounded sumwhere ellis in the lawe of kinde or doom of mannis resoun : and so he dooth, as to ech reder thereyn it mai be opene, that bi thilk rehercing, and witnessyng so doon bi holi Scripture to men, tho men schulden be bothe remembrid, stirid, prouokid, and exortid forto the rather performe and fulfille tho same so rehercid and witnessid gouernauncis and trouthis. part i. c. 7.

The iii principal Conclusioun is this :

The hool office and werk into which God ordeyned holy Scripture, is forto grounde articlis of feith, and forto reherce and witnesse moral trouthis of lawe of kind grounded in moral philosophie ; that is to seie, in doom of resoun, that the reders be remembrid, stirid, and exortid bi so miche the better, and the more, and the sooner forto fulfille hem. Of whiche articlis of feith summe ben not lawis, as these : that God made heuen and erthe in the bigynnyng of tyme ; and that Adam was the firste man, and Eue was the firste womman ; and that Moises ladde the peple of Israel out of Egipt ; and that Zacharie was fadir and Elizabeth was modir of Johnn Baptist ; and that Crist fastid xl daies, and so forth of many like. And summe othere ben lawis : as that ech man oughte be baptisid in water if he may come thereto ; and that ech man oughte be hosilid if he mai come therto. c. 7.

I wolde se that our Bible-men, which holden hem so wise bi the Bible aloone, yhe bi the Newe Testament aloon, couthen bi her Bible aloon knowe which feith is a lawe to man, and which feith is not a lawe to man ; and

^k Lewis, pp. 71—73.

thane he dide a maistrie passing his power—tho Bible-men mowe take good marke that myche nede schullen alle tho haue to the help of weel-learned Clerkis.—This what y haue now seid of and to Bible-men, y haue not seid undir this entent and meenyng, as that y schulde feele to be unleeful lay-men forto reede in the Bible and forto studie and leerne therynn, with help and counseil of wise and weel-learned Clerkis, and with licence of her gouernour the Bischop, but forto rebuke and adaunte the presumpcioun of tho lay-persoones whiche weenen bi her reding in the Bible forto come into more kunnyng than thei or alle the men in erthe, Clerkis and other, mowe come to bi the Bible oonli, withoute moral philsofie, and lawe of kinde, &c. c. 7.

¹ The iiii principal conclusioun.

It is not the office longing to moral lawe of kinde forto grounde eny article of feith groundid bi holi Scripture. Forwhi, all that the now seid moral lawe of kinde, or moral philsofie, groundith, is groundid bi doom of mannis resoun; and therefore is such a treuthe and a conclusioun that into his fynding, leernyng, and knowing, mannis witt mai bi it silf aloone, or bi natural helpis, withoute reuelacioun fro God, rise and suffice. But so it is, that noon article of feith mai be groundid in doom of resoun sufficientli, neither into his finding, learning, and knowing, mannis resoun, bi it silf, and bi natural help, may rise and suffice, withoute therto maad revelacioun, or affirmyng fro God. For whi thane feith were no feith. c. 8.

The vth principal Conclusion.

Though neither the seide moral lawe of kinde, neither outward bokis thereof writen, mowe grounde eny trouthe or conclusioun of verry feith; yit tho outward bokis, as Cristene men hem maken, mowe weel ynow reherce and witnesse treuthis and conclusiouns of feith groundid bifore in holi Scripture. Forwhi, it is no more repugnant that bokis of moral philsofie reherce trouthis and conclu-

¹ Lewis, pp. 73—75.

siouns propre to the grounding of holy Scripture, than that bokis of holi Scripture reherce trouthis and conclusiouns propre to the grounding of moral philosophie. c. 8.

The vi principal Conclusioun.

The hool office and werk into which ben ordeyned the bokis of moral philosophie, writen and maad bi Cristen men in the maner now bfore spoken, is to expresse outwardli, bi writing of pene and ynke, the treuthis and conclusiouns which the inward book of lawe of kind, biried in mannis soule and herte, groundith; and forto reherce summe treuthis and conclusiouns of feith longing to the grounding of holi Scripture, that the reders be the more and the oftir remembrid, and stirid, and exortid by this rehercing &c.—c. 8.

The vii principal Conclusioun. c. 8.

The more deel and party of Goddis hool lawe to man in erthe, and that bi an huge gret quantite ouer the remanent parti of the same lawe, is groundid sufficientli, out of holi Scripture, in the inward book of lawe of kind and of moral philosophie, and not in the book of holi Scripture.

The viii principal Conclusioun. c. 9.

No man mai leerne and kunne the hool lawe of God, to which Christen men ben bounde, but if he can of moral philosophie: and the more that he can in moral philosophie, bi so muche the more he can of Goddis lawe and service. This conclusioun folewith out of the viith conclusioun openly ynough.

The ix Conclusioun. c. 9.

No man schullen perfitli, sureli, and sufficientli understonde holi Scripture in alle tho placis wherynn he rehercith moral virtues—but if he be bfore weel, and perfitli, suerli, and sufficientli leerned in moral philosophie.—This conclusioun folewith out of the viith and the viiith conclusiouns.

The x Conclusioun. c. 9.

The leernyng and kunnyng of the seid lawe of kinde,

and of the seide moral philosophie, is so necessarie to Christen men, that it mai not be lackid of them if thei schulen perfithli serve to God and kepe his lawe bitake to hem in erthe.

N. B. The meaning is no more than this: that it is necessary to know *natural religion*, and the *grounds*, and *reasons*, and *measures* of the duties laid down in Scripture, in order to a right, and discreet, and steady practice of the same.

^m The xi Conclusioun. ch. 9.

Ful weel oughten alle persoones of the lay-parti, not miche leerned in moral philosophie and lawe of kinde, forto make miche of clerkis weel-leerned in moral philosophie, that tho clerkis schulden helpe tho lay persoones forto aright undirstonde holi Scripture in alle tho placis in whiche holi Scripture rehercith the bifore-spoken conclusiouns and treuthis of moral philosophie, that is to seie, of lawe of kinde. Forwhi, withoute tho clerkis so leerned in moral philosophie, and withoute her direccioun the now seid lay persoones schulen not esili, lightli and anoon haue the dew undirstonding of holi Scripture in the now seid placis.

The xii Conclusioun. c. 9.

Ful weel oughten alle persoones of the lay-parti, not leerned oughwhere ellis bi the now seid clerkis, or bi othere bokis of moral philosophie, forto make miche of bokis maad to hem in her modires langage, whiche be clepid thus—[*Note, here he recites his own books, as I formerly sent account*—]wolde God, men wolden not be bi so miche the frowarder and the more presumptuose that goodness is to hem thus profrid. Wolde God that thei wolden assaie perfithli what tho now-seid bokis ben, and wolden weel kunne hem: and thane if thei schulden have eny cause for to blame or commende tho bokis, that thanne firste thei wolden blame, or commende.

The xiii Conclusioun. eh. 10.

Thei that wolen aske and seie thus, *where fyndist thou*

^m Lewis, pp. 75—77.

it grounded in holi Scripture, as though ellis it is not worthi to be take for trewe, whanne-euer eny gouernaunce or treuthe sufficientli groundid in lawe of kinde and in moral philsofie is affermed and mynystrid to hem (as ben many of tho xi gouernauncis and treuthis whiche schullen be treated aftir in this present book: which ben setting up of ymagis in highe placis of the bodili churche, pilgrimages doon priueli and pilgrimages doon openli bi Lay-men and bi Prestis, and bi Bischopis unto the memorialis, or mynde-placis of Seintis, and the endowing of Prestis bi rentis and bi unmoveable possessiouns, and such othere) asken tho whilis in liik maner unresonabilis and liik unskilfulli, and liik reprouabili, as if thei wolden aske and sei thus: where findest thou it groundid in holi Scripture whanne a treuthe and a conclusioun of Grammer is affermed and seid to hem, &c.

Sir,

I believe what I here send will be sufficient to unfold the author's meaning in the thirteen particulars. If there be any thing else that you desire further, I shall keep the book some weeks by me. I had the book but three days ago, otherwise you had heard sooner from me. Dr. Bentley has finished his Terence at the press, but his adding Phædrus to it makes him delay the publication. His N. T. is despaired of: most of the subscription money is returned. If I can serve you here in any thing, you may command,

Sir,

Your assured humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

August 19. 1725.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

N^o. XI.

ⁿ *Images*, Part ii. c. 2.

THE firste gouernaunce for which the lay peple ouer myche and untreuly wiiten the Clergie, is the havyng and using of ymagis, upon which gouernaunce y sette forth this firste conclusioun.

I. ° The having and the setting up of ymagis in chirchis, and the using of hem as rememoratiif, or mynding, signes, is not reproued bi eny ground of feith, that is to seie, not bi holi Scripture, neither bi long use of the chirchis bileevyng, neither bi eny myraculouse therto of God wirching.

If to the peple of Israel it was leeful for to make and rere up an highe a brasen ymage of a serpent forto biholde it: wonder it were but that it were leeful to Cristen men for to make and rere up an highe an ymage of Crist crucified, forto biholde into it. And if it was leeful to the seid oold peple forto have xii ymagis of oxen bering up the brasen see forto biholde hem; wondir it were whi it schulde be unleeful to Cristen peple forto have xii ymagis of the xii Apostiles and forto biholde hem in remembring that the Apostilis were bide go and baptise al the world in water. And therfore the agenseiers herof ben to be reiated and rebukid as nyce, fonned, waful, wantoun scisme-sowers and disturbbers of the peple in maters which thei mowe neuer her entent bringe about.— Al the rebuk which is govun (in Scripture) to men making and using graved ymagis is govun to hem whiche

ⁿ This letter is without a date. But as the preceding letter contains only a brief general outline of Pecock's tract, and this and the following letter (which is also without a date) give a more detailed account of it, it is probable that they were written soon after: and this supposition is confirmed by what Dr. Waterland says in the close of the preceding letter, that he had then had the book by him only three days, and intended to keep it for some weeks longer.

• Lewis, pp. 88—90.

token and helden tho ymagis to be her goddis : and therefore noon of these alleggid placis in holi Scripture letteth alle graved ymagis to be had and usid in the Churche, so that tho ymagis ben not bileeved to be goddis—Salomon—was so miche fonned, masid, and dotid, that he worschipid tho ydolis as goddis ; for so seith holi Scripture there : but so no persoon dooth in these daies, aboute the ymagis had and usid in the Chirche.—ymagis mowe leefulli be broke whanne thei ben usid in ydolatrie irremediabli, for so it was in the caas of the brasen serpent in the tyme of Ezechie,—or at the leeste, ymagis mowe leefulli be brokun whanne more harme irremediabli cometh bi the havyng and using of hem, than is al the good which cometh bi the havyng and the using of hem : more than this cometh not forth bi this proces of Ezechie iiiii. Reg. xviii. and therefore this proces is over feble forto weerne ymagis to be had and usid whanne thei ben had and usid withoute ydolatrie, or with ydolatrie remediable, or with other harm remediable, namelich lasse than is the good comyng bi the uce of tho ymagis.

C. 3.—2. The secunde principal conclusioun is this : Doom of naturali weel disposid resoun weerneth not, and reproveth not ymagis to be had and to be usid, as rememoriif and mynding signes. If eny doom of resoun schulde weerne and reprove ymagis to be thus had and usid ; this doom of resoun schulde be oon of these iii doomys. 1. That the peple doon ydolatrie bi and with tho ymagis. 2. That the peple trowen or bileeven summe wrong and untrewen opiniouns bi occasioun of ymagis : as that sum godli vertu is in tho ymagis, or that tho ymagis doon myraclis, or that thei ben quyk, and seen, heeren, or speken at sum while, or that thei sweten at sum while. 3. That ymagis ben occasiouns of sume moral vicis in the peple, as of over myche worschiping doon to hem, or of pride, or of coveitise, or of such othere. But so it is, that noon of these iii doomys sufficith forto reprove and weerne the seid havyng and using of ymagis. Wherefore, &c.—ydolatrie is never doon save whanne a man takith a crea-

ture for his God, and worscipith thilk creature as for his God: but so doith no man with eny ymage now in Crist-endoom, aftir that the man is come into yeeris of discrecioun, and is passid childhode, and which is not a natural fool.

¶ *Pilgrimages*, Part ii. c. 7, 8.

The secunde principal gouernaunce—of which manye of the layte overmyche wiiten the Clergie, is this: that pilgrimaxis to dyverse bodies and bonys of seintis be maad, and also been maad to ymagis of Crist crucified, and of Marie, and of othere seintis; and namelich for that pilgrimaxis ben maad into summe placis more in which ben the ymagis of the crucifix and of Marie and of the seintis, than into summe othere placis in whiche ben like ymagis of the crucifix and of Marie and of the same othere seintis. Into justifiyng of this, y procede bi certein conclusiouns.

¶ 1. Holi Scripture werneth not neither reproveth suche now seid pilgrymaxis to be don.

2. Doom of kindeli weel disposid resoun weerneth not and lettith not bodili pilgrymaxis to be don in the manner now bifore seid.

3. It is not unleeful pilgrymaxis be don.

4. It is leeful, that pilgrymaxis be doon.

5. Holi Scripture allowith that pilgrimage be doon. Holi devoute women wenten in pilgrimage to Cristis sepulcre, and to his deed bodi forto be the more remembrid of him.

6. Doom of weel disposid resoun allowith and approvith that pilgrimaxis be doon.—For whi, withoute rememoratiif signes of a thing, or of thingis, the rememoracioun or the remembraunce of thilk thing or thingis muste needis be the febler. And therfore sithen the bodi, or the bonis, or the relakis of eny persoon is a full nygh rememoratiif signe of the same persoon; it is ful reson-

¶ Lewis, p. 92.

¶ Ibid. pp. 100. 102.

able and ful worthi, that where the bodi, or bonis, or eny releef or relik of a seint mai be had, that it be sett up in a comoun place to whiche peple may have her devout neighing and accesse, forto have her devout biholding therupon forto make the seid therbi remembraunce. And ferther, sithen it is not resonable and convenient that suche bodies or bonis or relikis be left withoute in the bair feeld, and that bothe for it were agens the eese of the peple whiche schulde come therto in reyny and wyndi wedris, and for that thei myghten thanne be take away bi wickid men not dreding God; therfore it is ful resonable and worthi forto bilde over tho bodies and bonis and othere relikis, chappellis, or chirchis; yhe and forto bilde bisidis hem auter, and queris, that the office of praising God and of praiyng to God and to seintis be in the better forme doon.—Resoun wole, and allowith and approvith nedis that men visite and haunte, for the seid eende of solempne remembrauncing, tho placis and tho ymagis whiche it is sure God to chese into the seid eende and bi the seid evydencis of myraculis doing.—But so it is that suche seid visiting and haunting into the seid eende is not ellis than pilgrimage: wherfore resoun wole, jugith, allowith, and approvith pilgrimagis to be doon.

The next twelve chapters are taken up in reciting and answering the common objections, or arguments, (fifteen in number,) made to what the author advanced upon the two heads above written. A summary hereof is as follows.

Obj. 1. There is no occasion for either images or pilgrimages to awaken remembrance, so long as Scripture, and saints' lives, and other devout treatises may sufficiently answer that purpose. *Answ.* Hearing and reading are good means, but not sufficient without the other, which is more lively, strong, and affecting, and does that at once and with less labour or pain which the reading of whole vo-

^r Lewis, pp. 105, 106.

lumes can scarce effect: besides that many cannot read at all, and at the best, reading and hearing alone leave but faint, and dull, and transient impressions, and convey a great deal less to the mind than a visible representation, and reading both together. Christ added visible sacraments to supply the defect of mere reading or hearing; so necessary was it to have something *visible* added to the other.

^s *Obj.* 2. If Bishops and Priests be but more constant and diligent in preaching and otherwise instructing and exhorting the people, there will be no need of images or pilgrimages to stir up their remembrance. *Answ.* The Clergy are not bound, neither can they be always intent upon the office of instructing the people. They have their health, and their studies, and their maintenance, and several other private affairs to look after. Besides that when they have done their utmost, it will not amount to so much as that and the other means both together.

^t *Obj.* 3. Every *living* man is a better representation of Christ or of the saints than *dead* images. *Answ.* A living man does not represent Christ as hanging on a cross, stripped, wounded, scourged, or the like, and therefore is not a competent representation.

^v *Obj.* 4. God is present every where, and every where ready to shed his gifts and graces: "Wherefore it is vein
"waast, and idil, forto trotte to Wasingam rather than to
"ech other place in which an ymage of Marie is; and to
"the rode of the north-dore at London, rather than to
"ech other rood in whatever place it be." *Answ.* It is not true that all places are alike in God's sight; but God often chooses to dispense his favors in one place rather than another, and in this manner of his own approving, rather than in another of man's devising: and he has pointed out the places, or the images, which he most accepts, by his miracles wrought in them.

^w *Obj.* 5. The Devil hath sometimes deceived the wor-

^s Lewis, p. 107. ^t Ibid. ut supra. ^v Ibid. p. 113. ^w Ibid. pp. 103, 107.

shippers of images, as is plain from the Legend of Bartholomew, where it is said, that “ the feend which was
“ in a famos ymage in a temple, made the peple siik in
“ her bodies, that thei schulden come bifore him in pil-
“ grimage, and prie, and thanne he wolde make hem
“ hool: and herbi he drowe the peple into mysbilleeve,
“ and myslyvyng.” *Answ.* It does not appear that the Devil has any thing to do with the images of the Church. The case is very different: for the peple of whom the Legend speaks took the image for their God, and were justly deceived by the Devil: but Christian people use the images as signs only, or tokens of God.

^x *Obj.* 6. Images and pilgrimages are occasions of much sin. *Ans.* So are many other good things, which are not therefore to be laid aside, but the abuses are to be corrected, or prevented.

Obj. 7. The time, and pains, and costs laid out upon images and pilgrimages might be more usefully spent in much better services, relieving the poor, instructing the ignorant, reading, hearing, &c. *Answ.* This way of reasoning may fill a man with endless scruples: if he is never to do any *good* work till he is sure that he might not in the same time do *better*, he may possibly sit still and do no good work at all. Let it suffice that the thing be *good*, though in a *lower* way, and let him employ himself either in the higher or lower exercises as occasions offer, and do good of all kinds.

² *Obj.* 8. Adhere only to what Scripture prescribes: St. Paul cautions us against vain philosophy and human wisdom. *Ans.* Whatever right reason approveth, though not prescribed in Scripture, God approveth. Nevertheless, Scripture is not entirely silent, but has scattered some hints here and there, which favour the practice of image-using and pilgrimages: and it is not *vain philosophy* that introduced them, but true wisdom.

^a *Obj.* 9. Christ's discourse with the woman of Samaria witnesseth that God is to be worshipped in "spirit

* Lewis, *ut supra*. † Ibid. pp. 103, 108. ‡ Ibid. p. 108. § Ibid. p. 113.

"and in truth," not by images; and his worship is not to be confined to this or that place; which is against any pilgrimages. *Answ.* The Samaritans worshipped God as a *bodily thing*, and so not *in spirit*, or *not as a pure Spirit*: and they worshipped him by *idolatry*, and so *not in truth*. Wherefore his caution affects not the use of images under the rules before taught. And as to Christ's saying that neither upon this mountain, Gerizim, nor in Jerusalem, &c. it was no more than a prophecy of the destruction of that city and country by the Romans.

^a *Obj.* 10. If a man must go in pilgrimage, why must it be done *openly*, *except for vain-glory*? "Also what skile is therto that he bere openli, bi stretis, an ymage of wex, or of tre, forto offre it up at the place of pilgrimage, and forto lete it abide there contynuely after him &c." *Answ.* This is the best way of exciting others to follow his example, and to preserve the memory of what he does to future generations for their instruction and benefit.

^b *Obj.* 11. Joshua commanded the people to put away all strange Gods. *Answ.* It does not follow that images must be put away, which are not strange Gods.

^c *Obj.* 12. The Jews had much more sense than Christian children of ten years old, and so also had the Heathens a great deal of excellent sense: yet both these fell into gross idolatry in the use of images. How then shall Christian people, the ignorant especially, avoid the like snare, while they use images? *Answ.* Neither Jews nor Heathens worshipped mere images, but devils as it were incorporate in the images. "The hethen men helden her God to be bodili and bodied in a maner whiche thei couthen not at fulle undirstonde; even as we Cristen men holden now our God to be bodili and bodied in a man. And as it is trewe that Cristen men worschipen a man for her God, but thei worscipes not so the pure manhode in himself, withoute more therto sett: so the hethen men worschipeden an ymage and a bodili graved

^a Lewis, pp. 103, 108.

^b Ibid. p. 103.

^c Ibid. pp. 103, 109.

“ thing for her God, but not the pure bodili graved
 “ ymage in him silf withoute more for her God. And so
 “ these ii thingis whiche Scripture seith of ydolatrers
 “ stonde togedere and be trewe: that alle goddis of hethen
 “ men ben feendis, and also, that the goddis of hethen
 “ men ben gold and silver the werkis of mennis hondis.—
 “ The hethen men camen into thilk great synne of ydo-
 “ latrie bicause thei neuer receyveden the feith whiche
 “ othere men, not being ydolatrers, in tho same daies re-
 “ ceiveden.— Manye also of the Jewis whiche weren
 “ bifore sufficientli instructid in the feith of oon God, and
 “ of veri God, and in the evidencis longing therto, fellen
 “ bi her negligence fro the attendaunce whiche schulde
 “ have be govum bi a continuaunce to tho evidencis.—
 “ But now sumwhat bifore the birthe of Crist alle Jewis
 “ camen into so grete attendaunce to the evydencis of veri
 “ feith, teching oon God to be, and also aftir the passioun
 “ of Crist hiderto in this present day, so greet doom of re-
 “ soun hath be founde bothe of hethen men and of Jewis,
 “ and of Cristen men.— that a this side the passioun of
 “ Crist was not into this present day eny ydolatrie among
 “ Jewis, neither among hethen men, whiche lyven in eny
 “ notable famose sect: or if among hethen men be eny
 “ ydolatrie, it is in ful fewe placis, among wreechid per-
 “ soons, not sett bi of othere hethen men. Hereof it
 “ muste nedis folewe that now adaies it is not perel to
 “ Cristen men, neither to the Jewis, neither to hethen
 “ men, forto have and entermete with ymages of God, as
 “ it was in the daies fer bifore going the incarnatioun of
 “ Crist.”

^d *Obj.* 13. To pray to any creature for such favours and
 blessings as can come from God only, is plainly idolatry;
 yet such prayers are offered up to the cross both by Clergy
 and people; as is manifest from the church offices: par-
 ticularly, the hymn, *Vexilla Regis*, &c. in Passion Week;
 the response at the first evening song, *O crux, viride lig-
 num*, &c. in the feast of the Invention of the Cross; and

^d Lewis, pp. 104, 110.

the anthem, *O crux splendidior*, &c. at the same feast; the anthem *Crux fidelis*, at the second evening song of the Exaltation of the Cross; the *sequence* sung at the same, *O Christe*, &c. *Answ.* These and the like expressions are to be taken for figures of rhetoric, and to be soberly interpreted, understanding them not strictly of the cross, but of Christ himself upon the cross, and saving men in and by the cross. "O crosse of Crist, y prie thee helpe me and defende me, and justifie me: the dew understanding herof mai be this; O Crist, y prie thee helpe me and justifie me bi thi crosse, as therto the helping instrument."

^c *Obj.* 14. To use such ceremonies, salutations, prostrations, &c. towards a creature, as are proper to God alone, is making a god of the creature: but such are those that have been customarily used towards the cross. "In eelder daies whāne procession was maad in the Palme-Sunday bifore masse, the Eukarist was not brought forth that the processioun of the Clerkis and of the lay peple schulde meet with him, but a baar uncovered crosse was brought forth agens the processioun, that the processioun schulde meete agens it, as y have red in dyverse oolde ordinalis of cathedrale chirchis and of monasteries in Ynglond: though in latir daies, and namelich in summe chirchis, the Eukarist is born forth, and the processioun meetith with the Eukarist born in a chest among relikis, and in manie placis he is born in a coupe ordeyned therto. In tho daies and in tho placis whanne and where the processioun mette in Palme Sunday with the nakid crosse, or with the chest of relikis, withoute the Eukarist, summe of the Clerkis were ordeyned forto stonde bifore the seid crosse, and forto turne hem toward the processioun and seie in singing to al the Clergie and peple thus: *Lo the king mylde and meke*, &c. And thanne thus seid and sungum fro the Clerkis, in the crosse bihalve, to the Prestis and lay peple in processioun, the Prestis and peple fellen down, kneling with alle

^c Lewis, p. 104.

“ the knees to the grounde, seying, or singing, or in bothe
 “ maners, toward the seid discouered crosse thus : *Heil*
 “ *thou whom the peple of Helrees meeting witnessith to be*
 “ *Jhē, &c.*” (Then follow more instances of like kind.)
Ans.—See below.

^f *Obj.* 15. “ To whatever thing men offren, in loughist
 “ wise comyng toward it bi creping, and whos feet thei
 “ kissen in devoutist maner thei kunnen, thilk thing thei
 “ taken for her souereynest and highest Lord.—But so it
 “ is, that to the crosse in Good Fridai men comen in
 “ loughest wise creping on alle her knees, and to this
 “ crosse in so lowghe and devout maner thei offren, and
 “ the feet of thilk crosse thei in devoutist maner kissen,
 “ &c.”

Answer to 14th and 15th.

“ § Alle what in suche processions was seid and sungum
 “ to the crosse in eelde daies of the Chirche ; in Palme
 “ Sundai, was seid of Crist ymagined to be bodili present
 “ with and in the crucifix, or crosse, which the peple in
 “ processoun bihelden. And herbi yit into ferther encrec-
 “ ing of devocioun and good affeccoun to be gendrid upon
 “ Crist, thei crepiden toward and to such an ymage of the
 “ crucifix in Good Fridai—and yit ferther, into more love
 “ and good affeccoun to be gendrid, thei kiseden the feet
 “ of the ymage.—And this devout practik, namelich in his
 “ outward deede, abidith yit in al the West-Chirche a this
 “ side Greek-lond, however it be of the inward ymagina-
 “ tiif deed, whiche, as y trowe, abidith ful litil or nought;
 “ the more harme is. And so it mai be seid, that nothing
 “ is seid and sungum to the nakid and bare crosse in pro-
 “ cession of Palme Sundai ; neither eny creping, or of-
 “ fring, or kissing, is maad to the crosse in Good Fridai :
 “ but al this is doon to Cristis persoon, in his manhede,
 “ which is ymagined there to be in and with the ymage
 “ crucified, and streight thorough the ymage crucified, heed
 “ to heed, hond to hond, foot to foot, though it be not
 “ trowid so to be, but though the contrarie is trowid to

^f Lewis, p. 105.

[§] Ibid. pp. 111, 112.

" be. And herbi is sufficient answere govun to the xiiii^h
 " and xv^h argumentis togidere. Whoever schal cleerli and
 " perfectli undirstonde the answere whiche is now bfore
 " maad to the xiiii^h and xv^h argumentis, he schal therbi
 " take sufficient ground forto excuse fro blame, and fro
 " unfruytful and lewid governaunce, alle tho whiche
 " wolen touch with her hondis the feet and other parties,
 " and the clothis of ymagis, and wolen thanne aftir sette
 " to her visage, and to her iyen, and to her mouthis,
 " tho her hondis with whiche, in the now seid maner, thei
 " toucheden the ymagis, or the clothingis of the ymagis.—
 " And sithen what a man mai not have and do at the next
 " and immediatli, he wole be weel paied and weel plesid
 " for to have it mediatli, that is to seie, for to have it
 " arombe, and bi a meene; it folewith that it is coveitable
 " to a man—for to gete to him and to have unto his visage,
 " or iyen, or mouth, the touche of Cristis feet, or of his
 " mouth, or of his hond, or breste, bi meene of the touche
 " which the hond getith fro hem, and upon hem im-
 " mediatli."

[Nota obiter, the word *arombe*, (signifying the same with
afar off, or *at a distance*;) for the explaining *arowme* and
romir in Chaucer; which the Glossary has mistaken, and
 misconstrued. The word comes from *removeo*, or Saxon
pýman, and signifies *remotus*, or *remote*; as *rombe* also is
remotus. So Pecock, in the very next page, has this ex-
 pression; *more or lasse, nygher or romber*. To *remble* in
 Lincolnshire is to *remove*, Saxon *pýman*, *pumian*.]

^h The author concludes with some wise and excellent
 cautions: viz. that though he had said, as he thought,
 sufficient to justify the use of images and pilgrimages,
 and especially to such as cannot read, or hear the word of
 God, yet he would not advise any,

1. " To haunte, as it were, alway the exercise in suche
 " visible signes, whanne thei coveten to be maad spiritual,
 " sweet, and devoute with God, and stronge for to do and
 " suffre for him."

^h Lewis, pp. 113, 114.

2. "Neither that thei haunte so miche, or so ofte, the
 " uce of suche visible signes, that thilk haunte and uce
 " lette hem from uce of a better exercise : and speciali,
 " that thei not drenche al the leiser which tho men mighten
 " and schulden have forto reede or heere the word of God.
 " —For certis, how the sunne passith in cleernes, cheerte,
 " and coumfort the moone ; and as a greet torche passith
 " a litil candel : so in these seid pointis, reding and heer-
 " ing in Goddis word, whiche is an exercise in hereable
 " signes govum to us fro God, passith in cleernes of tech-
 " ing, and in cheerte of deliit, and in coumfort of strengthe-
 " geving forto do and suffre for God in his lawe keping,
 " al the exercise had, or whiche can be had, in suche now
 " bfore-seid visible signes devisid bi man."

SIR,

Upon the other heads expect hereafter. Less than I
 have here sent would not have given you a clear and full
 notion of the author's principles on these two.

I rest yours,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Addenda to what is said in answer to Object. 1. for the
 clearer reconciling it with the last quotation.

"¹ Forto soone and ofte come into remembraunce of a
 " long mater, bi ech oon persoon, and also as forto make
 " that the mo persoones come into remembraunce of a
 " mater, ymagis and pictures serven in a specialer maner
 " than bokis doon : though in another maner ful substan-
 " ciali bokis serven bettir into remembrauncing of the
 " same materis than ymagis and picturis doon.—marke
 " who so wole in his mynde, alle the bokis whiche been
 " in London writun upon Seint Kateryns liif and passiouns,
 " and y dare weel seie that though ther were x thousand
 " mo bokis writun in Londoun, in thilk day, of the same
 " seintis liif and passioun, thei schulden not so moche

¹ Lewis, pp. 106, 107.

“ turne the citee into mynde of the holi famose liif of
 “ Seint Kateryn, and of her dignitee in whiche sche now
 “ is, as dooth in eech yeer the going of peple in pilgrim-
 “ age to the college of Seint Kateryn bisidis London : As
 “ y dare putte this into jugement of whom ever hath
 “ seen the pilgrimage doon in the vigil of Seint Kateryn bi
 “ persoones of Londoun to the seid college. Wherefore
 “ right greet special commoditees and profitis into remem-
 “ braunce-making, ymagis and pilgrimagis han, and doon,
 “ whiche writingis not so han, and doon.”

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
 of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. XII.

* Part iii. c. 13.

The Donation of Constantine.

“ ¹ Constantyn endewid not the Pope Silvester, neither
 “ eny chirche in Rome with eny greet habundaunt im-
 “ movable possessiouns, but oonli with possessiouns com-
 “ petentli and mesurably, with sufficience, servyng for
 “ the fynding of the prestis and mynystris of the chirchis
 “ whiche he endewid : except oon chirche clepid Constan-
 “ tynyana, into whiche chirche he gaf a certein of pos-
 “ sessioun for fynding of lightis and for fynding of bawme
 “ into brennyng of laumpis, over the competent unmov-
 “ able endewing which he made into the same chirche for
 “ fynding of prestis and mynystris servyng in the same
 “ chirche. But al the habundaunt and riche endewing of
 “ the Pope and his see-chirche in Rome, came bi other
 “ persoones long aftir Constantyn : As bi Pipyn king of
 “ Fraunce, and bi Charles king of Fraunce and emperour,
 “ and bi Lodowic king of Fraunce and emperour, and bi

* This letter also has no date ; but it is evidently a continuation of the preceding one.

¹ Lewis's *Life of Pecoek*, pp. 115, 116.

“ Matilde a greet ladi which gaf the greet and riche and
 “ rial marchionat of Auchon [Avignon] to the Pope to-
 “ gidere at oonis, and became therbi to be the doughtir
 “ of Seint Peter, as in cronicles and stories it is open for
 “ to se.”

^m *Reasons to confute the Fiction of Constantine's Donation.*

1. Damasus makes no mention of it in his Epistle to Jerom.

2. Damasus was not in possession of any such endowment, when he wrote to Jerom.

3. No authentic and credible records or chronicles take notice of it. Nothing but “ the Legende or Storie of Sil-
 “ vestris Gestis and oon Epistle putt and ascryved unlikeli
 “ to Constantyn, and tho stories and cronicles which taken
 “ of it and folewen it.”

4. “ The thre departid storie, maad of thre moost fa-
 “ mose and credible storiers in Greek lond,” relates that
 Constantine divided his whole empire into three parts
 among his three sons, and particularly, he “ biquathe the
 “ lordscip of the west-parti which was Rome, with al the
 “ cuntrey aboute to his eeldist sone Constantyn: which
 “ sone rejoiced the same parti to him devysid, and that
 “ thorough al his liif; and his brother Constans next aftir
 “ him rejoiced the same west-parti—and his brother Con-
 “ stancius, after the deeth of hem bothe, al the hool em-
 “ pire of eest and west.”

5. Boniface IV. above 250 years after Silvester's death,
 begged of the emperor Phocas to give him the Pantheon
 in Rome, in order to convert it into a Christian church :
 which the Pope need not have begged of another, had
 Rome been all his own.

6. Histories plainly evidence that Charles the Great,
 and Lewis, were the first that invested the Popes with
 such large territories and dominions.

7. “ Manye hundrid yeeris aftir the deeth of Pope Sil-
 “ vester, the eleccioun of the Pope, maad at Rome, was

^m Lewis, pp. 116—118.

“ sende into Greke-lond—for to be confermed or admittid of the emperour; as can be proved bi sufficient credible cronicles and stories.— This y seie not for this that it so doon was weel doon; but herfore y seie it, that it hadde not be so doon if the emperour of Greek-lond hadde not be thanne in tho daies as ful lord and emperour of Rome, &c.”

8. The eighth argument chargeth a false fact upon the letter ascribed to Constantine, which fact is confuted by the more authentic evidence of the *Historia Tripartita*. He observes that the Greek writers, who were with the emperor at Constantinople, or near him, are more to be credited than “ other men dwelling ferther fro thens in rombe.” Which last words I note only for the sake of the word *rombe*, signifying *distance*, as hinted before in a former letter.

N. B. As to the unusual sense of the word *rejoice* twice occurring in this part, though I have no where else met with it, it is common in Pecok: and it seems very conformable to analogy of speech, as *uce*, *oice*, *oyse*, stood for *use*; and *rejoice* is nothing more than *uti*, or *re-uti*. I am persuaded that was the primitive and proper sense of the word, and that the present is a corruption: *rejoie*, as in Chaucer, was the proper word for what we now express by *rejoice*. But enough.

Part iv. c. 1, &c.

ⁿ *Divers orders or degrees of Clergy.*

“ In the Clergie ben dyverse statis and degrees of overtie and nethertie, as that above manye prestis soortid togidere into oon cuntree or diocise is oon Bischop forto overse and attende, that alle tho prestis lyve and do as it longith to hem bi her presthode, and forto juge querelis, and pleintis, and causis, and strives, if eny such rise among summe of tho prestis, and forto redresse the wrongis whiche prestis doon to her parischenys or min-

ⁿ Lewis, pp. 118, 119.

" istry, if thei eny such doon. And above manie Biscopis
 " of a large cuntree, or a provynce is oon Archibiscop, for-
 " to in liik maner overse and attende that tho Bischopis
 " lyve and do as it longith to her bischophode, and forto
 " juge querelis and pleintis and debatis if eny such arise
 " among tho Bischopis, and forto redresse the wrongis
 " which tho Bischopis doon to her Prestis if thei eny such
 " doon. And in liik maner above many Archibischopis is
 " oon Patriark forto overse and reule and amende the go-
 " vernauncis of tho Archibischopis. And above manie and
 " alle Patriarkis is oon Pope, forto overse and reule and
 " amende the governauncis of tho Patriarkis, and forto re-
 " dresse wrongis, &c.—Al this now rehercid gover-
 " naunce and policie in the Clergie, summe of the lay-peple
 " deemen and seien to be naught, and that it is brought
 " in bi the Devel and Anticrist: so that thei wolen alle
 " Prestis to be in oon degree, and non of hem be above
 " other of hem; and thei wolen that undir Prestis be De-
 " kenys, and no mo ordris, statis, or degrees in the Cler-
 " gie at all. And bicause that suche bifore rehercid statis
 " and degrees above Prestis ben in the Clergie; thei bac-
 " biten and detracten the Clergie, cleping the highe Pope
 " Anticrist, and cleping all the othere lougher rehercid
 " statis, above Prestis, the Anticristis lymes, or membris."

° In answer to this charge, the Author lays down five
 positions or conclusions.

1. " Holi Scripture werneth not, and letteth not the
 " now rehercid governaunce.

2. " Doom of cleerli disposid resoun in kinde weerneth
 " not and lettith not the seid governaunce.

3. " The seid governaunce is leeful.

4. " Holi Scripture bothe in the Oold Testament and in
 " the Newe allowith the seid governaunce. For,

1. " In the Oold Testament God ordeynid oon Bischop
 " to be above in reule and jurisdiccoun to alle the Prestis
 " and Dekenys, and so to alle the Clergie in Goddis

° Lewis, pp. 136, 137.

“ Chirche being thanne; even as the Pope is now oon
 “ persoon above in reule and in jurisdiccoun to alle Prestis
 “ and Dekonys, and to alle the Clergie in the Chirche of
 “ God being now.

2. “ Holi writ of the Newe Testament makith men-
 “ sioun that Crist seid to Symount Peter thus: *Thou art*
 “ *Symount the sone of Johanna, thou schalt be clepid*
 “ *Cephas*, or heed—Peter was heed in the maner in
 “ which noon of the other Apostlis was heed. And sithen
 “ ech Apostle was heed of oon certeyn parcel of peple, or
 “ ellis of alle the lay-peple of the world jointli with hise
 “ felawis, it folewith nedis that Petir was heed of al the
 “ Clergie, and so of alle Prestis, and of alle the lay partie:
 “ for in noon other wise can it be govun that he was heed
 “ in a dyverse and different maner from ech other Apo-
 “ stle.”—The author goes on with the usual texts cited
 for the primacy, and seems in the whole of this argument
 to have been a thorough *Papist*.

5. “ Doom of Cleerli in disposid resoun jugith, allowith,
 “ and approvith the seid governaunce.”—

Part v. c. 1, &c.

Of the Religious.

p *Objected*—“ That bothe of Prestis and lay persoones
 “ ben sectis clepid religiouns maad to men and also to
 “ wommen forto be streighter to hem in eting and drink-
 “ ing, in speking, in wering, in going, in sleping, and in
 “ aboute-walking, and in othere deedis of worldlihode and
 “ fleischlihode than is the freedom of lawe of kinde with
 “ the settings-to of Cristis sacramentis. Al this summe
 “ of the lay-peple blamen bothe for the dyversite and no-
 “ velte so takun to be in, otherwise than is the comoun
 “ maner of othere men and wommen. And also thei beren
 “ an honde, that the religiouns whiche now ben had and
 “ usid, han summe statutis and ordynauncis being agens
 “ charite, and therfore agens the lawe of God. And

“ferthermore these blamers—ascriven and geven the
 “fynding and the mentenaunce of all suche sectis or reli-
 “giouns to the feend, and to Anticrist.”

’ [The author answers in five particulars, as under former heads, and in the same method as in the last. I shall transcribe such passages as may suffice to show his general sense of the thing.]

Answer. C. vi.

“Take me alle the religiose men of Englonde whiche
 “ben now and han ben in religioun in Englonde this thritti
 “yeeris and mo now endid, in whiche xxx yeris hath be
 “contynual great werre bitwix Englonde and Fraunce,
 “and lete se what schulde have worthe of the men in
 “these yeris, if thei hadde not be maad religiose. Lete
 “se how thei schulden have lyved, and what maner men
 “thei schulden have be. Whether not thei schulden have
 “be as weelnygh alle othere men ben and han be in this
 “xxxiiii wynters in Englonde: and therefore thei schulden be
 “or gileful artificers, or unpiteful questmongers, and for-
 “sworn jurors, or sowdiers wagid into Fraunce forto
 “make miche murther of blood, yhe and of soules, bothe
 “in her owne side and in the Frenche side.—No man
 “fynde agenward that tho persounes, whyles thei han
 “lyved in religioun, han be gilty of so miche synne how
 “miche synne is now rehercid, and of which thei schulden
 “have be gilty if thei hadden not be religiose. Thanne
 “folewith needis that the religiouns in Englonde han ben
 “ful noble and profitable heggis and wardis thoroughout
 “these xxxiiii yeris for to close and kepe and hegge yn
 “and werne so manye persounes fro so miche grettor
 “synnes into whiche ellis, if tho religiouns hadden not
 “be, tho persounes schulden have falle and have be gilty.
 “—God purveied manye dyverse religiouns to be in
 “the Chirche, for that bi so greet a dyversite had in
 “so manye religiouns, what for dyversite of outward
 “habit, and of inward wering, and of diet, and of wak-

“ing, and of officiynge, and of sitis or of placing, and of
 “bilding, and of othere suche manie, the mo of the peple
 “schulde be provokid and stirid therbi into religioun.—
 “And though summe harme and yvel comith thorough
 “the hauyng of such now seid multitude, yit not so greet
 “harme and yuel as is excluded bi the hauyng of so
 “greet a multitude. After that eny man hath professid
 “eny of tho religiouns, and is receyvid into it, if it can be
 “openli provid and schewid that he is bounden bi co-
 “maundement of Goddis lawe for to do eny certein deede
 “out of thilk religioun, for eny certein while, or for al his
 “lyvys tyme, sotheli thilk religioun is noon harder neither
 “streiter holding, but that thilk man schal have good
 “leue and licence forto wirche and do the so proved
 “deede out of the religioun for the same while.—For
 “weel provid causis religiose persoones ben licencid forto
 “leue perpetuali her professid religiouns. Nunnys han
 “be takun out of her cloistris and han be weddid to
 “princis: and monkis han be take out of her cloistris
 “and han be weddid and maad kings—And claustral
 “monkis han be licencid forto be summe heremytis,
 “and summe reclusis, and manye monkis han be take
 “out of cloistir liif to be Bischopis.—In ech reli-
 “gioun now usid, the occupaciouns foundid and devisid
 “bi the religioun, bisidis the thre principal vowis, that
 “is to seie, of chastite, of wilful and expropriat pouerte,
 “and of obedience to the Prelat whē he comaundith
 “comaundementis of the religioun, myghte be myche
 “amendid, bothe the occupaciouns of her priyng and
 “officiyng and of her contemplacioun, and also the oc-
 “cupaciouns of her studyng, and lerning—but yit this
 “argueth not neither proueth tho occupaciouns to be
 “nought neither to be unfrytful.”

* *Objected*—“that no good skile is whi tho religiose
 “persoones schulden were so straunge and dyverse formes
 “of habitis fro her other Cristen bretheren—that reli-

“giose monasteries, nameliche of the begging religiouns,
 “han withinne her gatis and cloocis grete large wiide
 “highe and stateli mansiouns, for lordis and ladies therein
 “to reste abide and dwelle—that thei han large and wiide
 “churchis like sumwhat to cathedral or modir chirchis
 “of diocisis.—That bi the religioun of seint Fraunces
 “the religiose persoones of thilk religioun schullen not
 “handle and touche with her honde, neither bere aboute
 “hem eny money, that is to seie, eny gold or silver or
 “other metal koyned; and yit thei ben not weerned bi
 “the same religioun forto telle such money with a stik
 “holdun in her hond, neither forto kepe it in her coffris,
 “neither bē thei weerned forto holde, bere, touche and
 “handle cuppis and dischis, knyfis and jewelis of siluer
 “and of gold, however preciose and delectable to the
 “sight tho jewelis ben.”——

** A Summary of the Author's Replies.*

1. As to *habits*: he vindicates the use of such variety, for *distinction* sake, and for the *reminding* the Religious of what they are, and what they have bound themselves to.

2. As to the *stately buildings* for lords and ladies; he pleads the great convenience of such mansions for persons of quality, and how useful it is to the monasteries for great persons to repair thither, and to abide there. He thinks the lords and ladies are thereby the more shut out from the world to attend to their religious concerns: and that the monks can thus attend them the more constantly, and at the same time be supported and protected by them, and have less need to go a begging among poorer persons, who might otherwise be put to charge by them.

3. As to the *stateliness* of their churches, he defends it easily, as being most for the honour of God's service, and as containing more people.

4. As to the objection made against the *Franciscans*,

* Lewis, pp. 144, 146.

the Bishop is forced to rack his wits to the utmost, to make at length but a very lame defence. He owns the facts in every circumstance, and repeats the objection, allowing it as fair and full play as possible. As thus—"If
 " freris of Fraunceſſis religioun forbering handling and
 " bering of money, for that this handling and bering ben
 " neighingis and homeli entermetingis with money, and
 " for that thilk forbering ſchal make in hem a remem-
 " braunce that thei oughten not love money over myche,
 " whi forberen not thei telling of money with a ſtikkiſ
 " eende, ſithen this telling is a nygh and a ful homely
 " entermeting with the ſame money, and the forbering
 " of ſuch telling myghte make in hem liik remembraunce,
 " as the forbering of handling ſchulde make? Alſo ſithen
 " jewelis of gold and of ſilver and of precioſe ſtoonys,
 " and knyfiſ, and girdeliſ harneisid with gold and ſilver
 " and ſuch othere araies, oughten not beloved of hem
 " overmyche; whi forberen not thei to touche in hand-
 " ling, and the bering upon hem of ſuch now ſeid jewelis
 " and knyfiſ harneisid with ſilver and gold?"

Answer.

1. "For to handle or bere money is a more homely entermeting with the ſame money than is forto telle it with a ſtik: and therfore the more homelynes is forborn, and the laſſe homelynes is ſuffrid.

2. "To the ſecond objection and chalenge y mai anſwere thus: jewelis ben not in ſo manie kindis ſo redy and ſo nighe to the uce in whiche the haver mai delite him ſynfulli, as is money—and therfore the more perel is forborn, whilis the laſſe is ſuffrid to abide. And though it were ſo, that the telling of money with a ſtik were as greet a neighing in homelynes to money as is bare handling; and though the handling of jewelis were as perilouſe as is the handling of money; yit therof not folewith that if eny man for devocioun wolde forbere the oon, that he oughte forbere the other.—For whi, it is fair, good, and priſeable to forbere the oon whilis he is not conſtreyned to forbere of hem bothe

“eny oon.—Whanne a man is fre to leve bothe, it is
 “priseable, and fair, and honest, if he take the oon, and
 “not bothe: and nameliche, sithen fewe othere taken
 “eny of hem bothe.”

‘To what is said of the war in France, I may add another passage out of part the first, c. 15. For possibly, Pecock’s so free speaking of the king, might offend the court, and contribute towards his ruin. He says thus:—“Wolde God that the king of Yngland wolde
 “sette so myche bisynes forto conquere and reforme his
 “lond of Ynglond from this seid wicked scole, [*Wic-*
 “*vites he means,*] and fro othere defaultis, as miche as
 “he dooth about the conquest of his lond of Normandi
 “and of Fraunce, and peraventure he schulde thanne
 “have more thanke and reward at his laste comyng
 “hoom to the King of blisse, and more noble flavour of
 “digne fame among alle the princis of the world, and
 “the worthi peeris of heuen, than he schal have bi miche
 “of his labour and cost doon aboute the worldli conquest
 “of Fraunce.”

“For explication of *questmongers*, I shall add another passage, parallel to one above.

“Take thou into mynde alle tho men whiche han be in
 “religioun sithen religioun biganne, and marke thou weel
 “thanne how these men schulden have lyved if thei had-
 “den not lyved in religioun; and certis thou schalt not
 “fynde, as weel nygh for hem alle, that thei schulden
 “have lyved otherwise than lyven, or lyveden gileful
 “craftimen, or jurouris and questmongers, or pleders for
 “mony though the causis of plee be wrong, or as sow-
 “diers forto fighte and slee for spoile and money, &c.”

N. B. I understand by *unpiteful*, in the first quotation, *ungodly*, *impious*: for *pite* in Pecock, as in several others, commonly signifies not *pity*, but *piety*, or godliness. I have not before met with *unpiteful*: but *unpyte* for *ungodliness*, and *unpytevous* for *ungodly*, are very common

¹ Lewis, pp. 211, 212.

² Ibid. p. 142. note.

in Wickliff's Testament, where one may be certain what they stand for.

I rest, Sir, yours,

DAN. WATERLAND.

If you have any doubts about any thing here contained, or any thing in my former letter, let me know before I part with the book, and I shall readily satisfy you.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*



Nº. XIII.

St. Austin's, Jan. 20, 1727—8.

DEAR SIR,

I INTENDED to defer writing till I might be able to give you a satisfactory answer to some things. But considering again that it might be long before I could do it, I choose rather, as thinking it more respectful, to acquaint you with what I know, or believe, at present, than to make longer delays: and when any thing further offers, it will be easy to supply it by another letter. I am of opinion, that there was an English translation of the thirteenth century, part of which is extant in three libraries, Lambeth, Christ Church, and Corpus Christi, Oxon. In this persuasion, I rely entirely upon the report and judgment of Mr. John Russel, as appearing in his *proposals* for publishing Wickliff's Bible, and in his Letters sent to Joh. Bapt. Ottius in 1720, an extract of which is published by Le Long in his *Bibliothèque*, A. D. 1723. He is confident that the language is much older than Wickliff's, or even than Hampole's, who died in the year 1349. I am endeavouring to borrow the Lambeth-copy, that I may judge of this matter myself, which I apprehend my-

self now to be very capable of doing from the acquaintance I have had with our old English of several centuries upwards.

It is undubitable, that there is a translation of the Psalms made by Hampole. I have seen it, and read part of it, and find the language to be plainly more antique than Wickliff's. I refer to several copies of it which I have seen, (as in Sidney College, Trinity, and Bennet,) in my Critical History, (vol. iv. p. 178.)

As to the MS. Testament you saw in my hands, I judge it to be Wickliff's, because of its agreement with the *Norfolk copy* mentioned by Wharton in his *Auctarium Hist. Dogmat.* p. 426, and referred to by me, *Crit. Hist.* (vol. iv. p. 176.) But I shall be able to judge more certainly, when I can see the *Norfolk copy* in the library of the Royal Society, which I intend, (God willing,) as my leisure serves. However, the MS. Testament I now speak of is certainly different from, and somewhat older than the common one which passes under the name of Wickliff. And now you will ask, What I think of the common one? I take it to be Wickliff's also, corrected and improved probably by himself, the language a little polished, and the synonymous needless words (double versions of the same things) thrown out. My reasons for the present are;

1. The unanimous consent of the *inscriptions* to the MSS. besides the concurrent verdict of several writers very near Wickliff's time.

2. It is to me very plain, that whoever drew up the common copy, had that older of Wickliff's before him, and for the most part followed it: and I cannot think of any man that could have authority enough to justle out Wickliff's, and to substitute this so generally in its stead, except Wickliff himself.

^w 3. There is no one here to be thought on, unless it

^w See Lewis's *Hist. of English Translations of the Bible*, pp. 66, 67. 2d. edit. 8vo.

be Trevisa: but I am abundantly satisfied, after long deliberation, that it is not his. I have been at the pains to read over two large folios of Trevisa's: one, his version of *Higden's Polychronicon*; and the other, his translation of Bartholomew Glanvil's book *De Proprietatibus Rerum*. I have observed his phrases and his diction; and I persuade myself that in several instances they do not agree with the phrases and diction of Wickliff's Testament commonly so called. Besides this, I have half a sheet, or nearly, of texts which I have collected out of Trevisa's Bartholomew: and these texts in his version are widely different from the common one. I am unwilling to be at the trouble, or else I could fill my paper with texts, in two columns, collated. When you come to London, I will show you them, for your satisfaction. Now I am mentioning this later book of Trevisa's, and having it still in my hands, I will give you a transcript of the conclusion of it.

"This translation was ended at Berkeley, the vith daye
"of Feverer, the yere of our Lorde M.CCCLXXXVII.
"the yere of the reyne of King Rycharde the Seconde
"after the conqueste of Englande, xxii. The yere of my
"Lordes age, Syre Thomas Lorde of Berkeley, that
"made me to make this translation, xlvii.

"And printed by me Thomas Berthelet, the xxvii yere
"of the most victorious reine of our mooste gracious so-
"veraynge Lord Kynge Henry the VIII."

I suppose the year 1397 is a mistake for 1399, which alone can agree to the 22d of Richard II. and 47th of Lord Berkley. So this work was finished about twelve years after the translation of the *Polychronicon*, the date of which you may see in my Critical History, (vol. iv. p. 176.)

What is become of Trevisa's *Version of the Bible* (if there really was one, as Caxton and Bale both say) I know not. It had a prologue to it, according to Bale, carrying Trevisa's name in the front; but the common

version called Wickliff's, has no such prologue, which is a further argument that it is not Trevisa's.

Mr. Russel, in his proposals, promised the world a previous dissertation, wherein, among other things, he was to examine and to confute Trevisa's *pretensions*. I am sorry he did not find encouragement to go on with his design. He may be a proper man to consult upon this question, if you know where he is: I do not.

I have here told you all I know, and all that I think at present upon this article. Whenever I get more light, you shall presently have it from me.

As to the Donett, or Donate, it appears to me probable, that Donatus's *Elementa Grammatices de Octo Partibus Orationis*, printed Cracov. 1559, was a short thing, and previous to the Accidence, as the *Accidentia Nomini*, or *Verbo*, naturally follow *nomen* and *verbum*. But of this I can only guess, not having the book to consult, nor any other books here that can give me certain light. The want of books must also oblige me to defer my intended inquiries into the custom of extreme unction. I want many helps here, which I can readily have recourse to when at Cambridge.

* I have been skimming over some parts of your *Antiquities of Favresham*, and some I have dwelt longer upon, according as the matters most suited my taste. When I came to p. 66, where you speak of Erasmus, I demurred to your conjecture about his *being but a new saint*. The *Legenda Aurea* is no rule: many old saints, I believe, are there omitted, besides Erasmus. I take Erasmus's saintship to be at least as old as the ninth century. He appears in the MS. Psalter of Bennet College, which I place in 850. See my Crit. Hist. (vol. iv. p. 191.) And he appears also in the Vatican copy of Bede's Martyrology,

* This manuscript of Mr. Lewis's, with many notes by the author, was left by him to Mr. Ames, and afterwards became the property of Mr Gough, who bequeathed it to the Bodleian Library. See Nichols's *Lit. Anecdotes*, vol. v. p. 263. Of St. Erasmus, here mentioned, notice is taken in Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 148.

and in *Usuardus* and *Ado*; one of the eighth, the other of the ninth century. I am beholding to Dr. Smith's Notes upon Bede, p. 377, for what I say of those two authors: I have them not by me.

I hope Mr. Wilkins will not be afraid of printing a book of three hundred and seventy-one pages. I wish to see you here, and to discourse that matter over. Do not be discouraged, if some silly men throw out silly reflections. Such persons have not credit enough to damn a book. The true reason rather why such pieces hang, is the want of taste for dry instructions, and antiquated English; or else a book has not been well advertised, or has been published at a wrong time. I have heard Dr. Davies complain that he could not sell off three hundred of his *Epitome of Lactantius*, though a book of two shillings and sixpence price only. God grant you your health to go on in your useful labours.

I am

Your affectionate Friend and faithful
humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. XIV.

St. Austin's, May 2, 1728.

DEAR SIR,

I AM come to no fixed opinion yet in relation to Wickliff's version of the Bible. But I have sent you by Mr. Wilkins all the materials I have had to make a judgment by. Having been lately at Cambridge, I have brought up with me what I call the first draught of Wickliff's Testament, as being plainly older and ruder than the common one. Of the first there are but very few copies: but the

copies of the latter are numerous. I have also sent you, by Mr. Innys's permission, one of the common copies : so you may at your leisure compare both together. Our College copy of the first is not entire, but wants some chapters somewhere in the Epistles ; I think either in Romans or Corinthians, not remembering certainly in which.

I have sent you a specimen of the Lambeth copy of the Bible ; enough to confute Mr. Russel's pretences. I have also sent you some readings collected out of Trevisa ; which are an argument to me that the common translation ascribed to Wickliff is not Trevisa's.

The Old-Testament-texts I have compared, and placed oppositely in the paper I send : the texts of the New, you can yourself compare with the books I send. Mr. Innys will not sell his copy under three pounds, but he lends it you free-cost, if I remember his words to me some time ago. I design for Windsor on Saturday next, God willing : and there I intend to spend my time between this and Whitsunday. Thither you may please to direct to me after you have received the books from Wilkins. I shall be glad to know that you have received them safe. I deliver them out this day to Mr. Wilkins's journeyman. He himself is not at home.

I am, good Sir,
Your affectionate Friend and faithful
humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Mr. Wilkins's man now tells me that the parcel cannot be sent out before Wednesday next : but he promises me to be punctual and careful.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

N^o. XV.*Magd. Coll. July 1, 1729.*

DEAR SIR,

I AM laying out for materials towards your complete account of the English translations of the Bible, or of any part of the Bible. But that I may not do more than I need, let me first acquaint you what materials I have, and do you please to let me know whether you already have any of the same.

I will begin with *Tindale's New Testament of 1526*. I cannot meet with the book itself yet, though I do expect to find a copy or two at Emanuel College: but I can send you a very particular account of the book and its editions, Dutch and English, out of *George Joye's Apologye*, 1534. Have you that Apology? I have no mind to transcribe several pages to no purpose.

The next in order is *Tindale's Translation of the Five Books of Moses*, A. 1530. This I have not met with: but his prologues to every book may be seen in *Tindale's Works*, printed by John Daye, 1573.

The Psalter of 1530, by Joh. Aleph, and printed at Argentine by Foye. This book I have by me, and shall send you account of.

George Joye's Psalter, and *Jeremy*, both of 1534. Those I have, and shall send account of, unless you tell me you have them.

Coverdale's Bible in folio, 1535. This I have, and shall make report of.

Matthew's Bible in folio 1537. This I have.

Coverdale's of 1539, vellum, St. John's: and another paper one, I have.

Taverner's of 1539, I also have.

The Great Bible of 1540, I have not at present, but believe I shall meet with one: otherwise you may get an account of it from Sion College.

Tunstall and Heath's of 1541, I have.

Coverdale's Anglo-Latin Test. 1538 spurious; 1539 genuine: I have both, and shall send account of them.

Coverdale's quarto of 1550, I have.

Beck's Bible of 1549, I have.

The *Geneva New Testament in 12^o. of 1557*. The first with distinction of verses I have, and shall give account of.

† The *Geneva Folio Bible of 1560*, the first edition (be it fol. or 4to.) I cannot yet find, though it is in Bishop More's library.

Parker's first Edition of 1568, and *second of 1572*. I have both, and shall send accounts of them.

As to *Delayne*, I must desire you to explain yourself. Do you take it for an English version? His new Latin version of 1540, I have. The dedication is a very long one, thirty-eight pages in large 4to. and I do not see any great use of it. Please to open your mind a little farther upon this head in your next.

As to the sentences of Scripture in Elizabeth's Liturgy, (the same with those in Edward's of 1552,) I am very sure they are not taken from any one edition of the Bible: but the compilers translated as they thought proper, or selected out of several editions. Only, the Psalms are all exactly the same with the great Bible of 1541. I intend to send you some accounts to look at in a little time, that you may peruse them, and may then send to me again for any further particulars, before I part with the books I have by me. I would send the parcel to Parker for you, but is he to be directed to at the King's Head, where Wilkins was; or has he changed the sign, or removed the shop? Send me Wickeliff's Testament hither when transcribed, and I will do you all the service I can in collating. I propose (God willing) to stay here till the end

† Mr. Lewis has not properly distinguished these two editions, having described them *both* as *Bibles*. See Mr. Todd's *Vindication of English Translations and Translators*, 1819. App. 3.

of October. But if any sudden occasion should make me leave Cambridge sooner, I will take care of your papers.

I am, good Sir,

Your very faithful Friend and Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

You will excuse the haste
of this scribble.

I had almost forgot to mention *Sir John Cheek's* ² *New Testament*, (if it be Cheek's,) printed in 1550, Anglo-Latin, 4to. or large 8vo. I have the book, and am searching diligently for some certain proofs either of its being Cheek's or not Cheek's. It is by J. C. It is out of the Greek into English, with Erasmus's Latin opposite. Maunsell, in his Catalogue, twice ascribes a Testament to him. And yet neither Bale, nor Langbain, nor Strype seem to have known any thing of it. I will inquire farther into it.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. XVI.

AN account of the seven editions of Tindale's New Testament, chiefly from George Joye's Apologye, published 1535, Feb. 27.

1526.

1. The first edition was published by Tindale himself, (though he put not his name to it,) and in this year, as is well proved by Strype in his Memorials of Archbishop Craumer. Joye speaks thus, p. 39, (according as I have paged it,) "Tindal aboute viii or ix yere agoo translated
"and printed the New Testament, in a mean great vo-

² See Lewis's Hist. p. 186.

"lume; but yet wythoute kalender, concordances in the
"margent, and table in thende^a."

1527, or thereabout.

2. The next was a Dutch edition, not revised by Tindale himself. We may call it the first Dutch edition^b, of which Joye thus speaks, p. 39. "And anon aftir, the
"Dwchemen got a cotype, and printed it agen, in a
"small volume, adding the kalandare in the begynning,
"concordances in the margent, and the table in thende.
"But yet, for that they had no Englisshe man to cor-
"recke the setting, thei themselfe, havyng not the know-
"lege of our tongue, were compelled to make many mo
"fautes than were in the cotype, and so corrupted the
"boke, that the simple reder might ofte tymes be
"taryed, and steek." This edition, by what will be observed of the next, I judge to have been a small 12mo. such as the English Psalter was printed in by Johan. Aleph, or Francis Foye, at Argentine, 1530. and by Joye, or Marten Emperour, in 1530. [I think, at Antwerp.]

1528 *perhaps*, or 1529.

3. The next was a second Dutch edition, of which Joye goes on thus, p. 39. "c Aftir this thei printed it agein
"also, without a correctour, in a greater letter and volume, with the figures in thapocalipse, whiche were ther-
"fore miche falser than their firste." He observes further of this and the former, that "there were of them both
"about 5 thousand bokis printed." There is a copy of this edition belonging to Emanuel College, marked i. 5—66. I have it now in my hand. I make this judgment from the figures; that is, cuts, drawings, in the Apocalypse. It is imperfect, both beginning and end torn out. It is a large 12mo, if it may not be called a small 8vo. The titles and chapters are in red letter. There is part of *the prologe unto the Newe Testament* at the beginning.

^a See Lewis's Hist. of Transl. 2d ed. p. 75.

^b Ibid. p. 80.

^c Ibid. p. 65*.

And there are *the Epistles of the Olde Testament after the use of Salisbury* at the end; but part torn off. These were all sold off before 1534.

1533 *perhaps*, or 1534.

4. A third Dutch edition ^d in a smaller character and volume. Joye goes on thus: "When these two pryntes—
" were al sould, more than a twelve moneth ago, Tind.
" was pricked forthe to take the Testament in hande, to
" print it, and correcke it, as he professeth and promyseth
" to do, in the later ende of his first translation. But T.
" prolonged and differred so necessary a thing, and so just
" desyers of many men. In so miche that in the mean
" ceason, the Dewchmen prynted it agen the thyrde tyme,
" in a small volume lyke their firste prynt, but miche more
" false then ever it was before.—Thei printed them,
" and that most false, and about two thousand bokis, and
" had shortly solde them al. Al this longe while T. slept,
" for nothing came from him, as farre as I coude perceiue."
p. 41.

1534.

5. ^e A fourth Dutch edition corrected now at last by George Joye, who took the liberty to correct the translator himself, in some few instances, as well as the printers, and thereby gave very ^f grievous offence to Tindale. This edition must bear date 1534, because Tindale, in the preface to his of 1534, November, observes that Joye's was brought him, when his own was in the press, "almost fynessed."

Mr. Baker has noted down an edition, which he has seen, but forgets where, entitled thus: *The Newe Testament, imprinted at Antwerp, by Marten Emperour, Anno M.D.XXXIII.* I make no question but that is the very edition I am now speaking of: and the same Marten Emperour printed Joye's Psalter that very year, as appears from the Psalter itself, now in my hand. However, Joye's

^d See Lewis's Hist. of Transl. pp. 66*, 73*; but Lewis dates it 1530.

^e Ibid. p. 79*—85.

^f [See Fox, c. 2. p. 515.]

edition of T.'s Testament may be infallibly distinguished from any other by this plain mark, which I shall note in the words of Tindale's preface; "thorow oute Mat. Mark, and Luke perpetually, and ofte in the Actees, and some-
 "tyme in John, and also in the Hebrues, where he
 "fyndeth this worde *resurreccion*, he chaungeth yt into
 "the *lyfe after this lyfe*, or *verie lyfe*, and soche lyk." *Tynd. pref.* cited in Joye's Apol. p. 52. I proceed now to give Joye's own account of this edition of his, which is the fourth Dutch, and makes the fifth in the whole. Apol. p. 41. (numb. of bs. now printed 2000.) "Then the
 "Dewche began to printe them the fowrth tyme, because
 "thei sawe no man els goyng about them: and afir thei
 "had printed the first leife, which cotype another Englissh
 "man had corrected to them, thei came to me, and de-
 "siered me to correcke them their copie; whom I an-
 "swered,—that if T. amende it with so gret diligence as
 "he promyseth, yours wil be never solde. Yisse quod
 "thei, for, if he prynte two thousand and we as many,
 "what is so litle a noumber for all Englund? And we
 "wil sel ours beter cheape: and therfore we doubt not of
 "the sale.— p. 42. The printer came to me agen and
 "offred me two stuvers and a halfe for the correcking of
 "every sheet of the cotype; which folden contayneth xvi
 "leaves: and for three stuvers which is 4 pense halpeny
 "sterling, I promised to do it. So that in al I had for
 "my labour but xiv shylyngis flemesshe. Which labour,
 "had not the goodnes of the deede and comon profyte
 "and helpe to the readers compelled me more than the
 "money, I wolde not have done yt for 5 tymes so miche,
 "the copie was so corrupt, and especially the table.
 "And yet seith T. I did it of covetousnes. If this be
 "covetousnes, then was Tindal moche more covetous.
 "For he (as I herd saye) toke x ponde for his correc-
 "tion. p. 43.—p. 45. This Testament was printed or
 "T. was begun, and that not by my prevencion, but by
 "the printers quicke expedicion and T. own longe sleap-
 "ing. For as for me, I had nothing to do with the

“printing therof, but correcked their copie only. As
 “where I founde a worde falselie printed, I mended it:
 “and when I came to some derke sentencis that no rea-
 “son coulde gathered of them, whether it was by the
 “ignoraunce of the first translatour or of the prynter, I had
 “the Latyne text by me, and made yt plain. And where
 “any sentence was unperfite or clene left oute, I restored
 “it agene, and gave many wordis their pure and native
 “significacion in their places, which thei had not be-
 “fore.”

1534.

6. Tindale's own correct copy. *The Newe Testa-
 ment diligently corrected and printed in the yeare of oure
 Lorde M.CCCCC and XXXIII. in November.* I take
 this title from Joye's title page to his *Apologye*; which,
 I presume, is exact enough, in the thing at least, if not
 to the words. ^fTo this edition was prefixed a very an-
 gry preface, complaining too severely against the liber-
 ties Joye had taken with his translation. That preface
 produced G. Joye's *Apologye and Answere unto Tindal's
 Pistle*, printed 1535, Feb. 27, in 12mo, pages 104.

This sixth edition may be known by its preface: or it
 may be known without it, or without title or date, by
 some alterations made in it, which Joye speaks of. The
 note to 1 Pet. iv. 6. “the dead are the ignorant of God,”
 was not before this edition of 1534. Tindale's former edi-
 tions read Matt. i. 18. *§ married to Joseph*: but his edi-
 tions of 1534 and after have *betrouthed*.

1536.

7. ^h*The Newe Testament yet once agayne corrected by
 Willyam Tindale &c. prynted in the yere of oure Lorde
 God M.D. and XXXVI. 4to.*

This title I take from a note of Mr. Baker, who has
 seen the edition with that title, but does not at present
 remember where. I have this edition now in my hands;

^f Lewis's Hist. ut supra.

[§] [So reads an after edit. folio, 1537.]

^h Ibid. p. 85.

but the copy is imperfect both at beginning and end. It belongs to Emanuel College, marked B—4—28. It is a 4to. and a pretty broad one, and the print appears to be English. It is not earlier than the edition of 1534, because of *betrouthed* in Matt. i. 18. It is not the edition of 1534, because it has not a fault which G. Joye charges upon that editionⁱ, viz. this, that in the marginal gloss upon 1 John iii. there is noted, "Love is the first precept" and cause of all other," and on the other side, "Fayth is" the firste commandment and love the seconde." This staring contradiction of the edition of 1534 is prudently avoided in this more correct one of 1536.

These are the seven editions of Tindale's N. T. all in ten years' time, and amounting to about fifteen thousand books. I have seen but two of the seven, but hope to see more, either in my Lord Oxford's library, or Bishop More's, or where else I can think of. You have seen one copy: and, by the marks given, you will easily and certainly distinguish the edition, unless it be the *second* or *fourth*, which though easily distinguished from all besides, are not so easily distinguished from each other; being much alike, both Dutch prints, and of small character, and nearly of the same time. But if you happen to meet with one with a date, you may give a shrewd guess whether it be the second, or fourth, in the whole; whether the first or third of the Dutch editions.

I send you this, without waiting for an answer to my last; because, I think, I may be morally sure from your speaking before so doubtfully of the copy you had seen of Tindale's N. T. that you had not yet met with G. Joye's book, from which I have taken my accounts of all but the last. I found it accidentally in our public library: it is marked B—7—54. As it is a small piece, and I believe very rare, I may perhaps get it all transcribed, if I have leisure, before I leave this place. Since my last, I have got the folio edition of 1540, besides some others. I am procuring you copies of the dedica-

ⁱ Lewis's Hist. p. 85.

tion and preface of the Anglo-Latin of 1538, and also of the dedication and preface of 1539. You shall have all other proper materials as fast as I can get them ready.

I am, good Sir,

Your affectionate Friend and humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Magd. Coll. July 5, 1729.

All I can hitherto find of Richard Culmer is, that he was scholar of the foundation in our College in 1617.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. XVII.

Magd. Coll. July 13, 1729.

DEAR SIR,

I HAD the favour of your's bearing date the 7th instant. I perceive, I had already done some things which might have been spared: nevertheless, since the papers are drawn up, I shall send you all in a little time. In the mean while, I shall here send you some general or casual observations. I distinguish whole Bibles by these several names. 1. Coverdale's, alias Cranmer's, alias Great Bible. 2. Matthews. 3. Geneva. 4. Parker's. 5. Rhemish, alias Doway. 6. King James's. To speak severally now of the two first.

1. Coverdale's.

Coverdale's of 1535, improved by Cranmer &c. in 1539 and 1540, and again by T. and H. in 1541, and reprinted at London by Harrison in 1562, and again at Rouen 1566. You will have an account of this last among my papers. All these editions (excepting the first of 1535) have the small letter in Psalm the xivth and in 1 John v, 7.

There is another peculiarity in three of them, worth the noting, that they call the apocryphal books *Hagiographa*; taking indeed Matthewe's preface to the Apocrypha of 1537, but changing Apocrypha, as often as it occurs, (which it does several times,) into Hagiographa. The three editions which do thus, are 1539, 1540, 1562.

N. B. Was it not this very Bible that Henry VIII.ⁱ and Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth authorized by their successive injunctions? And it was never out of place till Parker's succeeded them in 1568.

N. B. The edition of 1562 follows 1540, in the Psalms, and otherwise: but 1566 follows 1541.

2. Matthew's.

This appeared first in 1537, and was the first which had a royal licence, though Coverdale's having no notes to give offence, afterwards carried the bell. Hither I refer Taverner's of 1539, and Becke's of 1549, and Matthewe's revised of 1551. These all omit that part of Psalm xivth which others have in small letter. And as to 1 John v. that of 1537, and Taverner, and 1551, have it in small letter; while Becke's includes it in hooks as a parenthesis, a method begun by Coverdale in his of 1535, or rather by Tindale in his N. T. of 1526. Matthew's Bible most pleased the Puritans, till the Geneva Bible succeeded in its room.

I have nothing now in particular to say of the other Bibles beyond what you will find in the packet I intend you.

As to Sir John Cheke's, I am satisfied it was no new version of his: perhaps J. C. might mean another, the version is the common one of that time. But of this I shall write more largely in my papers. J. C. includes 1 John v. 7. in a parenthesis.

I mentioned to you in my last the figures, wooden cuts,

ⁱ The Letters Patent of King Henry VIII. concerning this translation may be seen in Lewis's Hist. p. 121. briefly cited. The whole is copied by Burnet, and Wilkins, and by Mr. Todd, in his Vindication of our Authorized Translation, App. 2.

in the Apocalypse of Tyndale's N. T. the second Dutch edition. I have since taken notice of the editions besides, which have the like cuts in the Apocalypse, and they are these: Matthewe's of 1537, Becke's of 1549, Jugg's 4to. Test. of 1550, the Great Bible of 1562. Parker's has them all in one plate, or page, just before the Apocalypse, in the edition of 1572. By the way, I observe, that Parker's of 1572 has both the editions of the Psalter (Hebrew and Septuagint) columnwise, facing each other. Later editions left out the new version from the Hebrew, and retained only the old version which is in our Liturgy. Qu. When began that frugal contrivance? How long before 1602?

I have been examining thoroughly all that belongs to Hampole's Psalter of 1330, or 1340; and shall send a particular account of it. But Wickliff's Bible or Testament will take me up longer time. I have seen a Testament somewhat older than that I once lent you: and I just dipped into one at Bene't, or part of one, (P. vi.) which is quite another version, and older than any I had before seen. Upon a transient view, I judge of the age only by the participles running in *ande* instead of *ing*, (as for instance, *lastande* for *lasting*,) which is a mark of age above any thing I have yet seen of Wickliff's, and goes up, a century perhaps, higher, or half a century at least. But I shall inquire more minutely when I can have leisure. It is a misfortune to us, that no manuscript of that College can be borrowed out: otherwise I should not scruple the pains of reading it all over.

R. ix. x. of the same library is older than the common MSS. of Wickliff, but not so old as P. vi.

I know it has been the common practice of the scribes to take a liberty of suiting the spelling, and language too, to the time they transcribe in. This I have observed in the several copies of Robert of Gloucester, and in the written and printed copies of Trevisa, and in Hampole's Psalter; the later the copy, the more modern always the English itself, and not the spelling only: so that it will

be the harder to judge of the age of versions by either spelling or language. Perhaps the common copies of Wickliff may not be much older than 1440, as I have one bearing date 1437, though it looks old: if so, one would expect that the copies written about 1380 should be older English, though the same version. But of this I shall consider at leisure.

I did not send you, in my last, the title-page of Joye's little piece against Tindale, from whence I took the editions. It is a curiosity worth the transcribing, though somewhat long.

^k An Apologye made by George Joye to satisfye (if it may be) W. Tindale: to purge and defende himself ageinst so many sclaunderouse lyes fayned upon him in Tindals uncharitable and unsouer pystle, so well worthy to be prefixed for the reader, to induce him to the understanding of hys New Testament diligently corrected and printed in the yeaere of oure Lorde M.CCCCC and XXXIIII. in November.

I knowe and beleve that the bodyes of every dead man shall ryse agayne at Domes daye.

Psalme cxx. Lorde, delyver me from lyinge lyppes, and from a deceatfull tongue. Amen.

1535.

At the end of the book is,

The xxvii daye of Februarye.

It is observable, that Joye has the same motto from Psalm cxx. to his Psalter of 1534, in the title-page to it. But that Psalter was finished in August, two months or more before the date of Tindale's new edition of the N. T. However, probably, he had then heard of T.'s resentment, and of what was preparing: and indeed he intimates as much in the beginning of his Apology.

In the College Library at Windsor, I took notice of a copy of Matthew's New Testament, in 8vo. printed 1548.

^k Lewis's Hist. p. 83.

I can get you an account of it, if you shall think proper to take that in with the rest.

I am, good Sir,
Your very faithful and affectionate Friend
and Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*



¹No. XVIII.

Hampole's English Psalter and Comment, MS.
Fol. Sidney Coll. Cant. K. 5—3.

THE book begins with a prologue, which sets forth the use and excellency of the Psalter. In the close of the prologue, something is said of the comment itself by the compiler.

“^m In this werke I seke no straunge ynglys, bot
“lightest, and comunest, and swilk that is most like
“unto the Latyne: so that thai that knawes noght La-
“tyne, be the ynglys may com to many Latyne wordis.
“In the translacione I felogh the letter als mekille as I
“may, and thor I fynde no propur ynglis, I felogh the
“wit of the worde, so that thai that shalle rede it, them
“thar not drede erryng. In the expownyng I felogh
“holi Doctors. For it may comen into sum envious
“mannes honde, that knawys not what that he suld

¹ There is no date to this large collection of papers; but the letter immediately following it, and dated July 24, 1729, mentions a packet, of about eight or nine sheets, having been sent the day before, which appears to be this collection.

^m Lewis's Hist. p. 13, 14.

“saye, att wille saye that I wist not what I sayd, and so
“do harme tille hym and tille other.”

The composition and contrivance of the Psalter and comment is, to produce every Psalm, a paragraph only at a time, in Latin; and then under the Latin follows a literal translation of that paragraph, to which immediately is subjoined a short English comment on the same. The comment generally is dry and insipid enough, after the mystical allegorical way, current at that time.

ⁿ At the end of the Psalter follow the several canticles treated in the same way as the Psalms had before been.

Canticum Isaie. 12. *Confitebor tibi &c.*

Canticum Anne. 1 Sam. 2. *Exultavit cor meū &c.*

Canticum Moysi. Exod. 15. *Cantemus Dno. &c.*

Oracio Abacuch. Abac. 1. *Dne. audiui &c.*

Audite Celi que loquar. Deut. 32.

Magnificat &c. Luc. 1.

Et sic explicit Psalterium David.

The xcvith (alias xcivth) Psalm in this version.

“Comes, glad we to oure Lorde, joy we to God oure
“hele.

“Before occupy we his face in schrifte, and in psalmes
“joye we to him.

“For God is grete Lorde, and Kynge grete oboven alle
“goddes.

“For in his hondes are alle the endes of erthe, and the
“heghnes of hilles is his.

“For of hym is the see, and he made it, and the drye
“his hende schope.

“Comes, loute we, and falle we, and grete we before
“our Lorde that made us, for he is our Lord God.

“And we folk of his pastoure, and schepe of his hende.

“This dey, if yee haf herde his voyce, willes noght
“harden youre hertis.

“Als in stiryng, after the dey of temptacioun in deserte.

ⁿ Lewis's Hist. p. 15.

"Whore youre faders temped me, thei proved and
"thei sowe my werkes.

"Fourty yere I was wrethede to that generacioun, and
"I seyde, ay that thei erred in herte.

"And thei knew noght my weyes, to whom I sware
"in my wrethe, if thei enter in my rest."

Sidney College copy is a very old one, coeval probably with the author, who died in the year 1349. We may set the comment at 1330. The language and spelling are antique; many old words, such as grew out of use by Wickliff's time. The participle generally ending in *ande*, instead of *ynge*; as *punyschande* for *punyschyng*: and abstract nouns terminating in *hede* instead of *ness*; as *fairhede*, *barnhede*, for *fairness*, [beauty,] *barrenness*: both which are certain marks of age, and conform to the oldest MSS. of Robert of Gloucester. There are two more copies of this comment, one in Trinity College, another in Bene't (1—1—); but both modern in comparison; and the language altered. Besides that the copy of Trinity College is full of interpolations, against Prelates, Priests, and Friars, which swell the bulk about one third above its native size. There is in St. James's Library another, a very fair copy, but interpolated too, as I imagine by the description of it.

The several MSS. of Hampole are thus marked.

Sidney-Coll. MS.—K. 5—3. the oldest copy, and uncorrupt.

Trinity-Coll. MS.—R. 10—25. interpolated.

Bene't-Coll. MS.—1—1 a later copy, but of the genuine Hampole, and not of the interpolated.

King's Library — E. 15—12. Whether of the genuine, or the other, I am not certain.

In that of King's Library there is this note, as Mr. Russel testifies by a memorandum left in a spare page of Trinity College Copy:

"Here bigynneth the prologe upon the Sauter, that

“ Rychard heremyte of Hampole translated into Englyshe, “ aftir the sentence of Doctours and resun.” ° That copy is imperfect, from Psalm xcviith, and in Trinity copy there is a good deal erased, especially in Psalm lxxvi. and lxxvii. and the two last leaves torn out. The reason probably is, because in those places there were rude reflections upon Priests, or Prelates, or Friars.

° *Some Account of the MS. of Bene't. P. vi.*

I have run over, hastily, the gloss of St. Mark and St. Luke. I see nothing of the style or turn of Wickliff in either: no reflections upon Friars, Priests, or Prelates that I observed. Besides, the language, I conceive, is older than Wickliff's time, and comes nearer to Hampole's. I judge the version and comment (or gloss) to be of 1340, or 1350. I shall here give some specimens of the language.

Mark i. 7. “ And he prechyde sayande, a 9stalworther “ thane I schal come eftar me, of whom I am not worthi “ downfallande, or knelande, to louse the thwonge of his “ 1 chawcers.”

Mark vi. 22. “ When the doghtyr of that Herodias “ was in comyn, and had 8tombylde and pleside to He- “ rowde, and also to the sittande at mete, the kynge says “ to the wenche.”

Mark xii. 1. “ A man made a vynere, and he made “ aboute a hegge, and grofe a lake, and 1byggede a “ tower.”

Mark xii. 38. “ Bese ware of the scribes whylke will “ go in stolis and be u haylsede in the market, and for to “ sit in the fyrste chayers.”

° Lewis's Hist. p. 15.

1 Ibid. p. 16.

9 [Stalworther ƿcal-ƿephh, a ƿcal et ƿephp: Chalybeus Animus, nisi a ƿcaðol stabilis &c. Hickes, p. 128. Gramm. Anglo-Sax.]

1 [Chawcers, from the French, from the Latin *calceus*.]

8 [Tombylde, Sax. ƿumban saltare, ƿumbian salire.]

1 [Byggede, Sax. býcgan, ædificare.]

u [Haylsede, Sax. hælu salus. hæletunge salutatio. hæletan salutare.]

Luke ii. 7. " — and layde hym in cratche, for to
" hym was no place in the dyversory."

As this manuscript seems to be near the age of Hampole, it may not be improper to compare the Magnificat (Luke i. 46, &c.) of this version with Hampole's annexed to his Psalter among the Canticles at the end.

** Bene't. MS.*

" My soule hogis, or
" lofys, God, and my spirit
" joyed in God my hele.

" For he has byholdyn
" tho mekenes of hys hande-
" mayden.

" Lo therfore blyssed me
" schal say all genera-
" ciouns.

" For he has done grete
" thinges, for he is myghty,
" and holy tho name of
" hym.

" And hys mercy fro
" progeny to progenyes, to
" tho dredande hym.

" He made power in hys
" arme, he ⁊ sparbylde tho
" proude in thoughte of
" theire herte.

" He doun put tho
" myghty of sete, and he
" heghed tho meke.

" Tho hungry he filled
" with godys, and tho ryche
" he lefte voyde.

Hampole's MS. Sidney.

" My saule wurshipes
" the Lord, and my gost
" joyed in God my hele.

" For he loked the meke-
" nes of his handmayden.

" Lo for whi of that blis-
" ful, me schal say, alle ge-
" neracions.

" For he hath done to
" me grete thinges that
" myghty is, and his name
" haly.

" And the mercy of hym
" for kynreden to kynre-
" dens to the dredand hym.

" He did myght in his
" arme, he scatered the
" proude fro the thoght of
" their hert.

" He did doune the
" myghty of setil, and he
" heghed the meke.

" The hungerande he ful-
" filled of godes, and the
" riche he left ⁊ tome.

^{*} Lewis's Hist. p. 32.

[⁊] [*Sparbylde*. I suppose, a slight corruption from the French *esparpillar*, to scatter. Latin, *propello*, *propellere*.]

[⁊] [*tome*. In the interpolated copy it is written *toom*. It is from the Da-

Benet. MS.

"He toke Israel hys
"chylde, ^a umthoghte of
"hys mercy.

"As he spake to our fa-
"dyrs, Abraham, and sede
"of him in worldys."

Hampole's MS. Sidney.

"He receyved Israel his
"childe, he is umthoght of
"his mercy.

"Als he spake to oure
"faders, to Abraham and
"to his sede in werldes."

^bNote, the method and composition of this gloss is very like that of Hampole's upon the Psalms. The text is first produced in Latin, (a paragraph or more at a time,) then follows the same in English, and after that a short comment. And the comment is much more in the allegorical mystical way, than in the literal.

MSS. R. ix. x.

They are the common version of Wickliff, (as it is called,) but the xth is the older copy.

Sidney MS. K. 5. 14.

This edition is not the same with the common one: it is nearly the same with that which I lent you out of our College: only that it appears an older copy, and somewhat fuller of synonymous words inserted. I shall here set down the same texts as before, for a sample ^c.

Mark i. 7. "And prechid seiynge, a strengre than I
"schal come aftir me, of whom I knelyng am not worthi
"for to undoo, *or unbynde*, the thong of his schon."
(Our MS. has the same.)

Mark vi. 22. "Whanne the doughtir of the ilke He-
"rodias hadde entrid in and lepte and plesid to Heroude,

nish, or Islandick *tomur*, void, empty. See Hicke's Islandick Dictionary in his Thesaurus Ling. Septentr.

We preserve something of the same to this day, in the North at least, where to *teem* is to empty, or to pour out.]

^a [*Umthoghte*, from the Saxon *ymb-pencean*, though I have not met with the word in composition in the old Saxon.

In Benson's Saxon Vocabulary is *ymb-ðeolhtian* deliberare. I think, *ymb-ðincan*, or *ymb-ðencean* more natural: but choose as you like.]

^b Lewis's Hist. pp. 16, 17.

^c Ibid. pp. 30, 31.

“and also to men restynge, the kynge seide to the
“wench.” (Our MS. has *thilk* for *the ilke*.)

Mark xii. 1. “A man plauntid a vineyerd and puttede
“about an hegge, and dalf a lake, and buldid a tour.”

Mark xii. 48. “Be ye war of scribis that wolen wandre
“in stooles and be salutid in chapynge and sit—in the
“firste chaiers.” (So our MS. also.)

This manuscript has, at the beginning, a table of the
Epistles and Gospels, intituled in the MS. itself; *The Quo-*
taciouns of Epistlis and Gospels that ben rad bi al the
yeer.

At the end, after the Apocalypse, are *The Lessouns of*
the olde Lawe that ben rad in the Churche.—*The first*
Fridai pistil of Advent. Isaie li.

The Conclusion.

Expliciunt Lecciones veteris Testamenti que leguntur per
totum Annum.

I am still of opinion, that this edition or version is
older than the common one which passes under the name
of Wickliff: but which of them is the true Wickliff I
cannot yet determine. I think the way must be, to find
some part or parts of Scripture, which are undoubtedly
Wickliff's, and to compare with the editions. Wharton,
in his *Auctarium Historiæ Dogmaticæ*, has chalked out
the method. He speaks of the Norfolk MS. copy of the
Gospels, as being unquestionably Wickliff's: if that be
true, we may, by the help of that copy, come to some
certainty in the matter. Perhaps you may have interest
enough with some of the Royal Society to borrow that
MS. or if it be contrary to rule to lend a MS. out, then
either you or I (when at London) may take an opportunity
of going to their library to consult it.

Having a little spare paper here left, I shall transcribe
the Magnificat out of the MS. Testament of Sidney, and
then you will have three different versions^d to compare

^d Lewis's Hist. p. 32.

with one another, and with the common one called Wickliff's.

" My soule magnyfieth the Lord, and my spirit hath
" gladid in God myn *helthe*.

" For he hath biholden the mekenesse of his hondmai-
" den.

" Lo forsothe of this, alle generaciouns scholen seie me
" blessid.

" For he that is mygtti, hath don to me greet thinges,
" and his name holi.

" And his merci fro kynrede into kynredis to men
" dredynge hym.

" He maade mygt in his arm, he scatered proud men
" with mynde of his herte.

" He puttide doun mygtti men fro sete, and enhaunsed
" meke.

" He hath fulfild hungri men with goode thinges, and
" hath left riche men voide.

" He havynge mynde of his merci, took up Israel his
" child.

" As he hath spoken to oure Fadris, to Abraham and
" to his seed into worldis."

The Psalter of 1530. Publ. Libr. 12mo, small.

A—7—43.

Title-page.

"The Psalter of David in Englishe, purely and faithfully translated after the Text of Feline, every Psalme hauynge his argument before, declarynge brefly thentente and substance of the wholl Psalme.

Preface.

" *Johan Aleph greteth the Englishe nation, (in red letter.)*

" Be glad in the Lorde (dere brotheren) and geve him
" thanks: which nowe at the laste of his mercriable
" goodnes hath sente ye his Psalter in Englishe, faithfully

^a [In our Coll. MS. *helthe gifer*, the rest agrees.]

^f Lewis's Hist. pp. 86, 87.

"and purely translated: whiche ye may not mesure and
 "juge after the comen texte. For the trowth of the
 "Psalmes muste be fetched more nygh the Ebrue verite,
 "in the which tonge David, with the other syngers of
 "the Psalmes firste sunge them. Let the gostly lerned
 "in the holy tonge be juges. It is the spirituall man
 "(saith Paule) which hath the spirit of God, that muste
 "decerne and juge all thynges. And the men quietly
 "sittyng (if the truth be shewed) they muste juge and
 "stand up and speke (the firste interpreter holdyng his
 "pease) God geve ye true spirituall and quiete sittynge
 "juges. Amen."

xcv Psalm.

"Come and let us triumphe, let us make melody to
 "the Lorde: the defender of owre hellthe.

"Let us haste to come into his presens with prayse-
 "gyvynges: let us synge unto hym with hymnes.

"For the Lorde is a righte grete God: and kynge over
 "all goddis.

"In whois hande are the depe secretes of the erthe:
 "and the heighthes of the hylles.

"The see is hys, for he made it: and all contened
 "theryn his handes have fashioned.

"Come therefore and let us worshype: and fall downe
 "uppon ower knees before the Lorde owre Maker.

"For he is oure God and we are the people of his pas-
 "ture, and the flocke whom he dryvethe: (yf we thys
 "daye geve hede and beleve his worde)

"Se that ye harden not yowre hartes as they dide in
 "the deserte of Meribah in the tyme of temptation

"When yowre fathers tempted and provoked me: and
 "yet thei se my workes.

"Forty yeares I chide with the nacion: and I sayd,
 "this peple errethe in their hartes, they alowe not my
 "wayes.

"Unto whom I swore in myn angre: they shall never
 "entre into the lande of my reste."

At the end is, a *Table to fynde the Psalmes*: it is al-

phabetical, having the beginning of every Psalm according to the Latin, and referring to Psalm and fol.

In the close is

Emprinted at Argentine in the yeare of our Lorde 1530, the 16 daye of January by me Francis Foye. Praise ye the Lorde.

‡ *The Psalter of 1534*, in small 12mo. Publ. Libr. A—7. 42.

Title-page.

David's Psalter, diligently and faithfully translated by George Joye, with brief Arguments before every Psalme, declaringe the effecte therof.

Psal. cxx. *Lorde, delyver me from lyinge lippes and from a deceitful tonge.*

xcv Psalme.

“Come and let us leap for joye before the Lorde, let us synge unto the rocke of our savinge helth.

“Let us come before him with thankis gevinge, and in the Psalms singe unto him.

“For he is the Lorde, both God and Kinge most mighty above all goddis.

“In his handis ar the depe secretis of the erthe, and also the strength of the mountains.

“The sea is his, for he hath made it, all the drye lande joyninge therto, his handis have facioned it.

“Come and let us fal downe before him, let us bowe downe oure knees and beseche the Lorde oure maker.

“For he is our God, we be the peple of his pasture, and the flock off his hande, so longe as we ceasse not to obaye his voyce.

“Be not harde herted as were they that chode and rebelled agenste him in the wildernes.

“Where youre fathers casted me of, they proved me and sawe my workis.

"Fourtye yeres it yrked me of that nacion, in so myche
 "that I sayde: this peples herte is gone from me, for
 "they knowlege not my wayes.

"In my grete wrath therfore made I my othe agenst
 "them, that they shulde not come into my reste."

The Conclusion.

*Thus endeth the text of the Psalmes, translated oute
 of the Latyne by George Joye; the yere of our Lorde
 M.D.XXXIII. the moneth of Auguste.*

Then follows a table, such as in the other Psalter, and
 at the end of the table is

Martyne Emperour, 1534.

N. B. Though I call these 12mos. yet they are more
 properly in 16°. were it usual so to note books.

Erasmus's Paraphrase, Tom. i. 1548.

Title.

^h *The First Tome or Volume of the Paraphrase of Eras-
 mus upon the Newe Testament. Emprinted at London in
 Flete Strete at the Signe of the Sunne. By Edwarde
 Whitchurche the laste daie of Januarie. Anno Domini
 1548.*

1. Nicolas Udall's Dedication to Edwarde the Sixthe.

2. Nicolas Udall's Preface to the Reader.

Queen Katherine Dowager procured the paraphrase to
 be translated into the vulgar tongue by several hands.
 (Udall's Pref.) And Edward the Sixth and Queen Eliza-
 beth, by their injunctions, recommended it to public use.

ⁱ The Second Tome was

*Imprinted at London in Flete Street at the Signe of the
 Sunne. By Edwarde Whitchurche, the 16th daye of Au-
 gust, Anno 1549.*

The Dedication is to the King, by Myles Coverdall.

The version contained in, on going along with this pa-
 raphrase, ought, I think, to be taken notice of in its place,
 among the other English versions.

^h Lewis's Hist. p. 161.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 167.

Matthew's New Testament in 8vo. A.D. 1548.

Such an edition I have seen in the library at Windsor: if it will be of any use, an account of it may easily be procured from thence. I can take account of it myself when there: or can write to a friend when I am elsewhere.

1540, *Delayne's N. T. Latin.*

Novum Testamentum Latinum, ad antiquissima Græcorum exemplaria, quam diligentissime castigatum: inque Latinam Phrasim transfusum, quicquid erat idiotismi vel Græci vel Hebræi: quin et Scripturarum Concordantiis, una cum allusionibus, quam accuratissime illustratum.

Præterea difficillima quæque loca sunt passim aut explanata, aut certe eminus ostensa. Figuræ quoque Veteris Testamenti, cum spiritu ac veritate Novi, pensiculantur.

Estque præfixa Præfatio, quæ, præter alia Sacrarum literarum cognitu necessaria, argumenta quoque totius Novi Instrumenti ex ordine continet.

Per B. Galterum Delcænum, Regiæ Majestatis Anglicanæ Biblioscopum.

Excudebat Londini Johannes Mayler Anno Dni. 1540.

^k *The Geneva New Testament of 1557.*

[Mr. Baker's.]

It is in 12°. a small but very beautiful character: the first, I presume, in English with distinction of verses and numeral figures.

[Note that R. Stephens's first Greek one, with distinction of verses, such as the present, was printed 1551. And the first Latin Bible in octavo, with the like distinction, was 1555. I have seen that Latin Bible, by the favour of Mr. Baker; it ends thus: *Excudebat Roberto Stephano Conradus Badius, Anno M.D.LV. viii. idus Aprilis.*]

^k Lewis's Hist. p. 207.

As to the Geneva New Testament, the title page is,
*The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ conferred
 diligently with the Greke, and best approved Translations.
 With the Argument as wel before the Chapters as for
 every Boke and Epistle, also diversities of readings and
 most profitable Annotations of all harde places: whereunto
 is added a copious table. At Geneva, Printed by Conrad
 Badius M.D.LVII.*

Then follow,

1. The Epistle declaring that Christ is the end of the
 Lawe, by John Calvin.

2. To the Reader Mercie and peace through Christ
 our Saviour.

At the end,

*The Table of the Newe Testament, being an alphabetical
 Index. A perfecte Supputation of the Yeres and Time from
 Adam unto Christ, proved by the Scriptures, after the col-
 lection of divers Auctors. Printed by Conrad Badius
 M.D.LVII. this xth of June.*

Matt. iii. 2. "Saying, Repent, for the kyngdome of
 "heaven is at hand."

1 Pet. ii. 13. "Submit your selves unto all maner or-
 "dinance of man for the Lordes sake, whether it be
 "unto the kynge as unto the chief head."

¹ 1534. *Joye's Jeremy*, Publ. Libr. A—9—12.

Title-page.

*Jeremy the Prophete, translated into Englishe, by George
 Joye; some tyme Felowe of Peter College in Camebridge.*

*The Songe of Moses is added in the ende, to magnifye
 our Lorde for the Fall of Pharao, the Bisshop of Rome.*

Anno M.D. and XXXIIII in the monethe of Maye.

Then follows *The Preface into the Prophete Jeremy.*

At the end of *Jeremy The ende of the Prophete Jeremy:*
translated by George Joye. An. M.D.XXIIII. mense Mais.
 Then immediately follows,

¹ Lewis's Hist. p. 88.

"To supplee the lefe, take here (Crysten reder) that
 "goodly and godly songe of Moses: wherewith thou
 "oughtest now gloriously to magnifie and prayse God
 "for the destruccion and throing downe of our cruel Pha-
 "rao the Bisshop of Rome, nonother wyse then did
 "Moses and his Chirche loaue him for drownynge of Pha-
 "rao: whiche Pharaos figured our blodye Bisshops of
 "Rome.

"The songe of Moses and his Chirche, songen aftir
 "Pharaos dethe, drowned with his hoste in the ydde
 "sea."

^m *Coverdale's Fol. Bible of 1566.*

From an imperfect copy of Mr. Baker's, and another, imperfect also, of my own. Both together perfect.

Title-page.

The Bible in Englishe of the largest and greatest volume: that is to saye, the Contentes of all the Holye Scripture, booth of the Oulde and Newe Testament. According to the Translation apoynted by the Queenes Majesties Injunctions to be read in all Churches within her Majesties Realme, at Roven, at the cost and charges of Richard Cardarden. Cum Privilegio 1566.

Then follow,

1. The order howe the rest of holy Scripture (beside the Psalter) is apoynted to be read.
2. Proper Lessons for first Lessons for Sundayes.
3. Lessons proper for holy dayes.
4. A brief Declaration of the Terms.
5. The Almanacke for xxx years, begin. with 1561.
6. To fynde Easter for ever.
7. What holy dayes to be observed.
8. A Table for the Order of the Psalmes Mornyng and Evenyng.
9. A Kalendar.
10. The Prologe, beginning *Thoughe a man hadde a*

^m Lewis's Hist. p. 214.

precious jewell, &c. At the bottom of the Prologue, *At R. by C. Hamilton.*

At the end of Job, *At the cost and charges of Rychard Carmarden, 1566.*

Title-page of N. T.

The Newe Testament in Englyshe, translated after the Greke, contaynyng these bookes &c.

At the end is *A Table to find the Epistles and Gospels usually red in the Church, &c.*

This edition is worth the notice on several accounts.

1. As being the latest edition of Coverdale; for such I take it to be, and after the pattern of Tonsal and Heath's of 1541. And so Psalm xiv. and 1 John v. 7. have the *small letter*, as usual in that Bible.

2. As being so late, and yet without distinction of verses; though the distinction had been introduced into the Geneva Bible in 1560, and into the Geneva Testament as early as 1557.

3. As being printed at Rouen, (qu. why?) and at the charge of Richard Carmarden, so far as the end of Job, at least. This Carmarden, I am told, was an officer of the Customs, and of good repute.

There is a Liturgy prefixed to this Bible, or part of a Liturgy, but differing much both from that of 1552, and that of 1559, as well as from two more which I have seen, 1578, 1592, prefixed to two copies of the Geneva Bible. It concludes with the Communion, leaving out the rest of the occasional Offices. One peculiarity is, that in the Litany, after "We humbly beseech thee, &c." is inserted a Psalm, or Hymn collected out of the Psalms, beginning thus: "Lorde, thou art become gracious unto thy land, &c."

Next follows the Prayer for the Queen's Majesty.

"O Lord our heavenly Father, hygh and myghty, "Kynge of kynges, &c."

ⁿ *Myles Coverdale's Bible in folio, 1535.*

Publ. Libr. A—4—9.

Title-page torn out.

An Epistle unto the Kynges Highnesse. The beginning torn out. The end is, *Youre Graces humble subjecte and daylye Oratour*

Myles Coverdale.

Next is, A Prologe: *Myles Coverdale unto the Christen reader.*

Then, The Names of the Bokes of the Hole Byble: the partition thus;

1. The Bokes of the Fyrst Parte: containing the Pentateuch.
2. The Bokes of the Seconde Parte. Josua—Hester.
3. The Bokes of the Thyrd Part. Job—Salomons Balettes.
4. The Prophetes.
5. Apocripha.
6. The Newe Testament.

The Partition of the New Testament.

1. The Gospelles and Actes.
2. The Epistles of St. Paul, which are but 12.
3. The First and Seconde Epistle of St. Peter. The Three Epistles of S. Jhon. The Epistle unto the Hebrues. The Epistle of S. James. The Epistle of S. Jude. The Revelacion of S. Jhon.

In the last page, *Prynted in the Yeare of our Lorde M.D.XXXV. and fynished the fourth daye of October.*

xcivth Psalme.

“O come, let us prayse the Lorde, let us hertely rejoyse in the strength of oure salvation.

“Let us come before his presence with thankesgevyng, and shew our self glad in him with psalmes.

“For the Lorde is a greate God, and a greate Kyng above all goddes.

ⁿ Lewis's Hist. p. 91.

" In his honde are all the corners of the earth, and the
" strength of the hilles is his also.

" The see is his, for he made it, and his hondes pre-
" pared the drie londe.

" O come, let us worshipec and bow downe oure selues :
" let us knele before the Lord our Maker.

" For he is oure God : as for us, we are the people of
" his pasture, and the shepe of his hondes.

" To daye yf ye wil hear his voyce, harden not youre
" hartes, as when ye provoked in tyme of temptacion in
" the wildernes.

" Where youre fathers tempted me, proved me, and
" sawe my workes.

" XL yeares longe was I greved with that generacion,
" and sayde : They ever erre in their hertes, they verely
" have not knowne my wayes.

" Therefore I sware unto them in my wrath, that they
" shulde not enter into my rest."

Matt. iii. 2. " Saynge: Amende youre selves, the kyng-
" dome of heven is at honde."

Psalm li. (als. l.) 3. " Wash me well from my wick-
" ednesse, and clense me from my synne."

Gen. xxix. 31, 32. " But when the Lorde sawe, that
" Lea was nothinge regarded, he made her fruteful, and
" Rachel baren.

" And Lea conceived and bare a sonne, whom she
" called Reuben, and sayde : The Lorde hath looked upon
" mine adversitie. Now wyll my husbände love me."

Mr. Wanley observes, that this Bible was printed at
Zurich, in the imprinting house of Christopher Fro-
chover, anno 1535.

Matthew's Bible in folio, 1537.

° The copy is Mr. Baker's, imperfect ; but almost per-
fected from a perfect copy in my Lord Oxford's library.

The Title-page.

The Byble which is all the Holy Scripture: in which are contayned the Old and Newe Testament, truely and purely translated into Englysh: by Thomas Mattheue.

Esaye i. *Hearcken to ye heavens, and thou earth geave eare: for the Lorde speaketh.*

M.D.XXXVII.

Set forth with the Kinge's most gracyous lycence.

Next follow,

A Dedication to the King, by his Graces faythfull and true subject, Thomas Matthew.

A Preface to the Reader.

Afterward follow,

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1. A Calender with an Almanacke. | } These three parts
all torn off. |
| 2. An Exhortation to the study of
the holy Scripture, gathered out of
the Byble. At the end J. R. denot-
ing, as Mr. Wanley judges, John
Rogers. | |
| 3. The summe and content of all the
holy Scripture, both of the Old and
Newe Testament. | |
4. A Table of the pryncypal matters conteyned in the Byble.
5. The names of all the bokes of the Byble: and the contents of the chapters of every boke: with the nombre of the leaffe wherin the bokes begynne.
6. A brief rehersall of the yeares passed sence the begynnyng of the worlde unto this yeare of our Lorde M.CCCCC.XXXVII. both after the maner of the reckenyng of the Hebrues, and after the reckenyng of Eusebius and other chronyclers.

Title-page to the New Testament.

The Newe Testament of our Sauyour Jesu Christ, newly and dylygently translated into Englishe, with Annotacions in the margent to helpe the reader to the understandyng of the Texte. Prynted in the yere of our Lorde God M.D.XXXVII.

The conclusion is thus.

The Ende of the Newe Testament and of the whole Byble. To the honoure and prayse of God was this Byble prynted and fynished in the yere of our Lord God a. M.D.XXXVII.

This was the first authorized English Bible.

It has the figures or cuts in the Apocalypse, such as Tyndale's Testament of the third edition (second Dutch edition) has, a copy of which is in Emanuel. I—5—66.

At the beginning of the Prophets are R. G. on the top of the page, *i. e.* Richard Grafton; and E. W. at the bottom, *i. e.* Edward Whitchurch. At the end of the Old T. is W. T. *i. e.* William Tindale.

This Bible, probably, was printed at Paris. Mr. Wanley gives several good reasons to persuade us that it was not printed in England, rather too long to transcribe.

^c *Taverner's Bible, 1539. Folio. Bibl. Publ.*

A—4—25.

Title-page.

The most Sacred Bible, whiche is the holy Scripture, conteyning the Old and New Testament, translated into English, and newly recognised with great diligence after most faythful Exemplars, by Richard Taverner.

Harken thou heven, and thou earth gyve eare: for the Lorde speaketh. Esaie i.

Prynted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonne, by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlet. Cum privilegio ad imprimendū solum. M.D.XXXIX.

Then follow,

1. Taverner's dedication to the King.
2. An exhortacion to the studye of the holy Scripture, gathered out of the Bible.
3. The summe and content of all the holy Scripture, bothe of the Olde and New Testament.

* Lewis's Hist. p. 131.

4. The names of all the bokes of the Bible, with the content of the chapters.

5. A briefe rehersall declarynge how long the worlde hath endured from the creacion of Adam unto this present yere of our Lord. M.D.XXXIX.

6. A table to fynde manye of the chyefe and principall maters conteyned in the Bible.

Title-page to the Apocrypha is as in Matthew's, thus.
The volume of the bokes called Apocripha, conteyned in the common translacion in Latyn, whiche are not founde in the Hebrue nor in the Chalde.

The registre thereof.

Then follow the names of the books.

Title-page to the New Testament.

The New Testament of our Saviour Jesu Chryst, translated into English: and newly recognised with great diligence after moost faythfull Exemplars, by Rycharde Taverner.

Pray for us, that the worde of God may have fre passage and be glorified. 2 Tessa. iii.

Prynted in the yere of oure Lorde God M.D.XXXIX.

Conclusion.

The ende of the Neue Testament.

xcivth Psalm.

" O come let us prayse the Lord, let us hertely rejoyse
" in the strengthe of our salvation.

" Let us come before his presence with thanksgyvynge,
" and shewe our selfe glad in hym with psalms.

" For the Lorde is a greate God, and a greate Kynge,
" above all goddes.

" In his hande are all the corners of the earthe: and the
" strengthe of the hylles is his also.

" The see is his, for he made it, and his handes prepared
" the drye lande.

" O come, let us worship and bowe down our selves:
" let us knele before the Lorde our maker.

" For he is oure God: and we are the people of his
" pasture, and the shepe of his handes.

" To day if ye wil heare his voyce, harden not youre
 " hertes, as when ye provoked in time of temptacion in
 " the wilderness.

" Where youre fathers tempted me : proved me, and
 " saw my workes.

" Fourtye yeres longe was I greved with that genera-
 " tion and sayde : They ever erre in theyr hertes, they
 " veryly have not knowen my wayes.

" Therefore I sayd unto them in my wrath : that they
 " sholde not entre into my reste."

N. B. Matthew's Bible of 1537 is exactly the same : as
 also in the texts following, except that *for* is left out in
 Matt. iii. 2.

Matt. iii. 2. " Sayenge : Repent, for the kyngdome of
 " heaven is at hande."

Psal. li. 3. " Washe me wel from my wickednesse, and
 " clense me from my synne."

Gen. xxix. 31, 32. " When the Lorde sawe that Lea
 " was despised, he made her fruteful : but Rachel was
 " bareyn. And Lea conceyved and bare a sonne, and
 " called his name Reuben, for she sayde : The Lorde hath
 " loked upon my tribulation ; and now my husbände will
 " love me."

^f *Beck's Bible*, 1549, Bibl. Publ. A—4—10.

Title-page.

*The Byble, that is to say all the holy Scripture : in which
 are contayned the Olde and New Testamente, truely and
 purely translated into English, and nowe lately with greate
 industry and diligence recognised.*

Esaye i. *Hearken to ye heavens, and thou earthe geve
 eare : for the Lorde speaketh.*

*Imprynted at London by Jhon Daye dwelling at Alders-
 gate, and William Seres dwelling in Peter Colledge. Cum
 Gratia et Privilegio ad imprimendum solum. xvii. day of
 August M.D.XLIX.*

^f Lewis's Hist. p. 178.

Then follow,

1. An Almanacke for xxix yeares.
2. The Kalendar.
3. An exhortacion to the study of the holy Scripture, gathered oute of the Byble.
4. The summe and content of all the holy Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament.
5. A dedication to the King, ending with, *your Graces saythful and humble subject,*

Edmunde Becke.

6. A description and successe of the kinges of Juda and Hierusalem, &c.
7. To the Christen Readers.
8. A Table of the principall matters containyd in the Byble, &c.
9. A supputation of the yeares and time from Adam unto Christe, proved by the Scriptures after the collection of dyvers authours, by Edmund Becke.
10. A prologe shewynge the use of the Scrypture.
11. The names of all the bokes of the Byble, and the contente of the chapters of every boke.
12. A Regyster, or a bryefe rehersall of the most famous and notable persons mencyoned in the Olde and Newe Testamente.

Title-page to the New Testament.

The Newe Testament of our Savyoure Jesu Christe newly and dylygently translated into Englyshe wyth Annotacions in the mergent to helpe the Reader to the understandynge of the Texte. Prynted in the yeare of our Lorde God M.D.XLIX.

Next follows Tindale's preface, "Here hast thou, most "dear reader," &c.

Close of the Byble.

To the honoure and prayse of God was this Bible printed and fynished, in the yeare of our Lorde God, Anno M.D.XLIX. Imprinted at London by John Daye dwellynge at Aldersgate, and William Seres dwelling in Peter Colledge towarde Ludgate. These Bokes are to be solde by the

Lyttle Conduyte in Cheapesyde. Cum privilegio ad imprimendū solum.

This has the cuts in the Apocalypse, as Matthew's of 1537, and Tyndale's in Emanuel, have.

§ *The New Testament, English, with Erasmus's Latin, 1550. Bibl. Publ. A—6—9.*

It is in octavo, the English in the outward column of each page, the Latin in the inner column.

Title-page thus.

The New Testament in Englishe after the Greeke translation annexed wyth the translation of Erasmus in Latin. Whereunto is added a Kalendar and an exhortation to the readyng of the holy Scriptures made by the same Erasmus, wyth the Epistles taken out of the Olde Testament both in Latin and English, a Table necessary to find the Epistles and Gospels for every Sonday and Holyday throughout the yere, after the use of the Churche of England nowe. Excusum Londini in Officina Thomæ Gualtier, pro J. C. Pridie Kalendas Decembris Anno Domini M.D.L.

On the other page is an Almanacke for xxii yeares, beginning with 1550, ending with 1571. Then follows in the next page,

J. C. unto the Cristen Reders.

“ For as muche as it is knowen thorow out all Europe,
 “ to the great comforte of al them that love the pure and
 “ true religion of Christe, that our most noble and Chris-
 “ tian Kynge Edwarde entendeth earnestly to reforme re-
 “ ligion in al his Gracis dominions by the holy worde of
 “ God, and wolde that his Gracis subjectes as in diligent
 “ readyng of the holy Scripture, so in lyving, and practise
 “ of the same shuld be exercised in good workes also,
 “ doying theyr deuty to God and his Majestye, and to
 “ theyr neyghbours, to the intent y^t his Majestis purpose
 “ myght the more spedely and easely be brought to passe,

§ Lewis, pp. 184, 185.

“ I have caused to be set oute the Newe Testament in
“ Englishe, translated out of the Greeke, with the trans-
“ lation in Latin of Erasmus ryght over againste it: for
“ that ende that al men that are learned both in the
“ Englishe and Latin tonge may compare, whether the
“ Englishe texte be faythfully taken out of the Greeke or
“ no, by comparing it with the translation of Erasmus,
“ whiche was done accordyng unto the truth of the
“ Greeke texte: and that if there be any faute committed
“ eyther by the translatour, or by the printer, it maye be
“ perceyved and amended by the translation of the moste
“ noble and famouse clerke Erasmus. They that are
“ learned in the Greeke tonge (I graunt) nede none of
“ this labour: but when as there is a very great numbere
“ in this realme which understande well the Latin tonge
“ and understande not the Greeke, (which is the tong
“ wherin the Newe Testament was written,) it were pytie,
“ seeing the Latin translation is next in goodnes unto the
“ Greke tonge, for the examinyng of all vulgare and
“ comon translations of the Newe Testament, that the
“ learned in Latin shoulde be withoute the Latin text, set
“ over against the Englishe. For if they were not set
“ together one against another, it wolde be very tedious
“ and werisum to compare them togyther out of two
“ diverse bookes. Therefore to incorage all Englishmen
“ that are sene in the Latin tonge, to the trial of the
“ English translation, as wel for the profyt of their neyg-
“ boures, as for their owne learnynge, I have partely
“ taken this present labor in hand. I reken also that
“ this booke shall be very profytable for yonge scolers
“ of this realme, which are desyrous to learne the Latin
“ tong: it will be also profytable (as I judge) for all
“ straungers that are learned in the Latin tong, and wold
“ attayne to the knowledge of our English tong. Besyde
“ all these commodites, whatsoever profyt can ensue by
“ the redyng of both the Englishe and Latin translation
“ severally, all the same commodites maye be had in this
“ booke alone by it selfe. And these my labours I dedi-

"cate unto you, most Christian Reders, desyryng you to
 "take them in good worthe: whiche, yf I shall perceyve,
 "it shall move and incorage me to take more suche lyke
 "labor hereafter. Almyghty God gyve you as well
 "grace to lyve after your knowledge, as to come unto
 "the same. Amen."

One might think this was Sir John Cheke's translation of the New Testament, which Maunsell twice mentions in his catalogue, (p. 33, 113.) but too briefly: he calls it a quarto, which he well enough might: it is a large octavo.

Matt. iii. 2. "Sayenge, Repent, the kingdome of
 "heaven is at hande."

1 Pet. ii. 13. "Submyt your selves unto al maner ordy-
 "naunce of man for the Lordes sake, whether it be unto
 "the kyng as unto the chefe head."

This book probably is the same that Maunsell pointed to in his catalogue; but is not a version of Sir John Cheke's. It has none of his peculiarities, such as *toller* for *publican*, and others, which may be seen in his *Life* by Strype. It is the common version, Matthewe's version, as it seems: and if Sir J. Cheke did any thing, it was no more than ordering the common version to be printed with Erasmus's Latin in an opposite column, for such reasons, or uses, as the preface intimates.

^h *Parker's Bible* of 1568. Bp. Moore's Library,
 4287.

At the top, *the Holie Bible*.

At the bottom, *Non me pudet*, &c.

Then follow,

1. The summe of the whole, &c. as in the opposite of
 1572.
2. A Table setting out the Genealogy, &c.
3. A Table of the Bookes, &c.

^h Lewis, pp. 240, 241.

4. Proper Lessons, &c.
5. Lessons proper for Holidays.
6. Proper Psalms.
7. The Order how the rest, &c.
8. A brief Declaration, "When," &c.
9. An Almanack from 1561 to 1590 inclusive.
10. To find Easter for ever.
11. What days, &c.
12. A Table for the order of Psalms, &c.
13. A Kalendar.
14. A Preface, by Parker: his arms before it.
15. Cranmer's Prologue.
16. A description of the yeares, &c.—untill this present yere 1568.
17. The Order of the Bookes of Old and N. T. (map of Canaan facing Jos. xx. xxi.)

Imprinted at London in Powles Churchyarde by Richarde Jugge printer to the Queen's Majestie. Cum privilegio regie Majestatis.

Note, That this edition has only single psalms of Parker's version. The verses here distinguished, and numbered, as before in Geneva.

This also has the figures, or wooden cuts, in the Revelations, (like as Tindale's second Dutch edition, and several other editions after,) distinct, and in their proper places: whereas the edition of 1572 has them all in one plate fronting the Apocalypse.

I drew this account of the edition of 1568 in the library, (for I could not have the book out,) and after I had drawn the account of 1572. Where I have made &c's, the remainder is to be filled up with what is in the opposite page, belonging to 1572.

I found no difference in the initial letters placed at the end of the several books of the Bible, and so I took no more notice of them. Indeed, Brett's account is exact enough, and wants no improvement.

Mr. Wanley notes, that before Joshua is the effigies of

the Earl of Leicester, and that of Sir William Cecil before the Psalms: and in the frontispiece the effigies of Queen Elizabeth, with her arms, within the royal pavilion, supported by Religion and Charity.

I viewed this in the library; but not being permitted to take it to my chamber, I did not observe every nicety. The edition of 1572 has the two effigies, as observed, and has the arms of Dudley in the initial letter of Joshua, and of Cecil in the initial letter of the Psalms.

ⁱ *Bishop's Bible, 1572.*

Title-page; a large border, at the top of which is the effigies of Queen Elizabeth within a royal pavilion, engraved on copper, and on each side of it the figures of Religion and Charity sitting. At the bottom is printed within an oblong border supported by the supporters of the Queen's arms, the lion and the dragon, *Non me pudet Evangelii Christi, virtus enim est* &c. In the middle is the title thus, *The Holy Bible*. Then follows,

1. The summe of the whole Scripture of the Bookes of the Old and Newe Testament.

2. A Table setting out the genealogy of Adam; so passing by the Patriarchs, Judges, Kings, Prophets, and Priests, and the Fathers of their time, continuing in a lineal descent to Christe our Saviour. The running title *Christe's Line*.

3. A Table of the Books of the Old Testament with their contents.

4. Proper Lessons for to be read for the 1st Lessons both at Morning and Evening Praier on the Sundays throughout the year, and for some also the 2d Lessons.

5. Lessons proper for Holidays.

ⁱ Lewis, p. 257. Note, The account here given of this edition appears to be in Mr. Lewis's own hand-writing. Another account of it occurs a few pages further, by Dr. Waterland himself. But a fuller description, from both together, is given by Mr. Lewis in his History, under the edition of 1568, from p. 240 to 251.

6. Proper Psalms for certain days.
7. The order how the rest of the Holie Scripture, beside the Psalter, is appointed to be read.
8. A brief Declaration when every Term begins and ends.
9. An Almanack from 1572 to 1610 inclusive.
10. To find Easter for ever.
11. What days to be observed for holy days and none other.
12. A Table for the order of Psalmes to be said at Morning and Evening Praier.
13. The Kalender, in the inner margin of which are printed, in circles, representations of the 12 signs of the Zodiac.
14. A Preface into the Bible: made by Abp. Parker, which is intimated by his arms being set before it.
15. A Prologue or Preface made by Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury. In the capital letter are included his arms empaled with those of the see of Canterbury, and the letter T placed on the right hand of them.
16. A discription of the yeeres from the creation of the world until this present yere of 1572, drawn for the most part out of the Holy Scripture with declaration of certayne places wherinne is certayne difference of the reckoning of the yeres. On the inner margin are notes of the Archbishop's.
17. A fair Map of Canaan or the Holy Land, with the Lord Burleigh's coat of arms engraven in it, he being a great encourager of this work.

Then follows the First Booke of Moses, &c. Under the contents is a large wooden cut representing the history contained in that book. The same method is observed in most of the following historical books &c. After the second chapter is a map of the kingdom of Eden. At the beginning of the twenty-fifth chapter of Exodus is placed a hand in the margin: and from thence to the end of chap. xxx. are placed in the margin inverted commas,

which is done in other places. After the twenty-seventh chapter follows a representation of the Jews' Tabernacle, their sacrifices &c. and the manner of their pitching their tents round about it. After verse 6. of the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus are placed two tables: I. Degrees of kindrede which let matrimonie. II. Degrees of affinitie or alliance which let matrimonie. At the end of Deuteronomy is a leaf printed only on one side thus,

The seconde part of the Bible conteining these bookes, The Book of Joshua—the Book of Job.

Underneath, on a copper-plate, the effigies of the Earl of Leicester in armour, holding a truncheon in his left hand, and underneath this motto, DROIT ET LOYAL, on the right hand of which is a tablet with 1 2 3. on it.

a
4 5 6
7 8 9

In the Letter A, the first letter of the Book of Joshua, are this nobleman's arms with the same motto. The running title of 1 Samuel is 1 Kinges on one page, and on the page over against it 1 Samuel. The same method is observed in the other Book of Samuel.

To the First Book of Esdras, as Ezra is here called, is prefixed, A very profitable declaration for the understanding of the histories of Esdras, Nehemias, Esther, Daniel, and divers other places of Scripture very darke by reason of the discorde that is amonge historiographers, and among the expositours of the Holy Scriptures, touching the successive order of the kynges or monarchies of Babilon and of Persia; of the yeeres that the said monarchies lasted, from the transmigration of the Jews under Nabuchodonosor, until the monarchie of the Greekes, and of the confusion that is in the names of the kinges of Persia.

After Job follows, *The thirde part of the Bible containing these bookes, The Psalmes—Malachi.*

Underneath is the picture of Sir William Cecil, after Lord Burleigh, in his gown and furs, and holding in his left hand a Hebrew Psalter. On the chapters of the pil-

lars betwixt which he stands is this motto, COR UNUM, VIA UNA. On the other page is a Prologue of St. Basil the Great upon the Psalms, in the initial letter of which is the aforesaid person's arms. The Psalms are printed of two translations. In the right hand column is the new translation, in the white letter, with the words that are not in the original printed in the black. In the other column is printed, in the black letter, the translation of the Great Bible. Accordingly in Psal. xiv. the fifth, sixth, and seventh verses in the translation of the Great Bible are omitted in the New. At the end of the Psalms is a table, entitled *Numerus secundum Hebræos*, or how the Psalms are numbered according to the Hebrews.

In the initial letter of the Prophecy of Jeremiah is another coat of arms within the garter.

After the prayer of Manasses King of Judah follows *A necessary Table for the knowledge of the state of Juda from the beginning of the monarchy of the Greekis, (where the table that is set forth upon Esdras endeth,) until the death and passion of Jesus Christe.*

At the end of the Apocrypha is *A description of the Holy Lande, containing the places mentioned in the four Evangelists, with other places about the sea coastes: wherein may be seen the waies and journeies of Christe and his Apostles in Judea, Samaria, and Galilee: for into these three parts this land is divided.*

Under the map are the places specified in it, with their situation by the observation of the degrees concerning their length and breadth.

Next follows *A Table to make plaine the difficultie that is found in S. Matthewe and S. Luke, touchinge the generacyen of Jesus Christe the sonne of David and his right successor in the kingdom: which description beginneth at David, and no higher, because the difficultie is only in his posteritie.*

The frontispiece of the New Testament consists of a border cut in wood, on the top of which is the Queen's arms with those of Ireland on the right, and of

on the left. On each side are Hope and Charity represented as in the title-page of the Old Testament, and at the bottom, in an oblong tablet, are printed these words of the Apostle in English: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christe, because it is the power of God unto salvation to all that believe." Rom. i. Which tablet is supported by the supporters of the Queen's arms as before. In the middle is this title: *The Newe Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christe.*

On the other side of the leaf is *A Preface into the Newe Testament*, written by the Archbishop, whose arms are placed in the initial letter, empaled with those of Christ-Church Canterbury, with the crosier staff run through the stem of the T. and his motto MVNDVS TRANSIT ET CONCVPISCENTIA EIVS, in a circle round it, and the first letters of his name, M. P. on each side: at the bottom is the date, 1572, and the Archbishop's name in a cipher.

Then follows *The Gospel by St. Mattheue*; to which, as to the other three Gospels, are prefixed wooden cuts representing their several writers, St. Matthew, &c.

Before St. Paul's Epistles is placed *A Cart Cosmographic of the peregrination or iourney of St. Paule, with the distance of the myles, and underneath the order of tymes.*

At the beginning of the Epistle to the Romans is a wooden cut, representing St. Paul sitting, and giving direction to a person before him, who has a letter of his in his hand.

Before the Epistles of St. James and St. Peter, are their pictures cut in wood.

Before the Revelations are represented in a frontispiece, all together, the several figures which are in Tindal's — Dutch edition of the New Testament placed in their places. After the end of the Revelations is *A Table to finde the Epistles and Gospels read in the Church of England on Sundays and Saints Days, wherof the first line is the Epistle, and the other the Gospel: whose beginning thou shalt finde in the book marked with a hand, pointing,*

as it were, forward, and the ende with a hand pointing backward, contained within these letters A. B. C. D. &c.

At the end of this table is added,

Imprinted at London in Powles Church Yard by Richard Jugge Printer to the Queene's Majestie, 1572. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.

Throughout the whole are marginal notes and Scripture references, and contents to the several chapters, which are divided into verses, as the Geneva translation; and at the end of the several parcels of books are the initial letters of the translators' names and titles.

^k *An Account of the Edition of 1539.*
Coverdale's.

I have two copies of it now before me; one vellum out of St. John's Library, the other paper out of Pepys's Library in our College.

The title-page of the vellum copy is very short, *The Byble in Englysh*. But in the paper copy the title-page is thus:

The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye, the content of all the Holy Scripture, bothe of the Olde and Newe Testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by the dylygent studye of dyverse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges. Prynted by Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1539.

After the title-page in both copies follow, *The names of all the bookes of the Byble*. The partition of the books is thus:

1. The bookes of the first parte, containing the five Books of Moses.
2. The bookes of the seconde parte, beginning with Josua, and ending with Job.

^k Lewis, p. 122—128. under the title of Cranmer's, or The Great Bible.

3. The bookes of the thyrde parte, beginning with the Psalter, ending with Malachy.

4. The bookes of Hagiographa, that is, the Apocryphal books, beginning with the iiii of Esdras, ending with the iiii of Machabees.

5. All the bookes of the Newe Testament.

After the names of the books, in both copies, follow,

1. The Kalendar.

2. An Almanack for xix yeares, beginning with 1539.

3. An exhortacyon to the studye of the Holye Scripture gathered out of the Byble. It is a collection of pertinent texts from the New Testament first, and next from the Old.

4. The summe and content of all the Holy Scripture both of the Olde and Newe Testament. It is a summary of the most important doctrines contained in Scripture.

5. A Prologue expressynge what is meant by certayn signes and tokens that we have set in the Byble. Here an account is given of the *small letter* intermixed, what it imports, and of several marks of the margin.

6. A description and successe of the kynges of Juda and Jerusalem, declaring when and under what kynges every Prophet lyved: and what notable thynges happened in their tymes, translated oute of the Hebrue.

7. Wyth what judgement the bokes of the Olde Testament are to be red.

Fol. 1. "The First Boke of Moses, called in the Hebrue Bereschith, and in the Latyn Genesis." It is remarkable, that this edition, as also those of 1540, 1562, call the Apocryphal books ¹*Hagiographa*; taking in the preface of the edition of 1537 to the *Apocrypha*, but always changing it into *Hagiographa*.

In St. John's copy, the title-page before the New Testament is short, *The Newe Testament*. But in the paper copy of Pepys's library it is longer: *The Newe Testa-*

¹ [See James Corrup. p. 223.]

ment in Englyshe, translated after the Greke contayning these bokes: then follows a recital of every book by name.

In both copies the close is the same, thus: *The ende of the Newe Testament and of the whole Byble, fynished in Apryll, Ann. M.CCCC.XXXIX. A Domino factū est istud.*

In both copies part of Psalm xiv. and 1 John v. 7. are in small letter. The xcvith Psalm in both is exactly the same with that in our Prayer-books, except the spelling, and verse 2. *selfe* for *selves*; and verse 7. *the Lord* is in small letter.

^m *An Account of the Edition of 1541. From Mr. Baker's Copy.*

The title-page is thus :

The Byble in Englyshe, of the largest and greatest volume, auctorised and apointed by the commaundement of our most redoubted Prynce and Soueraygne Lorde, Kynge Henrye the VIII. supreme Head of this his Church and Realme of Englande, to be frequented and used in every Church within this his sayd Realme, accordynge to the tenoure of hys former Injunctions geven in that behalfe. Oversene and perused at the commaundement of the Kynges Hyghnes, by the Ryght Reverende Fathers in God, Cuthbert Bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas Bisshop of Rochester. Printed by Rycharde Grafton. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, 1541.

Note, From this edition are the Psalms of our Liturgy.

After the title-page follow,

1. The names of all the bokes of the Byble.
2. The Kalendar.
3. Almanacke for xviii yeares.
4. A Prologue or Preface made by the Moost Reverende

^m Lewis's Hist. pp. 140, 141.

Father in God, Thomas Archbyshop of Cantorbury Metropolytan and Prymate of England.

Fol. 1. "The Fyrst Booke of Moses, called in the Hebrue, Bereschith; and in the Latyn Genesis."

The title-page of the New Testament is,

The Newe Testament in Englyshe, translated after the Greke, contaynyng these Bookes. Then follow the names of the books.

In the last page, *The ende of the Newe Testament and of the whole Byble, fynyshe in November, Anno M. CCCCXLI. A Dno. factum est istud.*

Mr. Wanley mentions one in Lord Oxford's library of the same sort, finished in May, 1541.

Of this edition, see Mr. Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, vol. i. 372, 397.

^m *The Edition of 1562.*

My copy has lost the title-page, and other preliminaries: but I suppose they are much alike to the edition of 1540, which this follows. After Malachi follows a preface to the *Hagiographa*, as they are here called, as well as in the editions of 1539 and 1540.

The volume of the booke called Hagiographa, is here their title.

Title to N. T.

The Newe Testament in Englyshe after the last Recognition and settinge forth of Erasmus, conteynyng these booke.

At the end,

Imprinted at London in White Crosse Strete by Richard Harrison, the yeare of our Lorde a thousande fyve hundred thre score and two. Cum privilegio ad imprimendū solū.

Note, That this Bible follows not that edition of the Psalms which was perfected in 1541, by Tunstal and

^m Lewis's Hist. pp. 213, 214.

Heath, and so stands to this day in our Liturgy: but it follows the older edition of 1539, and 1540, in Coverdale's (or Cranmer's) Bible.

Part of Psalm xiv. and 1 Joh. v. 7, are in small letter.

ⁿ *An Account of the Edition of 1540.*
Eman. Library.

Title-page.

The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye, the Content of all the holye Scripture, bothe of the Olde and Newe Testament truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke texts, by the diligent studye of dyvers excellent lerned men, experte in the foresayde tongues. Prynted at London by Thomas Petyt and Roberte Redman, for Thomas Berthelet: prynter unto the Kynges Grace. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, ° 1540.

Then follow,

1. An Almanack for 30 years, 1540—1568.
2. The Kalendar.
3. The names of all the bokes of the Byble, and the contents of every boke, with the nombre of the leafe where the bokes begyn.
4. A Prologue expressynge what is ment by certayne sygnes and tokens that we have set in the Byble.

Title-page to the N. T.

The Newe Testament in Englyshe after the last recognition and settinge forth of Erasmus, conteynning these Bokes, &c. [N. B. So is edit. 1562.]

Part of Ps. xiv. and 1 John v. 7. are in smaller character, like as in the other editions of this Bible in 1539 and 1541. I have an edition of the same as late as 1566, wherein the same places are so printed in small letter. This, I

ⁿ Lewis's Hist. pp. 139, 140.

^o [Mr. Wanley mentions one printed by Richard Grafton, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*, 1540, but at the end, *synyshed in December*, 1541. He mentions another by Edward Whitchurch, 1540, *cum privilegio*, &c.]

suppose, was the authorized Bible, and read in the churches, till Parker's came in its place.

There is in the King's library, at ° Essex house, a beautiful edition of this Bible in vellum, like to St. John's of 1539. That Bible concludes thus :

The ende of the Newe Testament and of the whole Byble, finisshed in Aprill Anno M.CCCCXL. A Dno. factum est istud.

That book is finely illuminated : it was a present made, or intended, to the King, as appears by the words written on the first leaf.

This Booke is presented unto youre most excellent Highness, by your loving, faithful, and obedient subject and daylie oratour,

Anthonye Marter, of London, Haberdasher.

This account of that vellum copy I have from a letter sent to Mr. Baker from a person that viewed it. 1724.

^p *Coverdale's New-Testament Anglo-Lat. 4to. 1538.*

Pepys's Library, Trin. Coll.

This spurious, stolen edition has a dedication to the King, and a preface. The title-page is,

The New Testament both Latine and Englyshe, ech correspondent to the other, after the vulgate Texte, communely called S. Jeromes. Faythfully translated by Johan. Hollybushe Anno M.CCCCC.XXXVIII.

Jeremie xxii. Is not my worde lyke a fyre, sayeth the Lorde, and lyke an hammer that breaketh the harde stone?

Printed in Southwarke, by James Nicolson. Set forth wyth the Kynges moost gracious Licence.

Then follow,

An Almanack for xviii years, and a Kalendar.

° Lewis, (p. 139.) says, the King's library at Westminster.

^p Lewis's Hist. p. 112.

^q *Coverdale's New-Testament Anglo-Lat.* 8vo. 1539.
Mr. Baker's Copy.

This is the true and the rare edition, of Coverdale's own correcting. No title-page.

1. A Dedication to Lord Cromwell.
2. Epistle to the Reader.
3. A Kalendar, imperfect, beginning with July, the rest torn out. First chapter also of St. Matthew, a whole leaf, wanting.
4. At the end, A Table of the Epistles and Gospels, after Salysbury use, which is not in the quarto edition of 1538.

Here is no date, nor any note of printer: but it seems to be the same octavo edition which is mentioned in Maunsell's Catalogue, p. 113, there said to be printed in English and Latin, by R. Grafton and E. Whitchurch, 1539.

^r *Coverdale's Bible in 4to.* 1550. Publ. Libr.
A—5—5.

The same, I suppose, with that mentioned in Maunsell's Catalogue, p. 10th. Printed for Andrew Hester, 1550, quarto. But the title-page and close are torn out. What remains is,

1. The Bokes of the hole Byble.
2. Dedication to K. Edward the Sixth.
(In the Dedication are these words: "*therfore* was I
" boldened in God sixtene yeares agoo,— to dedicate
" this my poore translation to youre Graces moost noble
" Father.)
3. A Prologue to the Reader.
4. The Table and Kalendar expressynge the ordre of
the Psalmes and Lessons, &c.

^q Lewis, p. 115—116.

^r Ibid. pp. 182, 183.

5. An Almanack for xix yeares, beginning with 1552, ending^s 1570.

6. A Kalendar.

There is a more perfect copy of Coverdale's quarto, of 1550, in the Public Library, A—5—5.

Title-page is,

The whole Byble, that is, the holy Scripture of the Old and Newe Testament, faythfully translated into Englyshe by Myles Coverdale, and newly oversene and corrected, M.D.L.

Pray for us, that the worde of God maye have free passage and be glorified. 1 Tess. iii.

Prynted for Andrew Hester, dwellynge in Paules Church-yard, at the sygne of the Whyte Horse, and are there to be solde. Set forth with the Kynges most gracious licence.

Upon comparing the two books, I find that they are not the same impression: or however, the preliminary parts before the Bible, I am sure, are not. St. John's copy, I believe, belongs to 1552, as I judge by the first year of the Almanack. The other copy, in the Almanack, begins with 1550, and the preliminaries are as follows:

1. The bokes of the hole Byble, &c.
2. The Dedication.
3. A Prologe to the Reader.
4. An Almanacke for xiv years, beginning 1550, ending 1563.
5. The Kalendar, and Table of Epistles and Gospels.

Upon a review of both, I take the Dedication, and Prologue, and Bible itself, to be of the same impression: only the kalendar of the latter is new, and is adapted to Edward's Prayer-book of 1552. There is a whole sheet more in the latter than in the former, six new leaves instead of two old ones: and here *Convers. of Paule* is in *black*, which in the first is in *red*.

N.B. The words above cited out of the Dedication re-

^s Lewis says, "An Almanack for xiv years, beginning 1550, ending "1563." It appears, therefore, that Lewis's account corresponds with *the more perfect copy*, of which a description is here immediately subjoined.

main in both: *sixtene* yeares both here and there, which shows the same impression so far.

[†] *Parker's Bible of 1572.* Publ. Libr. A—1—9.

Title-page.

At the top, *The Holie Bible.*

At the bottom, *Non me pudet Evangelii Christi, &c.*
Rom. i.

Then follow,

1. The summe of the whole Scripture of the bookes of the Old and Newe Testament.

2. A Table setting out the genealogy of Adam—continuing in lyneal descent to Christe our Saviour: the running title, *Christes Lyne.*

3. A Table of the books of the O. T. with their contents.

4. Proper Lessons for Sundays throughout the year.

5. Lessons proper for holy days.

6. Proper Psalms for certain days.

7. The order how the rest of the holie Scripture, beside the Psalter, is appointed to be read.

8. A brief declaration when every term begins and ends.

9. An Almanack from 1572 to 1610 inclusive.

10. To find Easter for ever.

11. What days to be observed for holy days, and none other.

12. A Table for the order of Psalmes to be said at Morning and Evening Prayer.

13. The Kalendar.

14. A Preface into the Byble, by Abp. Parker himself; though without a name. His arms before it.

15. Cranmer's Prologue or Preface.

[†] This is the same edition of which an account was before given, (p. 318.) from Mr. Lewis's hand-writing, and which appears in p. 257. of his *History*. This which is here added is in Dr. Waterland's hand.

16. A description of the yeeres from the creation of the worlde, until this present yere of 1572.

17. The order of books of Old and N. T.

(The map of Canaan is placed at the xxist of Josua.)

At the end of the Pentateuch, v W. E.

<i>Samuel</i>	
2 Kings,	R. M.
2 Chronicles,	E. W.
Job,	A. P. C.
Psalms,	T. B.
Proverbs,	A. P. C.
Songue of Solomon, }	
Ballet of Ballettes, }	A. P. E.
Jeremiah, with Lamentations,	R. W.
Daniel,	T. C. L.
Malachias,	E. L.
2 Machabees,	J. N.
Actes of the Ap.	R. E.
Romans,	R. E.
1 Corinthians,	G. G.

Imprinted at London in Powles Church-yard, by Richard Jugge, Printer to the Queenes Majestie. 1572. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.

N. B. This edition has two versions of the Psalms, Parker's and the common one, in opposite columns. I know not whether that method was not first begun in the Geneva Bible. I have one of 1578, which has double Psalms, the Geneva version, and the common one. But by degrees (how soon I know not) this method came to be disused; and the printers, in both Bibles, took in but one version. Parker's was dropped in his Bible: the common one dropped in the Geneva, though sometimes the other. The notes made it the more necessary to retain the Geneva version in the Geneva.

v These and the following initials will be found explained in Lewis's Hist. pp. 236, 237.

^w *Matthewe's Bible*, fol. of 1549. Bishop Moore's L.

Title.

The Byble, whych is all the Holy Scripture: in whych are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament, truelye and purely translated into Englishe by Thomas Matthewe 1537, and now imprinted in the yeere of oure Lorde M.D.XLIX.

Esaye i. *Hearken to, ye Heavens, &c.*

Imprinted at London, by Thomas Raynolde and William Hyll, dwelling in Paules Churche Yeard.

At the end :

And nowe agayne accordyngly imprinted, and fynished the last day of Octobre, in the yeare of our Lord God M.D.XLIX. at London, by Wylliam Hill and Thomas Reynoldes Typographers. God save the Kynge. Cum privilegio.

^x *Napier of 1593*. Publ. Libr. D. 12. 33. Octavo.

A plain discovery of the whole Revelation of St. John, set down in two Treatises: the one searching and proving the true interpretation thereof; the other applying the same paraphrastically and historically to the Text. Set foorth by John Napier L. of Marchistoun younger. Whereunto are annexed certaine Oracles of Sibylles agreeing with the Revelation and other places of Scripture. Edinburgh, printed by Robert Waldegrave, Printer to the King's Majestie, 1593. Cum privilegio Regali.

This book follows the last (the common) edition of the Geneva Bible. I have compared the first chapter, and find that it agrees exactly with that, and with none else.

^y *An Account of the Geneva Bible*, large folio, 1578.

Title-page.

The Bible, translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke,

^w Lewis, p. 180.

^x Ibid. p. 296.

^y Ibid. p. 271—273.

and conferred with the best translations in divers languages. With most profitable Annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance, as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader. Whereunto is added the Psalter of the common Translation, agreeing with the Booke of Common-Prayer.

Josh. i. 8. *Let not this booke of the law, &c.*

Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes Majestie. Cum gratia et privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.

Then follow,

1. The Dedication to the Queen, [made by the Geneva exiles.] "How harde a thinge it is, &c."
2. A Preface to the Reader. "Beside the manifolde
"and continual benefits, &c."
3. Cranmer's Prologue.
4. A Table of the genealogy of Adam, down to Christ.
5. Proper first Lessons for Sundays throughout the
year, and some second Lessons.
6. Lessons proper for holy days.
7. The order how the rest of the holy Scripture, be-
side the Psalter, is read.
8. A brief declaration of the terms beginning and ending.
9. A Table for the order of the Psalmes.
10. What holy dayes to be observed, and none other.
11. An Almanacke, beginning with 1578, ending 1610.
12. The Kalendar. At the bottom of every month are
historical notes of what happened on such and such days
of the month. E. g. Under January, N. 1. first day,
"Noah, after he had been in the ark 150 dayes, began to
"see the toppes of the high mountains." Gen. vii. 24.
N. 22. "The Duke of Somerset, as upon this day,
"was beheaded, 1552." Under August, N. 27. "Re-
"ligion, as on this day, was reformed, according to God's
"expresse trueth, in the most renoumed citie of Geneva,
"1535."

The same historical notes are in the folio edition of
1583. (at Eman. Coll.) Chr. Barker.

13. The Booke of Common Prayer &c.

Note, The Psalter is here double: the outer column, in white letter, is the Geneva version; the inner column, in black letter, is the common translation of our Liturgy. But the folio edition of 1583 has single Psalms, the common Psalter.

14. Before the New Testament is a little map of the Holy Land, as in Christ's time, with an index at the bottom of the places therein specified.

15. At the end is, *The summe of the whole Scripture of the Bookes of the Olde and New Testament. Imprinted at London, by Christ. Barker, Printer to the Queenes Majestie. 1578. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.*

16. A brief Table of the interpretation of proper names.

17. A Table of the principal thinges conteyned in the Bible.

18. A perfite supputation of the yeares and times, from the creation of the world unto this present yeare of our Lorde God 1578, prooved by the Scriptures, after the collection of divers authours.

Finis.

This edition of the Geneva Bible is, I presume, one of the largest and most pompous of any; for which reason I have given this particular account of it. There have been several editions of this Bible, in 1560, 1570, 1575, 1578*, 1579, 1581, 1583, 1589*, 1608. The two which I have marked, I have here: 1583 I have seen. Another which I have at London, you have had an account of: I forget the date. 1581 is in Lord Oxford's library. That of 1589 is in 4to. and common; there is a large concordance at the end, intituled, *Two right profitable and fruitful Concordances, &c. Collected by R. F. H. Robert Fitz Herrey*, which though made in 1578, yet was not added to the edition of that year. It was in the edition of 1581. Whether in 1579, I know not. It is not in 1583.

A note of some uncommon pieces, or editions, which I have not yet met with.

^z 1531. *George Joyes Translation of the Prophet Esay.* Printed at Strasburgh, by Balthasar Backneth, 1531, 8vo. See Maunsell's Catal. p. 63. The book is in Lord Oxford's library, bound up with some other pieces; which I learn from Mr. Wanley's notes transcribed by Mr. Baker.

^a 1538. *The Newe Testament in Englyshe and Latyn, accordyng to the Translacyon of Doctour Erasmus of Rotterdam Anno M.CCCCC.XXXVIII. Prynted in Fletestrete by Robert Redman, 4to. Set forthe under the Kynges most gracious lycence. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum.*

At the end, thus:

Thus endyth the Newe Testament both in Englyshe and in Laten of Mayster Erasmus Translacyon, with the Pystles taken out of the Olde Testament. Set forthe with the Kynges moste gracious lycence, and imprynted by Robert Redman dwellyng in Fletestrete, at the sygne of the George, nexte unto Saynte Donstons Church: the yere of oure Lorde M.CCCCCXXXVIII. and the thyrty yere of the Kynges moste gracious reygne. God save the Kynge.

This edition is mentioned briefly in Maunsell's Catalogue, p. 113. But this particular description of it I have from Mr. Baker's notes. I suppose this edition led the way to the other of like kind in 1550 by J. C. I could wish to compare.

1552. ^b *The Byble &c.* at London, printed by Nich. Hyll, M.D.LII. 4to. This I find thus briefly referred to by Mr. Baker.

1550. ^c *Miles Coverdale conferred with the Translation*

^a Lewis, p. 78*.

^a Ibid. p. 118.

^b This does not appear to have been noticed by Lewis.

^c Lewis, p. 183. A very full and minute description of this rare edition is given in Nichols's Liter. Anecd. vol. iii. p. 517—519, by Mr. Thorpe, in a letter to Dr. Ducarel, from a copy in his own possession.

of *Wil. Tindal*. Printed by R. Wolf, 1550, 8vo. Maunsell's Catal. p. 113. Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 265.

^d 1568. *Bible, with the Common Prayer*, English. Printed by Jugge and Cawood, 2 vols. 4to. 1568. v. Bibl. Trin. Coll. Cant. This hint I take from Mr. Baker's notes. The Bible I can inquire after at Trinity College.

^e 1569. *Parker's Bible* in 4to. of 1569. Printed by Rich. Jugge.

This is in Lord Oxford's library, as I find by Wanley's MSS. notes. But, I believe, I shall shortly have a copy lent me by a friend who has it.

^f 1570, 1573. *Parker's Bible* again in 4to. by Jugge. The O. T. 1570, the N. T. 1573, in Lord Oxford's library.

1576. *Parker's Bible*, printed by Jugge, 4to. The arms of Dudley and Cecil, which used to be in the initial letters of Joshua and Psalms, are now left out. This I have from Wanley's MSS. notes.

I have seen Parker's of 1588, fol. by Chr. Barker. It has single Psalms of the common version, no effigies nor arms before Joshua and Psalms, no cuts before the Apocalypse, like to the edition of 1572. The same may be said of the edition of 1602 (by Rob. Barker) as of 1588. The later the editions, the less pompous; being made plainer, and sold cheaper.

^g *Jugge's Quarto New Testament*, 1552, 1553.

Eman. Coll. B. 4—18. Mr. Baker.

I have two editions of this Testament now before me: one from Emanuel, perfect; the other from Mr. Baker, without title-page. I judge the first to be of 1552, because it was in the fifteenth of King Edward's age, and the Almanack begins with the year 1552. The other I refer to 1553, because the Almanack begins with that year. Now to proceed.

^d Lewis, pp. 217, 218.

^e Ibid. pp. 253, 254.

^f Ibid. p. 259.

^g Ibid. pp. 194—196.

Title-page of that of Eman. Coll.

The Newe Testament of our Saviour Jesu Christe. Faythfully translated out of the Greke. Wyth the notes and expositions of the darke places therein.

Then follows, in oval figure, a picture of King Edward. On the left hand is *Vivat*, and on the right, over-against it, *Rex*. And round the effigies is written, *Edvardus Sextus Dei Gratia, Anglie, Francie, et Hibernie Rex etc. Ætatis suæ xv.*

Under the head,

Matt. xiii. f.

^h *Unio, quem præcepit emi Servator Iesus,*

Hic situs est; debet non aliunde peti.

The Pearle, which Christ commaunded to be bought,

Is here to be founde, not elles to be sought.

So ends the title-page. Next follow,

1. A Dedication to the King.

2. A Kalendar.

3. An Almanacke for xxiiii yeares, beginning with 1552, ending with 1575. (In the other edition for xviii yeares, beginning with 1553, ending with 1570.)

4. A Table of the principall matters conteyned in thys Testamente.

5. A perfecte supputation of the yeres and time from Adam unto Christ, proved by the Scriptures, after the collection of divers auctours.

6. An exhortation to the diligent studye of the holye Scripture, gathered out of the Byble.

7. The Lyfe of the blessed Evangelyste Saynte Mathew, written and set forth by the moost holye Doctoure Sainte Hierome.

At the end, (after the Epistles of the Old Testament and Table of Epistles and Gospels,) *Imprynted at London by Rycharde Jugge, dwelynge in Paules Church-yard, at*

^h The same lines are in the title-page of Salisbury's Welsh Testament, translated into Welsh.

Prynwch a veddwch a vudd, &c.

the signe of the Byble. With the Kynge his mooste gracious lycence, and privilege, forbyddynge all other men to print, or cause to be printed, this or any other Testament in English.

In the other edition, instead of *in Paules Church-yard* is, *at the North dore of Paules.*

Note, In the Kalendar of 1552, *Conversion of Paul* and *St. Barnabas* are not entered. In the Kalendar of 1553, *Conversion of Paule* is in black: *Barnabas* here also omitted. In Coverdale's quarto of 1552, (Kalendar,) *Convers. Paul* is in black; *Barnabas* omitted. In Edward's Prayer-book of 1552, *Con. Paule* is in red letter; *Barnabas* omitted.

Yet proper second Lessons are set against both days, in all the Kalendars above mentioned. Compare Mr. Wheatly's account. If he means by King Edward's second Common Prayer-book, that of 1552, there were more editions than one of that year; or else he mistook in saying, that *St. Paul* is put down in black: mine (of our public library) is red.

Matthew's fol. Bible of 1551, in the Kalendar has both days in red letter, as also Coverdale's 4to. of 1550.

" To the most puyssant and mightye Prince Edward
 " the Syxt, by the grace of God, Kyng of Englande,
 " Fraunce, Irelande, Defender of the Fayth; and of the
 " Church of England and also of Irelande, in earth the
 " supreme Head; your Graces most humble and obediente
 " subjecte, Rycharde Jugge, wissheth all grace and peace
 " from God, wyth longe raygne, honour, health, and
 " prosperitie.

" That most worthy Kynge and Prince Josophat, as
 " holy Chronicles do testifie, being moved with a godly
 " zeale, dyd sende out into all coastes of Jurye, certayne
 " of his chiefe Lordes that he had about him, with the
 " Levites and Priestes, to se that his lovinge subjectes,
 " and leage people, over whom the Lorde had made hym
 " ruler and governour, should be truely instructed and
 " taughte in the lawe and commaundements of the lyv-

“ ynge God. Wheby, most noble and redoubted Prince,
 “ he declared thys to be the chiefe and principall office of a
 “ Christian kynge, whych seketh the glorye of God and the
 “ welth of hys people, to provide that the worde of God
 “ be truely and sincerely set forth and taught thorowout
 “ all his dominions and realmes, that so the people com-
 “ mitted unto hys charge, maye be trayned in all godly-
 “ nesse, and true obedience, towards God and theyr so-
 “ veraygne. Whereunto are required, not only true and
 “ faithfull ministers, but especiallye, that the bokes of the
 “ holye Scripture be well and truely translated and print-
 “ ed also, both to take away all occasions of scismes and
 “ heresies, that by reason of impropere translation and
 “ false printe many times do arise amonge the simple and
 “ ignoraunt people, and also to stoppe the mouthes of the
 “ adversarie part, whych upon suche faultes, take a
 “ boldenesse to blaspheme and misreport this heavenly
 “ doctrine, nowe so plentifully set forth unto us, thorowe
 “ your Graces moste prudente and godlye carefulnesse.
 “ Wherin forasmuche as semede to lacke no more to the
 “ absolute perfectnesse, but that, one undoubted true im-
 “ pression mighte be had, whereunto in suche worde-
 “ debates, men might have recourse and be resolved: ac-
 “ cording to the streyghte charge and commaundement
 “ that I receaved of youre Highnesse in that behalf, I have
 “ endeavored myselfe, accordynge to my duetye and
 “ power, to put in print the Newe Testament, using
 “ thadvise and help of godly learned men, both in re-
 “ ducinge the same to the truth of the Greke text, (ap-
 “ poynting out also the diversitye where it happeneth,)
 “ and also in the keyynge of the true ortographie of
 “ wordes, as it shall manifestlye appeare unto them that
 “ will diligently, and without affection, conferre this with
 “ the other that went forth before.

“ I have (as becometh a true obediente subjecte) done
 “ all that in me dydde lye, to satisfye your Graces moste
 “ godlye zeale and commaundement. And with suche
 “ submission, as becometh a subjecte to his most drad

“soveraygne Lord, do now present it unto your Ma-
 “jestie, in most humble wise desiring the same, accord-
 “yng to youre princelye clemencye, to accept my good
 “endevoure.

“The Gever of all power, which is Kinge of all kinges,
 “and Prince of all princes, vouchesafe of hys goodnesse,
 “to preserve your Majestie, and in all your royall affayres
 “so to assist your graciouse Highenesse with his holy
 “Sprite, that whatsoever your Grace shall thinke or do,
 “maye be to Goddes glorye, the continuall flourishinge of
 “youre Higheness honoure, and the commune welthe of
 “us your subjectes. Amen.”

ⁱ In Bishop Moore’s (now our royal) library, I met with a little book in 12°. N°. 332, with this title.

An Exposition of part of S. Johannes Gospel, made in sondrie readings in the English congregation. By Bartho. Traheron, and now published against the wicked enterprises of a new starte-up Arrians in Englande. Imprinted Anno 1557.

In the comment on the first chapter of St. John’s Gospel, are these words: “Some thincke *the word* here is taken for *a thinge*, after the Hebrue maner of speakinge; for the Hebrues use *dabar*, which signifyeth a worde, for *a thinge*.—So then after this understandinge, S. Johannes meaninge is, that in the beginninge there was a divine and heavenlie *Thinge* with God.”

Note, The author does not himself so translate the words, neither does he adopt this explication for his own: but he mentions this interpretation as one that had been given by *some*.

Who this Bartho. Traheron was, I do not certainly know: but, I suppose, one may find him in Le Long’s List of Commentators, which I have not in this place, though at London I have. He was author of another little piece, under this title:

An Exposition of the fourth chapter of St. John’s Reve-

ⁱ Lewis’s Hist. p. 203.

lation. *By Bar. Traheron, in sondrie readings before his countrymen in Germanie. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, for Thomas Charde, 1583.*

Note, *By readings*, he means only so many texts which he read, and expounded to the people.

Mr. Baker has left a note of this Traheron, that he was library-keeper to King Edward VI. referring to Rymer, tom. xv. p. 351.

Title-page of the Geneva edition.

The Holy Bible, that is, the Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament. Translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in divers languages; with most proffitable annotations upon all the hard places, and other things of great importance, as may appear in the Epistle to the Reader.

Fear ye not, stand still, &c. Exod. xiv. 13.

The Lord shall fight for you, &c. Exod. xiv. 14.

Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queen's Majestie, 1582. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.

Versiones.		A. D.
Versio A. Saxonica Bedæ, quæ intercidit	- -	701.
Versio Anglo-Saxonica Evangeliorum	- -	880.
Psalmorum,		
Richardi Hampoli versio Psalm. et Cantic.	- -	1340.
Wiclevi versio Bibliorum ex Vulgata	- -	1380.
Joh. Trevisæ (see Bale, and Caxton, in my Crit. Hist. vol. iv. p. 177.)	- -	1390.
Tyndalli versio N. T. in partibus transmarinis impressa. In V. T. non ultra Pentateuchū	- -	1526.
Eadem versio secundis curis recognita	- -	1530.
Eadem versio, post Tindalli obitū, recognita atque aucta per D. Coverdallum: vulg. dict. <i>Tindal and Coverdale's Bible</i>	- -	1535.
Novam ejusdem editionem dedit Joh. Rogers, alias Matthew. <i>Matthew's Bible</i>	- -	1537.
Novū Testamentū Anglo-Latinum	- -	1538.

Editio altera per Coverdallū, approbante Cran-			
mero, et Rege ipso suadente. <i>The Great Bible.</i>			
Cujus pulcherrimū exemplar extat Coll. Johan.			
Cant.	-	-	1539, 1540.
Nova Editio, accurantibus Tunstallo et Heatho.			
Huic editioni debetur Psalterii versio recepta in			
Liturgiam Angl.	-	-	1541.
Editio versionis Joh. Rogers, sub Edvardo	-	-	1551.
Versio Genevensis	-	-	1560.
Editio tertia versionis Coverdalli	-	-	1562.
Versio Parkeri, <i>The Great English Bible</i> , alias, <i>The</i>			
<i>Bishops Bible</i> , alias, <i>The Great Bible</i> . Capita			
nunc primū in Commata distingui cœperunt			1568.
Editio altera ejusdem, 8vo.	-	-	1569.
Editio tertia in folio, et quarta in folio,			1572, 1574.
Versio nova Laurent. Tomson. parū abt a Gene-			
vensi	-	-	1583.
Versio Rhemensis, Pontificiorū opera	-	-	1584.
Versio ultima sub Rege Jacobo	-	-	1610.
<i>The King's Bible.</i>			

¹ *Quarto Bible of 1568. two Volumes.*

Trin. Coll. Cant.

Title-page.

The Bible in English, that is to say: The content of all the holy Scripture, both of the Olde and Newe Testament. According to the translation that is appointed to be read in the Churches. Anno 1568.

Then follow,

1. An Almanacke for 14 years, beginning 1567, ending 1580.
2. A Kalendar.
3. A Table for the order of the Psalmes.
4. The order how the rest of the holy Scripture (beside the Psalter) is appointed to be read. A leaf, or more, torn out.

¹ Lewis's Hist. pp. 217—219.

5. The Common Prayer, at large. And at the end thereof, facing the first of Genesis,

Imprinted at London in Paules Churchyarde by Richard Jugge and John Cawood, Printers to the Queenes Majesty. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.

The translation is the same with the great Bible, called Cranmer's, or Coverdale's. But in Psalm the xivth, the three inserted verses are in the same black letter with the rest: and so is 1 Joh. v. 7. The Psalms are the common Psalter-Psalms, as read at this day, and first fixed by the edition of 1541. The title to the Apocrypha is, *The volume of the bookes called Hagiographa*, like as in the editions of 1539, 1540, and 1562.

The title to the N. T. is, *The Newe Testament in English, translated after the Greke, contayning these bookes, &c.*

1 Peter ii. 13. *Unto the king, as unto the chefe head.*

The verses are not numbered or distinguished in this edition, any more than in those of 1539, 1540, 1541, 1562, 1566, which it follows.

At the end it is imperfect, all beyond the 5th verse of the xxiid chapter of the Apocalypse being torn off; a leaf, I suppose. The singing Psalms come after: but whether they were of the same date and impression, I cannot say: they are in a larger character; and they may have been only bound up together with the Bible, though of another impression. After those Psalms follows, *A Forme of Prayer to be used in private houses*: but it is imperfect, wanting a leaf, as I conceive, at the end. N. B. This very Bible was again printed the year after, and has the date 1569 in the title-page to the New Testament. I have both.

^m *Saxon Gospels of 1571. Bibl. Pepysiana.*

The Gospels of the fower Evangelistes translated in the olde Saxons tyme, out of Latin into the vulgare tounge of the

^m Lewis's Hist. p. 4.

Saxons, newly collected out of auncient monumentes of the sayd Saxons, and now published for testimonie of the same. At London by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate, 1571. Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis per Decennium.

In the Dedication to the Queen is observed, that "our countreyman Bede did translate the whole Bible in the Saxon tounge: that he translated againe the Gospell of S. John into the Englishe tounge, a little before his departure. That K. Alfrede translated both the Olde and the Newe Testament into his own native language. It is further said: if historyes be well examined, we shall finde both before the Conquest, and after, as well before John Wickliffe was borne, as since, the whole body of Scriptures by sondry men translated into thys our countrey tounge. In so much that Thomas Arundell, then Archbyshop of Yorke, and Chauncellour of England, at the funerall sermon of Queene Anne—who dyed in the yeare of our Lord 1394, (as Polidore saith,) did avouch, that she had the Gospells in the vulgare tounge, with divers expositors upon the same; which he sayth, she sent unto hym to be viewed and examined, and so did returne them againe unto her, with a large commendation of her studious diligence, to be so occupied in reading such bookes."—It is further added, at some distance after, that by Abp. Parker's "industrious diligence and learned labours, this booke, with others moe, hath bene collected and searched out of the Saxons monuments."

The Dedication concludes with,

"Your Majesties most humble Subject,

"John Foxe."

The note and date at the end of the book runs thus:

At London, printed by John Daye, dwelling over Aldersgate, 1571. These bookes are to be solde at his shop under the gate.

The composition of the book is thus: The Saxon in large letters in an inner column, taking up about two thirds, or a little more, of the page; and Parker's English

version in the outer column, (opposite to the other,) taking up the third part, or nearly, of the same page. The verses are distinguished and numbered as at present: I have compared some parts of the outer column with Parker's of 1572, and find that they agree with it, excepting some very slight variations. I have not 1568 by me, with which, I suppose, it agrees exactly. However, I find that neither the Geneva, nor other versions of repute at that time, agree to any exactness at all: wherefore Parker's is the version here followed, as one might indeed reasonably expect, on more accounts than one. Wanley observes (Catalog. p. 64.) that this edition of the Saxon Gospels was copied from a MS. of the Bodleian. NE. F. 3. 2382. 15.

Nº. XIX.

DEAR SIR,

YESTERDAY went out a packet of about eight or nine sheets, being accounts of such Bibles &c. as I have seen. I presume Mr. Parker will convey them safe to your hands. In one half sheet I set down several which I had read of only, and not seen. One of them I have since viewed, and I here send you an account of it. Soon after came your letter, which put me in mind of sending you a brief account of Foxe's Saxon Gospels. I am studying the question about Wickliff's version, as well as you: and you will find in my papers some hints which may be useful that way. But I am still inquiring, and unresolved. You seem to take for granted that the famous prologue printed in 1550, was Wicliff's. But Wharton, both in his Auctarium, and in Harmer, has made me suspend. I remember that Russel undertakes to maintain Wickliff's title to it: and his letter is published in part by Le Long, in his Biblioth. Sacra. But my Le Long is at London,

and I cannot easily find another here. I shall be considering that question, as my leisure serves. I shall be glad to see your friend here, and to furnish him with any thing proper to be transcribed for your use. You will find in my papers, that I sometimes quote Mr. Wanley's MSS. notes. By that I mean a manuscript account of the Bibles in Lord Oxford's library, which Mr. Baker transcribed from him, and is so kind as to lend to me. A cursory reading of my papers may perhaps suggest to you some further heads of inquiry. I keep many of the editions still by me, that I may be ready to answer your further inquiries. And as to those which I have returned, I can, upon necessity, borrow them again. Should not you desire Mr. Granger (till you can wait upon him) to favour you with a catalogue of the Bibles he has? You would guess by the size and dates (where there are dates) what the editions are, for the most part. Or if beginning and end be torn off, let him but write the first line of any page in that Bible, and say what fol. it belongs to, and the edition may be discovered, if we have editions enough to compare. Since I began these searches, I have discovered several here that were not known, or went under false names, and have returned them to the owners under their true names.

^m Are you sure that you are right as to Coverdale's Bible of 1535, and Queen Jane's being mentioned in the Dedication? I ask, because the fact is true of Matthew's, of 1537: Queen Jane is there mentioned in the Dedication. But as to that of 1535, I do not find it in that part of the Dedication which I have: I have but part of it; the rest is torn off.

I have seen what is said of Delayne in Hearne's Preface. One would have taken it for an English version, by the place it there bears. But it is certain that the book is Latin, and I suppose it was mentioned among the English Bibles, because it is a rarity. Mr. Baker has a copy,

^m Lewis's Hist. pp. 99, 100.

and Emanuel College another. But enough at this time.

I am, Sir,

Your very faithful Friend and humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Magd. Coll. July 24, 1729.

You mention Mr. Russell (who lives, I think, at Fiskerton, near Lincoln) as a person who has made inquiries into Wickliff's MSS. You are acquainted with him: might you not write to him? But I am not of his opinion as to any such very old copies of the Bible. I never yet met with any entire Bible of that kind; nor any piece of Scripture, excepting Hampole's Psalms, and the MSS. Gospels of C. C. C.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. XX.

ⁿ *The Great Bible. Fol. 1549. Publ. Libr. A. 4—7.*

The Byble in Englishe, that is, the Olde and New Testament, after the translacion appoynted to bee read in the Churches.

Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the signe of the sunne, over agaynste the conduyte, by Edwarde Whit-churche, the xxix. day of December, the yeare of our Lorde M.D.XLIX. Cum privilegio, &c.

Then follows Cranmer's Prologue, and the summe and content of al the holy Scripture, &c. but imperfect, all the rest being torn out till the beginning of Genesis.

The Psalms follow the correct edition of 1541, the same with our present Psalter.

ⁿ Lewis, pp. 181—182.

The Apocryphal books are here called *Aprocrypha*, not Hagiographa :

Title to N. T. is, *The Newe Testament in Englyshe translated after the Greke, contayning these bookes, &c.*

Part of Psalm xiv. as well as 1 Joh. v. 7. in parenthesis, and small letter, as usual in the Great Bible.

I have for some time missed this edition, wondering how there came to be none of this Bible between 1541 and 1562. But this makes up the gap. This is of the same year with Becke's, (which follows Matthews's,) but after it, as I imagined before I observed the dates, from Becke's complaining in his Dedication that the *Bible in the largest volume* was grown scarce, and the price excessive. But the dates set it out of dispute ; Becke being in August, and this in December of the same year. And now I conceive you have had accounts of all the editions of *the Great Bible*, or *Cranmer's Bible*, which stand thus by their years.

1539. By Grafton and Whitchurch.

1540. By Whitchurch.

1541. By Grafton.

1549. By Whitchurch.

1562. By Harrison.

1566. At Rouen, by C. Hamilton.

1568. Quarto, by Jugge and Cawood, with the large Liturgy prefixed.

1569. Quarto, by Jugge and Cawood again, as I suppose, by the print and character. This last has the short Liturgy before it, the same as *Rouen*.

° *Coverdale's Bible, Quarto, of 1553. Publ. Libr.*
A—5—4.

I have been under a mistake in reckoning this to 1552, judging only by the calendar, (which begins with 1552,)

in an imperfect copy. I have now a perfect book. The title-page thus :

The whole Byble. That is the holye Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfullye translated into Englishe by Myles Coverdale, and newly oversene and correcte. M.D.LIII.

ii Tessa. iii.

Praye for us, that the worde of God may have free passage and be glorified.

Prynted at London by Rycharde Jugge, dwellynge at the north dore of Powles at the sygne of the Byble. Set forth with the Kinges moost gracious licence.

I am clearly of opinion that the two Bibles of 1550 and 1553 are of the same impression, all but the preliminaries. They are exactly alike, and besides are a foreign print: printed, I suppose, at Zurich, by Christofer Froschover, A. D. 1550, as I find noted by Mr. Wanley, of one of them, who had seen it with the *original* title: though afterwards Hester and Jugge (printing only the preliminaries) pretended that the Bible itself was printed at London, or at least did not distinguish between what was really printed at London, and what was printed abroad.

† *Tindale's New Testament of 1536, Quarto.*

Publ. Libr. A—6—1.

I have now (which I before wanted) a perfect copy of this edition. The title-page is as follows:

The Newe Testament yet once agayne corrected by Willyam Tindale: whereunto is added a necessarye table, wherein easely and lightelye maye be founde any storrye contayned in the foure Evangelistes, and in the Actes of the Apostles.

The Gospell of {
S. Matthew.
S. Marke.
S. Luke.
S. John.

The Actes of the Apostles.

† Lewis's Hist. p. 104.

Jesus sayd, Marke xvi. Go ye into all the worlde, and preache the glad tydynges to all creatures: he that beleueth and is baptised shall be saved.

Prynted in the yere of our Lorde God M.D. and XXXVI.

The book is curious, and very full of wooden cuts all the way through, as well as in the Apocalypse: as to which, it follows the second edition of the Dutch, of which I have formerly spoken. After the N.T. are *the Epistles taken out of the Olde Testament*, but a leaf or two torn out at the end. I believe it was printed abroad, for two reasons; first, because no place is mentioned in the title-page: and secondly, because instead of commas and semicolons, there are strokes | only, as usual in foreign prints. I must retract my opinion as to the copy I saw in Emanuel College. That, I believe, is a pure English edition, taken from this; but how long after I cannot say. It may be a seventh or eighth edition, or yet more distant, for any thing I know.

I have met with another edition of Tindale's N.T. a small folio, or larger quarto than either of the former. Publ. Libr. A—5—38. But the title-page being torn out, and there being no date, I know not how to make a judgment of it, more than that it is later than Tindale's of 1536. After the Epistles (Pistels) of the Old Testament, is added a table to *fynde the Pistels and the Gospels | after the use of Salisbury*. And at the end of the table is, *God saue the Kynge | and all his well-wyllers*. So ends the book. It has the same Prologue with Tindale's of 1536, and is plainly Tindale's New Testament. Somebody has written, in a spare leaf, *Taverner's N. Testament*: perhaps for no better reason than because his name begins with a T. and there is *W. T. to the Cristen Reader* prefixed to the Prologue, though it should have been R. T. for *Taverner*. I have some reason to think (from the manner of spelling) that it is a Scotch edition, and perhaps as early as 1536: for Tho. Davidson was then printer at Edinburgh. But of this I must consider more maturely, as I have leisure.

I have compared the two texts of Ezekiel which you transcribed into your letter, and which are called *oure* translation: and I find they agree with the common copies, two of which I have consulted, *viz.* Emanuel copy, and Bp. Moore's.

I have given Joye's Apology to the young gentlemen to transcribe for you. Tindale's Epistle will not be met with, as I imagine, any where: but a great part of it is taken into Joye's Apologye, and so you will have both in one.

As to the Doway[¶] translation of the O. T. the years 1609 and 1610 were undoubtedly the years of the first impression. It appears plainly from the date of the imprimatur, and other marks, that so it must be. And as to the Rhemish[†] N. T. I make no question but 1582 was the year of its first appearing, though I have not so full proof of it as of the other.

I am examining carefully into what concerns Wickliff: and the result of my inquiries you shall have in due time. Company has broken in upon me while I was writing, and so I conclude the sooner. If I have forgotten any thing I intended to say now, I shall recollect it against my next. I rest

Your faithful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

July 29. 1729.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

[¶] Lewis's Hist. p. 286.

[†] Ibid. p. 277.

No. XXI.

DEAR SIR,

I SEND you here my present thoughts about Wicliff's Bible, though I stick in the half way, because perhaps I may be able to go no farther. But first let me transcribe a passage out of an Homily of Wicliff upon the Gospel, beginning at the 23d verse of Matthew the xth, because I am to make some use of it. It runs thus in two copies, which I have by me.

“^s He (Antecrist) hath turned hyse clerkes to covetyse
 “ and worldely love, and so blynded the peple and derked
 “ the lawe of Crist, that hys servauntes ben thikke, and
 “ fewe ben on Cristes syde; and algates they dyspysen
 “ that men shulden knowe Crystes lyfe: for thenne
 “ Prestes schulden schome of hyre lyves, and specially
 “ these hye Prestes: for they reversen Crist bothe in
 “ worde and in dede. *And herfore on gret Byschop of*
 “ *Englelond, as men sayen, is yvel payed that Goddes*
 “ *lawe is wryten in Englysche to lewede men, and he pur-*
 “ *sueth a Prest for he wryteth to men this Englysche; and*
 “ *sompneth hym, and traveleth hym, that hyt is harde to*
 “ *hym to route: and thus he pursueth another Prest, by the*
 “ *helpe of the pharysees, for he preacheth Cristes Gospel*
 “ *frely wythouten fables.*

“ O men that ben of Cristes halfe, helpe ye now
 “ ageynes Antecrist. For the perelouse tyme is comen
 “ that Crist and Poule tolden byfore. But on coumfort
 “ is of *knyghtes* that they saveren muche the *Gospel*, and
 “ have wylle to rede in Englysche the *Gospel of Cristes*
 “ *lyf*. For afterwarde, yef God wul, the lordeschype
 “ schal be taken from Prestes, and so the stafe that
 “ maketh hem hardy ageynes Crist and hys lawe for thre
 “ sectes feyghten here ageynes Cristene mannes secte:

* Lewis's Hist. pp. 21, 22.

“ the fyrst is the Pope and the Cardynals, by false lawes
 “ that they han made: the secounde is Emperour Bys-
 “ chopes, whuche dyspysen Cristes lawe: the thrydde is
 “ these pharysees, possessyoners and beggares: and alle
 “ these thre Goddes enemyes travelen in ypocrisye, and
 “ in worldely covetyse, and ydelnesse in Goddes lawe.
 “ Crist helpe hys Church fro these fendes, for they
 “ fyghten perylously.”

† By the *on gret Byschop*, I understand the Archbishop of that time. By a *Prest*, I understand Wickliff himself: as it was natural to think of himself first, besides that the frequent summons he had had, answer to the character here given. Who the other Priest was, you may consider: I guess it was Nicholas Hereford. The time I judge to be about 1382, from the description here given of it: besides that it is certain from other plain marks about Urban and Clement, that these Homilies were made after 1378. The *knyghtes*, whether you interpret them of *knights* properly so called, or of military men, (as *knyghtes* in old English is *milites*, soldiers,) either way the fact is true; and what Knighton has (Col. 1661, 1662.) may be a good comment upon what is here said. Now I come to the point.

1. I observe that Wickliff here speaks of his having translated *Goddes lawe*, afterwards explained by *Cristes lawe*, and the *Gospel of Cristes lyf*. All which I understand of the New Testament only. To which also agrees the language of Knighton^u, who does not say that Wickliff translated the *Bible*, but *Evangelium* only; and twice he observes that accuracy of expression, Col. 2644, 2665. If the Bible had been translated in Knighton's time, and he had known it, why should he have said *Evangelium* only, rather than *Biblia*? I persuade myself that Wickliff translated the New Testament only. No

† Lewis thinks the *one great Bishop* meant John Bokynham, Bp. of Lincoln; and *another Priest*, William de Swynderby, of Leicester, pp. 22, 23.

^u See Lewis, pp. 20, 21.

more is here asserted, nor in Knighton; besides that I can scarce conceive, how amidst so many avocations, and such a multitude of other works as he wrote, he should have leisure sufficient to translate the whole Bible. Not to mention that the style of the O. T. and New, though they are tacked together, manifestly differ, what a multitude of *forsothes* and *sothlis* have you every where occurring in the translation of the Old T. and none almost in the New; none in that which passes for Wickliff's Testament, and which, I doubt not, is really his. In the other translation indeed, (one copy of which I have seen at Sidney College, another I once lent you,) there again are the *forsothes* and *sothelis*, as before, ad nauseam usque: and that Testament (as I take it) really belongs to the translation of the Old, and both parts are of one author or contriver.

2. That translator both of Old and New came after Wickliff, and the same was the author of the Prologue published 1550.

Wickliff was the first that *published* the New T. in that kind of English; I say *published*, because there certainly were Testaments, or parts of the N. T. drawn up for *private* use before, such as is the Bene't MS. P. vi. of which I sent you an account; and such was Q. Anne, wife to Richard II. mentioned by Abp. Parker and Foxe. But Wickliff *published* his version, made it common to every body, as far as he could. That he was the *first* who did so, I gather both from Knighton, and from what I have here quoted from himself. And if he was the first, then the other translator of consequence came after. That that other translator was author also of the Prologue, is, I think, well proved by Wharton in his Auctarium, p. 425. His arguments fully prove that the translator of the Old Testament (called Wickliff's) was the author of the Prologue. The N. T. is unconcerned in his reasoning. It is not improbable that that author, being incited by the publication of Wickliff's New Testament, set himself to translate the Old: and when his hand was in, he translated

both: just so did Tindale's New Testament provoke Coverdale and Rogers to undertake the entire translation of the Old, nine years after, or thereabout: and when their hands were in, they added a New Testament also, new vamped up and improved, to their editions of the Old. That translator in rendering the N. T. had Wickliff's to go upon: and so I account for his coming so near it in the main: though, I think, he almost spoiled it by his *forsothes* and his *sothelis*; which later copyists being sensible of, they retrenched many of them, and struck them out: and accordingly our College copy (more recent than Sidney's) has not near so many of them as the older copies had.

3. Who that translator of the entire Bible was, I cannot yet learn: perhaps at this distance it may be hard, or even impossible, to discover. It was not Trevisa: I have read over formerly two folio volumes of his, and I have one of them now by me, and have looked into it; but cannot find *forsothe* or *sotheli* occurring frequently in it, as would have done, had he been the author of that translation of the Bible. That man, whoever he was, seems to have thought that *autem*, *vero*, and such like particles, could not otherwise be justly rendered. Surely, if this was his superstition in one work, it must have appeared in every work of his of like kind. * I conclude then that Trevisa was not our man: and I very much suspect both Caxton and Bale in the report they make of his being a translator of the Bible, though how their mistake came I know not. I can hear of nobody that ever yet saw a Bible with a preface to it, beginning with, *I Johan Trevisa a Preest, or youre Preeste*. Indeed, the Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to his translation of Higden begins so. I had taken notice, in my Athanasian History, of Mr. Wharton's ascribing the common translation called Wickliff's, to Trevisa: and Mr. Wanley did me the favour, among other marginal notes, to remark hereupon as

* Lewis, p. 66.

follows: "Herein Mr. Wharton was misled by John "Bagford:" and a little after, "Trevisa is said to have "translated no more of the Bible than certain sentences "printed upon the walls of the chapel in Berkley "Castle."

4. While I assert the New Testament, commonly bearing his name, to Wickliff, I do not mean that it is exactly such as came from his hands. I believe it has been smoothed and polished at least, and in some places corrected, since his time. For I observe, that his translation of the Gospels read in the Church (contained in his Homilies) is more antique in the language, and is seldom exactly the same with his Testament as now read. But yet I do not see difference enough to make me at all question its being Wickliff's. I shall just observe to you how he translates and comments upon Matt. iii. 4. "*This "Jon hade clothes of the heres of chamels, and a gurdel of "a skyn aboughte hys lendes, and the mete of this Jon was "fruytte of the erthe, and honye of the wode. Summe "men sayen y^t locusta is a luttel bêst, goode to ete:— "summe men sayen, it is an erbe that gadereth hony "upon hym: but hyt is lycly that hyt is an erbe that "norysche men, that they callen honysukkel, thing "varyeth in mony cuntreyes.*"

Here you will observe that his note confirms the common rendering in Wickliff's N. T. while the other translation has *locusts*. I remember one place where Wickliff's Homilies are conform to the other translation, having *kings* for the *magi*, as that translation has, while the common one has *astronomers*. But I conceive, Wickliff, in his popular discourses, might choose to adapt himself to popular capacities or prejudices, though in a strict translation he would not take that liberty: or else we must say, that somebody has since corrected that place of Wickliff's N. T. changing *kings* into *astronomers*.

You will observe from the whole drift of what I have been saying, that I admit two entire translations of the

New T. and but one of the Old: and you will object perhaps, that the *Regimen Ecclesiæ* supposes two also of the Old. To this I answer, that that one translator of the entire Bible had several underworkers, or fellow-helpers, who translated parcels for him, as he owns in his Prologue, and probably several men the same parcels: and hence it seems to be that the Lambeth MS. has a portion of Scripture, as far as Joshua, differing from the common version; and the like might happen in other parts of the Bible: or if this account be not altogether satisfactory, yet you will please to remember, that before either Wickliff or this other translator, there were parcels of Scripture translated for *private use*; and so it might be from one of those *private* versions that the author of the *Regimen* quoted the verse of Ezekiel. I have now told you all my present thoughts, or dreams, upon this dark subject. If you can make any use of these hints, either by improving or correcting, I shall be very glad of it. I could have wished, now I have Wickliff's Homilies by me, and James's Apology also, that I had had your defence of Wickliff here also. I could better have judged of it: and perhaps I might have something in the MSS. to confirm what you have advanced, or to clear something up. If you have a mind still to send me it hither, and if there be blank pages on which I might enter remarks, or transcribe something out of the MSS. I shall not scruple the trouble, for the time I have here, which may be about three months longer, or two and a half. I shall be now and then sending you some gleanings of old editions of Bibles or Testaments. I have marked down fourteen editions of the Geneva; one as late as 1644, Amsterdam, copied from the Edinburgh edition of 1610. I have also an 8vo. New T. by Jugge, in 1562, which has the verses distinguished, and is perhaps the first English edition that has so. I set many heads and hands to work to hunt for old Bibles, and raise great expectations of your performance on that head. I find the use and benefit of communicating a design to

many : every one almost helps something towards perfecting a work.

I am, good Sir,
Your very faithful humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

Magd. Coll. Aug. 5, 1729.

Could not you write to some friend of Merton College, to look over Butler Contra Translationem Anglicanam, for you?

If they have the MS. it may probably furnish some historical hints, though the main of it be controversial. Gul. Butler lived in 1410, according to Bale.

As to 2 Cor. v. All my MSS. but one of Wickliff's T. have the explanatory words in the margin : one copy bearing date 1397, has in the margin thus : *that is, Sacrifice for Synne. Austin.* The copies of the other translation (Sidney, and mine) have the words in the text scored with a red line : *that is, Redempcioun, or Sacrifice for Synne.* One copy of Wickliff's N. T. which I take to be recent in comparison, omits them quite, like the Surenden MS.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

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No. XXII.

Magd. Coll. August 17, 1729.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE the favour of your last, but desire that it may lie by a while, till I discharge myself of what I have further to add about the Bible called Wickliff's. What I last advanced was, 1. That Wickliff translated the New Testament, and that only, and that he was the first *publisher* of such translation. I would rather now say, the

first that set out an *entire* and *naked* version: for what was before done was by *parts*, and mingled with notes or comments. 2. That the translation of the whole Bible came after, and was made by the same person that made the Prologue printed in 1550, which Prologue, I presume, you have. 3. That the same person who translated the Bible, and composed that Prologue, translated also the New Testament, which is full of *forsothes*, by which mark I know that author, and in which the Bible and this Testament tally exactly. *Forsothe* occurs no less than eleven times in the five first verses of the first of Matthew. It was a peculiarity of that author to make *forsothe* generally stand for *autem*, or *vero*, or *enim*. He owns that he so uses it, in his Prologue, chapter the last: and I know no author else of that time that so used. I think that in others, *forsothe* commonly is *videlicet*, or *profecto*.

These things supposed, (and indeed I see no reason yet to retract or alter a tittle,) I now proceed to search out the *time*, and *author* of that version of the whole Bible.

The year of the Prologue may, I doubt not, be accurately determined by two or three historical marks dropped in chapter 13th. You may please to search the histories at leisure. I will content myself at present only with Wood's *Antiq. Oxon.* and Ayliffe's *ancient and present State of the University of Oxford* *. There I find, that about 1387, the University then made, or revived a law, that no one should be Inceptor in divinity, till he had run through the arts and sciences. It is to that law, though misrepresented in some measure, that the author of the Prologue, as I conceive, alludes, and heavily complains of, as then upon the anvil, and being of very ill consequence as he supposed. Again, the author of the Prologue speaks of *Oxenford* as *drinking blood* and *sleing of quicke men* at that time: which agrees well with Wood's and Ayliffe's accounts of the miserable feuds, and bloody skirmishes

* Lewis, pp. 35, 36.

between the *southern* and *northern* scholars, in 1388 and 1389. This therefore was the time of the Prologue. The author of the Prologue further speaks of Divines being most charged with sodomy in the *last parliament*: that circumstance I have not searched into. But from the two former historical notes I beg leave, for the present, to fix the date of the Prologue to the year 1388; and so the date of the Bible too, just then finished. The Testament of this version was not yet made: but probably came out the year following: and because there was yet no Testament of the same version with this Bible, Wickliff's Testament was tacked to it, and so it has been in most copies drawn after, perhaps in all, and the last N. T. of the new version has gone single.

Having thus guessed at the *time*, next guess we at the *author*. And here the first man I fix my eye upon is *John Perviey*, (or Purvie) (in Knighton, *Purnaye*,) who was Wickliff's disciple, considerably before Wickliff's death, and the principal man of the Lollards after. *Theologus facundus, glossographus insignis, legis prudentia clarus, Lollardorum librarius, et Wiclevi glossator*. See Wood, and Bale, and Fox's Martyrs, vol. i. p. 708. He wrote a famous comment upon the Apocalypse in 1390, being then in prison, and had written several other things before. [He lived with Wickliff many years before he died, and assisted him in his studies &c. after he was seized with the palsie.] This is the man I pitch upon, for the translator of the Bible, and composer of that Prologue. And if one circumstance hits, (which I have sent to know the truth of,) I shall be much confirmed in this persuasion. There is in the library of Dublin College an old English Bible with this character at the end of the

Apocalypse, **P**^{er}_{vie} There we have the very name of *Pervie*. If that Bible proves to be the same Bible, and the Prologue also the same, (there are both,) then I shall think what I now advance is something more than con-

jecture. I have employed a friend to write to Dublin, and I expect an answer in about a fortnight's time. So now I am come to the end of my speculations on this head; which conclude at length in this: that John Wickliff translated the New Testament before 1382, and John Pervie both Old and New, in 1388 and 1389. See Fox, p. 137. ed. 1.

Having some room left, I will correct a slip or two of Mr. Wharton in relation to this Bible. He had not seen copies enough to make a true report. In his *Auctarium*, p. 425, he intimates as if there were no marginal glosses to this Bible, excepting in the Prophets. He grounded it upon what the Prologue says, chap. xi. and upon his view of the Lambeth copy. But if he had looked to the last chapter of the Prologue, he would have found, by the author's own account, that marginal glosses were also added in most of the other books, and particularly in the Psalter. And indeed Bishop Moore's copy shows it. The Pentateuch in that copy (and in another copy of Pepys's library, containing eight books) is full of such glosses, taken from Lyra and the older *interlineary gloss*: and there are some in several other books of Scripture. Emanuel copy has but few in comparison: and the Bene't copy (which I just turned over) has still fewer; or, I rather think, none: I saw none. Those glosses were left out of the ordinary copies, to save time, trouble, and expence.

Mr. Wharton, p. 427, puzzles himself about a gloss occurring upon Daniel xith (he should have xiith) which seems to make the author of the version as early as 1229. He answers the difficulty tolerably. But he might have perfectly cleared it by looking into Lyra, and there seeing that the words are really Lyra's, (whom our author there barely translates,) and so are not at all pertinent to the question. And indeed the translator, as usual, at the end of the marginal gloss, has *Lire here*.

I have still paper enough left to assure you, that Matthew's translation and Coverdale's (of the Bible) are not

the same. A bare inspection into any chapter will show that they are different. But there is one thing which you may know, and I cannot; and that is, whether either of them be Tindale's, so far as Tindale went. I have not that part of Tindale. I suspect Tindale's and Matthew's to be the same.

The Dedication and Preface of Matthew are different from Coverdale's. Matthew's Dedication (which I spoke of) concludes thus: "And blesse you at thys present
" with a sonne, by youre most gracyous wyfe Queene
" Jane, which may prosperously and fortunately raygne,
" and folowe the godly steppes of hys father: and after
" youre Grace shall geve place to nature, and forsake
" thys mortall lyfe, graunte you the rewarde of that un-
" speakable and celestyal joye, which no eye hath seene
" nor eare hearde, nor can ascende into the herte of
" man. So be it.

" Your Graces faythfull and true subject,
" THOMAS MATTHEW."

Below H. R. (in text letters.)

This I transcribe from Mr. Baker's transcript, prefixed to his Bible.

I am, Sir,
Your most faithful humble servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. XXIII.

^z *Taverner's Dedication.*

" **T**O the most noble, most myghtye, and most redoubt-
" ed Prynce, Kynge Henry the VIII. Kynge of Englande

^z Lewis, pp. 130—132.

“ and of Fraunce, Defensour of the Fayth, Lorde of Ire-
 “ land, and in erth supreme heed, immediately under
 “ Chryst, of the Church of England, his humble ser-
 “ vaunt Rychard Taverner desireth all joye, felicitie, and
 “ longe lyfe.

“ How hyghly all England is bounden to your incom-
 “ parable Majestie for the infinite and manifolde benefites
 “ receyved at your most gracious handes, from tyme to
 “ time without ceasing, even from the begynning of your
 “ most noble raigne : truly no mortal tonge is hable with
 “ wordes sufficiently to expresse, or with thoughtes of
 “ hert worthely to conceyve : certes, it far passeth bothe
 “ the sklender capacitie of my wyt, and also the rude in-
 “ fancy of my tong to do either thone or thother : yea,
 “ another Cicero or Demosthenes wer not ynough here-
 “ unto. Wherefore omittinge or rather leavinge to some
 “ other the just encomye and commendacion of your
 “ Graces most ample dedes, worthye of eternall memorie,
 “ yet this one thing I dare full well affirme, that amonges
 “ all your Majesties deservinges, upon the Christen re-
 “ ligion, (then which surely nothing can be greater,)
 “ your Highnes never did thing more acceptable unto
 “ God, more profitable unto the avauncement of true
 “ Christianitie, more displeasent to the enemies of the
 “ same, and also to your Graces enemies, than when your
 “ Majestie lycenced and wylled the moost sacred Byble,
 “ conteynyng the unspotted and lyvely worde of God, to
 “ be in the English tonge set forth to your Hyghnes
 “ subjectes.

“ To the setting forth wherof, (most gracious and most
 “ redoubted Soveraigne Lorde,) lyke as certeyn men have
 “ neither undiligently nor yet unlernedly traveled : so
 “ agayn it cannot be denied, but that some faultes have
 “ escaped their handes. Neither speke I this to deprave
 “ or maligne their industrie and paynes taken in this be-
 “ half : no, rather I think them worthy of no litle praise
 “ and thanks for the same, considering what great utile-
 “ tie and profit hath redounded to your Graces hole realme

“ by the publyshing and setting forth therof, although it
“ were not finisshed to the ful absolucion and perfection of
“ the same. For assuredly it is a worke of so great dif-
“ ficultie, I mean so absolutely to translate the hole Bible
“ that it be faultlesse, that I feare it can scace be doone of
“ one or two persons, but rather requyreth bothe a deeper
“ confarrynge of many lerned wittes togyther, and also a
“ juster tyme, and longer leysure.

“ Wherefore the premisses wel considered, forasmoch as
“ the prynters herof were very desirous to have this most
“ sacred volume of the Bible com forth as faultlesse and
“ emendatly as the shortnes of tyme for the recognising
“ of the same wold require, they desired me your most
“ humble servant, for default of a better lerned, diligently
“ to overloke and peruse the hole copy: and in case I
“ shold fynd any notable default that neded correction, to
“ amend the same, according to the true exemplars.
“ Whiche thyng accordyng to my talent I have gladly
“ done.

“ These therfore my simple lucubrations and labours,
“ to whom might I better dedicate, then unto your most
“ excellent and noble Majestie, the only authour and
“ ground, nexte God, of this so high a benefite unto
“ your Graces people, I meane that the holy Scripture is
“ communicate unto the same.

“ But now though many faultes perchaunce be yet left
“ behind uncastigat, either for lacke of lerning sufficient
“ to so gret an enterprise, or for default of leasure, I trust
“ your Majestie and all other that shal rede the same,
“ wyll pardon me, consydering (as I have alredy declar-
“ ed) how harde and difficile a thinge it is, so to set
“ forth this worke, as shal be in al pointes faultles and
“ without reprehension.

“ And thus I commit your most gracious and excellent
“ Majestie to the tucion of the Highest, to whom be
“ al honour, glory, and prayse, worlde without ende.
“ Amen.”

So ends the Dedication. Then follows, on the other side the same leaf, *an exhortacion to the studye of the Holy Scripture, &c.* Several hands, and marks such as mentioned, are in that very page, and so on in the following pages.

Some account of this Bible.

^a Bale's account (under R. Taverner, p. 698.) is short and true. He calls it, *Sacrorū Bibliorum recognitio, seu potius versio nova*. It is neither a bare revisal, or correct edition of the Bible, nor yet strictly a new version, but between both. It is Matthew's (Rogers's) Bible, but the translation itself corrected, wherever the editor saw proper. He takes in the greatest part of Matthew's marginal notes, but leaves several out, and inserts several of his own. I shall give a specimen in Gen. i. and Matt. i.

Gen. i.

"The fyrst boke of Moses called Genesis, or *Generation*.

"By the worde all thynges be create of God; of man's creation, rule, and sustenance."

The first marginal note, *brethed* or *stered*, as in Matthew's: but under it is added a new one. "Spirite signifieth a breth, or stiryng, and is taken somtyme for the wynde, as in the viii. of this boke, a. but in this place the most parte of lerned men understand it of the Holy Gost."

He has one marginal note more, and no more at all in this chapter. It is lower down, at verse 22d, as now distinguished: "God blesseth, that is to say, prospereth his creatures." References to texts in the margin are as in Matthew's. As to the version in this chapter, verse 2. "the Spirite of God *was borne*, upon," &c.

Ver. 7. Instead of *and it was so*, Taverner reads, *and so it was doon*. So again at the end of ver. 9th, 11th.

^a Lewis, pp. 132, 133.

Ver. 11. Instead of *that sowe seed*, he has, *that bereth seed*. The like change ver. 12th and 29th. The other variations are slighter than these mentioned.

Matth. i.

"The Gospell *after Matthewe*."

The first marginal note as in Matthew's Bible, the second is omitted. The third, beginning with *David and*, is taken in.

At Jechonias, is this new note: "This Jechonias is otherwise called Jehoakim, and is the son to Jechonias before mencioned."

At ver. 19. is this marginal note, "ensample, that is to say," as in Matthew's. But Matthew's preceding note is left out. He has no more notes but the last, "her fyrste sonne," which is also in the other.

The genealogy of our Saviour is printed in columns, like as in Matthew's.

Ver. 18. Taverner has *epoused*, instead of *maryed*.

Ver. 25. *Tyll at last she brought forth*, instead of *till she had brought forth*.

Ver. 25. *Her fyrst-borne son*, for *hyr fyrst sonne*.

This I suppose may be enough, for a taste of Taverner. Pointing hands are very frequent in the margin, all over the Bible and Testament. But I see not the other mark except at the end of books.

^b Cranmer's Prologue is not in the editions of 1539. It is in some of the editions of 1540. There is one such in Bishop Moore's library: another in Lord Oxford's: but though the title-page in the last has, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*, 1540; yet at the end it is said, *fynyshed in May, Anno 1541*. Which I have from Mr. Wanley's notes. But the other Bible in Bp. Moore's library (which has Cranmer's Prologue) has at the end, *Fynyshed in Apryll. Anno M.CCCCXL*. Qu. Whether Booksellers began the new year in May?

^c Note, That the Bible of Lord Oxford's library is

^b Lewis, p. 137.

^c Ibid. ut supra.

printede by Rycharde Grafton. There is another in the same library *printede by Edward Withchurch,* (Withchurch, for Whitchurch,) *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. Anno 1540.* The date at the end wanting. Mr. Wanley remarks as follows: "Both these two last mentioned Bibles I take to be of the same edition, as also some others of different dates. The royal patent, *ad imprimendum solum*, was granted to Grafton and Whitchurch, who were partners, or to one of them. In the printing of the stated number, so many were to bear Grafton's name; which done, his name was to be taken out of the form, and Whitchurch's to be inserted in his place."

By *spurious* edition, (which is my own word,) I mean the quarto edition of 1538, which either stole into the world without Coverdale's leave, or at least was published very incorrect, or with designed alterations, by Holybushe. Coverdale's own complaint of it^d, in his Dedication before the octavo edition of 1539, (which I sent you a copy of,) is all the light I have.

Of Primers.

I have four by me. The first printed at Paris, in 12mo. mostly Latin, A. 1532. The second is the Bp. of Rochester's, in quarto, Anglo-Latin, in columns, London, 1539. The third is Henry the VIII's, 1545, in quarto. The fourth is K. Edward's, or Cranmer's, in octavo, London, 1551.

That which you saw, as it is nearest the age, so it is most like the Bp. of Rochester's. But Rochester's is still a farther improvement or refinement. Henry VIII's of 1545, and Edward's of 1551, agree as to Psalm lxvi. with yours of 1546. But Rochester's is different from both your copies, and is very nearly the same with that of our Prayer-book, and Psalter. The Dedication of this Primer runs, "John, by God's grace, Bysshop of Rochester, unto the right Honourable Thomas Lord Crumwel," &c.

^d Lewis, p. 115—117.

Here is nothing of the *Pystles* or *Gospels*, excepting a table of them at the beginning of the book, with the initial words of each. I suppose you take the *Pystles* and *Gospels* bound up with your book, to be of later date than the Primer itself, and not properly belonging to it, because you think them taken from the Great Bible: and then the date of them will be uncertain. They may be as late as Edward's Prayer-book, or taken from it. But that you will judge of by comparing.

I shall leave to Mr. Bouchery to copy out Joye's preface to Jeremy^c, about thirteen pages octavo, and a specimen of the translation itself. He shall also transcribe Becke's Dedication, three full pages folio.

I have not Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, nor do I at present know where I can borrow them. But I shall know, very probably, in a little time, according as I meet with my acquaintance. So as to that part of your letter, let it rest with me; or if those marginal notes you speak of be short, it may be as easy to refer me to them, and I can transcribe and send you them.

The 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14, run thus in the edition of Tindale, which I call the second Dutch edition, or third edition absolutely, which is copied from the first of 1526. I never saw the first edition itself.

13. "Submitte youre selves unto all maner ordinaunce
"of men for the Lordes sake: whether it be unto the
"kynge as unto the chefe heade:

14. "Or unto the rulers, as unto them that are sente
"of him, for the punyshment of evell doers, but for the
"prayse of them that do well."

In the edition of 1536, thus:

13. "Submit youre selves unto all maner ordinaunce
"of *man* for the Lordes sake: whether it be unto the
"kynge as unto the chefe head:

14. "Other unto rulars, as unto them that are sent of
"him forothe punyssment of evyll dours, but for the
"lawde of them that do well."

^c Lewis, pp. 88, 89.

This edition which I called 1536, till I found the true one, is a faulty edition; and by some mistake of the printer, I suppose, the words, *as unto the chefe head*, were omitted. I know not of what date that faulty edition was, only that it was after 1536, because it has the new corrections of that edition.

I mentioned once another quarto edition, (or rather small folio,) which I suspect to be a Scotch one, because of the spelling *nat*, or *natte*, constantly for *not*; and *whan* for *when*, *than* for *then*, *maister*, *faders*, *betrauthed*, *pre-paire*, and the like. But considering that the stops are with strokes | | instead of commas or colons, (which is a foreign way, and more especially the Dutch,) I now rather think that the edition was made abroad, and had Scotch correctors. But all this is conjecture, and perhaps scarce worth mentioning.

^f It just comes into my head to mention, that it might be proper to take some notice of Sir John Cheke's intended translation in its place, though he went no farther than St. Matthew's Gospel, and the first chapter of Mark, left in manuscript, in his own hand, in Bene't College, where I have seen it. Strype also in his *Life* takes notice of it.

^g There is a more considerable performance of Ambrose Usher's, an entire version, or nearly, of the Bible, left in manuscript, in Dublin library, of which I expect some account in a short time. He was elder brother to the famous Primate, died young, but had made great advances in the Oriental languages, and had drawn up his version a little before our last translation, before 16

I think I have mentioned every thing of your last letter.

Your very faithful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

August 19, 1729.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

^f Lewis, p. 186.

^g Ibid. pp. 339, 340.

^h No. XXIV.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE compared Strype's Eccles. Mem. vol. i. p. 306, 307, with Matthew's Bible: there are some slight differences. The first note, upon Mark i. runs thus: "It was then newe, and now after xv. c. xxxvi. yeres, it is yet new: when will it then be olde?" As to the note on Matt. xxv. Strype is exact: and so as to Matt. xvi; but as to Matt. xviii, after &c. read, *that is, whatsoever* — And instead of *what ye allow*, read *that ye allow*, &c.

While I am looking upon Matthew's Bible, let me observe to you, what perhaps I before omitted, that at the beginning of the Prophets are four great letters, R. G. for Richard Grafton, at the top of the page, and E. W. for Edward Whitchurch, at the bottom. This Bible then was printed for them two: and so was the Great Bible afterwards, in 1539, 1540. The use I here make of the observation is, to take notice further that when Cranmer and other Bishops undertook to set out a Bible, they pitched upon Matthew's Bible chiefly as their ground, which had had the royal licence in 1537; but reformed and corrected it every where, and struck out the notes. I had once too implicitly believed, that Coverdale's Bible was what they had gone upon; and I took the notion from what Brett says, p. 5. which I thought he had taken from good authority: and it was upon this presumption that I called the *Great Bible* Coverdale's. I would now rather set the Bibles thus.

1537. Matthew's Bible, or Great Bible, with royal licence, by Grafton and Whitchurch.

^h This letter has no date; but, from the enlarged account given in the next letter, dated Oct. 19, 1729, and from the latter parts of each relating to Wickliffe's translations, it seems probable that this preceded it. That it followed that of August 19th is evident from what is said in each respecting Strype's Eccl. Memorials.

1539. The same corrected by Cranmer, &c. printed by Grafton and Whitchurch.

1540. The same, with Cranmer's Prologue, and printed by Grafton and Whitchurch.

1541. The same, but farther corrected and improved by Toustal and Heath. Or let Coverdale's and Matthew's Bible be reckoned distinct from the rest; and let the name of *Great Bible* begin with the edition of 1539ⁱ. Indeed Matthew's had several editions afterwards, which may be properly called Matthew's, and reckoned to his, as that of 1549, by Raynold and Hyll, and several of 1551, though all, strictly speaking, one edition. And to the head of Coverdale's may be thrown his quarto of 1550, which indeed is, properly, the second edition of his Bible; and it never had more, unless Jugge's new vamping the same impression, 1553, may be called another edition. But I leave it to you to sort the Bibles, as best suits with your own inclination, or conceptions. I think, as I once formerly hinted, that Taverner's and Becke's may be thrown under the head of Matthew's. But you will consider better of all these matters, as you draw up your work.

^k *Of Erasmus's Paraphrase in English.*

The title-page is thus, to the first volume, containing the Gospels and Acts:

The first Tome or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Newe Testamente. Enprented at London, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Sunne, by Edwarde Whitchurche the last daie of Januarie. Anno Domini 1548.

Then follows a Dedication to K. Edward the VIth, a very long one of twenty-one folio pages, by Nicolas Udall. Therein speaking of the Paraphrase, he says, "Whiche, like as the moste vertuous Ladie Quene Katerin Dowagier, late wyfe of your moste noble Father, "and now of your ryght dere beloved uncle Syr Thomas

ⁱ Lewis adopts this suggestion, p. 122.

^k Lewis, p. 161.

“Seimour Knyght, Lorde Seymour of Sudley, and hygh
 “Admerall of your seaes, did ryght graciously procure to
 “be translated into our vulgare tounge; so your mooste
 “godly injunctions willed to be read, used, and studied
 “by every Curate and Pryeste, to the undoubted edyfy-
 “ing,” &c.

Next follows a Preface to the Reader, by the same
 Nicolas Udall, and there he speaks of thanks as due
 “to Quene Katerine Dowagier, by whose good meanes
 “and procurement this present worke hath bene by
 “soondrie menes labours turned into our vulgare
 “tounge.”

After follows Erasmus's Preface to his Paraphrase on
 St. Matthew; then the Paraphrase itself. Before St.
 Mark with the Paraphrase is, *the Preface of the Translator*,
 as it is called, and it is inscribed to *Quene Catherine, wife*
to H. VIII. by Thomas Key, who therein says, “Your
 “Grace—hath commaunded certayn well learned persons
 “to translate the sayde worke, the Paraphrase upon St.
 “Marke excepted, whiche the right worshypfull maister
 “Owen (a man of much learning, and no less honestie,
 “and therefore worthy physycian to the Kynges most
 “royal person) moved me, your Graces pleasure fyrst
 “known, to go in hand withal,” &c.

Before the translation of St. Luke with the Paraphrase,
 is a Preface, inscribed also to *Q. Katerine, wife to H. VIII.*
by Nicolas Udall. It was written in H. VIII's time,
 bearing date the last day of September, 1545. Speaking
 of his performance, he says, “I shall turne my style some-
 “what to treacte of Luke, whom it pleased your High-
 “nesse to committe unto me to be translated.” He
 speakes of Luke as his charge, and his whole charge, or
 province: observing to the Queen, that, as he had heard,
 she had appointed “others to the translatyng of the other
 “partes.” So that it may seem from hence that Matthew
 was not translated by Udall, but by some other unknown
 hand. But see below.

¹ Before John is another Preface by the same Udall, inscribed to *Q. Katerine late wife to H. VIII. of most famous memorie, deceased*. I do not find mention here of the translator of this part. But Mr. Baker, I see, has noted upon Maunsell's Catalogue, *St. John's Gospel translated by Fr. Mallet*, which, I doubt not, he has good authority for.

Before the Acts is another Preface, by the same Udall, inscribed as before. In this Preface he says: ^m "Whiche Actes I have by occasion of adding, digesting, and sorting the texte with the paraphrase, thoroughly perused: and conferring the same with the Latine, I have here and there dooen my good will and diligence to make the Englysh aunswerable to the Latine booke, at lestwise in sense: as by the same occasion, I did also with Mattheu. In John, I have in a manier dooen nothyng at all, saving only placed the texte, and divided the paraphrase; because I knewe the translatours therof, with whose exquysite dooynges I might not without the cryme of great arrogancie and presumption, be busye to entremedle."

It does not from hence appear who translated Mattheu, or the Acts: but they were persons whom Udall, it seems, might make free with, either being dead, or unknown, or known to be of inferior note and character. Bale ascribes the Acts to Udall, p. 717. Lady Mary and Dr. Mallet were to be treated with respect and ceremony.

The ende of the first tome of the Paraphrasis, printed at London by Edwarde Whitchurche. Cum privilegio, &c.

ⁿ *The seconde Tome, or Volume of the Paraphrase of*

¹ Lewis has given this preface pretty fully, and in it express mention is made of F. Mallet's being the translator, pp. 163—165. The preface to St. Luke, in which Udall speaks of his having been specially appointed to translate that Gospel, is not here quoted by Lewis, but an account is given of Udall's Dedication of that translation to the Queen, in pp. 159, 160.

^m Lewis, p. 166.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 167.

Erasmus upon the New Testament: conteynyng the Epistles of St. Paul and other the Apostles. Wherunto is added a Paraphrase upon the Revelacioun of S. John. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete at the signe of the Sunne: By Edwarde Whitchurche, the xvith daye of August. Anno Do. 1549.

A Dedication to K. Edward VI. by Myles Coverdall. At the end of Galatians is *Finis*. So far Coverdale translated, as Maunsell in his Catalogue observes. And Bale also ascribes four books to him: that is to say, Romans, First and Second of Corinthians, and Galatians.

Seven more of the Epistles were translated by John Olde; whose preface is before them, and of whom see Bale, p. 721. The seven are, Ephesians, Philippians, 2 Thessalonians, 2 Timothy, and Philemon, done at the motion of his *very hartie good frend, Edwarde Whitchurche*.

° Titus was undertaken and finished by Leonard Coxe, at the request of John Olde; as Leonard Coxe himself declares, in his Dedication to *the right worshipfull Master John Hales*, prefixed to Titus.

Hebrews, I suppose, was done by John Olde, no other name appearing.

p The same John Olde translated the seven Canonical Epistles, dedicating his translation to *the Lady Anne, Dutchess of Somerset*. He takes notice of his having been now lately preferred to the vicarage of Cobington in Warwickshire, by this Lady Anne, at the request of Dr. Hugh Latimer. The Dedication bears date 15th of July, 1549.

q The whole concludes with a Paraphrase, or Commentary on the Apocalypse, ending thus: *The ende of the Revelacion of S. John, thus brefely expounded by the servant of Christ, Leo Jude, a Minister in the Churche of Tigury: and translated out of the high Duche by Edmonde Alen*. Of whom see Bale, p. 720: though Bale takes no notice of this translation.

° Lewis, p. 169.

p Ibid. p. 168.

q Ibid. pp. 169, 170.

After writing this, I have looked into Strype, to compare his account. It agrees in the main with mine. But I wonder (if ever he saw the book itself) how he came to say nothing of Miles Coverdale's part in the work, whose Dedication is at the head of the second volume. He passes over Hebrews without the least mention of it: but he raises a doubt about Matthew, the Acts, Romans, Corinthians, and Colossians. He thinks Q. Katherine might translate Matthew. I think not. Udall would have used her and the performance with more ceremony, had it been hers. He would at least have been as complaisant to her, as to Lady Mary and Dr. Mallet, who had translated St. John. As to Romans and Corinthians, I make no doubt but they were done by Coverdale. See above. All the doubt is, about Colossians and Hebrews. If Maunsell's Catalogue may be trusted, Coverdale translated the four first Epistles, and *the Ephesians and all the rest of the Epistles by John Olde*. Bale also is express in ascribing *ten* to John Olde, and he names both Colossians and Hebrews amongst them. See Bale, p. 722. To me it seems probable, that though at first he undertook *seven* only, yet he got his friend Cox to do the *eighth*, and took the other two to himself. But of this you may consider at leisure.

^rI can yet find nothing of John Aleph. I suspect it was a feigned name for somebody, like as Felinus (whom he translates) was Martin Bucer.

I am still of opinion, that there were partial translations of the New Testament before Wickliff; and that Bene't MS. is one copy of that kind. And it is very probable that some great persons in England might have such translations in English, as there had been the like in French before. Dubigney in 1306 translated the Epistles and Gospels into French for the use of Johanna, wife to the Duke of Burgundy. But if you have doubts of this matter, as to prior English translations, it may be enough to say, that the MS. of Bene't seems to be older. To me

^r Lewis, p. 86.

it is out of question: for though one may argue against this or that particular mark of antiquity, singled out from the rest; yet when the whole tenor of the writing carries an ancient face, and different from the writings of Wickliff's time, the proof is the more convincing.

I am collating your MS. of Wickliff's Testament. That part especially which is of your own writing is very exact, and wants but little correction. But I wish you had previously settled the manner of dealing with *ȝ*. I am afraid you will find some difficulty in directing the Printer. In my opinion, either the character itself should be printed, or else such letter or letters be put in its stead as have prevailed since the character has been left out. But if you think proper to have one certain character, or letter, to denote it, you cannot pitch upon any better than *gh*, as you have done.

Some other things I may have to mention I defer to another opportunity, and am,

Sir,

Your very faithful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

Nº. XXV.

** The first Tome or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Newe Testamente. Enprented at London in Flete-strete, at the signe of the Sunne. By Edwarde Whit-churche the last daie of Januarie. Anno Domini 1548.*

“To the moste puissant Prince and our moste redoubted

* Lewis's Hist. p. 161—166. N.B. This is merely an enlarged account of the same work described in the preceding letter.

“Soveraigne Edwarde the Sixthe, by the Grace of God
 “kyng of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defendour of
 “the Faith, and on yearth next and immediately under
 “God, of the Churches of Englande and Irelande the su-
 “preme Head, your moste humble, lovyng, and obedient
 “subjecte Nicolas Udall wisheth al grace and peace
 “from God, with long and the same moste prosperous
 “reigne over us, in all honour, health, and condigne
 “felicitee.

“Moste noble and moste woorthie Soveraigne,” &c.

The running title is,

The Preface unto the Kynges Majestie.

In this Preface or Dedication are these words :

“This present Paraphrase of Erasmus, whiche like as
 “the moste vertuous Ladie Quene Katerin Dowagier,
 “late wife of your moste noble Father, and now of your
 “ryght dere beloved uncle Syr Thomas Seimour Knyght,
 “Lorde Seymour of Sudley, and hygh Admerall of your
 “seaes, did ryght graciously procure to be translated into
 “our vulgare tounge, so your Majestie more graciously
 “hath by your mooste godly injunccions willed to be
 “read, used, and studied by every Curate and Pryeste, to
 “the undoubted edyfying as well of them, as of all other
 “that with a desyre to knowe God, shal eyther reade or
 “heare y^e same.

“I my self have in a small porcion of this worke filled
 “one rounge of some other man that might have bene
 “hable to do it better then I have dooen.

“In this present worke, nothing it is that I dooe or
 “justely maye take unto me as myne acte, savyng the
 “translacion of the Paraphrase upon Luke, and the di-
 “gesting and placyng of the texte throughout all the
 “Ghospelles and the Actes, (except the Ghospell of
 “Marke,) to thentent the unlearned readers maye per-
 “ceyve where and how the processe and circumstaunce
 “of the Paraphrase aunswereth to the texte, and how it
 “joyneth therwith.”

This Dedication contains pages twenty-one fol.

The Preface unto the Reader, three pages long, begins thus: "To the jentel Christian reader Nicolas Udall wisheth health, grace, &c."

In the first page of the Preface are these words: "Accepted it willingly, and rendre thanks, first, to God, &c. —and then to our moste Excellent Soveraigne, good kyng Edwarde the Sixte, &c.—and thirdlie, to Quene Katerine Dowagier, by whose good meanes and procurement this present weorke hath bene by soondrie menes labours turned into our vulgare tounge."

After Udall's Preface, follows Erasmus's Preface to Matthew, and then his Paraphrase in English; then Key's Dedication before St. Mark.

"To the most excellent and vertuous Princesse Quene Catherine, wife to our moste gracious Soveraygne Lorde Henry the Eyght, Kyng of Englande, &c.—Thomas Key, her daily oratoure, wisheth perpetual felicitie.

"Your Grace—hath (as is saide) commaunded certeyn well learned persons to translate the sayde worke, the paraphrase upon S. Marke excepted, which the right worshipfull Maister Owen (a man of much learning, and no less honestie, and therefore worthyly Physycian to the Kynges moste royal person) moved me, your Graces pleasure fyrst known, to go in hand withal, affirming that I should do a thyng ryght acceptable unto your Hyghness, if I should diligently travel therein."

The Dedication ends thus: "God long preserve our sayde Soveraigne Lorde, your Grace, and the most comfortable flower of all Englande, noble Prince Edward, in continual honour, joy, and prosperitie."

St. Luke. Udall's Dedication. Pages eleven.

"To the moste vertuous Ladie and moste gracious Quene Katerine, wife unto the moste victorious and moste noble Prince Henry the Eight, Kyng of Englande, &c.—Nicolas Udall wisheth," &c.

It concludes thus: "Yeven at London the last daie of Septembre, in the yere of our Lorde M.D.XLV."

St. John. Udall's Dedication. Pages four.

"To the moste vertuous Ladie and most gracious Quene
 "Katerine Dowagier, late wife to the moste noble Kyng
 "Henry the Eight, of moste famous memorie, deceased,
 "Nicolas Udall," &c.

The Dedication runs all in praise of studious, learned, godly women, because of Lady Mary's translating St. John's Gospel.

"And in thys behalfe lyke as to youre Hyghnesse
 "mooste noble Quene Katerine Dowagier, as well for
 "composing and setting foorth many godly Psalmes
 "and dyverse other contemplatyve meditacyons, as also
 "for causynge these paraphrases of the mooste famous
 "clerke and moste wryter Erasmus of Roterodam to bee
 "translated into oure vulgare language, Englande can
 "never be able to render thankes suffyciente: so maye
 "it never be able (as hir desertes require) enough to
 "prayse and magnifye the moost noble, the mooste ver-
 "tuous, the moste wittye, and the moste studyous Ladye
 "Marie's Grace, daughter of the late mooste puissaunte
 "and mooste victorious Kyng Henry the Eyghte of
 "moost famous memorie, and mooste derely beloved
 "systur to the Kynge our Soveraygne Lorde that now is;
 "it may never be able (I say) enoughe to prayse and mag-
 "nifye hir Grace, for takynge suche greate studye, peine
 "and travayll in translatyng this paraphrase of the sayed
 "Erasmus upon y^e Ghospell of John, at youre Hyghnesse
 "speciall contemplacion, as a noubre of right wel
 "learned men woulde bothe have made courtesie at, and
 "also woulde have broughte to wurse frame in the doo-
 "ynge.—When she hadde wyth over peynfull studye
 "and labour of wrytyng cast hir weake bodye in a
 "grievous and long sicknesse, yet to the intente the dyl-
 "gente Englyshe people shoulde not be defrauded of the
 "benefyte entended and ment unto theym; she commyt-
 "ted the same weorke to Mayster Frauncisce Malet, Doc-
 "tour in the Facultee of Divinitee, wyth all celeritee and
 "expedicyon to be fynishd and made complete."

Actes. Udall's Dedication. Three pages.

"To the most vertuous Ladie Quene Kateryne Dow-agier, &c. Nycolas Udall, &c.

"Which Actes I have by occasion of adding, digesting, and sorting the texte with the paraphrase, throughly perused, and conferryng the same with the Latine, I have here and there dooen my good wyll and diligence to make the Englysh aunswerable to the Latine booke, at lestwyse in sense: as by the same occasion, I did also with Mathewe. In John I have in manier dooen nothyng at all, saving only placed the texte and divided the paraphrase, because I knew the Translatours thereof, with whose exquysite dooynges I might not, without the cryme of great arrogancie and presumption, be busye to entremedle."

N. B. From this passage of Udall, I conclude that Mr. Strype is mistaken in his conjecture of Queen Catherine's being translator of St. Matthew: for Udall would undoubtedly have been as complaisant to her as to Lady Mary and Dr. Mallet, and would not have presumed to mend her translation, if he had known it to be hers, or suspected any such thing. Either, therefore, she had no hand in translating St. Matthew, or Udall knew nothing of it. But who the translator of Matthew was, I cannot guess; nor who of the Acts. Udall himself did not know: they had a mind to be unknown.

This first volume ends thus: *The ende of the first tome of the Paraphrasis, printed at London by Edwarde Whit-churche. Cum privilegio regali ad imprimendū solum.*

[†] Title-page to Vol. II.

[†] *The seconde Tome or Volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the Newe Testamente: conteynyng the Epistles of S. Paul, and other the Apostles. Whereunto is added a Paraphrase upon the Revelacion of S. John. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Sunne. By Edwarde*

[†] Lewis's Hist. p. 167—170.

Whitchurche, the xvi. daye of August. Cum privilegio ad imprimendū solum. Anno Do. 1549.

Maunsell's Catalogue (p. 47) gives this short account of the second volume: "Paraphrase on the Epistles, whereunto is added a Paraphrase on the Revelation. Romans, Corinth. Gallath. translated by M. Coverdale. The Ephesians, and all the rest of the Epistles, by John Olde. The Revelation by Edmond Allen, printed by Edward Whitchurch, 1549. in Fol."

Bale also, under Milo Coverdallus, takes notice of his translating *Erasmi Paraphrases in Paulū. Libr. 4.*

The volume begins with a Dedication to Edward the Sixth.

"To the most excellent Prince, our moste deare Sovereigne Lorde Kyng Edwarde the Sixte," &c.—subscribed,

"Your Majesties most humble and faithfull subjecte,

"MYLES COVERDALL."

Next follows *A Prologe upon the Epistle of S. Paule to the Romayns*; which, by comparing, I find was borrowed from Tindale's Testament. At the end of Galatians is *Finis*, because, as I suppose, there was the end of what Coverdale had translated. Before Ephesians is a Preface: "To the Christian Reader John Olde wisheth grace, mercye," &c.

"Forasmuche (most gentle reader) as every Pryest under a certain degree in Scholes is bounden by the Kynges Majesties most gracious Injunctions to have provided by a daye lymited for his owne study and erudicion y^e whole Paraphrase of D. Erasmus upon the Newe Testamente both in Latine and English: And where I heard nevertheles, in the begynnyng of this last somer, by the pryntour, my very hertie good frend, Edwarde Whitchurche, that the Paraphrases upon seven of Paules Epistles, that is to saye, to the Ephesians, Philippians, both the pistles to the Thessalonians, both to Timothie, and the pistle to Philemon, were neither

“ translated ready to the prynte, ne yet appoynted cer-
 “ tainly to be translated of any man, so as thefore men-
 “ cioned Injunction should be lyke in this case to be frus-
 “ trate of his due execution, &c.—seeing theforenamed
 “ seven Epistles—to be left untranslated; I toke in hande
 “ to translate them, at such seldome leasures as I possiblie
 “ could from mine other prophane travailes, incident to my
 “ drudging vocacion, spare, and now at last have finished
 “ them,” &c.

To the seven here mentioned, Bale adds Titus, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, as translated by the same John Olde, p. 722. But Leonarde Coxe translated Titus; whose Dedication is prefixed, and runs thus: “ To the right
 “ worschipfull Master John Hales | his servaunt Leonarde
 “ Coxe wisheth long and prosperouse welfare.

“ — Master John Olde, a man of right good learn-
 “ yng, and my very frende, brought unto me the Para-
 “ phrase of Erasmus of Roterdame upon St. Paules
 “ Epistle to Titus, the whiche I had certain yeares gone
 “ translated into Englishe, requiring that I should peruse
 “ it againe, and amende suche faultes as were therin, ey-
 “ ther by the printer’s neglygence, or myne oversyght.”

This part, therefore, had not only been translated, but printed also some years before, and was now amended and reprinted.

The seven canonical Epistles were all done by John Olde, and have his Preface or Dedication prefixed.

“ To the right excellent and most vertuous Lady, Anne
 “ Duchesse of Somerset, her Graces moste humble orator
 “ John Olde wisheth true felicitie, and continuaunce of
 “ health in Christ Jesu our only Saviour.”

“ — In the later ende of thys laste yeare, I toke in
 “ hande, at the request of your Graces humble servaunt,
 “ my special good frende, Edward Whitchurch, printour,
 “ to translate the Paraphrases of Erasmus upon certain of
 “ Paules Epistles, which were left untranslated for lacke
 “ of payne-takers in that matter, forsomuche as the
 “ learned menne appoynted to thys purpose of translacion

“ had finished their limited tasks before : and now, at the
 “ like request, I have made the like enterpryse to translate
 “ the canonycall Epistles of St. Peter, Jude, James, and
 “ John, &c.—as a monument and reknowlaging of my
 “ moste bounden duetie of humble thankesgevinge unto
 “ your Grace, for causinge me to bee called of late to a
 “ competent vicarage, called Cobington, in Warwikeshire,
 “ at the humble sute of the Reverende Ministre of
 “ Godde’s worde, my singular frende Doctour Hugh
 “ Latymer, &c.”

The date at the end, *the xv of Julie. M.D.XLIX.*

After the canonical Epistles, follows,

*A Paraphrase, or Commentarie upon the Revelacion of
 St. John, faythfullye translated by Edmond Alen.*

The conclusion thus,

*The ende of the Revelacion of S. John thus brefely ex-
 pounded by the servaunt of Christ, Leo Jude, a minister in
 the Church of Tigury, and translated out of the High Duche,
 by Edmonde Alen.*

Sir,

I have here sent you larger extracts than before. You
 can compare this account with Strype’s at leisure : I
 have not Strype now by me. Mr. Bouchery has finished
 his transcripts, and brought them to me. I have packed
 them up with your other papers, in order to take them to
 London with me some time this month, or the beginning
 of next. I have not yet had an opportunity of going to
 Bene’t College ; though I wish you had hinted to me
 what you expected from that MS. I still stick to Pervie,
 and believe that the Bodleian copy contains both his
 Bible and Testament. But I am always ready to alter my
 opinion upon new light. I have had several letters from
 Mr. Russell. He surprises me by telling me that he still
 designs to publish Wickliffe, according to his proposals ;
 and he says further, that he is best furnished of men with
 materials for a history of English versions and editions.
 I have offered myself as reconciler betwixt you, and have

proposed his leaving the Testament to you, and taking the Bible only on himself. Whether this will satisfy, I know not. I have endeavoured to convince him that we do not want competent materials for a history of versions and editions; but I tell him withal, that we should be glad of any supplemental improvements from his collections. How he will take this, I do not know: but my advice to you is, if you will permit me so far, to go on. He is still positive that the Old Translation is of 1260, or 1240; which I think impossible, that is, a contradiction to history and to the language of that version, which is much more modern. I should have been of opinion with you about the Prologue, and should have set it in 1396, if I could have reconciled it with the other two characters of time about Oxford, which plainly suit with 1388, and would have been very impertinent so late as 1396^u. Wherefore please to consider, whether *sodomy* might not have been complained of in Parliament any time after Pateshul's discoveries, which made a great noise in 1387; when the Londoners pasted up a bill of that kind upon Paul's church-door.

I am, good Sir,
Your very faithful humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

Oct. 19, 1729.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

^u Lewis, p. 36.

Saturday, Nov. 15, 1729.
St. Austin's.

DEAR SIR,

I BROUGHT your papers with me to Town last Thursday. You may let me know, at your leisure, whether you would have them sent to you by Parker. I have borrowed out of Sion College library, for ten days, L. Tomson's Testament, 8vo. Title-page thus :

* *The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, translated out of the Greeke by Theod. Beza. Whereunto are adjoynd brief summaries of Doctrine upon the Evangelistes and Actes of the Apostles, together with the methode of the Epistles of the Apostles by the said Theod. Beza. And also short Expositions on the phrases and hard places, taken out of the large annotations of the foresaid Authour and Joach. Camerarius, by P. Loseler Villerius. Englished by L. Tomson. Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker dwelling in Poules Churchyard at the signe of the Tigres Head. 1576. Cum Privilegio.*

Next follows a Dedication

"To the Right Honourable M. Francis Walsingham
"Esquier, one of the principall Secretaries to hyr Excell-
"lent Majestie, and of hir Highnesse Privie Councell :
"and to the Right Worshipfull M. Francis Hastings
"L. T. wyssheth prosperity in this lyfe, and lyfe ever-
"lasting, in Christ oure Saviour."

After the Dedication follows Beza's in English :

"To the most famous Prince Lewys of Bourbon, Prince
"of Conde, &c. and to the rest most famous and noble
"Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen,
"which have embraced the true Gospel of Christ in the
"kingdome of Fraunce, Theodorus Beza of Vezels, Min-
"ister of the Church of Geneva, grace and peace from
"God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ."

* Lewis, pp. 273, 274.

Date at the end, 1565.

Next follows, "The Printer to the diligent reader."

In my edition of Tomson's Bible, A. D. 1610, the New Testament has nothing before it but this of "The Printer to the diligent reader:" both Dedications omitted.

The marginal notes in my edition and this are the same. But the marginal notes of the Geneva Bible of 1582 are quite different. The translation itself, so far as I have dipped into it, seems to be much the same with the Geneva. I think, you told me, you had one edition of Tomson's Bible: by that you may judge of this Testament, Dedications excepted; and excepting also Junius's Notes on the Revelations, added in my edition of 1610, not in the other of 1576.

I have not now leisure to be more accurate in the comparison: and perhaps you will not think it necessary. If you do, please to acquaint me by the first post, before I return the book.

The verses are distinguished as usual.

There is no date at the end, only "Imprinted by Barker," as before.

I wish you could bring me acquainted with Mr. Granger, whom you once mentioned, that I might get a sight of his Bibles while I am in Town.

I conclude in haste,

Yours most sincerely,

DAN. WATERLAND.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

N^o. XXVII.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING this day waited on Lord Pembroke to see his curiosities, I have a mind to write of what I saw, before it

is out of my head. I saw Matthew's Bible with a title-page to it, which I had not seen before. If you shall want it, I will get it for you, the next time I go.

My Lord showed me two of Tindale's Testaments, both bearing date the same year, the year 1534. They are both Tindale's own. The first was near printed off before Joye's of the same year appeared. The second was printed after Joye's at Antwerp by M. Emperour. It has the Epistle before it against Joye.

From the lights I have had, I thus settle the editions of Tindale's T. which you may compare with your accounts.

^y 1526. By Tindale himself, 8vo.

^z 1527. Dutch edition, 12mo.

^a — Another Dutch, with figures in the Apocalypse. I have seen it in Eman. Coll. Cant. It has red lines and red titles, 12mo.

^b — A third Dutch, 12mo. like the first.

^c 1530. A fourth Dutch.

^d 1534. By Tindale, 12mo. Lord Pembroke.

^e 1534. By G. Joye.

^f 1534. By Tindale, with an additional epistle prefixed against Joye. Lord Pembr.

^g 1536. By Tindale, in 4to. Bibl. Publ. Cant.

^h 1536. By Tindale, 12mo. I have it with me.

— A large 4to. seems to be Scotch. Bibl. Publ. Cant.

— A small 4to. Eman. Coll. Cant.

— A small 8vo. uncertain date. I have it.

These thirteen editions, which I have seen or read of, are all ancient. But the three last I can only guess at, as to date. You must tell me, if you would have any thing more particular about the two copies of Lord Pembroke; for I shall see his Lordship again.

^y Lewis, p. 75.

^b Ibid. p. 65.*

^c Ibid. p. 80.*

^h Ibid. pp. 85, 86; where an account is given of these four editions, dated 1536.

^z Ibid. p. 80.

^c Ibid. p. 73.*

^f Ibid. p. 80—82.

^a Ibid. p. 65.*

^d Ibid. p. 79.*

^e Ibid. p. 85.

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There is nothing in Tomson's Dedication that can give light to the history of the translation. Excuse haste.

I am, good Sir,
Your very faithful humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

Watling Street, Dec. 16, 1729.

I shall make my way, in a while, to Mr. Granger.

To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.

Nº. XXVIII.

Jan. 3, 1729-30.

SIR,

I WAS this day again with Lord Pembroke, and took extracts as follows.

ⁱ *Of the Bible of 1537.*

Title-page.

The Byble, which is all the holy Scripture: in whych are contayned the Olde and Newe Testament, truly and purely translated into English. By Thomas Matthew.

Esaye i. Hearken ye heavens, and thou earth geave ear, for the Lorde speaketh.

M.D.XXXVII.

Set forth with the Kinges most gracyous Lycence.

^k *Tindale's first Testament of 1534.*

The first title-page is torn off. This begins with *Willyam Tindale unto the Christen Reader.*

ⁱ Lewis's Hist. p. 105.

^k Ibid. p. 79.*

Next follow several Prologues to

1. Matthew.
2. Mark.
3. Luke.
4. John.

A Table for the iiii Evangelistes.

A Table for the Actes of the Apostles.

Title-page to the New Testament is thus :

The Newe Testament. Anno M.D.XXXIII.

At the end, — *Pistles of the Old Testament.* Last leaf torn out.

¹ *Tindale's second, of the same year.*

First title-page torn off.

Willyam Tindale unto the Christen Reader.

^m *Willyam Tindale yet once more to the Christen Reader.*

This is the Epistle written against Joye, ending in the words here following :

Finally, That New Testament thus dyligently corrected, besyde this so oft puttinge oute this word Resurreccion, and I wote not what other chaunges, (for I have not yet reade it over,) hath in the ende before the Table of the Epistles and Gospelles, this Tytle :

Here endeth the New Testament dylygentlye oversene and correct and printed now agayne at Andwarp, by me Widow of Christophall of Endhoven, in the year of our Lorde A. M.D.XXXIII. in August.

Which Tytle, reader, I have here put in, because by this thou shalt knowe the book the better. Vale.

ⁿ Title to the following Testament.

The Newe Testament imprinted at Anwerp: by Marten Emperour. Anno M.D.XXXIII.

At the end, *The Pistles of the Old Testament.* Last leaf torn out.

¹ Lewis's Hist. p. 80.*

^m Ibid. p. 82.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 85.

° *The Bible of 1540.*

Title-page thus :

The Byble in Englyshe : that is to say, the Content of all the holy Scripture, both of the Olde and Newe Testament : with a Prologe therinto made by the Reverende Father in God Thomas Arch Bisshop of Cantorbury. This is the Byble appointed to the use of the Churches. Prynted by Rychard Grafton. Cum privilegio. M.D.XL. At the end—The ende of the Newe Testament and of the whole Byble fynished in Aprill. Anno M.CCCCC.LX.

A Dñō factū est istud.

I have not yet had time to inquire after the books you mention; nor to see Mr. Granger. He is hard to find. I have twice searched for him in Milk-street. I believe, you very rightly interpret Mr. Russell. I believe, it will be necessary for you to talk with me, in order to have some things explained.

I had not room, in your papers, to explain every thing fully; though, I am afraid, I crowded your margin too much.

I am, dear Sir,
Your very affectionate Friend
And faithful humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

I shall have some letters to shew you when I see you : one I had from Oxford; another from Ireland.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

° Lewis's Hist. p. 137.

DEAR SIR,

I FOUND out Mr. Granger in Lime-street, who received me very courteously, and shewed me his two MSS. The largest is Wickliff's Testament, in 8vo. a fair copy, written in the year 1424. The date I judge of by the Almanack in the entrance, which begins with that year. It has the Lessons of the Old Testament (as usual) at the end, and they are of the new version, the same with those you have copied, of the version which I call Pervie's.

The other MS. contains nothing but the Epistles, is in 12mo, very fairly written, and the explanatory or redundant parts scored with red lines. It is of the same version that Sidney College MS. is, and Dublin MS. and a third of Magdalen College, which I once lent you^P. It is full of *forsothes*, as that version is: I call it Pervie's. But that I might be certain, I carried with me Magdalen College MS. to compare with it. I found some slight differences, as I found also between Sidney MS. and Magdalen MS. For Magdalen MS. is not so old and so accurate a copy as it should be. I believe, Mr. Granger's, so far as it goes, would be found to agree exactly with the Sidney copy: only Sidney is entire, this but a part.

I shall inquire after the copy you mention in the Library of the Dissenters; and I design also, as I can find a little leisure, to see the copies of Bible and Testament in Sion College, and a copy also of Pervie's N. T. in the King's Library.

Mr. Russell has been in Town some time. He is too full of the Revelations, to mind any thing else. Mr. Whiston has had several debates with him, and expresses his dislike of his scheme, in very plain English, as his way is. I, for my part, decline looking into it, having no talent for expounding dark prophecies.

⁹ As to Ambrose Usher, (the Archbishop's elder brother,) you may see some account of him in Usher's Life, prefixed to his Letters. All the account I have of his version, from Dublin, is as follows.

" This translation being of the whole Bible, O. and N. T. " is dedicated by Ambrose Usher to King James the First, " without the date of the year. It is in 3 tomes, 4to."

" Deut. ch. ii. ver. 1, 2, (which in our translation is the " second and third,) *Then the Lord spake unto me, say-* " *ing—q³ You have compassed this mount inough, turne you* " *northward.* q³

" N. This mark q³ is set at the end of each verse."

I am not for your laying aside your design of printing Wickliff's New Testament. It is a curiosity which many will be fond of; and I depend not at all upon Mr. Russell. But if your History swells to too large a bulk to make an Introduction, you must be content to print them in two separate volumes. Have you got Nary's translation of the Bible^r, a Popish translation after the Doway? I am told I may have it for three half-crowns. It was made about twenty years ago. Mr. Russell told me he had it; and there is a bookseller in this town (whose name I have at present forgot) who also has it. I have not yet seen it.

I have a roving thought just come into my head, for you to consider of at leisure. What if your Introduction to Wickliff's N. T. should consist only of as accurate account as you can get of all the MSS. in England, either of the Bible, or parts of the Bible, and likewise of the Testament, or parts of it. I could assist you as to Cambridge, and perhaps some other places; as York, Lambeth, Sion College, Cotton, King's, &c. And if you have ever an honest and laborious friend at Oxford, you may

⁹ Lewis's Hist. pp. 341, 342.

^r Cornelius Nary, Consultissimæ Facultatis Parisiensis Doctor. So Lewis interprets the initials in the Title, C. N. C. F. P. D. This edition was published in 1719. See Lewis's Hist. pp. 356, 357. Nary is also mentioned, p. 45, as the last Roman Catholic translator of the N. T. into English.

soon have an account of all there. But this take as a sudden thought only, which may want some digestion and maturation.

^s When you reprint your Life of Wickliff, I could be content to spare your vindication of Wickliff, which is not perhaps necessary at this time, or may give offence. But when I have the favour of your company here, we may talk over all matters.

^t I was once numbering up Bibles and Testaments called Wickliff's, as nearly as I could, thus :

	Bibles.	Testaments.
Oxford - - - - -	8	13
Cambridge - - - - -	3	13
Lambeth, Sion College, Hereford	3	3
Norfolk Libr. Westm. Cotton.	3	2
York - - - - -	-	2
Other places - - - - -	-	9
	17	42

The whole number of entire Bibles and Testaments together will be about 60; and there are besides, parcels ten or a dozen, mentioned in the general Catalogue of MSS. But I shall look into Le Long, at leisure, to see what his accounts amount to, if you think it *tanti*, or if you like the project. I have a letter by me, sent me by the late Mr. Bowles, bearing date Aug. 13, 1729. It was in answer to a query I had made. Fairfax MS. a Bible, said (in the general Catalogue of MSS.) to have been *translated* 1408. I wondered at it. But my wonder ceased, when word was

^s Two editions of the Life of Wicliffe had been printed before the date of this Letter; viz. in 1720 and 1723. See Masters's History of C. C. C. App. p. 102.

^t Some account is given of most of these manuscripts in Lewis's Hist. chap. 1.

sent me, that what was written in the MS. was this only: *the year of the Lord M.CCCC.VIII. this Book was endid.* There are indeed but three C's to be seen: but by the blank appearing, it is plain enough that somebody had erased one, to enhance the age and value of the manuscript. I much value the copies that have dates. I have met with or heard of but five such.

Eman. Coll. Cant. N. T.	-	-	1397.
Caius, Cant. N. T.	-	-	1397.
Fairfax Bible	-	-	1408.
Mr. Granger's N. T.	-	-	1424.
Pepys's, 16mo. N. T.	-	-	1437.

If I meet with any more in my searches, I will let you know. I suspect that many of the copies are later than 1437, because that copy has the table of old Lessons, according to the old version: while several other copies have them according to the newer, which I call Pervie's, the common one. I keep a former letter of yours still in my pocket, because I have not yet had leisure to look after the books you mentioned.

^t Mr. Russell calls the New Testament which has the *forsothes* in it (such as Sidney, Magd. Coll. and Granger's Epistles) the old version. I do not take it to be so. I think, it plainly tallies with the common Bible, which belongs to the same man that made the Prologue; which Prologue I judge to have been made in 1388, from the characters of time relating to Oxford, as formerly hinted: and the author of it was, I suppose, Pervie, whose name

^u This Mr. Russell, so often mentioned in these Letters, appears to have been Mr. John Russell, Minister of Poole in Dorsetshire, and afterwards Preacher of St. John's, Wapping, where he continued till his death. Through his intimacy with Mr. Russell, Mr. Lewis is said to have been introduced to Archbishop Tenison, and to have obtained preferment in the Church. See Nichols's *Liter. Anecd.* vol. v. p. 257. It further appears, from Mr. Masters's *Hist. of C. C. C. Cambridge*, that Mr. Lewis had been under the tuition of Mr. Russell, who kept a school at Poole in Dorsetshire.

is affixed to the Dublin copy of the N. T. just before that Prologue. But I shall tire you. I long to see you here.

I am

Your very faithful Friend and humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Watling Street, Jan. 20, 1729-30.

*To the Reverend Mr. Lewis,
of Mergate in Kent.*

—◆—

* *Manuscripts collated.*

1. Bishop Moore's folio Bible and Testament. Royal Library, Cambridge.

2. Emanuel College. Folio Bible and Testament.

3. Caius College. N. T. 4to. written 1397.

4. Eman. Coll. N. T. 8vo. written 1397.

5. Trin. Coll. 8vo. N. T. old hand. This comes nearest to the copy followed in this transcript; has Lessons at the end.

6. Trin. Coll. Small folio N. T. more modern.

7. Pepys's Library. 4to. N. T. has the Epistle to Laodicea, and Lessons at the end.

8. Pepys's Library. Small 12mo or 16mo. 2 vols. N. T. written 1437; wants all the Prologues.

9. Jesus Coll. Small 8vo. has the Epistle to Laodicea, with Prologue prefixed. This MS. has also the contents of the books and chapters of the N. T. before it; which none else, that I have seen, has. It has Lessons also at the end.

10. Christ. Coll. MS. 8vo. This came late to my hands, after I had finished my collation. But I run the places I had before marked over again, and compared this

* This paper appears to be a postscript or appendix to the preceding Letter.

also: and thereupon made some alterations in my numbers, putting *MSS. omnes* 10, instead of *MSS. omnes* 9, and the like. It is a good MS. and of the earlier kind, but is merely a N. Test. without any Calendar or Tables.

The other Version.

1. Sidney College. Small folio N. T. has Lessons at the end; but not the same version with the former.
2. Magd. Coll. 8vo. N. T.

Nº. XXX.

⁊ Parker's Editions.

1568. Lond. folio, { by Jugge.
 { Chr. Barker.
1569. Lond. 8vo. with verses. By Jugge.
1572. Lond. fol. { Rich. Jugge, fol. { Double Psalms.
 { Chr. Barker. }
1573. Fol. et 4to. 1576. 1577. 1578. 1582. 1585.
1586. London.
1587. Lond.
- 1592 1593.
1595. Lond. by Christ. Barker.
1602. Lond. by Rob. Barker. Fol.

Rhemish and Doway.

- ^z 1582. Rhemish Testament, 4to. By John Fogy. Rhemes.

Fulkes.—Edition with his remarks.

^y This Paper (which has no date) appears to be a recapitulation, digested under different heads or classes, of the several translations and editions, whether printed or manuscript, which had been previously described or noticed, and which are here arranged in chronological order.

^a Lewis's Hist. p. 277.

1589. By deputies of Chr. Barker.

^a 1609. } Doway Bible, 4to. At Doway, by Laurence
1610. } Icellam. 1609. 1610. of the Vulgate.

1602. Fulkes.

1617. Fulkes reprinted.

^b 1618. Cartwright.

1633. Fulkes. 4th edition.

^c *Authors of the Rhemish.*

George Martin }
Richard Bristow } Possevin. Select. Biblioth. l. 2. c. 12.
Cardinal Allen }

MSS. of Wickliff's N. T.

Caius Coll. A. D. 1397.

Emanuel. Fol.

Trin. Coll. 8vo.

Trin. Coll. Folio.

Pepys. 4to.

Pepys. 16mo. A. D. 1437.

Bene't. 8vo.

Moore's Library. Fol.

Windsor.

Other Translation.

Sidney Coll. Fol.

Magd. Coll. 8vo.

Rhemish Testament.

1582. Rhemis. Fogny.

^d 1600. Antwerp, by Dan. Vern.

Editions of the whole Scripture, or any part.

1526. Tindale's New Testament. 8vo.

1527. Second edition, Dutch, 1. Hamburg.

^a Lewis's Hist. pp. 286, 287.

^b Ibid. p. 295.

^c Ibid. p. 291.

^d Ibid. p. 295.

1529. Third edition, Dutch, 2.
 1530. Fourth edition, Dutch, 3.
 1534. Fifth edition, Dutch, 4. By Joye. Antw. Printed by M. Emperour.
 1534. Sixth edition, by Tindale himself.
 1536. Seventh edition. 4to.
 1536. Eighth edition. 12mo.
 1530. Tindale's Pentateuch, &c.
^c 1530. Aleph's Psalter at Argentine. 16mo. By Francis Foye.
 1531. Joye's Essay. At Strasburgh. 8vo. By Balthasar Backneth.
 1534. Joye's Jeremy. In May. 8vo.
 1534. Joye's Psalter. 16mo. by Martyne Emperour. Antwp. in August.
 1535. Coverdale's Folio Bible. Zurich.
 1537. Mathew's Folio Bible. Hamburg.
 1538. Erasmus's Test. Anglo-Latin. By Rob. Redman.
 1538. Coverdale's Anglo-Latin. By Hollybushe. 4to.
 1539. Coverdale's N. T. Anglo-Latin. 8vo. By Grafton and Whitchurch.
 1539. Taverner's Folio Bible. By Biddell, for Barthelet.
 1539. Cranmer's (*Great*) Bible. Folio.
 1540. Cranmer's (*The Great*) Bible. Fol. by Grafton.
 1541. Cranmer's, corrected by Tonstal and Heath.
 1548. Mathewe's New Testament. 8vo. Windsor.
 1548. } Udall's Translation of Erasmus's N. T.
 1549. }
 1549. The Great Bible. Fol. By Edw. Whitchurch.
 1549. Becke's Bible. Fol. Lond. By Day and Seres.
 1549. Matthew's Bible. By Tho. Raynolde and Will. Hyll.
 1550. N. T. Anglo-Latin. By J. C.
 1550. Coverdale's 4to. Bible.

1550. Coverdale's conferred with Tindale's. Printed by R. Wolf.

^f 1551. Matthew's folio. By Nic. Hyll, for Joh. Wyghte.

1551. Matthew's fol. By N. Hyll, for Rich^d. Kale, at the cost of men of the occupation. May 6.

1551. Mathew's folio revised. By Jo. Day, for Tho. Petite.

1551. Matthew's folio. By Nic. Hyll, for Tho. Petite.

1552. Jugge's Testament, with cuts. 4to. Bibl. Pepys.

1552. Bible. Lond. By Nich. Hyll. 4to.

1553. Jugge's Test. second impression.

1553. Coverdale's 4to. Bible. By Jugge. Bibl. Cant.

1557. Geneva Testament. 12mo. Conrad Badius. First with distinction of verses.

1560. Geneva Bible. 4to. First edition with verses distinguished. Geneva.

1568. 2 vols. fol. Lond.

1570. At Geneva. Folio.

1572. In fol. et 4to. Lond.

1575. At London.

1576. At London. Fol. By Chr. Barker.

1578. London. Large fol. Chr. Barker.

1579. London. Chr. Barker. Folio.

1581. London. By Chr. Barker. Fol. (Ld. Oxf.)

1583. London. By Chr. Barker. Fol. (Eman.)

1589. London. By Chr. B. 4to. 1598.

1599. London. 4to. Deput. of Chr. Barker.

1606.—1608. London. — R. Barker.

Bis 1610. Edinburgh. 1631. By John Bill.

1627. }

1642. } Amsterdam. By Tho. Stafford.

1644. }

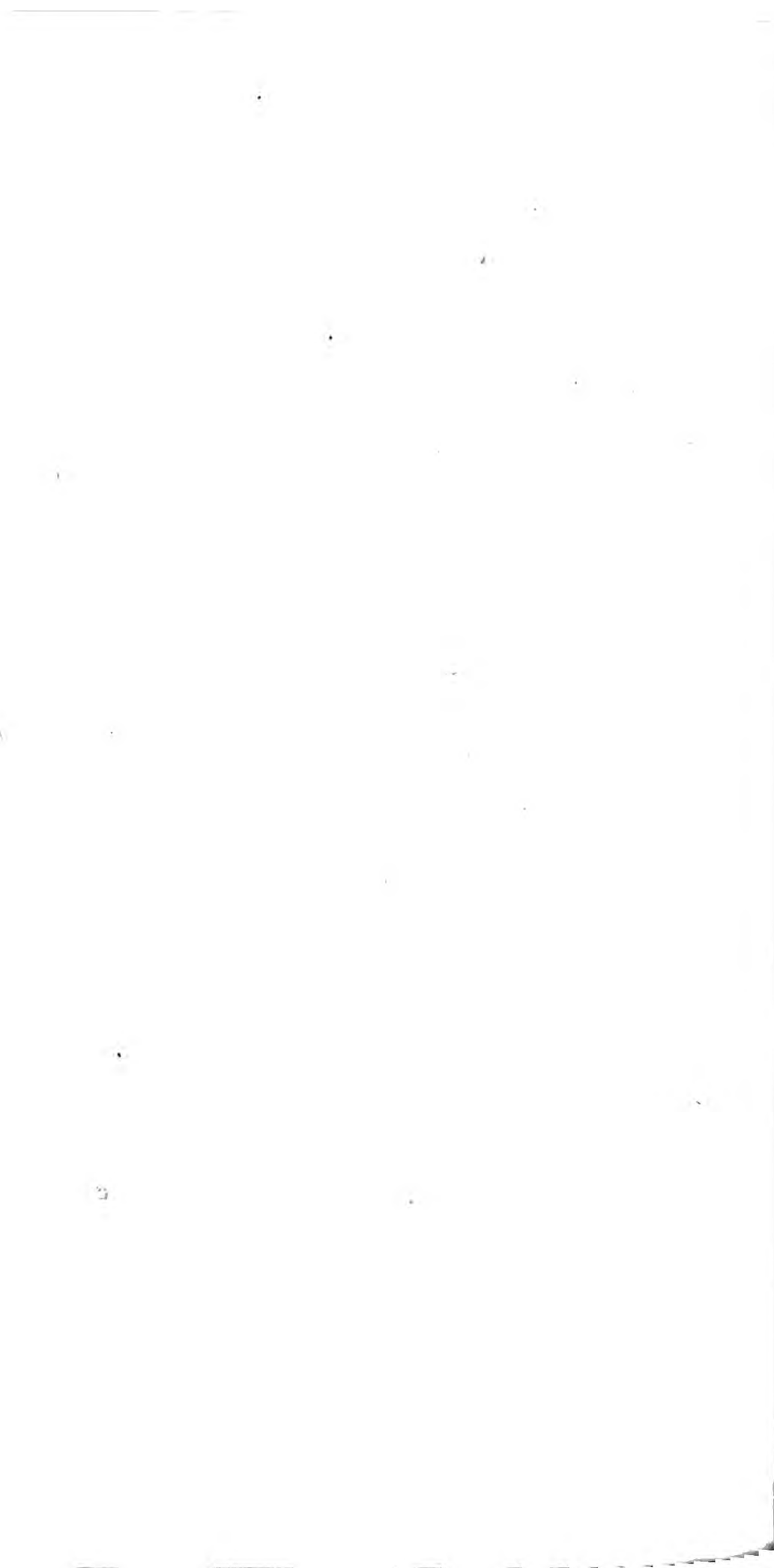
1657. 1677. 1688.

^f Ibid. p. 188. "This edition," says Lewis, "was printed by different printers, at the cost of several booksellers, whose names were accordingly set to their respective parts of the impression."

1562. Cranmer's Bible. Fol. Lond. By Rich. Harrison
1562. Jugge's Test. 8vo. with verses distinguished.
1566. Cranmer's folio. At Rouen. By Carmarden.
1568. Cranmer's (*The Great Bible*.) 4to. By Jugge and
Cawood. Trin. Coll.
1569. Cranmer's (*The Great*.) 4to. By Jugge and
Cawood. (Dr. Grey.) The same Liturgy with that of
1566.
1568. Parker's first edition.
1569. Parker's, in 8vo.
1571. Foxe's Saxon G. with Parker's.
1572. Parker's second edition, corrected.
1576. L. Tomson's translation of Beza's N. T. 8vo.
1582. Rhemish N. Testament.
1583. Tomson's translation of Beza's N. T.
1589. Tomson's second edition.
1610. Tomson's third edition.

Ambrose Usher's MS.

1609. Doway Bible.
1611. King James's Bible.



DR. WATERLAND'S LETTERS

TO

JOHN LOVEDAY, ESQ.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

THE following Letters, fifteen in number, were addressed to John Loveday, Esq. of Magdalen College, Oxford, bearing date from the year 1735 to the year 1740. They were obligingly put into the hands of the Editor, for the present edition of the Author's Works, by Loveday, Esq. of Oxon, grandson of the gentleman to whom they were written. Together with these were several rough drafts of Letters from Mr. Loveday to Dr. Waterland; of which no other use has been made, than occasionally to subjoin extracts from them, in the Notes added by the Editor, for the purpose of illustrating Dr. Waterland's Letters.

DR. WATERLAND'S LETTERS

TO

JOHN LOVEDAY, ESQ.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Nº. I.

SIR,

Windsor, Jan. 1st, 1734-5.

I HAVE no thought of taking any public notice myself of Mr. Jackson's late piece, full of romancing and railing all the way: but I shall not be sorry to have some strictures made upon it (for the reasons mentioned) by some other hand, and in such a way as is hinted. I may here make a few observations upon the piece, just sufficient to shew what I think of it in the general.

1. The author begins with railing accusations of my ill nature, want of moderation, modesty, &c. which, I suppose, was to contrive some pretence or cover for his own abusive way of writing, that it might seem to be occasioned by just provocations: every railing book begins commonly in that way, and it is natural enough. I believe, nobody that has seen my book, can find any thing in it contrary to good nature or good manners. Several that dislike the doctrine, yet acknowledge, as I am told, the candid manner of treating the adversaries. I have said nothing against *political toleration* even of Arianism, though our laws do not tolerate it. All I have pleaded is only against *ecclesiastical toleration*, or admitting to com-

munion and to the right hand of fellowship. Even the chief Socinians themselves (those particular friends of toleration and moderation) yet carry their rigour as far as I have, and even against Socinians: for they renounce communion with as many as refuse to worship Christ, yea, and they declare them *no Christians*; as I take notice in my Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Catechism, p. 22^a. And, were it not a thing notoriously known, several more proofs might be added.

Merely renouncing communion with others, is not properly *punishing* at all, either corporal or spiritual: though *accidentally* some inconveniencies may arise to the persons so rejected.

2. A second thing I have to observe of Mr. J. That he gives up the whole point in question, the point of *importance*, in the very first page; and therefore all the rest is *impertinent*, belonging to another question, the question concerning the *truth* of the doctrine. And if he was disposed to enter into that, he should have undertaken a full and just answer to my *Second Defence, Sermons, and Farther Defence*: whereas, in truth, he has only, or mostly, brought up again the same old stuff which appeared before in Clarke's Reply, concealing from his readers the repeated answers made by me, or others, to them.

3. He is never to be trusted in any thing he says of me. For (as if he had lost all fear of God, or all sense of the Ninth Commandment,) he scarce can write a line or two of me, without some calumny, or gross misrepresentation; which shews, however, how much he is distressed for want of just matter to reproach me with. None but the half-witted would ever make use of falsities, if truth would as well serve their present turn. What a piece of rhodomontade is his whole third page and part of the fourth. But indeed the same strain runs quite through.

4. He deserves to be roundly reckoned with for what he advances in page the eleventh; *viz.* that the pretending

* See vol. v. p. 385. of the present edition.

to be *certain* (morally certain) of the *right* and *reason* of a cause, is pretending to be *infallible*. For since he is too modest, I presume, to think himself infallible, it follows that he is not morally certain of any thing, and therefore must be in just consequence a perfect sceptic.

Farther, as no man is more dogmatical or confident than himself, though not morally certain of any thing, how will he justify his conduct? He has pronounced very confidently and dogmatically against the doctrine of all the Protestant Churches, (nay, of the Christian world in a manner, from the fourth century at least, by his own confession,) that it is *Tritheism*, or *Sabellianism*, (pp. 2, 35, 38, 39, 51, 57.) that it is grossly irreligious, Anti-christian, blasphemous, atheistical, diabolical, (1, 58, 60, 62, 71, 132, 133;) and all this without being *morally certain* of the right or reason of the cause, and without being *infallible*. We know, indeed, that he has done it not only *without* moral certainty, but *against* it. However, by his own account, and in consequence of his own argument, he has done it without *certain* grounds for so doing, and therefore is *self-condemned*, and guilty of a most flaming breach of Christian charity, candour, justice, and common honesty. Rash accusation, (and all is *rash* which has not *certain* ground to go upon,) and of such a kind, is desperate iniquity. *Persuasion* alone will not suffice: men ought to know what they say, and what they do. Papists are *consistent* in their censures, on the foot of their supposed *infallibility*, and Protestants likewise, on the foot of *moral certainty*: but such sceptical Arians as admit no *certainty*, ought to be exceeding *modest* in their censures, or rather to forbear censuring at all. But his *Christian liberty* is marvellous.

5. Some notice should be taken, in the entrance of any answer to his book, of his avowed principle, as to the Son and Spirit being created, (pp. 55, 127.) and of the Son being once *God*, and afterwards ceasing to be so for a time, and then becoming *God* again, in a higher sense than before, pp. 73, 74. He calls upon us, p. 76. ridi-

culously, to prove that he and his friends make Christ a creature. This book of his is alone sufficient to prove it, or, if it be not, my arguments, nine in number, (in my Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription, p. 20^b,) remain unanswered. But enough of this.

Sir,

If the gentleman thinks of picking out my answers to the several particulars, the fifth chapter of my *Farther Defence* will be of great use to him, as to referring to the places where I answer what relates particularly to the Fathers. But then please to observe, that if he makes use of the second edition of my *Second Defence*, he must look five pages forwards, to find the place referred to. For instance, if he sees p. 254. *Second Defence*, he should look for p. 259. Such is the difference of pages in the two editions, owing to the printer's want of forecast and care.

If the gentleman pleases to write but on one side the papers, and to leave a blank page all the way, and will afterwards favour me with a sight of them, there will be room for me to supply any thing material upon the blank pages.

In the mean while, as I have leisure, I shall be referring, on the margin of Jackson's book, to proper places; and perhaps may send it up afterwards to Oxford, if the gentleman desires it. He may find some things which may escape me, and I may hit some things which escape him.

As to 1 John v. 7. which the writer talks of, p. 67, as if I had lately received light, or changed my former sentiments, I presume he builds it upon idle hearsay, or upon Whiston's *Memoirs*, p. 101. It happens unluckily for them both, that I gave my judgment of that text (the same as I have since) in the year 1723, in a Sermon then printed, entitled, *A Familiar Discourse upon the Doctrine*

^b See vol. ii. p. 355. of the present edition.

of the *H. Trinity*, p. 13^c. Indeed, I avoided bringing that text into my controversial writings, partly because that dispute then lay between Martin and Emlyn, and chiefly, because I would not give the adversaries a handle for running out, perhaps forty or fifty pages upon a bye-point, when I did not want it. I knew that *I and my Father are One*, was strong enough for *two* being one God; and if *two persons* were admitted to be *so one*, a third would be granted of course. So I avoided needless dispute, and waste of time and paper.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

It may be noted, that as I have proved that we cannot communicate with Arians, so Mr. J. has proved (if he has proved any thing) that they *ought not* to communicate with us. How can they communicate with so *Antichristian, blasphemous, atheistical, diabolical* a party? But that they should *subscribe* also such diabolical principles, is monstrous beyond expression.

The *Episcopians, indifferents, or neutrals*, being now equally condemned on both sides, my book of *Importance*, as it seems, has gained its ends. And now we are to return to the point of the *truth* of our doctrine, where the adversary had been abundantly baffled before, and made to retreat to the question about *importance*. So they are driven backwards and forwards, reel and stagger, and are at their wits' end here, just as they are between worship and no worship, of Christ and the Holy Spirit.

^c See the present edition, vol. viii. p. 439. The passage is this: "And they are all Three together said to be *One*; 'These Three are *One*,' 1 John v. 7. which, though a disputed text, is yet not without very many and very considerable appearances of being truly genuine. The doctrine, however, is certain from many other places of Scripture, whatever becomes of that text."

No. II.

SIR,

Windsor, Jan. 23d, 1734-5.

I DO not think of going to London suddenly. Several of the Bishops, and a good many of the Clergy, I find, were disposed to make me a compliment of what would not well suit either with sedentary temper, or my uncertain state of health: so I have sent up my thanks, and begged myself off^d. If any business should come on in Convocation afterwards, (which I do not expect,) I hope to be as serviceable, or more so, in another way, than I could be in the post that was thought on.

I intend (God willing) to send you what I promised by the next return of the carrier; or else by Don Lewis, if he should meet you sooner. I was not well pleased that he had been inquiring after the gentleman's name, and was glad that you did not oblige him in an imprudent request. I had rather not know, that I may afterwards safely and truly say that I do not know who or what the gentleman is. If he has any occasion to write to me, he may write without setting any name, and I can direct my answer to you, with your good leave. In turning over Jackson's piece, I found myself sometimes tempted to scribble down a few thoughts that occurred, beyond my

^d This relates to the intention of choosing him Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1735, [vol. v. p. 50.] it is stated, that Dr. Waterland was *chosen* Prolocutor. But the *Biographia Britannica*, (art. *Waterland*, vol. vii. p. 4169,) says, "The Convocation meeting this year, our Archdeacon was pitched upon for Prolocutor of the Lower House, and an elegant Latin speech was prepared to be spoken, on presenting him to that House, by the learned Dr. Cobden, Archdeacon of London. But he thought proper to decline that office, which, in the then state of the Church, must have been attended with extraordinary trouble; as was foreseen by the King, who therefore presently dissolved it." Dr. Lisle was chosen Prolocutor of the Convocation in the room of Dr. Waterland, on his declining the office. See *Gent. Mag.* Feb. 1735, vol. v. p. 108.

first design. For I designed no more than references. I hope, the gentleman, your friend, will pardon my indulging myself in a kind of natural infirmity, which prevailed upon me unawares. He will be at liberty either to make use of fresh hints or to neglect them, as he sees proper: and when he has finished his work, may commit what I send to the flames.

I refer sometimes to two pamphlets, written by two ingenious men, and contrived to be, as it were, supplemental to my Defences:

Brief Animadversions on two Pieces, by John Browne^c. Printed for Innys, 1725.

An Essay on Irenæus. By John Alexander. Printed for John Clark and Richard Hett, at the Bible and Crown in the Poultry, 1727.

Both the pieces are very well written; and both of them went through my hands before they went to the press.

In Mr. Browne's piece will be found just answers to several things brought up again in Jackson's last piece. Jackson's stock is but slender, and he serves up the same things again and again, as often as he publishes in the same cause; never concerning himself to rejoin to what has been replied, or so much as to take notice of it: always objecting, never responding. That is his way. He has published in this cause: 1. *A Collection of Queries.* 2. *An Answer to Mr. Nye*, the noted Socinian, whom he took to be the mouth of the orthodox. 3. *The Reply to Dr. W.'s Defence*: though he had but a very small hand in it, so far as the first rough draft. Mr. Whiston added, and Dr. Clarke new-modelled and enlarged: so it was more properly *Dr. Clarke's Reply*. 4. *The True Narrative*, in opposition to Dr. Berriman's *Historical Account*, 1725. which Dr. Berriman answered in his *Defence*, &c. 1731. 5. *Remarks on Dr. W.'s Second Defence*, (which I ought to have mentioned sooner,) by *Philalethes Cantabrigien-*

^c Author of Sermons at L. Moyer's Lect. and of a Letter to Mr. Jackson, on his "Plea for Human Reason."

sis, 1723. This was answered by Mr. Browne, 1725. 6. *Christian Liberty*, now under consideration. These are all I know of, that he has published, relating to the subject: unless I may mention, 7. *Calumny no Conviction*, which, if I remember, has here and there some things relating to the Trinity, and is such a piece of Billingsgate as can hardly be paralleled. His friends made him keep it up for some time, being ashamed of it. But at length (to reimburse the bookseller, or the author) it came abroad. He has not set his name, as I remember, to any of these seven, excepting to what he wrote against Nye. I have long neglected him, as being a profligate or (as Mr. Browne more genteelly calls him) a *privileged* writer, who takes the liberty to say any thing, and whose reproach is no scandal. But as he is now almost the only writer left on the Arian side, and as he is thought to be a first-rate-man by the ignoramuses of the party, I know not but that it may be of good service to call him to account once more, not only for his heterodoxy in faith, but for his viler offences against moral probity, decency, veracity. But I shall weary you with talking of this trifling man: pardon me thus far. I am, with great respect,

Sir,

Your obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

N^o. III.

SIR,

Windsor, Jan. 27th, 1734-5.

I HAVE sent what I promised: you may please to deliver it to the gentleman; sealed or unsealed, as you judge proper. Perhaps, as the thing is to be burned afterwards, it may be best to have what is in it kept as a secret between him and me. Being suddenly called to London, (which I did not expect,) I have scarce had time to revise

what I had scribbled, or to correct any mistakes. However, since I am to be favoured with a sight of the gentleman's papers, before they go to the press, I can then, upon more mature consideration, correct any thing I may find amiss, and thereby prevent my leading him into any mistake. He will excuse it, if he sometimes finds some things, written *currente calamo*, which a sudden heat produced, and which might better have been spared. My service to him, and tell him, I wish him good success in his kind and Christian undertaking. I go to London (God willing) on Thursday, and hope that I may be dismissed on Saturday: for it is not expected that the Convocation will sit to do business, at least not this winter.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

Nº. IV.

SIR,

Twickenham, March 18th, 1734-5.

I THINK of continuing, for the most part, here till Whitsunday be over, and then to remove (God willing) to Cambridge. Your friend's papers, when ready, may best be directed for me at Mr. Warcupp's, at the *White Lion*, near *Charing Cross*: for Mr. Warcupp will always know where I am, and will convey any letters or parcels safely to my hands.

If the gentleman happens to be at a loss for any other book, which I may be able to procure, I shall very readily serve him. I have thought of one book, which he should see, and which perhaps he will not readily come at. It is a book of Wesseling's, lately brought over from abroad^f. I must be at Windsor the 25th instant, Tues-

^f This, no doubt, was Wesseling's *Probabilium Liber*, published at Frankfort, 1731. Several chapters in it relate to the attempts of an author

day next: and I intend to send Wesseling up to you by your carrier. It may be returned with the former, when done with, to Mr. Warcup's, at the White Lion.

I shall be under a disadvantage, as to revising and correcting papers, in this place, having few or no books with me relating to the subject. But if I should find a necessity of consulting any, I will go over to Windsor, (which is but twelve miles off,) for a day or two, on purpose. I have leisure enough here, and little or no business, more than taking care of the pulpit on Sundays, and looking after some parish affairs on the week-days.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

Nº. V.

SIR,

Twickenham, Apr. 2d, 1735.

I RECEIVED the papers last night, and immediately fell to reading them, and before nine o'clock this morning got through all the four parts. Upon this cursory reading, I take the liberty to say, that they are very well written, that I am highly pleased with them, both for matter and manner, and do not doubt but that they will be well received by the public, and will be of good service to the Christian cause. The first leisure I have, I shall lay out upon a cool and deliberate reading of the same, in order to observe whether any thing needs correcting or altering. If I have any thing to remark, I think of doing it upon a separate paper, that nothing may

under the assumed name of *Artemon*, to shew that the text in St. John, *καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος*, ought to be *καὶ Θεοῦ ἦν ὁ λόγος*. Horbery, in his "Animadversions on Jackson's Christian Liberty asserted," (p. 120,) refers to the tenth chapter of this book of Wesseling's, to correct Jackson's interpretation of a passage in Melito's Apology.

appear upon his MS. and that he may judge of it himself before he takes any correction into his copy. Perhaps I may sometimes take the freedom to draw a line through a sentence, or expression, which I may wish to have struck out. But, so far as I can judge from the first reading, I shall have but very little to do by way of correction or improvement. I shall probably return the papers in a week or ten days' time, by coach or carrier. I did not expect my scribbles again; having destined them to the fire, had your friend so pleased. I sent Wesseling by the coach, I think; and I hope you have received it before this. The book is curious, and worth the reading, on other accounts.

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N^o. VI.

SIR,

Magd. Coll. July 6th, 1735.

I HAVE received Mr. *Anonymous's* piece, and have read it with much pleasure. The Preface particularly (I need say nothing of the rest) is extremely fine, and shews both the gentleman and the scholar. I am so cautious of making any discoveries, that I denied myself the pleasure of putting you in the list of presents, for a trifle of mine just published, on the subject of *Fundamentals* &c. If you will be so kind as to tell me the Prelate you speak of, I will tell you whether it be proper for Anonymous to own his performance there. I know pretty well how men stand affected, having a general acquaintance. I cannot be particular in a post letter: but I heartily wish for an opportunity of seeing you, and then I could freely deliver my

* His "Discourse on Fundamentals, being the Substance of Two Charges delivered to the Middlesex Clergy, in 1734 and 1735," inserted in vol. viii. of this edition.

mind upon various subjects. I intend (God willing) to be at Twickenham on the 12th of August, to be ready for waiting at Kensington soon after. There is an odd piece upon the Sacrament lately published^b, and supposed to come from a great hand, which makes much noise. By what I can judge of it, the merits of it will depend upon two previous questions, concerning the doctrine of *Atonement*, and *Divine Grace*. If those are well fixed, all the pretences of that book drop at once, and the Sacrament retains its ancient dignity: if not, the Sacrament must be understood in a low sense, and at the same time Socinianism must succeed in the room of primitive Christianity. But there is no fear of that, while there is any learning, or good sense, or conscience remaining amongst us.

I am, good Sir,
Your obliged humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

Nº. VII.

GOOD SIR,

Magd. Coll. July 15, 1735.

I AM very glad that Mr. A.ⁱ is so happily fixed with a person who will esteem and value him the more, the more he knows him. I should be sorry if his Lordship should not discover, in a while, his public merit in the orthodox cause: because I am very sure it would be there a high and lasting recommendation. I can now with great pleasure assure you, that the piece is much esteemed here by as many as have read it, and they are very inquisitive to know from what hand it came. I declare to them that I think myself much obliged to the gentleman who has

^b Hoadley's "Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," published in June, 1735.

ⁱ Mr. *Anonymous*. See preceding letter.

done me more than justice so handsomely, and has been so kind as to send me a present, but that he is unknown to me by name : only I hope, some time or other, to learn who he is, and to be acquainted with him, since a person of his merit cannot long be concealed.

I should have been glad if your affairs would have permitted you to give me the pleasure of seeing you at Twickenham or at Windsor, and I will not yet despair. Or if I should happen to be at the Bath next September, (a journey which I have some fluctuating thoughts of,) I may possibly find you out there, if returned from Maidstone.

If not, I wish you however as much pleasure, as there will be use, in the Oriental studies which you have in view. A very little assistance will put a man in a way to go on by himself: labour and assiduity must do the rest.

My time will be taken up with other affairs, (for two or three months at least,) that I cannot sit down to do any thing upon the subject you mention. I hope there will be no occasion; for many hands will be at work, or rather are at work now. I have seen a good Weekly Miscellany already, and I hear of a pamphlet besides, but have not seen it. Some talk of Bishop Sherlock's being engaged on the subject, and others of Dr. Stebbing. I have contented myself with weighing and considering the nature and texture of this new book. It is put together with abundance of art, and a kind of studied confusedness: and though he has here and there dropped very dangerous principles, yet he has thrown in so many salvoes and evasions elsewhere, that it will be difficult to reconcile the distant parts, or to make out his whole meaning. The design, no doubt, was, so to insinuate what he aims at, as to lay in at the same time for guards and fences against any attacks.

I shall only observe, that he builds much upon the words, *remembrance of me*, which he interprets sometimes of remembrance of Christ's *body* or *blood*, sometimes re-

membrance of an *absent Saviour*, or of an *offering* made, or a *sacrifice*, and frequently remembrance of Christ as our *Head, Lord, Master*, and once, *Judge*. He goes as high as his principles will suffer him to do, and confines not himself to the bare words of the institution, but takes in all that he conceives to be *virtually* implied. Now, if he will but give us the like liberty with himself, we may interpret the remembrance of Christ so as to take in what Scripture declares of his *dignity, merits, and sufferings*: and so, we shall remember him as *true God, God over all*, (and the like,) condescending to become *man*, and to atone for the sins of mankind by his death. And if we so remember Him in the Eucharist, all will be right, and every thing we desire will naturally flow from it. It will then appear (which I believe is the real truth) that he and we do not so properly differ about the *Sacrament* itself, as about the *previous doctrines*, which must influence every article relating to the *Sacrament*, and must determine it to a *high* or a *low* sense. If I am right so far, then it is plain, that in the last result, this dispute about the *Sacrament* must terminate in the other dispute about the doctrine of the Trinity. For his scheme is nothing else but the *doctrine of the Sacrament Socinianized*; ours is the *Trinitarian doctrine of the Sacrament*.

I thank you for mentioning a book to me which I had never before heard of. I have since seen it. It is a thick folio, pompously printed, containing, in all, above eight hundred pages. Delaune and Keach were two *Presbyterian*^k Divines, as I conceive; and this book of theirs was the work of twenty years or more. I have just run it over, to observe what it aims at. It is to reduce Scripture tropes and metaphors to certain heads, and to explain them in order. It is a good Repertorium for things of that kind,

^k Mr. Loveday has noted in the margin, that they were *Anabaptists*, and has referred to Neal, iv. 520. Neal, however, speaks there of *Delaune* only. But *Keach* also was undoubtedly an Anabaptist, and took a part in the controversies of that sect. See Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. xix. p. 274.

and may serve for a sort of Concordance of matters, so far. There is often more fancy than judgment shewn in drawing out parallels: but notwithstanding, it must be owned, that there is a treasury of good materials in it, regularly digested; and it is an useful book in its way. I may probably look farther into it, as I have leisure.

I am, Sir,

Your much obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Instead of *remembrance of me*, it were better, I think, to render it, *in commemoration of me*.

Nº. VIII.

SIR,

Twickenham, Sept. 18th, 1735.

I HAVE been in these parts since the middle of July, and think of leaving them for Windsor about the 6th of next month. I suspect now that I shall not find leisure (as, I thank God, there is no great necessity) for going to the Bath. I am afraid the labour of considering what concerns the Sacrament must at length fall upon me; though, if it does, I must work leisurely, as health and avocations permit¹. It is proper that somebody should do it. Bishop Sherlock, I hear, declines it: and Dr. Stebbing is full of Foster. Mr. Whiston is warm upon it: but he will both over-do and under-do, and is no fit man to rest such a cause upon^m. There are many by-questions which must be cleared in the course of such a work:

¹ His great work, the "Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist," came out in April, 1737. In the mean while, he printed a Charge on "the Doctrinal Use of the Christian Sacraments," which was published in June, 1736.

^m Whiston published in June, 1736, a tract entitled, "The Primitive Eucharist Reviv'd; occasioned by The Plain Account," &c.

and to do it thoroughly, so far as I am able to judge, cannot take up less than four or five hundred pages in 8vo. I was sorry to see the "Winchester Converts." The subject is too grave to be treated in that manner: and lightness begins not well on our side. It may furnish the adversaries with a handle for playing their ridicule, and with a plausible excuse for doing it.

I hear that Mr. A—gh's pieceⁿ is mere ribaldry: I have not seen it. I thank you for acquainting me with your and my friend's name^o. I see no reason now for keeping it secret: the end I had in view is already answered by concealing it hitherto. However, I have discovered no farther yet to any one, but that he is a Fellow of a College in Oxford. One gentleman told me the other day, that he had heard his name. I asked him to tell it me; but he said, he had forgot: so the discourse ended. I think, the sooner he is known, the earlier a reputation he will have: every body that has seen the book speaks well of it, and none can justly do otherwise. Jackson has seen it, and calls it mine; which is his way. He was told that I neither was the author nor knew the author. He was asked the reason of his thought: and then he referred to the Preface, as discovering private things. The gentleman told him, in return, that he saw no discoveries in the Preface, more than had been made long ago in a printed Preface of mine: as indeed there are not. But that raving creature loves to ascribe to me every thing written on my side; that the orthodox cause may be represented as resting upon a single man.

I shall be very glad of any opportunity of waiting upon

ⁿ This was a Mr. Ayscough, of C. C. C. as appears from Mr. Loveday's letter, who says of him, "he has been too well known ever since his College published their case with relation to him intruded upon them for a Fellow; and is the reputed author of the 'Reply to the Winchester Converts.'"

^o Mr. Loveday had acquainted him, in a letter of Sept. 6, that Mr. *Matthew Horbery*, Fellow of Magd. Coll. Oxon. was the author of the *Animadversions on Jackson's Pamphlet*. This tract was published in July, 1735, anonymously, under the title of "*Animadversions on a late Pamphlet, entitled, Christian Liberty Asserted,*" &c.

you, if you come near where I shall be, or I where you : and I hope some time to be personally acquainted with Mr. Horbery. I can think of a way of making the thing known to Bishop Smalbroke, by Mr. Welchman in a letter, if I fail of an opportunity of seeing his Lordship in Town.

I am, good Sir,
Your very much obliged humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

I am told that the Dissenters in general condemn the " Plain Account ;" nay, one of them assured me yesterday, that even Chandler opens against it, as leading to *Deism* directly. I have not had leisure for any thing, except the sketching out a rough plan, which may want altering in the progress. I cannot sit down to write before the middle of next month ; and winter comes on, which is not the best season for me. Mr. Biscoe, in his Remarks, has done very well, so far.

Nº. IX.

SIR,

Windsor, Jan. 1736-7.

I HAD the favour of your kind letter, containing several curious and useful improvements to Cave, which will deserve to be inserted in their places by the editors P. The

P This is in answer to a letter of Mr. Loveday's, accompanied with several references and corrections for the new edition of Dr. Cave's *Historia Literaria*, then preparing under the superintendence or direction of Dr. Waterland ; though, as appears from this letter, Dr. W. was obliged to consign the labour of carrying it through the press to other hands. In a subsequent letter from Mr. Loveday, that gentleman appears to have furnished a large supply of materials for the purpose. The first volume of this new edition of the *Hist. Liter.* was published in March, 1740. In the Preface, honourable mention is made of Dr. Waterland's assistance.

thought of doing something in that way was first suggested by me to Judge Reeves and Dr. Jones, who approved of it. Had it been thought on sooner, more might have been done in it, and the edition made more complete. But late as it was, it may be a considerable improvement. I had not leisure to undertake such employ myself; but I spoke to the bookseller to move it to some proper person at Oxford, offering to draw out a scheme of what I conceived requisite to be done, and promising to furnish out some materials. I had noted several references to Fabricius and Oudin in my own Cave; and I knew a friend of mine, (Dr. Bishop, of Ipswich,) who had carried the design much farther than I had done. I procured his Cave, and joined it to my own: and these were to be the materials to begin with; to which more of like kind might be added, upon further searches. Mr. Pote, having been at Oxford, comes and tells me, that he could find no gentleman there that had leisure enough upon his hands to undertake such a work. Hereupon, I thought of a person here, (one of our Petty Canons,) and explained the design to him, and offered to put the materials into his hands, and to give him such farther assistance as I could, while resident upon the place. He undertook it, and has spared no care or pains since the time that he engaged in it; minuting down as many new editions as he or I could think of, and running over Tillemont, Ittigius, Henry, and others who had given account of such authors as are mentioned in Cave, and making references to them. All Fabricius's pieces he has looked into; not excepting his latest alphabetical account of authors of the middle ages, (entitled, *Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infimæ Ætatis*, 1736,) left imperfect in the letter P, by the decease of that great man.

Hearne's pieces had not been examined. They are very scarce, and I had none of them, but the *Textus Roffensis*. But I am assured, that they are in Eton College Library; and thither the gentleman has promised to go, some time

this week, to take down the several references which you have been so kind to put us in mind of, and to enter them in the margin of Cave.

Your observation about an edition of Philastrius, I doubt not, is very just: for I see in Fabricius's edition of 1721, he marks that edition of 1611, as a quarto. So, if Cave himself has not corrected it before, it shall be corrected now, by putting 4to for 8vo.

If you or any other curious gentleman has any further additions to supply us with, it may not be too late to take them in, and they will contribute to the perfection of this edition. The design is not so much to note where other authors differ from Dr. Cave, but where they treat of the same things after him, whether differing from him or adding to him: so that this edition may be a kind of index to later Bibliothèques, and a common Repertorium for things of that kind. And if it can be made tolerably perfect, it will be of very great use and ease to the inquisitive. To instance only as to Fabricius. His *Bibliotheca Græca* is in a very confused order, and it is not very easy, even with the help of his Index, to turn readily to the volume or place, where he treats particularly of this or that ecclesiastical writer. This new edition of Cave will now be a better index to Fabricius (so far as relates to writers mentioned in both) than Fabricius's own is; and will besides have references, not only to the *Bibliotheca Græca*, but to all his other works of that kind; such as his *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, and his *Latina*, and his other *Latina*, and several more pieces. New editions will not always be particularly noted, if Fabricius has before taken notice of them: because a reference to Fabricius, in such cases, may be sufficient. As to any new edition, in whole or in part, by Mr. Hearne, it will be sufficient to note it in its proper place, in some such manner as this: *Item, per Th. Hearne, Oxon. A. D.* And where he has offered any useful remarks, *Vid. Th. Hearne, &c.* The like may be done with respect to any thing of Dr. Smith, whose *Miscellanea* I have not seen, but shall inquire for them.

Probably, Dr. Cave himself, in the corrections he left behind, or additions, (which make about a quarter part of the whole,) may have taken in what Dr. Smith had furnished.

I am glad to hear that our very ingenious and worthy friend, Mr. Horbery, has a Stall in Lichfield church, and heartily wish it may be but a step to greater preferment. He is my countryman, I find, by what you are pleased to tell me. There is (living, I think,) an old acquaintance of mine, Mr. Poole^q, in the isle of Axholme, a very valuable man, both for learning and integrity; but whom I have not seen nor heard of these many years.

I think of staying here till this month is over, or perhaps longer, and then of removing to Twickenham; though I may often be moving backward and forward, there being but twelve miles distance. If any thing should call you this way, I shall think myself happy in the enjoyment of your good company here: and if you, or any friend of yours hath any more materials, to add to the perfection of the edition preparing, and will please to send them, you will thereby add to the obligations laid upon,

Sir,

Your most obliged and respectful humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

^q Mr. Loveday has corrected the name of *Poole* to *Hoole*, and mentions, in a subsequent letter, that Mr. Horbery had once been Curate to Mr. Hoole, who had left the isle of Axholme, for the living of St. Anne's, in Manchester. This Mr. Hoole afterwards published a small tract in 12mo. entitled, "A Guide to Communicants; or the common Christian instructed in the Doctrine of the Eucharist, being an extract out of Dr. Waterland's Review of that Doctrine; by way of Question and Answer. With Devotions for the Use of Communicants. By Joseph Hoole, M. A. Rector of St. Anne's, in Manchester." In the Preface he states, "that the great author of the Review was acquainted with his design, had these papers laid before him, approved of them, and was pleased to encourage the publication." Hence it appears, that the acquaintance between Dr. W. and Mr. Hoole was renewed, after this letter to Mr. Loveday, and, not improbably, in consequence of it. Dr. W.'s Review was published in April 1737. Mr. Hoole's Guide in 1739. It is an excellent manual.

My work goes on like church-work, slowly : twenty-five sheets are printed : there will be about eleven more. Perhaps it may be finished by Lady-day ; if Dr. Warren's last part (which, for the present, with my consent, employs the same press) does not throw it off to a later date.

Nº. X.

GOOD SIR,

Twickenham, Feb. 19th, 1736-7.

I RECEIVED your former papers, (as well as the last, bearing date the 17th instant,) and left them at Windsor, in the hands of the person who takes care of the additional notes to Cave : only I contrived, first, to cut out your name and place, having no commission to make discovery of either. I left some hints of advice with him about the manner or method of minuting down any thing of that kind. It must be done in a very brief way, and generally by a reference only to such book of Hearne's as makes mention of any of those later authors. Pecock I happen to be pretty well acquainted with, having formerly seen and read his two manuscript pieces at Cambridge, and having sent large extracts out of them to Mr. Lewis, of Mergate, who was then writing his *Life*^r. His design was, to print in one volume the lives of Wickliffe, Pecock, and Fisher. He finished the work, but could not meet with sufficient encouragement from the booksellers : so it rests still in his hands^s. I saw part of it, and liked it

^r How largely Waterland contributed to Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, is evident from his correspondence with Lewis in the foregoing part of this volume.

^s It seems, by this, to have been Mr. Lewis's design to print these lives together ; but that finding himself obliged to abandon this intention, he printed the *Life of Wickliffe* separately, in 8vo. in the year 1720. The *Life of Pecock*, he says, in the title-page, was written in 1725, but it was not published till 1744, a considerable time after Waterland's death. The *Life of Fisher* does not appear to have been ever published. Mr. Masters, in his *Hist. of C. C. C. Cambridge*, mentions it among the tracts left by him in MS. See Masters's *Hist. Appendix*, p. 103.

well; excepting only that he would be sometimes needlessly severe upon Hearne. I desired him to strike those places out, if ever he should publish. It seems, there was an old emulation between those two antiquaries. Yet good Mr. Baker, of St. John's, Cambridge, kept constant correspondence with both, and supplied them both perpetually with choice materials.

While I was turning over Pecock's Repressor, I discovered an odd blunder in the Oxon. Catalogue of MSS. N. 2370. 190. p. 170. *Explicit coram Domino Rege in Capella sua apud Humhich.* Mr. Lewis had desired me to inquire what county that *Humhich* was in: but upon carefully looking into the Notary's memorandum, at the end of that copy of the Repressor, (the very copy upon which Pecock was condemned, and the only left remaining,) I found it to run thus:

Exhibit: coram Domino, in Capella sua, apud Lamhith.

The book was exhibited before his Grace the Archbishop, in his chapel at Lambeth; and there poor Pecock received sentence; cruel enough, and executed afterwards with utmost rigour.

The opinion, as I remember, which I then conceived of him was, that he was a very honest man, and one of the ablest Divines of that age. His misfortune was, that he undertook to defend a very corrupt Church against the Wicklevites, upon a *Scriptural* and *rational* foot. It was impossible for him to do it, but by softening and disguising several principles and practices then prevailing. His design was very like to what the Bishop of Meaux attempted in the last century: but Pecock was not altogether so artful, nor so well guarded. He made some concessions which were very just, but which so corrupt a state of the Church would not bear. His enemies (some through envy, some through superstitious zeal,) took the advantage, and aggravated every thing to the utmost. And thus a good and great man fell a sacrifice.

This, I remember, was my judgment of the man and his case, when I read his pieces, and looked into his history.

Your last favour, which I received this morning, I intend to carry with me to Windsor (God willing) next Tuesday, and there to stay till the 10th or 12th of March, and then to return hither, and here to reside some time. I hope to leave such instructions with Mr. Chapman, Petty Canon of Windsor, as may be sufficient for his carrying on what concerns Cave in my absence.

I have Alberti's late book of 1735, and shall leave it in Mr. Chapman's hands. An edition of Hesychius was intended by Mr. Nimpself, of Breslaw, who came over into England about fifteen years ago, chiefly with a design to furnish himself with materials. I saw him at Cambridge, and afterwards sent him a letter, directed to him at Breslaw; acquainting him, that Mr. Morland (who was brother to the late High-Master of St. Paul's) had left behind him a *fair*^t copy, which he had been twenty years preparing, and which had near twenty thousand emendations in it, collected chiefly from old Lexicons, Scholiasts, &c. and that his son (a physician, living at St. Alban's,) would sell his father's copy, at a reasonable price, I could not say what. Mr. Nimpself wrote me word back, that being full of other employ, he had laid aside all thoughts of proceeding with Hesychius. Whether Alberti knows any thing of those papers of Morland, I cannot say: neither have I seen Dr. Morland since, nor heard any thing of him; nor do I know whether he is alive or dead. But it may be a great loss to the learned world, if those papers should be lost: not but that I make some allowances for Dr. Morland's flourishes, in setting off his father's performances to best advantage^u.

I am glad to hear that Mr. Hoole is alive, and preferred

^t Over the word *fair*, Mr. Loveday has put a *Qu*?

^u On a loose paper, which accompanies this letter, Mr. Loveday has made the following memorandum:

"Alberti in his Pref. to *Hesychius*, p. xvii. speaking of the still further improvements which might be made upon his author, says,

"Ceterum in Anglia Criticorum feracissima, hic illic multa præterea delitescere me docuit ante hos annos literis Anglice conscriptis ἀνόνυμος; aliquis: nomen enim reticuerat, neque auctor quis fuerit intellexi. Gratus tamen benevolum ipsius animum agnosco. Inter ea recensentur anecdota

somewhat higher (as I presume) in the Church. He is a person whom I have a great esteem for, though I have not seen him of a long time. Pray, my service to Mr. Horbery. Mr. Wheatley's Sermons, preached in Lady Moyer's Lecture, at St. Paul's, are in the press, more than half wrought off. They are well penned, with good judgment and accuracy, and will be useful to the Christian cause.

If you have any acquaintance at Trinity College, will you be so kind as to inquire for me, at what time Sir Thomas Pope, their founder, died. I have looked into Wood, and several other historians and antiquaries, to find it, but have been disappointed. That gentleman was one of the executors of Lord Audley, founder of Magd. Coll. Cant. and he had the chief hand in compiling our Statutes. I wished to know, how long every one of the five executors lived; have discovered two, (who were Lady Audley and Lord North;) the third is Sir Tho. Pope. No doubt but the College registers must have recorded the day of his death.

I think Orthodoxy is in as promising a way as can be expected in such days of liberty: and the late promotion to Lambeth is a good omen on that side, the work of a kind Providence towards us. I wish you and him a worthy successor to fill the see of Oxford. It is said, that he and the Speaker join their interest in favour of Dr. Lisle: but I will not warrant the truth of it *.

I am, Sir,

Your much obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

" *Doctorum Virorum, Morlandi, Nimpsetii Breslaviscensis, G. Langbanii, Badgeri, et aliorum. De quibus adcuratius non est quod moneam.*"

On another paper, dated 1784, Mr. Loveday (as I suppose) has written the following memorandum:

" The Manuscript Notes on *Hesychius*, among the *Rawlinson MSS.* in the *Bodleian*, are by *Obadiah Oddy*; contained in two thick 4tos. of an interleaved *Hesychius*. There are also many notes on this Lexicon among *St. Amand's* books."

* *Dr. Secker* succeeded *Potter* in the see of Oxford, on the translation of *Potter* to *Canterbury*. *Dr. Lisle* was advanced to the episcopal bench in

No. XI.

SIR,

Windsor, March 10th, 1736-7.

I INTENDED to have returned you Virunius, Synesius, and Ximenes, by the last carrier: but having a little leisure to look over your several papers, I thought it best to keep the books, till I could see the several entries in Cave's margin settled according to my mind; which now I have seen done, as far as could well be done without Hearne's pieces. The rest I leave to Mr. Chapman, when he can procure those pieces, which he is promised a sight of. Some part of your remarks came too late; as much as belonged to the last century: for that part of Cave's copy was gone to the press. There can be no doubt of what you hint concerning Virunius. The note at the end is plain. He lived in 1520, as I learn from Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, in his notes on Trythemius, p. 235. I can make no certain judgment of the date of your Synesius, and therefore do forbear. As to Ximenes, I very much doubt, and have not time to make full inquiries. He died in 1516 or 1517. It appears not likely that any thing of his should be first published so late as 1565, and without a name. I suspect, that either Arias Montanus, or others concerned in preparing the Antwerp Polyglott, compiled this Onomasticon, partly from the last volume of the Complutensian, and partly from their own observations. But I have not leisure, at present, to make the just inquiries. I return you my hearty thanks for Petrus Comestor, and Smith, which you are so kind as to lodge with me. I believe I shall put Comestor into Windsor Library, and make a reference to him in Cave's margin, as there repositd.

1743, being then made Bp. of St. Asaph, and afterwards translated to the see of Norwich, 1748. He died in 1749.

Mr. Loveday here inserts, "v. alloquitio ad Benevolum Lectorem, before Leusden's *Onomasticum Sacrum*."

I find that several observations contained in your papers are anticipated either in *Oudin*, or in *Fabricius's Bibliotheca medicæ et infimæ Latinitatis*. In such cases, it may be sufficient to refer to those two, or to them together with Hearne.

In your last, you hint something of Hicks' and Hearne's Account of the Prima, or first Canonical Hour. No doubt but what the first hour of the day, in Roman account, began at six, as ours does at twelve, that is, midnight. But yet the way of reckoning *one o'clock* is to take the *end* of the first hour, not the *beginning*. So if *ad primam* means at *one o'clock*, it means at the *end* of the first hour, and answers to our *seven*. I took the hint first from Johnson of Cranbrook, in his first volume of Saxon Laws, Ann. 957, No. 19. Elfric's Canons. Upon considering it, I thought he must be right: for that otherwise, in adjusting our computation to the Roman, we should take odd numbers to answer to their even numbers, and *vice versâ*. Their nine o'clock is our three, their three our nine: and therefore their one must be our seven. Or if their one be our six, their three will be our eight, their six our eleven, their nine our two, and so on. *Midday*, in Latin account, is the *sixth* hour: not when the sixth hour *begins*, but when it *ends*, that is, twelve o'clock. I think Hicks, Hearne, and Johnson, are all right in the main thing. The *first hour* is the same here and there: but hours are not numbered or reckoned, till they are over, and ended. I have noted, at the end of my Somner, the old way of reckoning the hours, but forgot to note what MS. I took it from. The words run thus:

Pryme is the first houre after the sunne rysinge.

The tweie houres after pryme is cleped *underne*.

Midday is the *thridd houre*, that men clepeth the *sext houre*, that is, the middel of the day, when the sunne is at the highest.

The *thridd houre* after midday is cleped the *nynthe houre*, nones.

An houre before that the sunne go downe, is the *eleventhe houre*.

The *twelvethe houre* is complyn, when the sunne goeth adoun even in the west.

I shall only observe from this account, that if pryme be the first hour after sun-rise, the reckoning must begin an hour after sun-rise; not at six, which is sun-rise, but at seven, an hour after: and thus *complyn* will answer to *prime*, being at the *end* of the twelfth hour, (at sun-set,) as *prime* is at the end of the first. But enough of this.

By what you somewhere hint of the English Bibles, you seem not to have had a sight of Lewis's edition of Wickliff's New Testament; which has a *History of the English Translations of the Bible* prefixed to it: a full and accurate performance*. Therefore I chose to refer to that History, rather than to Mr. Hearne, for an exact *notitia* of our versions of the Bible. Nothing before extant, relating to that subject, is to be compared with it. If any thing was wanting to make it complete, it was a thorough search into St. Paul's Library; which was thought on too late, and the accounts (too hastily taken) were not so exact as might have been wished. I could wish that that History were printed separately, with such few farther improvements as the author might make. But the booksellers discouraged him so far, by refusing to print his *Three Lives*, that, I believe, from that time he has been somewhat chagrined, and cares not how little he has to do with them.

I am moving (God willing) from hence on Saturday, towards Twickenham; but I shall take particular care to see your books packed up before I leave this place, and shall leave special orders to have them carefully delivered to the Oxford carrier at his next return. I shall take

* Of the extent of Waterland's contributions towards its fulness and accuracy, some judgment may be formed by the foregoing letters to Mr. Lewis.

† It was afterwards printed separately, in 8vo., in the year 1739, considerably improved and enlarged.

leave to pack up with them a few papers of mine, relating chiefly to Robert of Gloucester, which have lain with me above eleven years. I intended to have sent them to Mr. Hearne: but Mr. Baker hinted to me, that the telling him now of any improvements or corrections that might be made to his edition, would rather afflict than oblige him: upon which I forbore. And, I believe, he never was told, that Trinity College MS. of R. Gl. (which he had often inquired after) was found, soon after his edition appeared. It is a fine old MS. far beyond that which he printed from, in every respect, and a great deal fuller. I guessed from four lines of that MS. that St. Paul's was formerly the temple of *Apollo*, not of Diana. If the conjecture be reasonable, there is an easy account of the name of *Paul*, as succeeding to the similar name of *Apollo*. And I think Bishop Stillingfleet's arguments against a *Temple of Diana* (in his *Antiquity of London*) will not be of the same force against this other supposition. I wish it could be known from whence Robert of Gloucester borrowed his intelligence. Speaking of Bladulf's flying in the air a while, and at length falling, he says:

The wynd com mid stormes, tho wethelede his fetheres,
 The stringes that helde that gyn: for, the grete Wederes
 To borsten, and the King adoun fel open the rof
 Of Appollines temple, so that he al to drof.
 Appollines temple was at Londone, in that dawē:
 For that was here manner in that ulke lawe.
 Then Bladulf ded was, and hadde swiche endinge:
 Thus was tho his kinedom bireved of the kinge.

These lines, with four more before them, should come in the 29th page of Robert of Gloucester. Excuse this hasty scribble, and believe me to be, with very true respect,

Your much obliged humble Servant,
 DAN. WATERLAND.

My service to Mr. Horbery.

No. XII.

SIR,

Twickenham, March 24th, 1736-7.

I HAD no thought of your ever returning the trifles I sent, and therefore desire you to think no more of it. It was a chance that they were kept so long within my Rob. of Gl. They were intended for Mr. Hearne: and now finding that you were particularly conversant in all his pieces, I thought they might not be altogether unacceptable to you. I have the substance of them in the margin of my Robt. of Gl. and at the end. Indeed, I drew that account out of what I had first written upon the leaves of the book itself, as I read the MS. I collated the MS. quite through, marking every considerable variation all the way, transcribing the additional verses, as far as the bottom of pages would permit, or small slips of paper would hold; omitting only the large additions, which I had not room nor time for^y. By the help of those memorandums I have transcribed into the other leaf the whole account of the Three Wonders, as it stands in our MS. only neglecting the Saxon letters, which lately I have been little used to. I believe *Hull*, or *Hul*, is rightly interpreted *Hill*: it is twice so used in p. 56, and again in p. 145, and again in the last line of p. 147, according to our MS. *To the Hull of Kyla*, &c. and so, I believe, constantly, wherever it is used. As to the book called *Prick of Conscience*, I have never seen it: otherwise I should soon know by the diction whether it was Hampole's, having carefully read his Psalter. I understand, however, that Hampole's *Stimulus Conscientiæ*, a Latin piece, is nothing akin to the other in matter or method; and therefore, probably, they had not one author^z.

^y Waterland's copy of Robert of Gloucester, with the marginal and other notes here mentioned, is now among Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

^z V. Fabricii bibl. med. et infn. Lat. iii. 554.

While I was searching the age of the Anglo-Saxonic versions of the Athanasian Creed, (which I saw could not be competently judged of without some insight into our old language) I threw myself out into that kind of study; which proved more entertaining, upon a little use, than I once imagined. It was worth the pains, were it only to be master of Wanley's Catalogue, the best catalogue of MSS. that ever was drawn, and the best model and pattern for future catalogues. But there are many useful discoveries to be made in history and science from the old Saxon remains, and some from the old English also. I wonder that the curious men of your University have so long let Junius's Etymologicon of the English language lie neglected, and nobody has yet thought of printing it by subscription. It is most certainly a very curious piece, and would be highly instructive. Not that I ever expect a complete Etymologicon from any single hand: it requires a club of men, great linguists in their several ways; some in the northern languages, some in Greek and Latin, some in Welch, French, Italian, Spanish, and some in the Oriental. I easily see how and why Etymologists have so often failed, and thereby brought a kind of contempt upon the art; *Non omnia possumus omnes*. For our own language, a man must have Saxon, French, and Welch, in order to make the first step in the evolution of our words: and if he would go higher, he must next have Greek, Chaldee, and Hebrew, if not more. Latin is of little use in the inquiry, except it be to shew how it was derived from the same common fountains with the Welsh and Saxon, which appear to be both of them as old, or older than the Latin, and came late in. Vossius (Gerard) is the most judicious Etymologist that the world has known. The next to him, in my mind, is a late author, a Welshman, I think, whose name I have forgot, though I have his book in my study at Windsor, and have not looked into it for ten years last past, or more^a.

^a This was *Lhuyd's Glossography*, as appears from the next letter.

Our grammars of the English tongue have none of them been made by men competently qualified for the business. Wallis aimed well: Greenwood has improved upon him: none but a thorough Saxonist can ever do it to perfection; and he must be one that has traced its several changes and declensions in a course of 800 years, or more. Bishop Hutchinson, a while ago, (if he was the author of the piece dedicated to Lord Macclesfield,) trifled wretchedly on this head. But I know not why I thus run out in a letter, except it be to fill up my paper, now I have begun.

When I return to Windsor I shall inquire what Fabricius has noted of the editions, or intended editions of Epiphanius. That man knew every thing almost belonging to the *Historia Literaria*: the world has a great loss by his death, in the middle, or before the end of a very useful work. He died under the letter P, and in the fifth volume. I know not who will be able to supply the remainder, if he has not himself left it behind him in manuscript. Philo Judæus, as I suppose you have heard, has long been in good hands, I mean Dr. Mangey's: and I presume it is in the press, and in some forwardness. Mr. Twells' Pococke, at two presses, is near two-thirds printed off. The two folio volumes of Popish Tracts I have heard but little of lately; but I believe they are well nigh finished. My scribbles are swelled to p. 544, and will be near 600^b; and they intend to wait upon you and Mr. Horbery sometime in April, as near as I can guess. If I should ever have the pleasure of seeing you at Windsor, I would take that opportunity of improving my small acquaintance with Mr. Baber, whom I once waited upon, along with Don Lewis. I shall step to Windsor now and then from hence, but shall not go to reside there till after I have been at Cambridge, and winter draws on, about the time you think of returning out of Holland. Excuse me, if I interfere with what concerns your election: I was

^b His Work on the Eucharist, which extended to about 600 pages.

lately told you were likely to have no opposition: but that you best know. We once thought it certain that Dr. Lisle was to be your Bishop. But it seems he is a cautious man, and thinks a lower station is safer from storms^c.

I am, good Sir,

Your most assured humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

N.B. To this letter is subjoined the account of *The Three Wonders*, extracted from Robert of Gloucester's poem, and referred to in the beginning of the letter.

Nº. XIII.

SIR,

Twickenham, May 18th, 1737.

SINCE the favour of your last, I have been at Windsor, and left instructions there for inserting some things in Cave, pursuant to the hints contained in your two last letters. I have also insisted upon it with Mr. Pote the bookseller, that he shall contrive to have every sheet hereafter brought from your press to Windsor, to Mr. Chapman there, in order to have it carefully revised and corrected by him: otherwise mistakes will creep in, to the great detriment of the edition. Mr. Chapman has taken vast pains in preparing the edition, and no one else can espy a fault of the press, or so easily correct it, as he can; especially as to what concerns the additional references.

I am very glad to hear that subscriptions are taking in for Junius. I have sent to Crownfield at Cambridge to put me into the list of subscribers. I suppose I shall see the proposals there: I have seen none yet, nor so much as heard any thing of them but from your letter. Should not some way be taken to advertise it more, and to make

^c It appears by this, that Dr. Lisle had declined episcopal promotion, though he afterwards accepted it.

it more generally known? I speak of it myself wherever I come, to encourage the design, and to promote subscriptions to it, and shall do so all along: it is a work of value, so far as I am able to judge from Wanley's account, and from what I know of the learned author of the work from his other writings.

You guessed very right: Lhuyd was the man whose name I had forgot, but whose very judicious Glossography I formerly read over with great satisfaction, when I was minded to understand something of the use and value of the etymological art. I thought that he and Vossius shewed more judgment and less trifling, than any I had met with besides.

I think of moving to Cambridge (God willing) in Whitsun-week, and to spend the summer there. The bill mis-titled *for the encouragement of learning*, is happily dropped. It is to be hoped some better bill may be prepared against another session. It was well designed by the first promoters, but quite spoiled in the progress. The result of it, as new modelled, would have been subjecting authors to attorneys and informers to such a degree, that very few, I believe, would have been ambitious that way for the future, had the bill passed. Abundant care was taken to secure fourteen copies for as many libraries; but little or none taken to encourage learned men to write. If that project of fourteen copies were laid aside, a good bill might be prepared: or if some men's fondness for that unreasonable tax cannot be removed, the proper way would be, not to threaten authors with 50*l.* fine (half to the King and half to the informer) for neglect, or for any error in form, but to give every donor of fourteen copies a double or treble term, or a perpetuity, in his copy. That would be handsome encouragement, and would have good effect, and would not leave the defaulters liable to be harassed by officious or malicious informers.

So as to second editions, instead of leaving authors to the mercy of informers, (in case they should add new im-

provements, without printing the same separately,) it were sufficient to give every one liberty to print separate sheets that would, for the use of the public. Above all things, care should be taken to secure authors from lawsuits, (especially for innocent slips,) as well as from pirates, or else it is doing nothing. It were much better to risk the worst that pirates can do, than to be insured in such a way as may expose many an honest man to much greater hardships. At present, we stand pretty well upon the foot of Queen Anne's Act: but still I am in hopes, as circumstances may favour, that some additional encouragements to learning may be thought on, and meet with acceptance in the two Houses. My service to good Mr. Horbery, and thank him for his last kind letter.

I am Sir,

Your obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

P. S. I shall take care to do justice to your worthy President^d, if I ever hear him reflected on: though I believe very little credit was given to those malicious aspersions by any one at that time; and the honour since done him by the University has effectually wiped off all suspicions among men of any judgment.

Nº. XIV.

SIR,

Twickenham, Octob. 16th, 1738.

I TAKE the freedom to recommend Mr. Checkley, who waits upon you with this, to your favour, in any way you judge proper. You will see a brief account of him in the preamble^e to the contributions which we raised for him

^d Dr. Edward Butler, President of Magdalen College.

^e The following is a copy of the *preamble* here mentioned, from a transcript made by Mr. Loveday:

very lately, in our University. A farther account of his past and present circumstances I leave to him to give, if you shall please to admit him to the honour of your acquaintance. He suffered some years ago for defending Episcopacy with more learning and spirit than was agreeable to some persons. But I refer you to his book, and leave you to judge of him by that, after a perusal of it. I think of moving (God willing) to Windsor the latter end of this week, there to take up my winter-quarters. I long to see how Cave is advanced. I am afraid it goes on slowly: but better so than to precipitate a work of that nature.

I am, Sir,
Your most humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

Mr. Hoole, I believe, by this time is in the press with an Abridgment of Review, &c^f.

"Contributions, by the respective colleges, to the Rev. Mr. John Checkley of Boston in New England, known by his writings in defence of the Christian Religion as professed in the Church of England, lately ordained Deacon by the Bishop of St. Asaph, and Priest by the Bishop of St. David's, both upon Letters Dimissory from the Bishop of London: appointed Missionary to the Providence Plantation by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and preparing shortly to return into his own country, there to execute his mission."

It appears that this Mr. Checkley had been a bookseller at Boston, where (in the year 1723) he published an edition of "Leslie's Short Method with the Deists; with the Discourse concerning Episcopacy; in Defence of Christianity and the Church of England, against the Deists and the Dissenters." This publication drew upon him a prosecution for a *libel*, grounded on some passages in the Discourse on Episcopacy, alleged to have a design of drawing into dispute his then Majesty's title to the crown, and of scandalizing the Ministers of the Gospel, by law established, in that province, &c. The jury found a *special* verdict; upon which the court declared him *guilty*. Mr. Checkley, in the year 1730, published at London the speech which he had made in his own defence upon his trial at Boston, in which he very ably exculpated himself from the charge, and (as Dr. Waterland observes) "defended Episcopacy with more learning and spirit than was agreeable to some persons."

^f See note on Letter IX. p. 426.

N^o. XV.*Magd. Coll. Cambridge, July 6th, 1740.*

WORTHY SIR,

I HAD the favour of your most obliging letter, the contents of which I shall presume, after you, to call words of course; being such as naturally flow from an inbred goodness improved by a polite education. I take leave to congratulate you upon your happy change of state. May you find in it all the desirable satisfaction which is used to go along with minds well paired.

Your kind opinion of my papers I thank you for. If they prove but any way serviceable to sincere and ingenuous inquirers, I have my aim. They are such small quit-rents as I think myself in duty bound to pay, when I can, for the leisure and opportunities wherewith God has blessed me.

I am much pleased with the amiable character you give me of Mr. Bye. I shall be sure to spread it, wherever I conceive that it may be of service to him. It will not be long before I must return to Twickenham, to stay there a month or two, in the neighbourhood of the town. In the mean season I am here, in an agreeable situation, amidst plenty of books, printed and manuscripts, entertaining myself, and serving distant friends in a literary way. We have lately here lost an excellent man, who lived and died in that pleasurable kind of toil: I am just come from the hearing a fine panegyric of him from St. Mary's pulpit. Mr. Baker is the person I mean; as you would have imagined, without my naming him. He lived to a great age, but so lived as to make it necessary for those he leaves behind him, to think he died too soon.

I am, good Sir,

Your much obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

N. B. Besides the foregoing letters, the papers transmitted from Mr. Loveday's Collection contain a long account by Dr. Waterland of a MS. of the Lives of the Saints in the Library of Magdalen College, Cambridge, with several extracts from it, in a letter to Mr. Hearne, dated Nov. 17, 1725: also a paper addressed to Mr. Baker, giving an account of the principal variations of the printed copy of Robert of Gloucester from the MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, with some Remarks on the Glossary &c. There are, besides these, two letters to Dr. Waterland from Mr. Pownall, a gentleman of Lincoln, concerning some Saxon MSS. in the library belonging to Lincoln Cathedral. There is also the following paper, written by Dr. Waterland himself, concerning the different keeping of Easter-Sunday, in the year 577, which, as a matter of curiosity, seems worthy of being preserved.

Anno 577.

Gold. N. 8.

Cycle S. 26.

Dom. Lett. C.

That year Easter-Sunday was thus differently held:

Hispani. Churches . . . March 21.

Gallic. Apr. 18.

Alexandrians Apr. 25.

Quære, how and why?

1. The Spanish Churches at that time took March the 21st for the equinoctial full moon, or fourteenth day: and their rule then being to reckon from the fourteenth moon, and that proving to be Sunday, they thereupon kept their Easter.

2. The French being two days sooner in their reckoning, made March the 19th the last full moon of the old year, and April the 3rd following, the first new, and consequently April 16th the first full moon, or fourteenth day. And they likewise then following the same rule of

* Probably these are the notes mentioned at the beginning of Letter XII.

beginning at the sixteenth moon, now falling on April 18th, they thereupon kept their Easter.

3. The Alexandrians, following the same reckoning with the French, as to the new and full moons, looked upon April 18th as the first full moon, or fourteenth moon. But their rule being never to calculate Easter so soon as the fourteenth moon, (for fear of conforming too near to the Jews,) were obliged to put off their Easter to the Sunday following, namely, to Apr. 25. Which rule of theirs we follow at this day.

DR. WATERLAND'S LETTERS

TO

THE REV. DR. ZACHARY GREY,

BROWNE WILLIS, ESQ.

AND

THE REV. DR. WILLIAMS.

THE six following Letters were transcribed from the original manuscripts, which form a part of Mr. Cole's Collections deposited in the British Museum. They occur in vol. xxx. pp. 170, *et seq.* and in vol. xxxii. p. 225, of those Collections.

DR. WATERLAND'S LETTERS

TO

THE REV. DR. GREY, &c

Nº. I.

To the Reverend Dr. Grey.

DEAR SIR,

Windsor, Dec. 10th, 1725.

I **TOUGHT** sooner to have acknowledged your last kind letter; but happening to write Mr. Chapman^a, soon after I begged of him to make my compliments to you, and to give my answer in part. If Mr. Baker's friend succeeds so far as to get the Vice-Chancellor's hand, with the hands of some other Heads, he may be sure of mine, if wanted, to fill up the number. Please to present my most humble service to Mr. Baker.

Mr. Peck has written to me on the affair you mentioned. I will write about it to our President, (now at Cripplegate,) in order to have the sense of the Society upon it. I am for encouraging all *public works*: and I believe there will be no difficulty in the affair, provided there be no danger of giving offence to Mr. Pepys's relations^b. For, since it was his own handy-work, perhaps

^a Mr. Cole, in a note subjoined to one of the following letters, says, "Dr. Waterland was uncle or cousin to my brother-in-law, Mr. John Chapman, formerly of Magdalene College, and afterwards of Moulton, in Lincolnshire."

^b This probably relates to the collections Mr. Peck was making for his *Desiderata Curiosa*, the first volume of which appeared in 1732. Mr. Pepys had been President of the Royal Society, and Secretary to the Admiralty; and bequeathed his library (containing many rare and curious collections) to Magdalene College, Cambridge. (See Nicholls's *Liter. Anec.* vol. i. p. 509. and vol. iv. p. 550.) It appears from this letter, that Dr. Waterland

they may conceive, that we ought, in good manners at least, to consult them in it. Mr. Foulkes will write to you in a while, after he has well considered.

Mr. Peck is so kind as to send me a list of several books relating to the *Eucharist*. If you write to him, please to return my thanks, and tell him, that if it be not too much trouble to him, and to his friend, I should be glad to see two or three of them:—*The Christian's Manna*, 1613. *Lambert. Danæi Isagoge*, 1583. *Bezæ Dialogi*, 1561. The rest I either have already, or doubt whether they would be of any use to me. I thank you for the use of those you were so kind as to send up: I find some *curiosities* amongst them.

I am, dear Sir,
Your affectionate humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

Nº. II.

To the Reverend Dr. Grey.

REV. SIR,

Windsor, Feb. 5th, 1734-5.

I THOUGHT myself highly obliged to *you* and *my other kind friends*, for the honour they were pleased to do me in a *late affair*, and heartily sorry that I was forced, in a manner, to make farther trial of their good nature and friendship, *by declining the office*. I beg of you to believe, that as I received their *compliments* with all *possible respect*, so I accept of their generous *excusing me* with all *possible gratitude*^c. And whenever I shall have the plea-

was scrupulous of supplying Mr. Peck with materials from Mr. Pepys's collections, without the concurrence of the Royal Society and of Mr. Pepys's relations.

^c This evidently refers to the intention of nominating Dr. Waterland Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. See his letter to Mr. Loveday, (No. II.) Jan. 23d. 1734-5, adverting to the same circumstance.

sure of meeting you, you and I perhaps may talk more of that matter.

I thank you for acquainting me with what you are designing; I am very glad that you think of reprinting that excellent piece. I have no thoughts of replying to Barbeyrac's late insult^d; neither indeed have I yet seen it; but Mr. Johnson of our College sent me up some account of the manner and contents of it; by which, I apprehend, that he has scarce entered into the main question, or set himself (as he ought to have done) to defend the charges he had before made against Athenagoras, Clemens, &c. but has contented himself with loose, roving talk, such as any one may throw out, when he cannot make a just reply. Mr. Johnson is going to publish *De Officio Hominis et Civis*, in Latin, with a short Preface and Notes. He asked me, if I would have him take any notice of what concerned me; and I sent him word, he might spend a page of his Preface that way, if he saw proper^e. But if you will be so kind as to animadvert further in your Preface^f, you will have a handsome occasion for so doing,

^d Barbeyrac's severe attacks upon the morality of the Fathers, in a Preface to his French translation of Puffendorf, *de Jure Nat. et Gent.* and in his work entitled, *Traité de la Morale des Pères de l'Eglise*, had been justly censured by Dr. Waterland, in the 7th chapter of his *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*. Barbeyrac, in a Preface to a subsequent edition of Puffendorf, *De Officio Hominis et Civis*, in 1734, animadverted with great asperity on Dr. Waterland's observations. This is the insult here alluded to.

^e The Preface to this work of Mr. Johnson's takes no notice of Barbeyrac's treatment of Waterland. The only reference to it occurs in a note, p. 12, in which he merely states the controversy which had passed between them, and closes the note with saying, "De meritis hujus controversiæ nil dicemus; non nostri est tantas componere lites."

^f Dr. Grey, it appears, adopted this suggestion. An offensive pamphlet had been published in 1722, entitled, *The Spirit of Ecclesiastics of all Sects and Ages, as to the Doctrines of Morality; with a Preface, by the Author of the Independent Whig*. The work itself was nothing more than a translation of part of Barbeyrac's Preface to his French translation of Puffendorf. In answer to this, Dr. Grey published, in the same year, *The Spirit of Infidelity Detected*; which tract he now, in 1735, reprinted, with a Preface in Answer to Barbeyrac's Short Invective against Dr. Waterland, in his last French edition of Puffendorf, *De Officio Hominis et Civis*.

and will have more room to spare for it; and, I believe, you will find it little [more] than play to you, to deal with him on that subject.

If you think of sending up *papers* to me, it will be best to direct them to Mr. Warcup's for me; and he will convey them safe to me, either at Twickenham or at Windsor, as may happen. And if I am capable of observing any thing upon them that may be useful, and to the purpose, I shall readily do it; only I shall be under a disadvantage at *Twickenham*, where I have no books to consult.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate and obliged humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

P. S. I was told by Mr. Burton, that you was preparing a *second part* against Neal, which I hope is true. Neal and Chandler, I observe, are lashing the *Establishment* of our *Church*, through the sides of the *Papists*, in their *late sermons*. Chandler has slandered Athanasius without the least colour for it. I have been sorry that no one yet has undertaken a just *answer* to Sir Isaac Newton's 14th chapter, relating to the *Prophecies of Daniel*, in which he silyly abuses the Athanasians^h; and Mr. Whiston, in his last about *Phlegon*, applies and enforces it. That *prophetical* way of managing this debate on the side of Arianism is a very silly one, and might be easily retorted. But besides that, what Sir Isaac has said, is, most of it, *false*

^s Dr. Madox (afterwards Bishop of Worcester) had published an *Examination of Neal's first volume of the History of the Puritans*, in the year 1733, for which Dr. Grey had contributed materials. Dr. Grey published an *Examination of Neal's second volume*, in 1736; of the *third volume*, in 1737; and of the *fourth volume* in 1739.

^h Sir Isaac Newton, in the chapter here referred to, frequently insinuates, that Athanasius gave encouragement to a superstitious reverence for the relics of saints, and to the belief of miracles having been wrought by the use of them, and even to the invocation of saints. He also implicates Chrysostom, Basil, and the two Gregorys, in these charges. The copy of this work of Sir Isaac Newton's, containing Dr. Waterland's *marginal* observations, has not been discovered.

history. I have scribbled the *margin* all the way; but I have so many other things to do, (and besides less able to bear close and intense study,) that I cannot, I believe, undertake it myself. I wish somebody else would.

N^o. III.

From Mr. Warcupps, [April] 27th, 1735.

To the Reverend Dr. Grey.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE found time to read over your papers, with great satisfaction, and have returned them to Mr. Clarke. I have taken the freedom you gave me, to make a few alterations, and one addition of four or five lines. But, I presume, the bookseller is to send me the sheets from the press, with the copy, for your correction and last hand: and therefore, if any thing I have done suits not with your thoughts or design, (as I may be guilty of oversights, especially while writing in haste,) be pleased to do yourself justice, and regard not ceremony.

I perceive, you have not made inquiry after Barbeyrac's new edition, if there be any such; but what I have added in one place is to cover that omission, and to prevent complaint, as well as I could think of doing it. But still, if you could find that there was a new edition, and could procure it, it would be worth the while; and then some things of yours and mine in these papers might be a little altered. I have not had time to inquire among booksellers. Might you not send yours about the town, to make proper inquiries among the French and Dutch booksellers?

What you have added out of Daillé is very proper. As to Le Clerc's *Ars Critica*, pray ask Mr. Foulkes for the last edition of his critical works, in smaller octavo. I think, I borrowed it of him; or else of Mr.

Johnson. And his reply to Mr. Baker is in an Appendix to one of the volumes; to that volume, I believe, which contains the *Ars Critica*. So far as I remember, it is very near the end, either in the last page or a page or two higher. I hope to be at Cambridge in the beginning of June, and then (God willing) we may have leisure to talk over all matters. I return to Twickenham to-morrow. I do not think I shall have health and leisure to draw up an answer to Sir Isaac. I want to be thrown out for two or three months, to recover my constitution. Scarborough, or the Bath, I believe, would do it. My case now is, that if I write above three or four hours in a day, I am sure to disable myself from doing any thing the day following. A great pain in my neck comes next morning, and disorders me the whole next day, if not longer. So I am forced to forbear, or to work only at short intervals. You will be very able to deal with Sir Isaac, and I shall be glad to leave him in such good hands. He is a man of such note, and his authority so justly celebrated in some things, that his name is of great weight in other matters, where he was plainly out of his element, and knew little of what he was talking about. Besides his countenancing Arianism in the piece referred to, he has given too much encouragement to Popery by his large concessions, such as our best Protestant writers, all the time of K. James, as well as before, would never make. Dr. Young, in his two late volumes, has justly taken notice of Sir Isaac, and condemned him for conceding too far in that article. You may consult his second volume at leisure. The place will easily be found by the Index.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Services of all here wait upon you and the ladies.

N^o. IV.

DEAR SIR,

Windsor, March 17th, 1735-6.

I RETURN you my hearty thanks for your *two very seasonable, very useful pieces*ⁱ; which I have received, and have read over with much pleasure; and which I speak of in such terms as they deserve, to as many of my acquaintance as I happen to meet with.

I have likewise been reading your *Tutor's Second Part*^k: for so you think it an honour to yourself to call him: and I think the *honour is mutual and reciprocal* between *tutor and pupil*. Will you be so good as to present my humble service and thanks to *Dr. Warren*, when you see him, for his kind *present to me*, and for the *great service* he has done, and is still doing, to *our common Christianity*. He has girded *the great man* closer than any one before; and has unravelled both his *sophistry* and *prevarication* with the utmost acuteness. But I am more particularly pleased with the critical *acumen* shewn in rescuing 1 Cor. xi. 21. from the false and odious construction given of it by the *adversary*, and too easily admitted by some *uncautious friends*. I am glad that he intends to favour us with a *Third Part*: and the longer he makes it, the more obliging to his readers. I saw a kind of *squib*, which some

ⁱ Probably, his answer to Barbeyrac, entitled, *The Spirit of Infidelity Detected*, 1735, and another, entitled, *An Examination of the 14th chapter of Sir Isaac Newton's Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, in which that Author's Notice of the Rise and Causes of Saint-Worship in the Christian Churches is carefully considered and disproved*, 1736, which appears to have been written in consequence of Dr. Waterland's suggestion in the preceding letter.

^k Dr. Richard Warren, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, Rector of Cavendish in Suffolk, and afterwards Archdeacon of Suffolk. He published an *Answer to Hoadley's Plain Account of the Sacrament*, in *Three Parts*, to which was afterwards added an *Appendix*, 8vo. 1736 and 1737. The passage which Dr. Waterland here particularly commends, on 1 Cor. xi. 21. occurs in part ii. pp. 11—50.

trifler had thrown out upon his *First Part*. His best answer to it, in my mind, will be *contempt*, and going on with his work. None but *low declaimers* will engage on the *other side*: and if any *man of parts* should engage, he will not be able to write sense upon it. I am persuaded the *principal man* will write no more on that argument, for fear of exposing himself further. You judge rightly of the author of *Christian Exceptions*. I know it is our friend Wheatly's¹; and it is well received, and is of good use for detecting the *Socinianism of Plain Account*; and for opening the eyes of some ignorant admirers.

It is a great pleasure to me, to find that there is no necessity of my writing at all; or at least, that I may reasonably take what time I please for it. I have drawn out a *rough sketch* of what I intended in a general way, taking in the whole compass of the subject, and discussing such points as fell in my way, either against *Papists*, or *Lutherans*, or *others*; but particularly *Socinians*. I shall take due time to consider whether it may be proper to publish at all, or what improvements to make, if I do. Mr. Peck has been so kind as to send me *several curious pieces*, of which I shall make use, in due place. I hope our College has obliged him in the *last request* he made, and which I had the pleasure of recommending to their consideration, desiring them to acquaint you with the result. Mr. Foulkes sent me word that he believed the affair would meet with no difficulty.

When you see your neighbour the Vice-Chancellor, will you please to present my humble service to him, and tell him, that I am moving to Twickenham (God willing)

¹ This tract of Wheatly's was published, *anonymously*, in 1736. It is a short piece, and goes no farther into the subject, than to shew how strikingly Hoadley's sentiments coincide with the old Socinian writers, and differ from our Church. It is entitled, *Christian Exceptions to the Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with a Method proposed for coming at the true Apostolical Sense of that holy Sacrament*.

on Friday next, and shall be *within call*, if the *University* sends up *their petition*, with respect to a *bill depending*^m. We have had (*God be thanked*) all desirable success in the *Test affair*: which I look upon as the *Church's triumph*, not merely over *Dissenters as such*, but over a more dangerous set of men, made up of *unbelievers* and *misbelievers*. That threatening storm is happily blown over: as to the *other*, I am not yet fully apprised of the nature of it. I was told by some persons yesterday, that the design was only to prevent *death-bed alienations*, or *donations*, and that all would be left at liberty to dispose of their *estates*, as they should see fit, provided it were but done while there was *mens sana in corpore sano*. I am afraid, this news is too good to be true, or has something artful in it, contrived for a blind, to make us *careless* and *negligent*, till it be too late to interpose. But whether a *petition* be a proper way of interposing, I am much in doubt. I should think it sufficient, to send up a *letter of thanks* to Mr. Townshend, and to desire him, if need be, to confer with the *Oxford Members* about moving for a saving clause in behalf of the *Universities*; as has been usual in such cases. This may serve, at least, for the present; till we can dive a little deeper into the secret of affairs, and know certainly what is intended.

Pray, my humble service to the good Master of Jesusⁿ,

^m The bill here alluded to was the *Mortmain Act*. It was brought in by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, on March the 5th. The Cambridge petition against it was presented on the 25th of the same month; and the Oxford petition on the day following. Petitions were also presented from many other corporate bodies and charitable institutions. But, after much debate, the bill was carried through the Commons on the 15th of April. In the House of Lords it was also warmly contested, but passed into a law on the 13th of May. See Chandler's *Hist. of this Session, Introduction*, pp. 45—51.

The motion in the House of Commons respecting the Test Act, to which Dr. Waterland here also adverts, was warmly debated and rejected, on the 12th of March.

ⁿ Dr. Charles Ashton, who was chosen Master in 1701, and died in 1752, aged 87, having been Master above fifty years; a man of great learning, particularly in Chronology and Ecclesiastical Antiquities; but who never

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when you see him; and if you think his modesty will not be offended, thank him for his *very acute and learned remark* upon the *old Knight's blunder*. I never supposed that Sir Isaac was any *great Divine*, or *ecclesiastical historian*. But that he should be caught tripping in *calculation*, and failing in *his own art*, was what we would not have expected: and it ought to make his friends blush for exposing his *crude performance*.

My wife joins in service to the good ladies, with,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

Nº. V.

To Browne Willis, Esq. at Whaddon Hall, near Fenny
Stratford, Buckinghamshire.

DEAR SIR,

Sept. 14th, 1727.

I CAN now acquaint you that we have passed an order in our College for ten pounds^o. You may draw upon me for half: the other half you will be so good as to give us credit for till next year. And now, Sir, I rejoice in the expectation of the honour of having our *College arms* to shine over the *altar*.

The picture you sent us is commended by all that see

published any thing in his own name, though he assisted his friends in many learned works. He had also been Chaplain to Bishop Patrick. See Nicholls's *Liter. Anec.* vol. iv. pp. 226, 227, and vol. ix. p. 766. His detection, here alluded to, of Sir Isaac Newton's mistake, will be found in Dr. Grey's tract before mentioned, on Sir Isaac Newton's *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel*, p. 17. where Dr. Grey states that a learned Divine, whose name he was not at liberty to mention, had communicated to him the observations he there recites, in answer to a passage in Sir Isaac's *eleventh* chapter, relative to the time of celebrating the festival of *Corpus Christi*.

* Probably a subscription to Mr. Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals*, the first volume of which was published in 1727.

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it; but I have not yet had the favour of the gentleman's company, whom you mentioned to me in yours. Please to present the service and thanks of our Society to good Mr. Cartwright, when you see him, and tell him whenever he comes to Cambridge, we shall be heartily glad personally to know and to be known to the gentleman that has so generously obliged *Buckingham College*. I forgot to thank you for your *History of the Duke*, wherein you have shewn the *antiquary*, and *nearly united our two founders*.

Dr. Grey is busy this time of the *fair*: but I hope to see him in a little time; and shall be ready to consult with him (if any thing can [be] done) about *ways and means*.

I am, good Sir,
Your obliged humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

Your good countrywoman sends service.

No. VI.

To the Reverend Dr. Williams, President of St. John's College, Cambridge.

DEAR SIR,

Windsor, Feb. 15th, 1739-40.

I AM ashamed to come so late with my acknowledgments due for your kind letter, and for the *copy* of the *University's compliments* to *Lord Townshend*; whereby they have done justice to their *royal and noble benefactors*, as well as *honour to themselves*. My excuse for my tardiness may appear a little *ill natured*; because I am going to charge you with part of the blame. You had put me upon considering *Justification*, which was sending me into a *wood*, to wander up and down, and lose myself; and you could not well expect to hear any *news* of me, till I had

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found a *way out*; as, at length, I believe, I have^p. But I am not yet so confident of my *acquaintedness* with all the *windings* and *turnings*, as to undertake to *conduct others* safely through them: it is enough for once, if I have but escaped *myself*. . . .

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obliged and affectionate humble Servant,

DAN. WATERLAND.

P. S. A learned foreigner (Mr. Lemker, of Lunenburg) sent to me to know, whether any such pamphlet, as, *Some Observations addressed to the Author of the Letter to Dr. W. &c.* had ever appeared. It seems he had taken hints of such a piece from some foreign Journals, and some persons of Leipsick had reproached him, as referring to a *piece* which never was in *being*; and it gave him uneasiness. I compassionated his case, and sent him an *exact list* of all that had been published in that *fray*, *by* or *against* the *letter-writer*. Only, I would not acquaint the gentleman with the *names* of the *several authors*, having no leave; and besides, not knowing what use might be made of it. Mr. Lemker had translated into the *German language*, De Lany's *Revelation examined with Candour*, in which there is a *small digression*^q about the *letter-writer*: so came Mr. Lemker to give some account, by way of note, of what had been written, on the same side with De Lany, as far as he could learn from the *foreign prints*.

^p The tract upon Justification was not, however, published till after his death, in December following.

^q The passage occurs in vol. i. pp. 64—68. of Dr. Delany's work, where he defends Dr. Waterland against Dr. Middleton, respecting the literal interpretation of the Fall.

THE following letter was obligingly communicated to the editor by the present Bishop of Chester, together with another found among the papers of his father, the late Bishop of Carlisle, but which, relating chiefly to some personal concerns in the University, is not here inserted.

*To the Reverend Mr. Law, Fellow of Christ's College,
in Cambridge.*

GOOD SIR, *Windsor, July 19, 1732.*

I HAD the pleasure to receive your kind present some time ago^r; but I deferred my acknowledgments, because I was in hopes to find two or three days of cool leisure, when I might read some parts over with a proper attention and care, such as you had employed in the writing. But I have not such recess here, as at Magdalen College; my time and my thoughts are much broken, with great variety of calls and interruptions. I had a mind to have gone over Archbishop King's once again carefully, as well as your notes upon him. But in truth I could not find leisure for more than barely running over the notes, and particularly considering the additional parts. I am first to thank you for the honour you have been pleased to do me in the dedication, and next for the service you have done the public by your accurate inquiries into several very useful and important, as well as curious subjects. The Archbishop's Sermon upon the Fall, which you have now added, appears to me a very rational and solid discourse, and seasonable also at this time: your own additional compositions I have read with a great deal of

^r The second edition of Mr. Law's translation of Archbishop King's *Essay on the Origin of Evil*, which Mr. Law dedicated to Waterland, and to which was added Archbishop King's *Sermon on the Fall*.

pleasure. What you have, pp. 80, 81, in answer to Mr. J.^s is perfectly clear and right. You wave the unravelling his pretended demonstrations of the Unity: but I am willing to hope that you have, or will have, a particular answer to them ready drawn up, to be thrown out afterwards, as occasion may offer. They are little more than trifling equivocations upon the word Necessity: but yet common readers may be imposed upon by such things. You have effectually made good your point against your namesake^t, p. 94, &c. and in the handsomest manner. I hope he will learn to understand a question, before he again takes upon him to censure: he was too precipitate, but intended well. I am hugely pleased with your Postscript. You stand upon firm ground, where it will be impossible for the adverse party to attack you with any success. You will blow them off like a feather, come they ever so many of them: that I perceive plainly: for they have indeed nothing to produce, but what to a person of your discernment will soon appear to be lighter than vanity. You have very softly intimated to them, how it is with them. If they have any sense in them, they will be quiet for the future. But if they are as wrong-headed in point of prudence as well as in point of speculation, they must go on, to be exposed thoroughly; and there is no help for them.

Upon reading your account of moral good and evil, (p. 50,) and some hints dropped (p. 458) about God's *graciously ordaining* that this world should appear good and desirable to us; a few out-of-the-way thoughts came across my mind; which, because I see I have blank paper enough left, I shall here communicate, for you to muse upon at leisure.

I consider that moral goodness or moral virtue in men is not merely choosing or willing natural good, but choosing it *without view to present rewards*. For please to ob-

* A tract by the Rev. John Jackson, entitled, *Calumny no Conviction, or a Vindication of the Plea for Human Reason.*

^t Mr. Law's *Case of Reason.*

serve how the case stands. The greatest natural good of all is so provided for by God himself, by the strong *appetites* he has implanted in men, or the *necessities* he has laid them under, that there is no moral goodness, no virtue at all in choosing it. The greatest natural good I call what concerns the *being* of the moral world; and the second greatest what concerns their *well-being*. Now God has taken care to preserve the world in being, to continue both the species and the individual; 1, by implanting a very strong love of life in every man; 2, by the appetites of hunger and thirst; 3, by warm desires for propagating the species; 4, by the *στροφή* of parents towards their offspring; 5, by necessitating men to unite in society and mutual offices of trade, traffick, &c. Upon these five articles depends the very being of mankind: and God would not trust such weighty things as these to the weak reason of man, but has provided for them by never-failing appetites and necessities; insomuch that there is no virtue in choosing these actions, but in regulating or moderating them. There is no moral goodness in eating and drinking, though a natural good, necessary to keep up life; no moral goodness in propagating the species, though that also must come under the notion of choosing natural good; no moral goodness in pursuing the *στροφή* before mentioned, nor in carrying on any trade for the service of the world; though without these things the world could not subsist. Moral goodness, therefore, lies not in choosing the greatest natural good, but in choosing any natural good when not impelled to it by *necessity*, nor moved by *present* pleasure or reward. Eating and drinking is not virtue, because we do it to satisfy hunger and thirst, and to please the appetite: but the virtue is in regulating and moderating the appetite, that that very appetite which is necessary for the *being* of the world, may not be carried to such an excess as to disturb its *well-being*. The like may be said of the rest.

Moral goodness, therefore, is choosing natural good, without fee or reward for the present. But because it

would be irrational for a dependent being to choose such natural good for no reward at all, therefore to complete the notion of moral goodness, in a dependent being, we must take in the consideration of future rewards: and so, the full definition of moral good, will be, the willing or choosing actions naturally good for the world, without view to any reward here, but with a view to future recompense only. So much for the notion of *moral goodness* in a dependent being. But if you ask what it is in a being independent; it is choosing actions naturally good without view to self-interest at all, present or future, *ex mero motu*.

The principles I have here mentioned, may, I think, be pursued a great deal farther, in several useful corollaries, or other superstructure: but I shall not forestall your own thoughts. Only pardon me for offering them in this plain and immethodical dress, just as they occurred. I had no time to throw them into neater form, and it is not necessary in writing to a person that made things before confused become clear. If I live to return to Cambridge, and to meet you there, we may then more thoroughly discuss points of this nature. In the mean while, if it may lie in my power to do you any service with a great man, I shall be heartily glad to do it: and I believe it will not be long before I shall see him. In ten days time, or thereabout, you may expect a trifle of mine now in the press^u.

I am, good Sir,

Your affectionate Friend and faithful humble Servant,
DAN. WATERLAND.

^u Probably, his *second* Charge on Infidelity, which was delivered and published in this year.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

BY

DR. WATERLAND

ON

SOME OF HIS OWN WRITINGS.

VOL. X.

h h

THE following Additional Notes on Dr. Waterland's *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity* were taken from a copy of that work lately purchased by the editor from a bookseller in London, and which appears to have been in the possession of the author's friend, Dr. Joseph Clarke; in whose handwriting, at the end of the book, is the following memorandum:—"This was Dr. Waterland's book, and all the above Remarks, and those in the book, are written in his own hand. Jos. Clarke, D. D."—The notes consist of three pages prefixed to the book, three pages at the end of it, and several marginal observations according to the references here subjoined.

The Additional Notes on *Regeneration Stated and Explained*, and on the *Sixth and Seventh Charges*, are taken from copies of those works now in possession of the Rev. Archdeacon Pott, by whom they were obligingly offered for the use of this edition of the author's Works. They also belonged to Dr. Joseph Clarke, who has prefixed to the volume in which they are contained the following memorandum:—"N. B. The manuscript notes in the margin of this book are written by Dr. Waterland in his own hand. Jos. Clarke, D. D."

NOTES

ON

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

PREFIXED TO THE TITLE-PAGE.

Motives of belief among the Romanists.

- “ 1. SOME believe it, because their forefathers did so, and they were good people.
2. Some, because they were christened, and brought up in it.
3. Some, because many learned and religious men are of it.
4. Some, because it is the religion of their country, where all other religions are persecuted and proscribed.
5. Some, because Protestants cannot shew a perpetual succession of professors of all their doctrines.
6. Some, because the service of their Church is more stately, and pompous, and magnificent.
7. Some, because they find comfort in it.
8. Some, because that religion is farther spread, and hath more professors of it, than the religion of Protestants.
9. Some, because the priests compass sea and land to gain proselytes to it.
10. An infinite number, by chance, and they know not why, but only because they are *sure* they are in the right.

This which I say is a most certain experimented truth: and if you will deal ingenuously, you will not deny it. And without question, he that builds his faith upon our *English translation*, goes upon a more prudent ground

than any of these can with reason be pretended to be. What then can you allege, but that with you, rather than with us, *truth*, and *faith*, and *salvation*, and *all* rely upon fallible and uncertain grounds?" *Chillingworth*, c. 2. s. 72. p. 71.

"If we consider the strange power that education, and prejudices instilled by it, have even over excellent understandings, we may well imagine, that many truths which in themselves are revealed *plainly* enough, are yet to such or such a man, prepossessed with contrary opinions, not revealed *plainly*. Neither doubt I but God, who knows whereof we are made, and what passions we are subject unto, will compassionate such infirmities, and not enter into judgment with us for those things, which, all things considered, were *unavoidable*." *Ibid.* c. 3. s. 20. p. 122.

"If the cause of it be some voluntary and avoidable fault, the error is itself *sinful*, and consequently in its own nature *damnable*: as if, by *negligence* in seeking the truth, by *unwillingness* to find it, by *pride*, by *obstinacy*, by desiring *that* religion should be true which suits best with my *ends*, by *fear* of men's ill opinion, or any other *worldly fear*, or any other *worldly hope*, I betray myself into any error contrary to any *divine* revealed *truth*, that error may be justly styled a *sin*, and consequently of itself, to such an one, *damnable*." *Ibid.* c. 3. s. 52. p. 141.

"But if I be guilty of none of these faults, but be *desirous* to know the truth, and *diligent* in seeking it, and advise not at all with *flesh* and *blood* about the choice of my opinion, but only with *God*, and that *reason* that he hath given me; if I be thus qualified, and yet through *human infirmity* fall into error, that error cannot be *damnable*." *Ibid.* 141.

"Since the *conservation* of such things as are united, is the end of *union*, it is evident that we are not to entertain any union but only with them who may help forward that design, and so far only as they may help it forward. If, therefore, there be any who, under colour of the blessed name of Christ, *subvert* his *doctrine*, annihilate

his *authority*, and our *salvation*; it is so far from being our duty to *unite* ourselves to them, that on the contrary we are obliged to *part* from them: because to unite with *them*, were in effect to disunite from *Christ* and from his *body*, and instead of coming to *salvation*, to fall into eternal *ruin*—Both the *discipline* of Jesus Christ, and the *laws* of civil societies, and even those of *nature* itself, permit us to avoid the communion of such, as, under any pretence, name, or colour whatsoever, go about to destroy and ruin Christianity.” Daillé’s *Apology for the Reformed Churches*, p. 4, 5. French edition: A. D. 1633. English edit. 1653.

“Salmeron^a, Costerus^b, Acosta^c, are so ingenuous as to confess expressly, that a life *apparently* good and honest is not proper to any one sect, but common to *Jews, Turks, and heretics*. And St. Chrysostom^d is as plain and large to my purpose as any of them. It is too plain, that arguing from the pretended holiness of men’s lives to the goodness of their cause or opinion, is a paralogism which hath advanced *Arianism, Pelagianism*, and other heresies of old; *Mahometanism, Familism, and Anabaptism* of late; and unless God of his infinite mercy prevent, may ruin Christendom now.” Thomas Smith, *Christ. Coll. Cambr.* Aug. 2. 1658. in his Preface to Daillé’s *Apology*, p. 31. Conf. Herbert *de Causis Error.* p. 29. et *Append.* m. 7. *Præcepta ad Hæredes et Nepotes in Bibliothec. Montgomer.* A. D. 1643.

TITLE-PAGE.

In necessariis, unitas :

In non-necessariis, libertas :

In omnibus, prudentia et charitas.

Witsius ap. Turretin. de Fund. p. 45.

“Ita enim reputavi semper cum animo meo, confutari

^a In Epist. Pauli *de fals. sign.* Eccles. Disp. 3.

^b Costeri *Enchirid.* Controv. c. 2. p. 101.

^c Acosta *de temp. noviss.* l. 2. c. 20.

^d Chrysost. in *Matt.* iii. *Hom.* 4.

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errorem, non confodi errantem, oportere; disputationes atramento consignandos, non sanguine; nec dum divina tractantur, humanitatem exuendam." *Frid. Spanh.* tom. ii. p. 1010.

INTRODUCTION.

P. 6. note i. Witsius in *Symbol. Apostol.* pp. 11, 12, &c. *Remarks on Clarke's Expos. of the Catechism*, pp. 30, 31. Stillingfleet, *Rat. Account*, part i. c. 2. p. 52.

Ibid. l. 27. "A doctrine may be said to be necessary," &c.] Vid. Witsius in *Symb. Apostol.* p. 10.

P. 7. l. 4. "fundamental doctrines."] Vid. Frid. Spanheim, *de Fundamentalibus*, Opp. tom. iii. p. 1311, &c. Alphons. Turretin. *de Fundamentalibus*, c. 5. p. 21. Sherlock's *Vindicat.* p. 250. Stillingfleet, *Rat. Account*, part i. ch. 4. *Remarks on Dr. Clarke's Expos. of the Catechism*, p. 30.

CHAPTER I.

P. 14. note a. Or in Buddeus, *Miscellan. Sacr.* tom. iii. p. 256, &c. or in Trapp's *Preservative*, p. 52, &c.

P. 14. l. 30. "our faith and our ideas."] "I am bound to believe the *truth* of many texts of Scripture, the *sense* whereof is to me obscure; and the *truth* of many articles of faith, the *manner* whereof is obscure, and to human understanding incomprehensible. But then it is to be observed, that not the *sense* of such texts, nor the *manner* of these things, is what I am bound to believe, but the *truth* of them." *Chillingworth*, p. 244.

P. 25. l. 12. "rather than submit our wisdom to the "wisdom of God."] "Quia autem quicquid notitiæ est de pluribus personis in una divina essentia, unice a divinarum Scripturarum revelatione hauritur, ideo ei doctrinæ a Christianis hominibus febriculosa ratiocinia opponi non debent." Puffendorf. *de Consens. et Dissens. Protestantium*, s. 39. p. 140.

CHAPTER II.

P. 34. note *m*. Compare *Rom.* v. 8. viii. 32.

P. 35. note *p*. Compare Bishop Pearson, *Art.* ii. p. 144.
 "If the sending of Christ into the world were the highest act of the love of God which could be expressed; if we be obliged to a return of thankfulness someway *correspondent* to such *infinite* love; if such a return can never be made without a *sense* of that infinity; and a *sense* of that *infinite* love cannot consist without an apprehension of an *infinite* *dignity* of nature in the person sent; then it is absolutely necessary to believe that Christ is so the *only-begotten Son* of the Father, as to be of the *same substance* with him, of glory equal, of majesty co-eternal."

P. 38. note *u*. Compare Pearson *on the Creed*, Art. ii. p. 142.

P. 39. note *y*. And Wolfius: conf. Ignat. *ad Ephes.* c. 1. Tertullian. *ad Uxor.* l. i. c. 9.

Ibid. l. 14. "It was the Lord of glory that was crucified." Add, it is the *blood* of the *Son of God* which cleanseth us, being *offered* up through the *eternal Spirit*, Heb. ix. 14. the *divine* nature of the Person so offering.

Ibid. note *a*. 1 John. i. 7.

P. 40. l. 1. "is Jehovah." Add, as well as man:

Ibid. l. 1. "And these two considerations taken together." Add, (that the person sacrificed was God as well as man.)

P. 45. l. 22. "the atonement made for sins." "The belief or denial of the atonement of Christ's death makes a *specific* change in religion: a religion *with* a *sacrifice*, and a religion *without* a *sacrifice* differ in the whole kind." Sherlock, *Vindicat.* p. 292.

P. 46. l. 8. "For the edification of the Church." Add, were the gifts of the Spirit.

Ibid. l. 15. "Gospel-notion." Add, of them.

P. 47. l. 8. *Instead of*, "the two creatures superadded to the Creator will appear but as cyphers that add nothing to the sum," *read*, the two creatures so joined

to the Creator, will appear not only improperly, but insignificantly superadded.

Ibid. l. 19. "retaining still the name of Christianity, " but giving up the main things."] "Ad priorem classem pertinet articulus de sacrosancta Trinitate, seu quod in una divina essentia tres Personæ existant.—Ad novi fœderis naturam intelligendam usque adeo necessaria fuit facta ejus cognitio, ut citra hanc istud plane subsistere nequeat. Cum enim Salvator *verus Deus* a sacris Scripturis pronuncietur, et vero Deus cum Salvatore fœdus reconciliando sibi genere humano iniverit; necessum est, plures una personas dari, quibus et nomen et res, seu essentia veræ Deitatis competat." Puffendorf: *de Consensu et Dissensu Protestantium*, s. 39. p. 140.

P. 49. note c. "The understanding is not only made up of *dry* light; but it receives an infusion from the will and affections: and that begets such sciences as the heart desires: for a man soonest believes that which he would have to be true. Wherefore he rejects *difficult* truths, through impatience in inquiring; and *soben* truths, because they restrain his hope, [or desire;] and the *deeper* natural truths, by reason of *superstition*; and the light of *experiments*, by reason of *arrogance* and *pride*, lest the mind should seem to be conversant in *mean* and transitory things; and *paradoxes* out of respect to the opinion of the *vulgar*. In sum, the *will* seasons and infects the mind by innumerable ways, and by such as are sometimes not at all perceived." Bacon, *Nov. Organ.* l. 1. Aph. 42. *Remains*, p. 14.

P. 50. note d. Comp. Trapp's *Preservative*, 152. "Grotius fidem credit partem esse obedientiæ Deo debitæ, propterea aptam esse ad producendum obedientiæ quod restat, primum in *proposito*, deinde etiam in operibus ipsis, ubi operandi tempus est et occasio." Grot. *Rivetian. Apologet. Discuss.* p. 729.

P. 51. l. 15. "it appears to be strictly practical, and "highly important."] "In hoc quoque articulo de tribus personis in una divina essentia residet fundamentum genu-

inæ religionis Christianæ; quo subruto, et hæc collabitur, et nil remanet nisi accurata quædam philosophia moralis. Si enim in divina essentia non sunt plures una personæ, non est *Salvator*, non est *redemptio*, non *fides*, non *justificatio*." Puffendorf. *de Consens. et Dissens. Protest.* s. 52. p. 174.

Ibid. l. 21. "The doctrine of the Trinity is *practical* "enough to be a *fundamental* article of Christianity."] "Tota theologia nostra *practica* est, non *speculativa*, si finem, subjectum, et media spectes. Tit. i. 1, 2. Dubium non est, quin illa Theologiæ pars quæ de *mysteriis* agit, (præcipua sane) in *seriis* pœnitentiæ, fidei, obedientiæ ac invocationis *exercitiis* magnum et insignem usum præbeat." Buddeus, *Misc. Sacr.* t. iii. p. 259.

P. 52. l. 30. "that fatal dispute between the Greek and Latin Church about the *Filioque*."] "Parum etiam interesse, sive dicatur Spiritus Sanctus procedere *a Patre et Filio*, sive, fatentibus Græcis, *a Patre per Filium*, modo de re constet, et statuatur spiratio *una, non duplex*, tanquam ab uno, non duobus principiis. Hinc, non fuisse quod tantopere stomacharentur in *Latinos Græci* ob additam vocem *Filioque* Symbolo Cpolitano, declarationis ergo; quæ et duraturum schisma, et myriades voluminum peperit." Frid. Spanheim. tom. iii. p. 1225.

P. 54. note i. "De phrasibus nonnullis quæ sunt in Symbolis, et non sunt in Scripturis sacris, sic habet.

"Eæ nihil addunt nisi id quo sublato tollitur Hoc quod est expresse in Scriptura sacra. Ex. gr. Symbolum Nicænum dicit Christum esse *ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ*, et jure; alioqui enim aut non esset verus Deus, aut essent plures Dii, cujus utriusque contrarium *expresse* habetur in Scriptura sacra, in qua continetur fides primorum Christianorum." Roger. Boyle, *Summ. Theol. Christian.* p. 202.

CHAPTER III.

P. 59. l. 10. "merely renouncing, or refusing communion with some persons, may sometimes not amount to "any judicial censure at all." Such is the case, when the

inferior Clergy or laity renounce communion with an heretical Bishop, separate from him: a thing allowed by the ancient Canons, and countenanced by primitive practice. Cyprian. *Epist.* 68. p. 288. Iren. l. iv. c. 44. *Concil. Constantinopolit. Generale.* item *Ephesin.* vide Potter, *Ch. Gov.* c. 4. p. 182. conf. Sherlock, *Defence of Stillingfleet*, p. 218.

P. 61. note *y*. Conf. Hoornbeeck. *Socin. Confut.* t. i. c. 9. p. 205.

P. 62. l. 9. "they could be very smart and severe in "their censures." Vide Hoornbeeck. *Socin. Confut.* t. i. c. 9. p. 205, &c.

P. 64. l. 16. "with more wiles and artifices, than became plain honest men." Vide Hoornbeeck. *Socin. Confut.* tom. i. l. 1. c. 9. p. 221—224.

Ibid. l. 21. "it is, in effect, denying the veracity of "God, or the inspiration of Scripture." Vid. Frid. Spanheim. *de Fundamentalibus*, disp. vi. s. 6. Opp. tom. iii. p. 1309. Sherlock's *Vindication*, p. 314.

P. 69. note *k*. Gardiner *Fidei Delineatio*, p. 183. compare Wall, *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, part ii. c. 2. s. 9. 14. p. 275, 279.

P. 71. note *o*. Browne's *Animadversions*, p. 21, 22.

P. 72. l. 3. "But yet essence of essence (ever since that term came in) was always Catholic doctrine, as God of "God." Vid. Augustin. *de Trin.* p. 855, 856, 994. Epiphani. p. 351. Greg. Nyss. *contr. Eunom.* l. ii. p. 84. Hilari. *de Trin.* Athanas. *Orat.* 4. Anselm. Fulgent. vide Petav. p. 351.

P. 73. note *s*. Conf. Hoornbeeck, tom. ii. l. 1. c. 1. p. 2, 3.

P. 74. note *x*. Frid. Spanheim. Opp. tom. iii. p. 1210.

P. 74. l. 27. "What stronger or more effectual method could have been devised to proclaim the necessity and high importance of this great article?" "Sacramentum initiationis, quo Christiani in numerum civium regni Christi referuntur, diserte in nomine *Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*, administrandum præscribitur.—Atque id

ipsum etiam *necessitatem credendi* hunc articulum innuit, et quod iste velut *fundamentum* religioni Christianæ subternatur, quo negato istæc tota corruat." Puffendorf. *de Consens. et Dissens. Protestantium*, s. 39. p. 142.

P. 75. l. 11. "the doctrine of the Trinity—a fundamental doctrine of the Gospel, diffusing itself through "the whole of our religion," &c.] "Qui Trinitatem negat, hoc ipso quicquid mysteriosum ac velut augustum et venerabile in religione Christiana est, evacuat; simul primariam personam fœderis, cui nostra salus innitur, rejicit, eoque totum fœdus subvertit." Puffendorf. *de Consens. et Dissens. Protestant.* s. 39. p. 143.

CHAPTER IV.

P. 77. l. 6. "a common weakness incident to mankind, "having men's persons in admiration." See *Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety*, c. 16. p. 370, &c.

Ibid. l. 28. "the milder sense appears most probable." "Anathema sit, inquit: Id est, separatus, segregatus, exclusus; ne unius ovis dirum contagium innoxium gregem Christi venenata permixtione contaminet.—Anathematizare eos qui adnuntiant aliquod præterquam quod semel acceptum est, nunquam non oportuit, nunquam non oportet, nunquam non oportebit." Vincent. *Lirin.* c. 14. p. 288. Edit. Brem.

P. 79. l. 10. "if he is puffed up," &c.] Some Latin copies read, *inflatus est autem*. See Mill in loc.

P. 80. l. 5. "such effects might last beyond the apostolic age." Vide *Addenda*, p. 354.

P. 81. l. 14. "every one—must lend a helping hand to "preserve it in its native purity." See Bishop Potter on *Ch. Gov.* c. 1. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* l. v. c. 7. s. 10. p. 91, &c. and Phil. ii. 4.

P. 82. l. 21. "such well-meaning, but mad teachers,"] As Encratitæ, Euchitæ, Messalians, Montanists, Novatians, Luciferians. See *Causes of Decay*, &c. c. 17. p. 378, 379.

P. 85. l. 5. "The heart perverts the head, and both

"conspire in the same false judgment and conduct."]
Add, Now, as admonition includes instruction, it is very proper for correcting the failures both of head and heart.

Ibid. note *e*. Compare Dr. Stebbing, *Defence of the Report*, p. 184. fol. edit.

Ibid. l. 26. "not to be self-condemned"] *Lege*, not to be *directly* self-condemned.

Ibid. l. 31. "an aggravating circumstance of heresy, "after two admonitions."]
Lege, an aggravating circumstance of heresy, *his persisting in it after friendly warning*,

Ibid. note *e*.] See Clarke's Sermons, vol. viii. serm. 10. pp. 204, 205.

P. 86. l. 2. *Lege*, "whenever they allow themselves in "wrong things, against repeated advices to the contrary, "when they may, and ought to know better."

Ibid. p. 24. "an erroneous judgment in fundamentals "has more commonly passed under the name of heresy."]
 See Hammond's *Parænesis*, c. 5. p. 364. Opp. vol. iv.

P. 88. l. 3. "must be self-condemned, in teaching it as "the faith once delivered to the saints."]
 "Why cannot heresies be sufficiently discovered, condemned, and avoided, by them who believe Scripture to be the rule of faith, if Scripture be sufficient to teach what is *heresy*; since heresy is nothing but a manifest deviation from, and an opposition to, the faith? That which is strait, will plainly teach us what is crooked; and one contrary cannot but manifest the other." *Chillingworth*, c. 2. s. 127. p. 90.

P. 89. l. 15. "all our zeal for the ancient faith," &c.]
 It is ridiculous to make the offending party the judge, or the sole judge, and to wait for his passing formal sentence upon *himself* as guilty. A court must want *common sense*, to sit in judgment upon those terms; and the man a fool, to give them the trouble.

P. 90. l. 16. "he may now come to have a covenant "right to happiness, who before stood only in uncovered "nanted mercy."]
 Stebbing's *Defence of the Report*, &c. c. 6. p. 103, &c. c. 7. p. 111, &c.

Ibid. l. 21. "when they wrest the Scriptures, it is to

"their own destruction."] "And when it is considered, that all the odds that Christ makes between him that does ill *knowingly*, and *ignorantly*, is in the *number* of the stripes, we must resolve, our *mistakes* are no such amulets as totally to secure us." *Causes of Decay*, c. 17. p. 392. Trapp's *Preservative*, 33, &c.

P. 91. l. 9. *Lege*, "who had the information *at first* or "second hand from Polycarp."

P. 92. l. 27. *Lege*, "owing only to *unavoidable* infirmity."

Ibid. l. 29. *Lege*, "through the like *insuperable* weakness of judgment."

P. 96. l. 33. "What is there so just, so rational, or so commendable, that may not be objected to?"] "Nec vel *Atheis* in existentiam Numinis, *Scepticis* in Providentiam, *Zenoni* in veritatem motus, *Anaxagoræ* in albedinem nivis, *Hæreticis* in Deum Veteris Testamenti, in veritatem carnis, mortis, passionum Christi, et in evidentissima id genus, exceptiones defuere." *Frid. Spanheim*. tom. iii. 1225. Cardanus negabat hominem esse animal. *De Subtil.* l. xi.

CHAPTER V.

P. 99. l. 3. "when some persons of more warmth than wisdom have gone upon what they call healing measures . . . they have been for the most part miserably disappointed."] "Quo successu hoc tentarunt? Isti infideles non sunt conversi, at hi boni reconciliatores facti sunt apostatæ. Siquidem haud ignotum est, quam plures ex Anti-trinitariorum schola prodiisse, qui partim in *Judaismum*, partim in *Mahometanismum*, partim in *Epicurismum* et *Libertinismum*, et partim in apertum *Atheismum* prolapsi sunt." *Ashwell de Socin.* p. 39, 40.

Ibid. l. 21. "while they stoop too low to fetch others up, they are themselves dragged down, and never can recover it."] Conf. Lud. Cappell. in *Esai.* 53. p. 7.

Ibid. l. 27. "The Episcopian neutrality seldom stays long, before it passes over into Arianism or Socinianism."] "Quod autem D. Mathisius tuetur, in postremis

conciliis errasse circa Fidem Ecclesiam illam, qui in comunione est Romanæ Ecclesiæ, id non miror, cum is errasse in Fidei Articulis credat et Synodum Nicænam primam: *nec aliter sentiant plerique Remonstrantes.*"

Ibid. l. 33. "one commandment may make greater "difficulty than many creeds."] *Ditton*, p. 46, &c.

P. 102. l. 11. "If they were not strong enough to "stand at first upon plain and firm ground, how shall "they keep steady afterwards upon declivity?" "Nempe, quibus leve fuit maximos Fidei Articulos evertere, nihil porro sane relinquere et habere, justa ultione qua solet veritatis suæ illusæ destitutæque pœnam exposcere, Deus voluit." Hoornbeeck, *Socin. Conf.* tom. ii. p. 195.

P. 103. l. 2. "To talk of a man's leading a good life "while he is corrupting the faith and disseminating pernicious doctrines, is talking contradictions." "Besides, if we could suppose that a man may lead a *good life* (as circumstances now stand under the Gospel) without the belief of the Trinity, yet a good life alone will not carry a man to heaven, being it is the *conditional* cause only, not the *meritorious* ground of salvation, and will not avail without faith in Christ, and salvation by him: and we cannot rightly believe in Christ for salvation, without a true faith in the Holy Trinity." *Sherlock*, 280, 305.

P. 113. l. 13. "How will it [sincerity] be proved?" "There are cases wherein the heart being deceitful (not only to others, but even to a man's self also, by *secret* partiality and *imperceptible* prejudices) no perfect and unerring judgment can be made of a man by *any other* than by *God* only." *Clarke's Sermons*, vol. i. serm. xi. pp. 257, 258.

Ibid. l. 35. "He that has reason on his side, (I except "the case of unavoidable incapacity) he is the sincere "man." See *Locke*, *H. U.* b. iv. c. 19.

P. 114. l. 4. "Be it warmth of temper, be it weariness "and impatience, &c. if it is not reason, it is prejudice "and partiality . . . and the man is not sincere in the strict "sense." "Such is the untoward constitution of our nature, that we do neither so *perfectly understand* the way and

knowledge of the Lord, nor so *stedfastly embrace* it when it is understood, nor so *graciously utter* it when it is embraced, nor so *peaceably maintain* it when it is uttered, but that the *best of us* are overtaken sometime through *blindness*, sometime through *hastiness*, sometime through *impatience*, sometime through other *passions* of the mind, whereunto (God knows) we are too subject." Hooker, *on Justification*.

P. 116. l. 12. "The natural and regular process is to "prove the former [sincerity] by the latter, [the truth "and justice of what we espouse.]" "There is nobody in the commonwealth of learning, who does not profess himself a lover of truth: and there is not a rational creature who would not take it amiss, to be thought otherwise of. And yet for all this, one may truly say, there are very few lovers of truth for truth's sake, even amongst those who *persuade themselves* that they are so. How a man may know whether he be so in earnest, is worth inquiry: and I think there is but one unerring mark of it; *viz.* the not entertaining any proposition with greater assurance than the proofs it is built upon will warrant. Whoever goes beyond this measure of assent, it is plain, receives not truth in love of it, loves not truth for truth's sake, but for some other by-end." Locke, b. iv. c. 19. p. 330.

P. 119. l. 30. *Instead of*, "designing thereby to honour "and shew their love to the Lord," *read*, believing that they both love and honour the Lord.

P. 124. l. 15. "a wide difference between authority to "do a thing, and infallibility in doing it." And again, between a *conditional* infallibility, and an *absolute*.

P. 132. note 1. Malbranch, *Annot. ad cap. 10. l. i.* Clarke, *Answer to Collins*, pp. 20, 24.

P. 138. l. 11. "yea, and Christ and his Apostles, per- "secutors." For they *suspended* their *good opinion* of the faithless and unbelieving.

P. 140. l. 14. *Instead of*, "no breach of charity or ill "manners," *read*, no breach of charity or of good manners, &c.

P. 143. l. 7. "Christianity is a social religion." See Bishop Potter's *Discourse of Church-Government*, c. 1. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* l. v. c. 7. s. 10. p. 91, &c.

P. 147. l. 1. "but the Gospel was worth it, and carried "more than enough in it, to make mankind amends." "Præstat salutiferam veritatem vel inter pugnas et contentiones retinere, quam mendacio altam inter quietem indormire. Sed nec ejusmodi concordia ratio est ineunda quæ vel Christianæ religionis indoli repugnet, vel plures calamitates generet quam illæ ipsæ dissensiones, non lacessitæ aut irritatæ producebant." Puffendorf. *Jus Feciale Divinum*, s. 3. p. 11.

Ibid. l. 27. "Though the censuring of men that corrupt the faith may provoke, may increase ill blood, &c. "yet it must be done." "The Church was forced to oppose the Valentinians, Manichees, Arians, Macedonians, &c. These were such invasions as seemed to commissionate all that could wield the sword of the Spirit, to take it up, and engage in this warfare. But all the while, it was a sad dilemma to which the Church was driven. If she gave countenance to these seducers, she *betrayed her faith*; if she entered the contest, she *violated her unity*: the one would *undermine her foundation*, the other would make a *breach in her walls*." *Causes of Decay*, &c. c. 9. pp. 249, 250.

P. 149. l. 13. "And it would be but an ill way to pre-serve peace, (if it might be called peace,) by forfeiting "our Christianity." "Pretiosum quidem nomen est *pacis*, et pulchrum est nomen *unitatis*. Sed quis ambigat eam solam Ecclesiæ atque Evangeliorum unitatem, pacem esse, quæ Christi est?" Hilar. *contra Auxent.* 1263. edit. Benedict.

Ibid. note q. Hoornbeeck, vol. i. *Apparat.* p. 73, 74. Buddeus, *Miscel. Sacr.* tom. i. pp. 319, 320.

Ibid. l. 27. "that no one ought to be excluded from "Christian communion, whatever his faith be, provided he "acknowledges sacred writ for his rule, and is ready to "admit any creeds or confessions drawn up entirely in

"Scripture terms." How common this pretext has been, in the mouths of those who have had a mind to introduce new doctrines, is observed by Frid. Spanheim, *Opp.* tom. ii. pp. 982, 983.

P. 151. l. 9. *Instead of*, "the famous Abbot of St. Clare," *read*, Franciscus a Sancta Clara.

P. 156. l. 34. "there is a medium between taking violent measures with them, and treating them as fellow-Christians." Mr. Chillingworth, in answer to the Romanists, distinguishes very justly, in these words: "Neither do you obey our Saviour's command, *Let both grow up till the harvest*, who teach it to be lawful to root these tares, such are heretics, *out of the world*; neither do Protestants disobey it, if they eject manifest heretics, and notorious sinners, *out of the Church*."

CHAPTER VI.

P. 158. note c. Stillingfleet, *Vindic.* 178. Vossius *de Symbol.* diss. i. p. 38. Suicer. *Thesaur.* tom. ii. p. 1093.

P. 173. note a. Conf. Hoornbeeck. tom. i. l. i. c. 9. p. 256. tom. iii. proleg. p. 65. Witsius *in Symbol. Apostol.* p. 17.

P. 175. note i. Basnage, *Annal.* tom. i. p. 599.

P. 180. note x. "Saltem in hoc acutius vidit Julianus Socinianis, quod Jesum a Johanne Deum esse pronunciatum non negavit: si voluisset autem . . . intendere, idem etiam ab aliis factum Apostolis intelligere voluisset." Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* l. iv. c. 5. p. 140.

P. 190. l. 14. "the ancient visionaries, being ashamed "perhaps to confess Christ crucified,"] *Add*, or afraid to suffer martyrdom for it.

Ibid. note z. Conf. *Epiphan.* xxiv. 4. *Philastr.* c. 32.

P. 194. note s. Compare *Joh.* iii. 16, 17, 18.

P. 206. note g. Zornii *Opusc. Sacr.* tom. i. p. 77, &c. Frid. Spanheim. *Opp.* tom. iii. p. 250.

P. 210. l. 30. "will conceive no high opinion of his "[Le Clerc's] veneration for the Scriptures." How slightly the Socinians in general think and speak of the inspi-

ration of Scripture, may be seen in Hoonbeeck, *Socin. Confut.* tom. ii. lib. i. c. i.

Ibid. l. 32. "It is keeping them, indeed, for the saving of appearances, but in order to expose them the more insidiously." The admitting only of a *partial* inspiration, is eluding, or evacuating, the authority of the whole Canon: it is, *verbis ponere, re tollere*.

P. 211. l. 4. Instead of "Deism," read immorality.

Ibid. l. 5. "thousands, perhaps, may be thus led &c. who could not have been brought to it by the shorter, coarser methods." It may be added, that a *holy life* (were it possible, or consistent with heresy) is not the whole and entire end of the Christian religion. But *forgiveness of sins* must be considered, as well as an *holy life*. *Sherlock*, pp. 28, 305. Whatever is necessary to be believed for forgiveness of sins, is a *fundamental*, though we could not see how it affected morals.

P. 217. note y. Conf. *Philastr.* 77. p. 196.

P. 231. l. 24. "and then the Father could be considered only as inhabiting Jesus, a mere man, and a distinct person from him." Conf. *Athanas.* tom. ii. p. 39. *Epiph.* *Hær.* 65. p. 614.

P. 235. l. 24. "But as that first Council [of Jerusalem] had its use in the Church, &c. so had this other also, [of Nice,] and has to this day." "Invaluit illa quidem hæresis aliquantisper in Ecclesia: sed tanta cum pugna inducta est, ut nemini licuerit ignorare quæ ejus fuisset origo. Ante fuit damnata illa causa, quam victrix, ut scias eam judicio Ecclesiæ periisse, potentia aulica revixisse." Roger. Boyle, *Summ. Theol. Christ.* p. 108.

P. 237. note k. Conf. *Basil.* tom. iii. p. 307. A. D. 375.

P. 239. l. 1. Before "Ignatius," insert as follows: Clemens Romanus, in his second Epistle, "Brethren, we ought to think of Christ, as of God.—We ought not to think meanly of our Saviour. For if we think meanly of him, we hope to receive little."

This intended against Cerinthus. See Bull. D. F. sect. 2.

cap. 3. that thinking meanly of Christ, is hazarding salvation.

P. 251. note *d*. Conf. Frid. Spanheim. *Hist. Christian.* sect. 3. p. 740.

CHAPTER VII.

P. 255. l. 20. "Such unworthy suggestions," &c.] Compare what Dr. Wall observes of the *Jesuits*, as pretending that *infant-baptism cannot be proved from Scripture*; by which they serve some political ends. Wall, *Hist. of Inf. Bapt.* part 2. c. 8. pp. 458, 459. part 2. c. 2. s. 9. p. 278. s. 13. p. 279. second edition.

P. 257. note *t*.] Gardiner, *Cathol. circ. Trin. Fidei Delineatio*. p. 153. Wall, p. 2. c. 8. s. 6. pp. 458, 459.

P. 258. l. 13. "there is something of equivocalness "and ambiguity, for the most part, in words, or phrases, "though ever so well and wisely chosen." Vide Scrivener *contra Dallæum*, part 2. p. 108. Werenfelsii *Dissert. de Logomachiis*, p. 124, &c.

P. 260. l. 19. "ambition," &c.] Valentinus. *Tertullian. ad Valentin.* c. 4. Marcion. *Epiphan. Hær.* 42. Montanus, *Novatianus. Euseb.* vii. 43. Arius. *Theodoret.* vide *Lactant.* l. 4. c. 30.

P. 261. l. 31. "Those that lived in or near the apostolical times," &c.] Confer Scrivener *contra Dallæum*, pp. 34, 35.

P. 266. note *p*. Chillingworth, c. 2. s. 147. p. 98.

P. 270. note *b*. Taylor, *Liberty of Prophesying*, p. 124.

P. 274. l. 30. For, "doctrines of the church," read, doctors.

P. 278. l. 14. "the use which might be made of the "negative argument, supposing we could go no farther, "or had nothing more to plead from antiquity." "Summa eorum quæ diximus, huc redit, non potuisse fieri ut Ecclesia universa, imprimis Ecclesia primorum sæculorum, in vicem capitum sive Articulorum Fidei falsitates amplecteretur et ad posteros propagaret; ut Ecclesia, inquam, *universaliter* antiquitus in *fundamentis* religionis

erraret; et hoc nobis constare ea *certitudine* qua sacris Scripturis divinisque promissionibus assentimur. Quæ vero fuerit publica et passim recepta primorum sæculorum doctrina, e priscorum doctorum consensu—patere *certitudine morali*, quæ in illo quidem genere maxima sit, et formidinem oppositi sufficienter excludat.” Georg. Calixt. *Proœm. in Augustin. de Doctrin. Christiana.*

P. 282. l. 4. “wounding Christianity itself through their “sides.”] “Re vera dicendum est, inter eos qui ab Ecclesia Papistica secesserunt, complures inveniri, qui Patrum scripta ob id unum legisse videantur, ut eos calumniis et maledictis omne genus incessant. Quod ut forte haud ita mirandum sit in iis hominibus qui, etsi male dissimulant, nomine, ore, et moribus *Judaismum* inviti produnt; vix tamen in iis tolerari potest, qui Christum sincero animo profitentur.” *Vindic. Veter. Script. contr. Joan. Harduin.* p. 60.

P. 283. l. 19. “Those who have adhered strictly to antiquity . . . have done most honour to the perfection of “Scripture.”] “Tanto sane majoris faciendus est consensus antiquitatis, quanto turpius quotidie labi eos videmus qui jus novandi sine fine ac modo sibi vindicant.” Grotii *Epist.* p. 32. conf. p. 434.

P. 287. l. 19. “divine attributes are ascribed to him,”] *Add*, besides the works of creation.

P. 290. l. 4. “to the analogy of faith,” &c.] What analogy of faith properly means, see briefly explained in Jenkins’s *Remarks on some Books*, p. 169.

P. 297. note *m.* Conf. Zornii *Opusc. Sacr.* t. i. p. 613, 614.

P. 306. note *y.* Hoornbeeck, *Socin. Confut.* tom. i. l. 1. c. 19. pp. 206, 207. Puffendorf. *de Consensu et Dissensu Protestantium.* Lubecæ, 1695. sect. 14. pp. 80, 81. Frid. Spanheim. *de Fundament. Disput.* x. ss. 5, 6, 7. p. 1331, &c. *Opp.* tom. 3.

P. 307. l. 2. “as if all Christian doctrines were to be “expunged out of the list of necessities, which have had “the misfortune to be disputed amongst us.”] “Fidem

non habent huic articulo, quia *non est necessarius* ad salutem; non est necessarius ad salutem, quia non habetur *clare* in Scriptura sacra;—non habetur *clare* in Scriptura sacra, quod de textibus ei pertinentibus a multis doctis disputatur.—Hoc est, si diabolus potest hæresin in Ecclesia excitare, (et quod poterit, præmoniti sumus) tum poterit efficere, ut quod antea *semper* et *ubique* videbatur necessarium ad salutem, non dehinc ut tale videatur. Quod est, religionem Christianam mutilare, et paulatim ad nihilum redigere. Roger. Boyle, *Episc. Clogherens. Summ. Theol. Christian.* c. 16. p. 67.

P. 317. note x. “Antiquæ Ecclesiæ plus tribui in *Britannia* quam in *Gallia*, miror a quoquam negari. In Canonibus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ conscriptis anno 1571, hunc invenio:—*Imprimis* vero, &c. Hanc legem an accepturi sint *Galliæ* ministri, multum dubito.” Grot. *Epist.* p. 21. A. D. 1615.

P. 319. l. 4. *Instead of*, “the present Church speaks by “Scripture and fathers,” *read*, it is the present Church that speaks, though in the name of Scripture and Fathers.

P. 320. l. 21. “let us not too hastily part with any “thing,” &c.] See Hoornbeeck, *Socin. Confut.* tom. i. c. 6. p. 86, &c.

P. 321. l. 14. “for then a right belief would be no matter of choice, nor faith any longer a virtue.”] Conf. *Chillingworth*, c. 2. s. 93. p. 77. and s. 96. p. 78.

P. 325. note o. Dr. Payne’s *Examination of the Sixth Note of the Church.* A. D. 1687.

P. 326. l. 17. “that the Protestant cause could not desire any fairer or greater advantage, than to join issue “upon the point of genuine antiquity.”] “Viderunt jam olim *Jesuitæ*, monstrantibus non paucis eorum qui ductu Evangelii feliciores Christiani cultus semitas ingressi sunt, *traditiones* scriptas, quas apud rerum antiquarum ignaros magnifico tumore verborum ostentare solent, in plerisque fidei Romanæ capitibus mutare.—Id autem cum fateri non possint, contendunt hodie passim negligendam esse

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antiquitatem, Patres falsariorum manus esse passos, in permultis recentiorum auctoritatem esse anteponendam." *Vindic. contr. Harduin.* pp. 5, 6.

P. 326. note s. Zornius, p. 666. vide Payne's *Sixth Note of the Church examined*, p. 113, &c.

P. 329. note b. Conf. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* l. iv. c. 9. sect. 14. p. 925. edit. Amst. 1727.

P. 331. note f. Stillingfleet, *Eccles. Cases*, vol. i. p. 118.

P. 332. l. 1. "except it be as to the choice of some "leader or leaders,"] See *Causes of Decay of Christian Piety*, c. 16. pp. 370, 371, 372.

CHAPTER VIII.

P. 334. note f. *Pro* "significatur," *lege*, signatur.

P. 335. note i. l. 4. *Pro* "illum," *lege*, ille.

Ibid. note i. l. 8. *Pro* "impediris," *lege*, præpediris.

P. 336. l. 12. "and therefore Being of Being, or Substance of Substance, (not beings or substances,) has "been the catholic language." See my *Farther Vindication*, or *Third Defence*, vol. iv. pp. 47—54. Browne's *Animadversions*, pp. 10, 11, 28, 29, 30.

P. 341. note g. Conf. Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* l. iv. c. 5. p. 141.

P. 345. l. 4. "all this discourse about being and person "is foreign, and not pertinent." "Vadimonium deserunt, dum *re missa de vocibus* litigant; seu *missa veritatis Substantia*, invadunt theologicum declarandi, explicandi, muniendi *modum*." Frid. Spanheim. *Fil.* tom. iii. pp. 1210, 1213.

P. 347. note e. "Omnia quæ in negotio Trinitatis dicuntur extra ea quæ in sacris literis habentur, et pauca quæ ad eorum explicationem consensus antiquus recepit, periculum habent. . . . Quæ ad internam Dei naturam pertinent, aut circumscripte eloquenda, aut silentio veneranda sunt." Grotii *Epist.* 1118. p. 514.

P. 348. l. 15. "Could there be any words thought on, "either plainer or stronger, to express a proper effi-

ciency?"] See my second Sermon, where it is proved at large, that God the Son is properly *Creator*, and *efficient Cause* of all things made.

P. 350. note *t*. See Pearson, *Art. 2.* p. 98.

P. 353. l. ult. "are yet but a slender part of what the "whole Scripture affords us in that cause."] "*Mediatorem novi fœderis esse Deum*, evincunt infinita S. Scripturæ loca, quæ id nomen in *proprio* sensu ei tribuunt, ac talia opera quæ non nisi in *verum Deum* cadere possunt. Quod et ipsa fœderis indoles requirit; cum nulla creatura ejus possit esse dignationis ut personam totius humani generis repræsentare possit cum tam nobili effectu qui *creationi* æquiparari possit. *Ps. xlix. 8, 9.* Atque idem *falso* minor aut inferior quoad essentiam Deo Patri fingitur; cum non obscure contradictionem involvat, aliquem esse *verum Deum* et tamen *minorem* aut *inferiorem* quoad Essentiam esse Deo Patri, qui a consensu omnium verus Deus est: sicuti et impossibile et contradictorium est, aliquid quod posterius tempore vero Deo existere cœpit, in veri Dei essentiam creatione, adoptione, aut quovis modo provehi." Puffendorf. *de Consens. et Dissens. Protest. sect. 41.* p. 145.

ADDENDA.

P. 354. note *e*. Conf. Hieronym. *Ep. ad Heliodorum*.

P. 361. l. 3. "if men come with humility, modesty, "and circumspection, &c. there will be no great danger "in examining every thing with the utmost severity."] A *thorough* examination is indeed the *safest*. For, the greatest danger lies in examining by halves.

Ibid. note *a*. l. 3. After "*communione*," add, τὸ καταλαβάνειν itaque per *opprimere* verti voluit.

P. 363. note *n*. Conf. Coteler. *Not. ad Ignat. Interp. ad Trall.* p. 66.

P. 368. l. 4. "Some others are charged with secularity "and selfish views, but not all."] *Col. ii. 18, 23.*

P. 369. l. 3. "there lay all the stress."] See Stebbing's *Defence of the Report*, p. 189. fol. edit.

P. 369. l. 23. "artful professions," &c.] Vid. Dodwell. *Diss. in Iren.* iv. s. 23. p. 335.

P. 369. l. ult. "Not to believe *all necessary* points, and to believe *none at all*, is for the purpose of *salvation* all one: and therefore he that does so, may justly be said to destroy the Gospel of Christ; since he makes it *ineffectual* to the end for which it was intended, the salvation of men's souls." *Chillingworth*, c. 6. s. 74. p. 340.

NOTES AT THE END OF THE BOOK.

"INTER eos autem quos sola duntaxat discrepantia dogmata disjungunt, nullo interveniente emolumento, quidam *toto theologiæ systemate* ac notorie *fundamentalibus articulis* dissentiunt.—Ad [quam] classem referimus *Socinianos* et qui hisce proxime accedunt, tum plerasque *Anabaptistarum* familias, *Tremulos* seu *Quackeros*, et qui *fanaticorum* nomen merentur: qui articulos quos Protestantes *palmarios* habent, negant aut detorquent, et velut evacuant, ut amoto nucleo inania tantum putamina remaneant. Sic ut theologiæ systema ab istis formatum, a nostro plane abeat, et vix circa alia inter eos conveniat quam quæ ex ipso naturalis rationis lumine cognita sunt, aut ad regendos mores pertinent. Circa quos, quamdiu hypothesebus suis innituntur, nobiscum conciliandos satagere, vesaniæ proximum, ac plane inutile duco. Ac in id potius incumbendum fuerit, ut solida confutatione, ea errorum gangræna comprematur, ne latius serpat: præsertim cum profanis hominibus admodum blandiatur, si nihil ad credendum proponatur nisi quod *ratio* capere possit, nec plus ab hominibus exigatur quam alias socialis indoles ad vitam honeste et tranquille agendam requirit.

"Ex quo et illud consequitur, rationem istos valde fugisse qui conciliationem harum quoque sectarum quas tetigimus cum Protestantibus moliti sunt eoque fere vel *Symbolum Apostolicum*, vel aliam *laxissimam formam* proposuerunt, velut ad concordiam Ecclesiasticam sufficere

posset, circa isthæc consensisse; circa reliquos articulos, extra eam formulam positos, perinde esse quid quisque sentiat, nec eum dissensum paci quidquam officere. Nam si formula concordiæ ita *laxe* concipiatur, ut eadem quibusvis *sectariis* ad palatum sit, *theologia* emerget oppido quam *jejuna* ac *mutila*." Puffendorf. *Jus Feciale Divinum: sive de Consensu et Dissensu Protestantium*, sect. 4. p. 82. Lubecæ. 1695.

"Cum ab una parte militet interpretatio et intelligentia Scripturæ, subnixa *notorio consensu* omnium doctorum Ecclesiæ primitivæ, quorum ad nos scripta pervenerint, (horum enim consensus etiam sequentium temporum testimonium includit) quosque nemo *impietatis* sine impietate accusare possit;—ab altera autem parte militet *consequentia* privatæ quas ego non possim solvere;—an his assentiri tenear? Annon eum laude *modestiæ*, vel saltem minori peccandi *periculo* illi assentiār? Nam si non teneor, quæ sit *stultitia* aut *temeritas* a *piorum veterum* unitate tam manifesta, cum plerorumque Christianorum *scandalo*, discedere? Si vero *teneri* me probaveris, tum demum illam tecum ingrediar disputationem, an *consequentia* tuæ tales sint ut responsionibus meis elidi nequeant." *Epist. C. Bergii Ruaro*. pp. 124, 125. script. A. D. 1626.

"Nunc audio, quosdam conjicere, vobis *Calvinistas* sequentibus successuros *Deistas*, qui tollant ipsius S. Scripturæ veritatem." Mersennus in *Epist. ad Ruarum*, p. 268. circiter A. D. 1664.

Libri quem molitur *Bysterfeldius* paginam unam vidi, vereor et ego, ne, quod Jeckermanno evenit, ei eveniat, et nimis subtilitates aliqua parte ad impetum eorum quos pugnat, pateant: omnia quæ in negotio Trinitatis dicuntur, extra τὰ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς κείμενα, et pauca quæ ad eorum explicationem consensus antiquus recepit, periculum habent. Optime Chrysostomus et ex eo Isidorus Pelusiota, ὅταν ἅπερ ὁ Θεὸς οὐκ ἠθέλησαν εἰδέναι, ταῦτα βραζόμεθα μανθάνειν, οὔτι ἐσόμεθα· πῶς γὰρ Θεοῦ μὴ βουλομένου; καὶ τὸ κινδυνεύειν ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ ζητεῖν περίεστιν μόνον. Cui illud addam, maxime, τὸ γεγραμμένον καὶ σὺ λέγε, καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύσεις. In quem sensum plurima sunt in disputatione Basilii contra Eunom-

mium. In illis Dei attributis quæ *nos respiciunt*, (justitia maxime et bonitate) dat nobis et sacra Scriptura et impressæ mentibus nostris *προλήψεις* uberem dissertandi materiam: Quæ vero ad *internam Dei naturam* pertinent, aut circumscripte eloquenda, aut silentio veneranda sunt." Grotii *Epist.* 1118. p. 504.

Quid enim aliud est hæresis quam pestis, quam venenum Ecclesiæ, et quidem præsentissimum? Sed tamen hæresium aliqui sunt gradus, ita ut sit hæc illa nocentior. Scimus quam exosum, quam horrendum, bonis omnibus olim fuerit Arii dogma, qui Christum Dominum nostrum Patri *ὁμοούσιον consubstantialem* negabat. At ille tamen exstitisse eum priusquam mundus existeret, et Patri simillimum fatebatur. Quanto in Christum contumeliosior Samosatenus, aut quicumque alius fundamentum illud evertit quod Evangelio substernitur. *ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο*, qui ereptum it Christo *τὴν δόξαν ἣν εἶχε πρὸ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Πατρὶ*, qui abnegare mavult quam agnoscere inenarrabile beneficium, *ὅτι ὁ ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών*. Hanc igitur hæresin, ad cujus mentionem pii omnes exhorrent, invehi in Ecclesiam clamat Sibrandus, non errore aliquo et ignorantia, sed studio atque industria." Grotii *Ord. Holland. Pietas.* p. 99.

Infidelitatis 4 species.

1. *Gentilismus*, *materialiter* maxima infidelitas, sed *formaliter* levior quam *Judaismus*.
 2. *Judaismus* est gravior infidelitas, quia acceperunt figuram Evangelii quæ erat quasi aurora respectu *dei Evangelicæ*.
 3. *Hæresis*, *gravissima* infidelitas, quæ renititur fidei claræ.
 4. *Apostasia* est fastigium hæreseos, scilicet generalis defectio a fide. Roger. Boyle, *Summ. Theol. Christianæ.* p. 204.
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ADDITIONAL NOTES

ON

REGENERATION STATED AND EXPLAINED.

See vol. vi. pp. 341—380.

Regenerated.

I.

CONSIDERED as a *birth* into a new state, as the *entrance* or *first admission* into such and such privileges, first reception of the *grants*, entrance into *sonship*.

1. Which grants may be considered as *made* and *received*, but not *salutarily* applied.

2. As *salutarily* applied.

As a *birth* it comes but *once*, though the things received, as justification, remission, &c. are *continued* acts. It differs from them as *first reception* does from *continuance* of them.

2.

Considered as a *continuance* of that state. When a man is said to *retain* his baptism, or to *lose* or *forfeit* it, the word means a *baptismal state*: so when regeneration is said to be *retained* or *lost*, it means a *regenerate state*, or *sonship*. But as that state is never *wholly* lost, a man is never *rebaptized* or regenerated *again*, or entered into *sonship*.

3.

Both considered as *salutary*, or *not salutary*; *imperfect* as to their main end and use, or *perfect* with respect to their main end and use.

The perfective addition is considered as an *integral* part of it: and then *baptism*, in a *large* sense, takes in its

salutariness; and *regeneration*, in a *large* sense, takes in *renovation*, and is distinguished from it as *whole* from *part*. In this view, a man may lose his sonship in *part*, which sonship is restored or repaired, by restoring that perfective part.

4.

Regeneration for *baptism*, or for the thing *signified* and *exhibited* in and by baptism. Baptism, in its *whole* notion, takes in *sign* and *thing*, comprehends *God's part* and *man's part*. *Water* and *Spirit*. To be validly baptized is the same as to be *regenerated* of water and the Spirit, but abstracting from the question of *savingly* or not *savingly*; for all regeneration is not *saving*, any more than all *valid* baptism.

5.

Regeneration, or the grants once made and applied, are continued in and by the *worthy* receiving of the *Eucharist*, and is distinguished from that condition as a *birth* is from *life*, or as *reception* of life is from *nutrition* of the same. Life is no more *given*, no more *begun*; but it is repaired, renewed, preserved, nourished, kept up.

P. 342. note *b*. *Firmil*. p. 148, 149. *Clem. Alex.* 156, 551. *Hieronym. Pelagius, Theodorit. in loc.*

Ibid. note *d*. Gerhard. *Loc. Comm.* tom. iv. 596. Whitby *in loc.*

P. 345. note *l*. Gale, 483. Wall, *Def.* p. 321.

P. 346. l. 4. "*the new man*" Leo I. *Serm.* iv. *in Solemn. Nativit.*

Ibid. l. 17. "man's spiritual state."] Four states.

1. Ante legem.
2. Sub lege.
3. Sub gratia.
4. Sub pace plena.

"In quacunque autem quatuor istarum velut ætatum singulum quemque hominem gratia *regenerationis* invene-

rit, ibi ei remittuntur præterita universa peccata, et reatus ille nascendo contractus, *renascendo* dissolvitur. Tamque multum valet quod *spiritus ubi vult spirat*, ut quidem secundam illam servitutem *sub lege* non noverint, sed cum *mandato* incipient adiutorium habere *divinum*." Augustin. *Enchirid.* p. 241.

P. 346. l. ult. "demonstrates the same thing,"] "Non est instituta *regeneratio*, nisi quia vitiosa est *generatio*, Ps. l. 7." August. *Ench.* c. 46. p. 214. tom. vi. "Regeneratio spiritualis una est, sicut generatio carnalis una est." Augustin. *in Joh.* tr. xii.

"Baptismi finis est, ut signet et obsignet spiritualem *nativitatem* nostram, sive *insitionem* in Christum et *receptionem* in familiam ejus. Hoc in altero Sacramento, hoc est, cœna, locum non habet, quia hæc est signum et sigillum non *regenerationis*, sed *nutritionis* ac *alimonie* spiritualis; non fœderis initi, sed continuati.—Semel per baptismum nascimur, sed sæpe per cœnam nutrimur." Voss. t. vi. 320.

P. 347. note q. *Ad. Pelag.* l. iv. c. 11. p. 490. tom. x. Wall, *Inf. Bapt.* part i. p. 71. *Defence, Append.* p. 14.

Ibid. l. 6. "third birth."] Augustin. *de Civit. Dei*, l. xx. c. 5. p. 577.—Tom. vii. c. 6. p. 580.—tom. x. 540, 541.

Ibid. note s. Gataker *Adversaria*, p. 336.—"Peccata quæ male agendo postea committuntur, possent et *pœnitendo* sanari, sicut etiam post baptismum videmus." August. *Enchirid.* c. 46. p. 214. tom. vi.

Ibid. l. penult. "a permanent state."] "So the word *baptism*, in ancient Church-writers, often signifies a *baptismal state*, a *permanent* privilege, or quality, or character, though baptism is but *once*, and admits no *second*.

Because that pious disposition is what he is indispensably *obliged to* arrive to; and what by his very profession he is *supposed to* have already in some measure attained; and what the generality of Christians, in the primitive and purest times, *actually did* possess: therefore, a man's being "*born of God*" signifies, in Scripture phrase, the

same as being a *true and sincere Christian*; and *Who-soever is born of God*, is as much as if the Apostle had said, *Whoever pretends to be a good Christian.*" Clarke's *Serm.* vol. ix. p. 327. So *Whosoever is baptized into Christ, has put on Christ.* Gal. iii. 27. And *How shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?* Rom. vi. 2.

P. 348. l. 2. "the state he was once born into."] "So the word baptism is often used for *baptismal state*, as when a man is said to retain *his baptism*, or to retain it *entire.*" *Concil. Eliber.*

Ibid. l. 11. "does not justify himself,"] "*Regeneration* seems to differ from *justification*, as the *first act* from the *continuation* of the same; or as *creation* from *conservation*. Note, that *justification* and *remission* are things *permanent* and *increasing*; are *continued acts.*" *Bull*, 437, 438.

Ibid. l. 17. "the thing granted,]" The *grants* themselves are *continued acts*: but still *regeneration* is a name for the *first* conferring, or *first* reception of them.

Ibid. l. ult. "*integral* parts;]" "Chrism was thus an *integral* part of baptism, though not absolutely *essential* to it." *Bingh.* vol. iv. p. 374.

P. 349. l. 9. "a kind of renewal,]" "And therefore *ἀνακαίνωσις*, or *ἀνακαίσις*, is used sometimes for *regeneration.*" See *Suicer*, t. i. p. 275.

Ibid. l. 21. "*preventing* grace.]" *Philipp.* ii. 13; *Ephes.* ii. 3, 4; 2 *Tim.* i. 9; *Tit.* iii. 5; *John* xv. 6.

P. 350. note d. "Cornelio.]" *Aug.* t. ix. 85, 138, 139, 140. *Confer de Bapt. Aug.* l. iv. c. 24. p. 140. tom. ix. et super. *Levit. Q.* 84. *Chrysost. in Joh. Hom.* xxv. p. 146. tom. viii. *Œcumen. in Act.* x. 48. *Cyprian. Epist.* lxxii. p. 128. *Anonymus de Rebapt.* p. 356. *Hieronym. ad Heliodor.* Ep. 5. p. 11. tom. iv. *Bull, Examen ad Animadv.* v. p. 16.

P. 351. note r. *Eph.* ii. 10.

Ibid. note x. *Georgius Abbot.* A. D. 1597. *Apud Voss.* tom. vi. p. 229. "Baptizari etenim est quasi in Ecclesiam generari: et ut nil sæpius quam *semel* generatur; ita de-

center institutum fuit, ut nemo sæpius quam *semel* baptizaretur."

P. 352. l. 2. "regeneration and renovation." One is the *receiving* life; the other is part of the *nutrition*, or a *condition* of it.—One is both of *body* and *soul*; the other of the *soul* only.—One the act of God *towards* us; the other the act of God *in* us.

Ibid. l. 17. "regenerating act." "Regeneratio illa est opus divinæ *gratiæ*, quia nec præcedentia nec sequentia *merita* nostra respicit, sed *gratis* propter Christum nobis contingit.

"Quemadmodum nemo quippiam confert ut *generetur*, ita quoque ad spiritualem *regenerationem* nihil quicquam ex penu *nostrarum virium* conferre possumus. Cum hac *regeneratione* conjuncta est *renovatio*, per quam *natura* nostra incipit legi divinæ *conformari*. Sed propter illas *novas qualitates* non *regeneramur*, &c. quin potius requiritur, ut prius per fidem in Christum mediatorem *Deo reconciliemur*, per Spiritum Sanctum *regeneremur*, et *ex gratia*, propter Christum, accipiamus *ὑιοθεσίαν*, antequam in operibus *bonis* ambulare possimus." Gerhard, *Loc. Comm.* tom. iii. 456.

P. 353. l. 3. "progress of the Christian life." "Memnisse debemus tantummodo peccatorum omnium plenam perfectamque remissionem *baptismo* fieri; hominis vero ipsius *qualitatem* non totam continuo commutari," &c. Augustin, *de Peccat. Meritis*, l. ii. c. 27. p. 64. tom. x.

Ibid. note c. Voss. *Hist. Pelag.* l. vi. *Thes.* xi. p. 746. tom. vi. Bull, *Apolog.* p. 668. *Wells*, 215.

Ibid. note d. "Gratia Dei non solum reatus omnium præteritorum solvitur in omnibus qui baptizantur *in Christo*, quod fit *Spiritu regenerationis*; verum etiam in grandibus *voluntas ipsa sanatur*, et præparatur a Domino, quod fit *spiritu fidei et charitatis*. Augustin, *Retract.* l. i. c. 13. p. 20. tom. i. edit. Bened.

P. 354. l. 12. "complete regeneration." Not complete as to its *ends* and *uses*; therefore not *complete* as to that *larger* notion of it, which *takes in* the ends and uses.

As faith without works is a dead faith, so regeneration in an adult is a kind of dead or dormant regeneration: but yet, as faith is faith, though works do not follow, so is regeneration, regeneration. And as faith, in its precise notion, does not mean *faith* and *works* both, so neither does regeneration, in its precise notion, signify both *regeneration* and *renovation*. As faith is *perfected* by works, so is regeneration *perfected* by renovation.

P. 355. l. 13. "special cases."] Three ways the Spirit might be given.

"1. *Aquam præstare Spiritum solitum.*

"2. *Et sanguinem proprium, hominibus præstare Spiritum solitum.*

"3. *Et ipsum quoque Spiritum præstare Spiritum solitum.*"—*Anonym. de Rebapt.* p. 364. ed. Bened.

Ibid. l. 17. "sign."] *Regeneration* was *prior* to baptism under the *patriarchal* and *legal* states, and was therefore *independent* of the *sign* of water *then*, and may be *now*. See Aug. *Enchirid.* c. 119. p. 241. *De Bapt.* l. iv. c. 24. p. 140. tom. ix.

"In Cornelio præcessit *sanctificatio* spiritualis in dono *Spiritus Sancti*, et accessit *sacramentum* regenerationis in lavacro baptismi." *August. ibid.*

Ibid. note h. For "quamdiu recenseatur," read, quamdiu non recenseatur.

P. 356. note o. "Ipsum est quod in nobis celebratur *magnum* baptismatis *sacramentum*, ut quicumque ad istam pertinent gratiam, *moriantur peccato*, sicut ipse *peccato mortuus* dicitur, quia mortuus est carni, hoc est, peccati similitudini; et vivant a lavacro *renascendo*, sicut ipse a sepulcro resurgendo, quamlibet corporis ætatem gerant." *August. Enchirid.* c. 42. p. 213. tom. vi. "Ideo enim quisque *renascitur*, ut solvatur in eo quicquid *peccati* est cum quo nascitur." *Ibid.* 214. Confer Aug. *Retract.* l. i. c. 13. p. 20. tom. i. edit. Bened. cited above.

P. 357. note r. "A parvulo enim *recens nato* usque ad decrepitum senem, sicut nullus est prohibendus a *baptismo*, ita nullus est qui non *peccato* moriatur in baptismo:

sed parvuli tantum *originali*, majores autem iis omnibus *moriuntur peccatis* quæcunque male vivendo addiderunt ad illud quod nascendo traxerunt." August. *Enchirid.* c. 43. p. 213. tom. vi.

P. 359. l. 4. "becomes again whole and entire." "Uti olim in *circumcisione* ita nunc in *baptismo*: Deus quidem promittit *gratiam*, et *vitam æternam*, homo autem *fidem* et *obedientiam*. Quod si a pacto resiliat homo, amittit ille quidem *jus postulandi* vitam æternam: at qui semper pacto stat, Deus, non perdit *jus suum* in hominem. Atqui baptismus additur *fœderi ex parte Dei*; si igitur non ex parte Dei, sed hominis, rumpitur *fœdus*, nihil attinet repeti, quod ex parte Dei [baptismus] obsignabat, sed duntaxat opus est ut homo *per pœnitentiam* redeat ad Deum, quo percipiat *fœderis* in baptismo *initi* fructum.

"Nempe, hic res se habet ut in *matrimonio*. Quemadmodum enim *maritus* si uxorem *adulteram* retinere volet, non eam novo se copulat *matrimonio*, sed ad prius revocat *fœdus*; similiter *Deus* spiritualiter *fornicantes* ad *conjugii* spiritualis *semel* *initi* *fœdus* redire item jubet." Vossius, tom. vi. 320.

Ibid. l. 28. "*water only*" "Certe qui nascuntur ex *aqua* et *Spiritu Sancto*, non *aquæ filios* eos rite dixerit quisquam; sed plane dicuntur filii *Dei Patris*, et *matris Ecclesiæ*." Aug. *Enchirid.* c. 39. p. 212. tom. vi.

P. 360. l. 4. "but with proper distinctions." *John's* baptism was distinguished from *Christ's* by this, that one was of *water* and the other of the *Spirit*. Acts i. 5; xi. 16. Conf. *Anonym. de Rebapt.* p. 354. See *August.* tom. ix. p. 158; and see p. 169, where Austin says, "*Simon ille Magus natus erat ex aqua et Spiritu.*"

"*Christi baptismus* est non in *aqua* tantum (sicut fuit *Johannis*) verum etiam in *Spiritu Sancto*, ut de illo *Spiritu regeneraretur* quisquis in Christum *credit*, de quo *Christus* generatus regeneratione non eguit." August. *Enchirid.* c. 48. p. 214. tom. vi.

Ibid. note b. Austin expressly allows the *Spirit* to be given in some part, or in some sense, in all *true* bap-

tism. Tom. ix. 116, 117. And p. 169 he is express that *Simon Magus* was born of the *Spirit*.

P. 361. l. 14. "whether good or bad."] Vid. *Austin*, tom. ix. p. 117.

Ibid. l. 27. "disqualifications"] They are therefore *born of the Spirit*, only not *salutarily* born. Vid. *Aust.* tom. ix. 169.

Ibid. note c. Conf. *August.* tom. ix. pp. 86, 87, 88, 89, 117, 133.

"*Simon ille Magus natus erat ex aqua et Spiritu*, et tamen non intravit in regnum cælorum." p. 169. A. D. 400. Conf. p. 157, 158.

"*Simon ille de Actibus Apostolorum acceperat lavacrum aquæ*, verum quia Spiritum non habebat, indutus non erat Christum." Hieronym. *ad Galat.* tom. iv. p. 214. A. D. 388.

"Idem *Spiritus*, etiam super *indignos* quoque sui, nonnunquam invenietur esse: non utique *otiose*, nec *sine ratione*, sed *necessariæ* alicujus *operationis* gratia, sicut super Saul fuit, super quem factus est *Spiritus Dei*, et propheta-
vit." *Anonym. de Rebaptismate.* Inter Opp. *Cypriani*, p. 364. ed. Bened. Compare St. Austin, p. 31, of *Serm.* note.

Though *Simon Magus* was born of *water and the Spirit*, yet he was not born of God in the sense of 1 John iii. 9.

"*Qui natus est ex Deo habet caritatem.* Ecce accepit sacramentum *nativitatis* homo *baptizatus*: sacramentum habet, et magnum sacramentum, divinum, sanctum, ineffabile. Considera quale: ut *novum hominem* faciat *demissione* omnium peccatorum. Attendat tamen *in cor*, si perfectum est ibi, quod factum est *in corpore*. Videat si habet *caritatem*, et tunc dicat, *natus sum ex Deo*. Habeat *caritatem*: aliter, non se dicat, *natum ex Deo*. Sed habeo, inquit, sacramentum. Audi Apostolum, 1 Cor. xiii. 2." *August.* tom. iii. par. 2. p. 859. A. D. 416.

P. 362. l. 12. "hitherto wanting."] Vid. *August. de Bapt.* l. 1. c. 10. pp. 87, 88. tom. ix. Conf. 79, 81, 91, 121, 145, 169, 419, 427, 447, 620.

P. 363. l. 28. "Jezebel"] Buddei *Eccles. Apost.* p. 401.

P. 364. note *h*. Bishop Smalbroke's *Answer to Quakers*, p. 183.

Ibid. l. 17. "Galatians"] Vide *Hieron.* in loco, p. 278. tom. iv.

Ibid. note *k*. *Calv. Inst.* l. iv. c. 16. et *Comm.* in loco-
Chamier, tom. iv. l. 5. c. 9. *Gomarus*, *Opp.* par. i. 261.
Maresius, p. 456. *Episcopus Dilemm. Pontific.* p. 159.
Schlictingius in loco. *Wolzogenius* in loco. *Hoornbeeckius*,
Theol. Pract. l. ix. c. 22. *Grotius* in loco. *Hottingerus*,
Thes. p. 246. *Cocceius*, tom. iv. 90. *Ittigii Exercit. Theol.*
p. 80.

P. 366. l. 26. "what has frequently happened,"] *St. Saulien's* confession to *Mrs. Bourignon. Abridgment of her Life*, p. 285. *Conf.* p. 238; and on *Solid Virtue*, part i. p. 86. "He told her, he was not what he had appeared to be; that, having from his youth a *haughty* mind, he desired to *distinguish* himself from the people; which, since he could not do by *birth* or *wealth*, he resolved to put on the appearance of *virtue* and *piety*, as being *more esteemed*, which made him practise outward works of *mortification* and *devotion*; that he learned to speak after so *sublime* a manner of *inward* things, by reading carefully *spiritual* books, and observing *her* words, sentiments, and way of behaviour; that the first time he saw her on the street, he was struck with *love* of her; and all he had done or said since was to insinuate into *her friendship*, and to enjoy her, by *love* or *force*, which he was resolved upon, though he should hang for it."

Ibid. note *l*. 1st parag. *Conf.* *Buddeus, Eccles. Apost.* p. 325.

P. 367. note *l*. 3d parag. "Cum—*falsa* dixisse deprehenderetur—ausus ejus *sacrilegos* fuisse, satis emeretur, cum ea non solum *ignorata*, sed etiam *falsa*, tam *vesana* superbiæ vanitati diceret, ut ea tamquam *divinæ* personæ tribuere sibi niteretur. — In illo autem qui *doctor*, qui *auctor*, qui *dux*, et *princeps* eorum, quibus illa suaderet ita fieri ausus est, ut qui eum sequerentur, non

quemlibet hominem sed Spiritum tuum sanctum se sequi arbitrarentur; quis tantam *dementiam* (sicubi falsa dixisse convinceretur) non *detestandam*, longeque abjiciendam esse judicaret?" August. *de Bapt.* p. 111.

P. 367. note l. 5th parag. Dr. Hammond in the year 1654, says of it, "The opinion that of late begins to diffuse itself among some." *Fundament. Opp.* tom. iv. p. 317.

P. 368. l. 23. "some secret rules of their own breasts." "Every one will have a familiar spirit of his own to teach him." Laney's *Sermon on Comprehension*, Gal. vi. 7, 8. A. D. 1675. p. 14.

"Here is no place in the text (Rom. viii. 16.) for private *revelations*, and I wish they had none amongst us; for under *colour* of them, every man will have a *private spirit*, though of his own making. Any vain *dream* or *imagination*, nay, any *wicked* or *devilish* suggestion, shall be an *impulse* of God's *Spirit*: it were happy for this kingdom and church if we could lay these *familiar spirits*: no *schism* in the church, no *mischief*s in the commonwealth, no *rebellious* practice which was not carried on by the *conduct* and *impulse* of these *spirits*. Thus by them they *trouble* the world, *deceive* simple men, and *work despite* to the *Spirit* of God." Laney, p. 17.

P. 369. l. 16. "dictates of the Spirit." To believe it a *divine* inspiration, and so not *controllable* by Scripture; this is to be *mad*, to be given up to all *delusion*, to surrender our *hearts* as a *blank table* for the *Devil* to write what he pleases upon, and to pass it as the engravings of the finger of God. And if there be no *light*, (i. e.) no *understanding* in us, but what is *divine*, we must think every thing *divine* that is written there; and then we are sealed up in *error*, from which there can be no returning, &c.

Ibid. note n. 3d parag. l. 5. "pretended principle"] "Which, when any man comes to be persuaded are the immediate dictates of the Holy Ghost, then is his *madness* in perfection. The Quakers have never yet been able to give us any *mark*, or *rule*, or *shew* of *reason* that they do not thus mistake all their own *wild imaginations* for the in-

spiration of God. That *assurance* does always accompany every error; for no man can be in any error who does not think himself to be in the right, else he were not in an *error*, but a wilful obstinacy, if he persisted in it after he knew it to be an error." *Leslie*, vol. ii. 262.

P. 371. note *t*. "Simonians."] Vid. Buddeus, *Eccles. Apost.* p. 355.

Ibid. "*good works*."] "Si ergo per hæc *miracula* non fiat modo *testimonium* præsentiae Spiritus Sancti; unde fit, unde cognoscit quisque accepisse se Spiritum Sanctum? Interroget *cor suum*; si diligit fratrem, manet *Spiritus Dei* in illo. Videat si est in illo dilectio *pacis* et *unitatis*—dilectio *Ecclesiae* toto terrarum orbe diffusæ.—Ergo, si vis nosse quia accepisti *Spiritum*, interroga cor tuum; ne forte *sacramentum* habes, et *virtutem* sacramenti non habes." *August.* tom. iii. par. 2. p. 868. See also the Valentinians, *Bull*, 531. Whitby's *Preface to the first Epistle of John*, p. 747.

P. 372. l. 24. "workings of their own minds."] "When men talk so much of the *Spirit*, if they take notice what they ordinarily *mean* by it, it is nothing else but a strong *impetuous motion*, whereby they are zealously and fervently carried in matters of religion; so that fervour, zeal, and spirit are all one." *Henry More*, p. 16.

P. 373. l. 6. "Judas."] *Judas* and *Ananias* had *impulses* upon them to do evil; therefore there is no trusting to *impulses*, barely considered *as such*. *Judas* and *Ananias* might have *good meanings* along with their impulses (for *false colours* are easily laid upon any wickedness whatever;) therefore there is no trusting to *impulses* and *good meanings* jointly considered, much less to bare impulses considered by themselves, however strong or impetuous.

Ibid. note *b*. Compare Mrs. Bourignon's *Warning against Quakers*, Pref. p. ix—xix. c. 17.

Ibid. l. 21. "*good meanings*."] He might have been made to think that he had not so *absolutely* dedicated all to God, as not to have reserved a liberty to himself of *se-*

cond thoughts: he might design what he reserved for *pious* uses, being willing still to have it in his power to do acts of *munificence*. As it was an *heroic* act, a kind of *supererogation*, to leave himself *no private property*, he might conceive that he had more liberty in such a case than in a point of strict duty. He was, no doubt, a *very pious, zealous* man; but yet he had a mind to have the *credit* of greater piety than he really had.

P. 375. l. 18. "and therefore we have the Spirit." See *Homily for Whitsunday*, and *Church on Regeneration*, p. 42.

Ibid. note i. See Laney on *Gal.* vi. 7, 8; p. 15. "To clear our understanding by removing *pride* and *prejudice* that obscure it, to inflame us with a *true love* of truth; not to *dictate* or reveal any thing which is not seen in the Gospel, as well by the eyes of others as our own."

"*Testimonium illud internum non est testimonium proprie dictum, quasi Spiritus Sanctus cuiquam proprie revelaret speciatim, hoc vel illud dogma esse verum, ut ita illud cognoscat ex duplici revelatione, quorum altera est externa in verbo Dei, altera interna quam quilibet accipiat immediate a Deo, non secus ac prophetæ divinitus inspirati. Hic enim esset purus putus enthusiasmus, quem theologi omnes hic uno ore rejiciunt. Quæ igitur hac in re partes sunt Spiritus Sancti? Audivimus ab initio rationes credendi tales esse ut in corde rite disposito, fidem producant. Hæc vero cordis dispositio est gratiæ Dei et Spiritus Sancti: unde petenda ab eo assiduis precibus,*" &c. Werenfels. tom. ii. *Lect. Hermeneut.* p. 334.

Ibid. note k. See Norris on *Humil.* p. 259.

P. 376. l. 2. "the proud Pharisee." "Jam sciens homo gratia Dei se esse quod est, non incidat in alium *superbiæ laqueum*, ut de ipsa Dei gratia se extollendo *spernat* cæteros. Quo vitio alius ille Pharisæus, et de bonis quæ habebat Deo *gratias* agebat, et tam se super *publicanum* peccata confitentem extollebat." August. *de S. Virginitate*, c. 43. p. 363. tom. vi. See Norris's *Humility*, 127, 129, 130, 174. Bull, *Posth.* vol. ii. p. 209.

P. 376. l. 16. "the life and spirit of true Christianity."]
It is an unaccountable perverseness and madness to turn that into matter of *pride* and *vainglory* which was intended for the purposes of *humility*; as also to turn the fear and love of God, which are the *checks* and *restraints*, into *incentives* to iniquitous proceedings; as also to turn *preservatives* into *snare*s, and *food* into *poison*; so as to leave no possibility of cure without a *miracle*. More hopes of an *atheist* than of an *enthusiast*.

P. 378. l. penult. "*immediate* revelation."]
"Quotus enim quisque nostrum per revelationem Christi didicit et non homine prædicante cognovit?" Hieron. *ad Gdl.* i. 1. tom. iv. p. 230.

P. 379. l. 4. "*delusions*."]
See *Leslie*, vol. ii. p. 262.
"There can be no *returning* while we keep in that principle. The Scriptures can be no reproof or check upon us while we think that what we call *light* within is *superior* to the Scriptures, and by which the Scriptures themselves were given forth. And *reason*, which is *human*, and as these men term it *carnal*, can never be admitted by them to rectify what they think *divine*; so that all *avenues* are stopped to their *recovery*. This is the most *dreadful* condition that any man can be supposed to be in; it is *desperate* to every thing but a *miracle*: therefore you see what reason we have to remove men from this principle." Ibid.
Compare Bourignon's *Warnings against Quakers*. Pref. p. ix. p. 334.

Ibid. l. 22. "*godly*."]
See *Leslie*, Pref. p. ii. *Church*, Pref. p. iv.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

ON THE SIXTH CHARGE,

ENTITLED,

THE SACRAMENTAL PART OF THE EUCHARIST
EXPLAINED.

See vol. viii. pp. 225—281.

P. 228. note *b*. “Dr. Grabe”] “Grabium cujus ingenium novarum et portentosarum opinionum tenax nemini ignotum est.” Deyling. *Observat. Miscell.* p. 177.

“Nec tamen id dissimulamus, ipsum, antequam ad Anglos abiret, ad ecclesiam Romanam transire omnino voluisse, et quidem hanc præcipue ob rationem, quod crediderat, successionem episcopatus ministeriique apostolici in ea sola inveniri.” Pfaffius, p. 500.

P. 230. note *k*. “1120”] or 1130.

Ibid. “Hugo de S. Victore dicit, quod Sacramentum ex sanctificatione invisibilem gratiam continet.” Aquin. par. 3. Q. 62. Art. 3. p. 138.

“Sacramentum est corporale vel materiale elementum—ex sanctificatione continens invisibilem et spiritualem gratiam.” Hugo de S. Vict. t. iii. *de Sacramentis*, par. 9. c. 1. p. 405.

“Dona enim gratiæ spiritualia quasi quædam invisibilia antidota sunt, quæ dum in sacramentis visibilibus, quasi quibusdam *vasculis*, homini porriguntur, quid aliud quam ex patenti specie virtus occulta ostenditur?” p. 406. edit. Colon. 1617.

P. 230. l. 15. *Alp. Cranmer*, pp. 338. 340. 341. 355.

Ibid. note *m*. “Novatian. c. xix.”] xxiv.

P. 230. After note *m.* add, καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἐκεῖνο ἦν-
ται τῷ Χριστῷ, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου τούτου ἐνούμεθα.
Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 24. p. 213.

P. 231. l. 19. After "wine" insert, "on earth." Which
also seems to be the meaning of all the ancient Liturgies,
in which it is prayed, that God would send down *his Spi-*
rit upon the bread and wine in the Eucharist, p. 22. alias
246. Conf. *Spalatens.* l. v. c. 6. p. 85. *Salmas.* p. 395.

Ibid. l. 29. "illapse"] The illapse of the second Person
was prayed for likewise. "Sacerdotes quoque qui dant
baptismum, et ad Eucharistiam *Domini imprecantur adven-*
tum, faciunt oleum chrismatis, manum imponunt." Hie-
ron. in *Sophon.* iii. p. 1673. "Crede adesse *Dominum*
Jesum, invocatum precibus sacerdotum." Pseud. Ambr.
de *iis qui mysteriis initiantur.* c. 5. But vid. *Missal. Gal-*
lican. in *Pfaffio* 383. This relates to baptism.

The whole Trinity sometimes invoked. Vid. Justin.
Apol. 96. Cyrill. *Mystag.* i. t. vii. p. 308. conf. *Pfaffius*,
384. 385. 399.

..... "Improprie ergo, in Sacramentis participan-
dis, *verbo carne vesci* dicimur, cum *carne* tantum per *ver-*
bum facta *vivificante* vescamur. Sed nec ipsam carnem
proprie sumimus, quæ in pane sanctificato *sub sacramento*
nobis communicatur." Salmasius, *contra Grot.* p. 156.

P. 232. l. 10. "The work of the Holy Ghost upon the
"elements."] "1. Papists say, the Holy Ghost *transub-*
stantiates the elements.

"2. Lutherans, that he *unites* them with the *natural*
body locally present.

"3. Modern Greeks, that he *fills* them with himself, or
with his grace or energy.

"4. Ancients, that he makes them exhibitiv *symbols* of
Christ's body locally absent, and of all the benefits accru-
ing from it, conveying them to the *communicants* in the
use of the symbols. They are *changed*—They have a
dignity and *preeminence* which they had not before—They
are not now *common* bread or *common* wine, but the *Sa-*
crament of the body and blood of Christ. A *holy mys-*

tery—a covenant—a testimony—a perfect seal and sufficient warrant of God's promises," &c. Jewel, *Treatise of the Sacraments*, p. 274. ed. 1611.

"Consecratio nullam pani et vino *mutationem* inducit nisi ut ex his fiat per eam *sacramentum*. Fides deinde sacramentum digne accipientis facit ut *spiritualiter* illud percipiat: id est, ut *spirituali* ejus *virtuti* communicet, et Spiritus Dei particeps existat. Nec huic veritati obstat, quod Patres sæpe δύναμιν ἄπρου appellent &c. Non enim intelligunt eam esse panis virtutem, aut pani *inesse*, sed quia *cum pane* simul accipitur ab eo qui digne eam accipit." *Salmasius*, p. 429.

P. 233. l. 6. "first six centuries"] "When Gelasius speaks of the *going of the sacraments into the divine substance*, he meaneth not that the substances of the sacraments go into the substance of God, but that in the action of that mystery, to them that *worthily* receive the sacraments, *to them* they be turned into the Divine substance, through the working of the Holy Ghost, who maketh the godly receivers to be partakers of the Divine nature and substance." *Cranmer*, 356. comp. 358. N. B. The *outward* change as to *relative* holiness, belongs to the elements, but the *inward* change to the *persons* only.

Ibid. l. 21. "signify—signifies"] *Read*, signified.

Ibid. note t. "Jewel"] Add, *Treatise of Sacraments*. Add also, *Salmasius*, pp. 350, 351, &c.

P. 234. l. 2. *Dele* "literally."

Ibid. l. 9. "spiritually"] The doctrine of eating *spiritually* was preserved even in *Pasch. Radbert*. *Opp.* pp. 1567. 1570. 1571. 1583. 1626.

Ibid. note z. *For* "168" *read* 164.

P. 235. l. 2. "longer"] That doctrine was preserved in the old English or Saxon Church down to the 10th or 11th century, as appears from *Ælfric*, who thus speaks in his Saxon Homily on Easter-day.

"We do now spiritually (ζαφελice) receive or eat Christ's body, and drink his blood, when we receive (or eat) with true belief, that holy housel (hurel)." p. 3. ed. Lisle.

“Non sit tamen sacramentum corpus ejus in quo passus est pro nobis, nec sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit, sed *spiritualiter* corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis sicut manna quod de cœlo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit.” Ælfric. *ep. ad Wulstan. Wanley.* 58. ann. circiter 950 et 941.

P. 235. after note *b.* add, But they seem to have used *type* and *symbol* promiscuously, and to have rejected them both. Οὐκ εἶπε, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ σώματός μου, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ αἵματός μου, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου· διδάσκων ἡμᾶς μὴ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν ὁρᾶν τοῦ προκειμένου, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς γενομένης εὐχαριστίας εἰς σάρκα καὶ αἷμα μεταβάλλεσθαι. Theodor. Mopsuest. in *Possini Catena in Matth.* xxvi. 26. p. 350.

Ibid. l. 21. “aphthartodocetæ”] and *Aphthartistæ*, ἀφθαρτισταί.

Ibid. l. 26. “680”] 685. *Oudin.* t. i. p. 1663.

Ibid. note *c.* “rebus”] Add, quæ iis significantur.

Ibid. note *e.* In the 11th century arose another dispute, namely, whether the *consecrated* elements were themselves *corruptible*. So that the very premises on which Anastasius built his argument for the *corruptible* nature of the *thing signified* was disputed. For since our *Lord's body* was held *incorruptible*, it was now pretended that the eucharistical body, being the same, was *incorruptible* also. vide *Salmasius*, p. 344. the natural consequence of transubstantiation.

P. 236. l. 13. “Gaianites”] “Videntur isti homines credidisse omnem panem communem esse *antitypum* corporis Christi, quia Christus in *pane* sacramenta constituit sui corporis: at post consecrationem, cum desinat esse *communis* panis et *simplex*, desinere esse *antitypum* corporis, quia jam sit *ipsum* corpus.” *Salmas.* pp. 340. 341.

Ibid. l. 18. “which was to be proved.”] “Frivolum et ineptum est argumentum: ex re sequeretur *imaginem* cujuslibet rei aut personæ iisdem vitiis plane esse obnoxiam ut ipsum *architypum*, vel ipsa res cujus est imago.—At illi negant panem eucharistiæ, quem *corruptibilem* asseve-

rant, esse ἀντίτυπον corporis Christi. Sed quod negant, res ipsa, velint nolint, ostendit." *Salmasius*, p. 343.

P. 236. *After note g. add*, The Greeks that came later, *Nicephorus, Theodorus Graptus, Samonas, Marcus Ephesius, Theophylactus, Meletius, &c.* followed the same scent. See *Pfaffius*, pp. 141. 142. And so Pasch. Radbert. in *Matth.* p. 1626.

P. 237. *After note i. add*, N.B. After that transubstantiation took place, many denied that the consecrated elements were corruptible. This happened in the 11th century, near 400 years after Anastasius. 1066. Vid. *Guilmund.* t. ii. p. 447.

P. 238. l. 14. "very difficult"] "Ut quotidie de novo creetur infinitis in locis corpus Christi corruptibile, cum sanguine pariter corruptibili, et separato a proprio corpore, ut effusus est ex latere ejus in cruce, id vero nullo modo credibile dictu est, nec possibile factu.—non mirum est porro Græculos istos neotericos doctores in re obscura exponenda, variis semetipsos implicasse contradictionibus." *Salmas.* pp. 345, 346.

Ibid. l. 24. "his notion"] See the weakness and inconsistency of the notion fully exposed in *Salmasius*, p. 345, &c.

"Isti volunt ex pane, corruptionis omni labi obnoxio, confici corpus Christi frangendum, similiter ut in cruce ipse fractus est, et multis aliis præterea vitiis mucoris, putrefactionis, verminationis corrumperendum, quæ non sensit tum corpus Christi:—Quod non solum est ἀτοπώτατον, sed etiam maxime impium cogitatu. Non mirum est porro Græculos istos" &c. *Ibid.* pp. 345, 346.

P. 239. note o. "given"] *Read*, eaten.

Ibid. l. 25. "Damascen."] *Read*, John Damascen.

P. 240. l. 7. "the ancients"] "Locutiones figuræ, imaginis et antitypi aliquid mutationis octavo sæculo apud Græcos accepisse facile conciperim." *Simon. not. ad Gabr. Sever.* 230.

Ibid. *After note q. add*, Conf. Conc. Nicen. ii. Act. vi. p. 370. Hard.

P. 240. *After note r. add*, Salmasius *de Transubst. contra Grot.* pp. 338, 339. &c. Simon. *not. in Gabr. Philadelph.* p. 230. Pfaffius *in Iren. Fragm.* p. 140.

Ibid. l. 18. "very terms"] Vid. Jewel, *Answer to Hard.* p. 335. Salmasius, p. 341. 445.

Ibid. l. 28. "and sometimes"] "Paulus Diaconus Aquileiensis A. D. 785. Præscius conditor noster infirmitatis nostræ, ea potestate qua cuncta fecit ex nihilo, et corpus sibi ex carne semper-virginis, operante Sancto Spiritu, fabricavit, panem et vinum aqua mixtum, manente propria specie, in carnem et sanguinem suum, ad catholicam fidem, ob reparationem nostram Sancti Spiritus sanctificatione convertit." *In Vit. Gregorii M.* Then Paulus reports a pretended miracle of Gregory, to convert a woman and to confirm the doctrine.

P. 241. *After note u. add*, Conf. *Paschal. Radb.* c. 3. p. 1563. IV. 1565. 1588. Gratian. *de Consecrat.* dist. 2. Paulus Diaconus *in Vit. Gregor.* 1. A. D. 734. *Missal. Goth. in Missa Leudegarii* A. D. 780. Steph. *Advers.* A. D. 1113.

Ibid. *After note x. add*, Euseb. *in Isai.* p. 385. Cyrill. Hierosol. *Catech.* 17. c. 6. p. 266. Gregor. Nazianz. Or. 38, et 42. Marius Victorin. *contr. Arian.* l. i. Gregor. *Moral.* l. xviii. c. 12. *Homil. in Evang.* 33. Beda *in loc.*

P. 242. l. 21. "attempted not to get out"] *Add*, excepting only a few short hints.

Ibid. l. 24. "suggesting"] *Add*, and enforcing.

Ib. Subjoin to note z. Damascen had hinted this matter before, in his book, l. iv. p. 270, but had not explicitly opened his meaning. "Ὡςπερ φυσικῶς διὰ τῆς βρώσεως ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τῆς πόσεως εἰς σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ ἐσθίουτος καὶ πίνοντος μεταβάλλονται, καὶ γίνονται ἕτερον σῶμα παρὰ τὸ πρότερον αὐτοῦ σῶμα· οὕτως ὁ τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτος, οἶνός τε καὶ ὕδωρ, διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὑπερφῶς μεταποιῶνται, εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ αἷμα, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο, ἀλλ' ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτό.

P. 243. *Add to note b.* And others referred to by Zornius, *Histor. Eucharist. Infant.* p. 457.

P. 244. l. 13. "divinely sanctified"] "Consecrare idem

est Latinis scriptoribus quod *deum facere*: ut de illis qui in numerum deorum referebantur, quæ est Græcorum ἀποθέωσις." Salmas. *de Transubst.* pp. 437. 439. 443.

P. 244. l. 17. "replenished"] "Simulachra consecrari dicebantur, cum deus cui dedicabantur, in ea certis carminibus eliciebatur, ut divinitate sua illa *repleret*, et in simulachro deus ipse *præsens* haberi et coli videretur." *Idem*, p. 438. conf. 443.

Ibid. note *f.* After φουικῆς dele comma.

Ibid. After note *f.* add, "Non enim δύνανται aut virtutem divinam ex verbis consecrationis *inditam* esse *pani* crediderunt, quamvis et spiritum *invocatum*, de cælo *descendere* dixerunt, et *adesse*, et præsentia sua *vegetare* et *implere* species elementorum in mensa dominica positas." *Salmas.* p. 443. conf. 446.

P. 245. l. 13. "800."] *Read*, 806.

P. 246. note *n.* "ibid."] *Read*, vid.

P. 247. l. 21. "figure, or image"] These words were kept in the English-Saxon Church 200 years later, as appears by Ælfric. "This mystery is a *pledge* and a *figure*: Christ's body is *truth* itself: this pledge we do hold mystically, until we come to the *truth* itself, and then there is an end of the *pledge*." *Sax. Hom. on Easter-day*, pp. 7, 8.

P. 247. l. 29. "The western parts appear to have retained just ideas of the holy Eucharist."] Yet Paulus Diaconus (who died in 801) is an exception, in what he says in his Life of Gregory. And one may reasonably judge that transubstantiation was then first creeping in, by their feigning of *miracles* to support the novelty.

P. 248. l. 12. "the great variety of systems soon set up"] Vid. Guitmund. *de Verit. Euchar.* l. 1. pp. 441. 442. *Bibl. PP.* tom. xviii. l. 3. p. 460. *Algerus*, tom. xxi. p. 251.

P. 249. note *s.* *Read*, *Sacram.* part 2. p. 6. About A. D. 1060.

Ibid. l. 12. "Impanation, a name following the analogy of the word Incarnation"] A. D. 1070. circiter. Sic *Guitmundus*. "Quæ insania est, ut Christum, ut ita dixerim, sua autoritate *impanent* et *invinent*? Christum *incar-*

nari humanæ redemptionis ratio exposcebat: at *impanari* vel *invinari* Christum nulla expetit ratio." *Bibl. PP.* tom. xviii. p. 461. unde nova hæc *companatio*? *Ibid.* p. 461. lib. iii. conf. p. 464. 1130. *Algerus*, p. 251. tom. xxi. *Bibl. PP.* p. 260.

P. 249. *After note t. add*, "Ad hanc ipsis fanaticam credulitatem præivere veterum patrum scripta *non bene intellecta*, et recentiorum de realitate et præsentia corporis Christi dogma.

"Ex his duobus monstris *tertium* composuerunt de ista *hypostatica* unitate panis et divinitatis: quasi divinitas *assumpto* pane eum faceret *corpus* Christi, non mutata tamen nec destructa panis substantia." *Salmas.* p. 416.

Ibid. *After note u. add*, *Salmasius*, p. 390.

Ibid. *After note w. add*, *Paris.* tom. xii. *Colon.* t. xxi. *Lugd.* p. 221.

P. 250. "Quod *Sacramentum* est Augustino, Irenæo est *res terrena*: quod huic *res cœlestis* illi est *res sacramenti*, sive *corpus Christi*.—Hæc *res sacramenti* et *virtus sacramenti*,—etiam *veritas sacramenti* dicitur, et *spiritus*, et *gratia* nempe *spiritalis*, et *corpus Christi*, *spiritale* scilicet." *Salmas.* pp. 163. 165. The body considered as *corporally* present in heaven, is *corpus naturale* et *sensibile*, but considered as *spiritually* present in the Eucharist, is *corpus spiritale*, *intelligibile*.

Ibid. note y. For *φθόρας* read *φθορᾶς*.

Ibid. in fine *add*, *Cranmer*, b. iv. p. 276.

P. 251. *After note b. add*, Conf. ejusdem Remigii *Exposit. Missa* *Bibl. PP.* tom. xvi. p. 957. sive de celebratione missæ.

Ibid. l. 25. For "resolves" read *resolved*.

Ibid. note c. *Add*, p. 287. ed. Hittorp.

P. 252. l. 16. See *Cranmer*, p. 356. above, p. 233. *Review*, vol. vii. p. 298. et seqq.

Ibid. l. 25. "to the *worthy* only." "Ea igitur *communio* spiritus et panis, spiritus et vini, quam Patres in his sacramentis fieri dicunt, non in ipso *pane* fit, neque in ipso *calice*, sed in *corde* sumentis per fidem." *Salmasius*, p. 429.

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See below, pp. 255. 277. and compare *Pfaffius*, pp. 414. 431. 432. 446.

“Ex istis apparet totidem exortas fuisse hæreses circa *præsentiam* corporis Christi in eucharistia quot olim fuere circa *verbi incarnationem* in eo mysterio: cum alii κατ’ ἀλλοίωσιν eam extitisse dicerent, alii κατὰ μετακίνησιν, alii κατὰ περικλασμόν. Huic postremæ par est *Lutheranorum* sententia.” *Salmas.* p. 422.

“Non sanctificatur ut sit tam magnum *Sacramentum*, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei.” *Augustin. de Trin.* l. iii. c. 4.

P. 253. l. 3. “bread-sacrifice”] “Ne forte ob hoc censeamur indigni, si non satis discernimus illud, nec intelligimus, mysticum Christi corpus et sanguis quanta polleat dignitate, quantaque præmineat virtute, et discernatur a corporeo gustu, ut sit *præstantius* omni sacrificio veteris testamenti.” *Paschal. Radbert.* c. 2. *Opp.* p. 1559. *Algerus*, 268.

“Christi caro est, quæ pro mundi vita adhuc hodie offertur.” 555. When bread was once supposed to be literally *that body* which was *sacrificed*, it must of course be thought a sacrifice: hence *bread-sacrifice*.

Ibid. note *h.* For “Chemier” read Chamier, and add, See below, pp. 275, 276. “Quomodo, dicente Bernardo, confertur Canonicatus per dationem *libri*, Abbatis præfectura per *baculum*, Episcopatus per *annulum*: quomodo de consensu contrahentium per traditionem *authentici instrumenti* confertur hæreditas, quomodo etiam ex *nummo uno* fit *arrha*, quæ valet ad solutionem mille nummorum; sic ex pacto et conventionem inter Deum et hominem, ad *dignam* sacramentorum perceptionem *gratia* divina confertur, et cœlestis hæreditatis *arrha*. Quæ est sententia non *nostræ* duntaxat *ecclesiæ*, sed et primorum *Romanensium*, tum veterum *Halensis*, *Gandavensis*, *Bonaventuræ*, *Scoti*; tum etiam multorum recentium, Cani, Vasquesii.” *Ward*, p. 44.

P. 254. l. 4. “in his hands”] *Read*, into his hands.

Ibid. l. 8. “into his mouth.”] “His body and blood

are by this Sacrament *assured* to be no less *ours* than *his* —He hath made himself all *ours*. Ours his *passions*, ours his *merits*, ours his *victory*, ours his *glory*. And therefore he giveth *himself* and *all his* in this sacrament wholly up to us." Archbishop Sandys, *Serm.* XV. p. 134. See *Review*, vol. vii. p. 141.

P. 254. note i. "were the same"] A. D. 890. *Ratram* opposed transubstant. A. D. 1035. circit. *Berengarius* began to oppose that doctrine: condemned in several Councils, 1050. 1053. 1055. 1059. 1078. 1079. He died A. D. 1088.

Ibid. "the elements are that"] *Read*, the elements literally are that.

Ibid. in fin. *Add*, The Anglo-Saxon Church retained the old distinctions till the close of the 10th century, as appears from *Ælfrick's Saxon Homily on Easter-day*, p. 7. He was Abp. of Cant. 993. and died A. D. 1006.

P. 255. l. 12. *Dele* "eleventh or"

Ibid. l. 14. *For* "Arnoldus" *read* Arnaldus.

Ibid. *For* "1140" *read* 1162.

Ibid. l. 18. "1."] "Invocatio illa Dei et benedictio non *illigat* Spiritum pani, nec *includit*; sed panem *sanctificat*, ut possit ab eo qui fidem habet, et mundus est, *digne* et cum *efficacia*, non solum sacramentaliter, sed etiam spiritaliter participari." *Salmas.* p. 428.

"Nos non dicimus Sacramenta conferre gratiam per ullam illis *inditam* aut vim aut qualitatem, sive naturalem sive supernaturalem, quod est gratiam conferre per modum causæ physicæ: sed dicuntur ex nostræ Ecclesiæ sententia" &c. Ward, *Determ.* p. 44. See below, p. 276.

"Cum patres hæc conjuncta esse asserunt, et Sacramentum a sua virtute minime sejungi dicunt, non intelligunt eum spiritum, sive spiritalem gratiam, pani ipsi *inseparabiliter* adhærere, sed in *ipso corde* ipsius *accipientis* eam unitatem effici per *fidem*: quam qui non præstat, is non communicat *corpori*, sed sacramentum, hoc est, *nudum signum* accipit, non *virtutem* sacramenti: *signum* non *rem*

signi percipit." *Salmasius*, 427. See above, p. 252. below, 277. and *Pfaffius*, 414. 431. 432. 446.

P. 256. After note q. add, Compare *Cranmer*, pp. 34. 56. 58. 74. 141. 172. 192. 208. 211. 212. 327. 413.

P. 256. note q. l. 7. For "speech" read speaking.

Ibid. l. 10. For "made" read ordained.

Ibid. note r. l. pen. After "p. 102." insert, *Discuss. Dialectics*, p. 78.

Ibid. After note r. add, "Here you grant that Christ's body was made of bread. And then it must follow, that either Christ had *two bodies*, (the one made of *flesh* of the Virgin Mary, the other of *bread*,) or else that the self-same body was made of two diverse matters, and at diverse and sondry times." *Cranmer*, 297.

P. 257. l. 17. "the notion of two true bodies of Christ"] See *Cranmer*, p. 297.

Ibid. l. 22. "that momentous principle"] See *Review*, vol. vii. pp. 169. 170. 183. 188. 191. 192. 193.

P. 258. l. 14. For "it" read them.

P. 259. l. 3. "the system which he had before formed "in his mind"] "Patrum multitudine putavit Harchius suum illud commentum aperte confirmari; illis certe non dissimilis quibus si specillis vindicibus utantur *viridia* omnia apparent." *Beza*, 182. fol. edit.

P. 260. l. 10. "Dat ergo nobis Christus in hoc Sacramento duplicem spiritum suum, existens verus *Elias*. In pane quidem spiritum proprium *verbum* ipsum et Dei *sapientiam*: in vino spiritum qui a Patre *procedit* et Filio: in utroque vero *essentiam* totius beatæ *Trinitatis*." Harch. p. 182. *Patr. Consens.*

P. 263. l. 23. "and with them"] Yet he blames the Papists in strong terms, p. 232 of the same treatise, of 1576. "Veritatem ipsam pro *imagine* prætendunt, et *signum* adorant simpliciter pro *signato*. Et cum *corpus Christi* (quod est *ecclesia* per eucharistiæ panem figurata) debuissent et commendasse et *obtulisse* Deo patri, per Christum, *ipsum Christum* Deo patri commendant, et eum pro *proprio* et *novo* Ecclesiæ sacrificio, se in manibus te-

nere, hic in terra vere *carneum, cruentum, osseumque*, et ore comedere persuadent: parum memores illius *Origenis* in Leviticum dicentis: jejunans debes adire pontificem Christum, qui utique non in terra quærendus est, sed *in cælo*, et per ipsum debes offerre Deo hostiam." Harch. *Patr. Consens.* p. 232.

"*Christus spiritualis* offertur mente et manu re vera: at *Christus homo carneus et animatus* offertur sola mente, per ipsius symbola, panem et vinum." p. 240.

"Quemve non reddet Deo Patri propitium *unigenitus Dei Filius* in hoc pane præsens et oblatus?" p. 264.

P. 265. note a. For "reportarem" read reportarim.

P. 268. After note o. add, Chamier. *Panstrat.* vol. iv. pp. 91. 93. Hooker, book v. n. 57. 67.

Ibid. After note s. add, Sadeel, pp. 145. 203. 421.

P. 269. After note y. add, 172. Rivet. t. ii. 136. Hooker, book v. n. 67. Towerson, 245.

P. 270. l. 7. "distinction between external and internal "eating"] The same distinction was observed for the same purpose. *G. Paschal. Radbert.* p. 1568.

P. 271. l. 2. "joining together incompatible ideas"] "Duplex est homo, qui comedit, *externus et internus*: duplex *manducatio*, qua comeditur, *externa et interna*: duplex etiam *cibus* qui comeditur, *externus et internus*: *externus cibus* ab externo homine, *externa manducatione* comeditur: *internus* ab interno *interna manducatione* participatur." *Salmasius*, p. 426.

P. 273. l. 3. "The great question between the Romanists "and us."] "Missa, sicubi a sacerdote celebrari solet, neque sacrificium *propitians* est, neque *laudis* aut *gratiarum actionis*, neque Deo *accepta* aut *probata*, sed *horribilis et detestabilis* res, de qua Servatoris illud verissime dici poterit, Quod celsum est coram hominibus, id *abominandum* est coram Deo." Cranmer, *Defens. Doctrin. de Sacramento*, p. 150.

P. 274. After note n. add, Davenant. *Determ.* p. 108. *Salmasius*, p. 429. &c. Ward, *Determ.* p. 62. *Spalatensis* 910. after "Sadeelis, p. 382." read p. 362.

P. 275. note *q*. Before "Alanus" insert, ad quascunque sanitates producendas: cum ipsæ qualitates sanativas actu *inhærentes* atque *stabiles* non haberent.

P. 275. After note *s*. add, Conf. Davenant. *Determin.* 23. pp. 108, 109. Ward, *Determ.* pp. 62. 44.

P. 276. note *t*. in fin. read, 382. and add, "Nos non dicimus sacramenta conferre gratiam per unam illis *inditam* aut vim aut qualitatem (sive naturalem, sive supernaturalem) quod est gratiam conferre per modum *causæ physicæ*: sed dicuntur, ex nostræ Ecclesiæ sententia, *efficacia* gratiæ *signa*, quia *divina virtus* hisce sacramentis ad producendum gratiæ effectum, certo et infallibiliter ex tenore fœderis et Christi promissione, *assistit*, ut viz. rationem habeant causæ *sine qua non*, vel potius causæ instrumentalis, generaliter dictæ, instrumentum *morale* vocant." Sam. Ward, *Determ.* p. 44.

P. 277. l. 10. "to enrich the elements with *grace-giving*, or *life-giving* powers." "Ea igitur *commixtio* spiritus et panis quam patres in his sacramentis fieri dicunt, non in ipso pane fit, neque in ipso calice, sed in *corde* sumentis per fidem." *Salmas.* 429. see above, pp. 252. 255. Compare *Pfaffius*, 414. 431. 432. 446. "Neither the bread nor the water giveth life—but only the might and power of Christ that is *in them*: and yet not *in them* reserved, but in the *action* and ministration: as is manifest from his (Epiphanius's) words." *Cranmer*, p. 327.

P. 278. l. 5. "Christian. But"] Read, Christian: and *Ibid.* After note *b*. add, Conf. *Salmas.* pp. 26, 27.

P. 280. l. 12. "a Melchisedekian sacrifice." "Si fuit in cœna sacerdos, ut volunt, juxta ordinem *Melchisedech*, in cruentum offerendo sacrificium, qualis in cruce sacerdos fuit, ubi sanguis est effusus? Nil deest ad illorum stultitiam ecclesiæ propinandam, nisi ut dicant (quemadmodum insipidissimus rabula *Smythæus* aliquando scripsit, et postea publice Londini A. D. 1549, ad crucem D. Pauli recantavit) Christum in cruce tantum fuisse sacerdotem secundum ordinem *Aaronis*." Pet. Mart. *contr. Gar-*

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din. p. 60. conf. Fulke in *Hebr.* vii. pp. 748, 749. *Heskyns*
(1566.) b. i. c. 13. p. 28. c. 28. p. 70. *Vasquez.* 533.
Alanus, 534. Append. 41. 54. 28.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

ON THE SEVENTH CHARGE,

ENTITLED,

DISTINCTIONS OF SACRIFICE.

See vol. viii. pp. 283—364.

P. 351. note *h*. For “ut nihil sit,” read, ut nihil hic sit.
After “usum eorum” insert a comma.

P. 352. l. 18. “Lord, or God, or the like,”]

Καὶ σὺ, τάλαν, παλάμῃσι τεαῖς ἢ μύστιν ἐδωδὴν

Δέξῃ θαρσαλέως, ἢ θεὸν ἀγκαλίσεις

Χείρεσιν, αἷς διόρυξας ἐμὸν τάφον;

Nazianz. *Epigram*. p. 151. in *Anecd. Græc.*

Murator: A. D. 1709.

P. 353. note *s*. After “celebration of his death,” insert,
and the applying it to the present and future necessities
of the Church, as we are capable, by a ministry like to
his in heaven. After “Taylor, Great Exempl.” for
“p. 407.” read p. 497.

P. 356. l. 1. For “the” read those.

P. 364. l. 15. For “*ursum*” read *rursus*.

Ibid. l. 17. Between “*resipiscentiæ*, *pœnitentiæ*,” omit
the comma, and insert *ac*.

Ibid. l. 19. For “*Deo*” read in *Deum*.

THE END.



