

AN EXPOSITION
OF THE
THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

HISTORICAL AND DOCTRINAL.

BY
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EDITED, WITH NOTES, BY THE

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TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

CONNOP,

Lord Bishop of St. David's, and Visitor of St. David's College,

**IN AFFECTIONATE GRATITUDE FOR UNSOUGHT AND UNEXPECTED KINDNESS, AND
WITH DEEP RESPECT FOR PROFOUND INTELLECT AND HIGH CHRISTIAN
INTEGRITY, THE FOLLOWING PAGES**

Are Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S ATTACHED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFATORY NOTE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

THE BISHOP OF ELY having kindly given his assent to the proposal for a reprint of his admirable Lectures on the Articles, it has fallen to the lot of the American Editor to add a few notes, which, it is hoped, may prove useful. These are all placed in brackets, with the Editor's initials; not because they are deemed to possess any special value, but, simply, to relieve the Author from any responsibility for them.

The volume thus presented to American Students of Theology needs no words of commendation. The Editor has employed it, in instruction, for many years, with an ever-growing sense of its value.

J. W.

BERKELEY DIVINITY SCHOOL,
February, 1864.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Réformation was not the work, either of a year, or of a generation. Its foundation was laid both in the good and in the evil qualities of our nature. Love of truth, reverence for sacred things, a sense of personal responsibility, a desire for the possession of full spiritual privileges, coöperated with the pride of human reason, the natural impatience of restraint, and the envy and hatred inspired among the nobles by a rich and powerful hierarchy, to make the world weary of the Papal domination, and desirous of reform in things spiritual and ecclesiastical.

Wickliffe in England, and Huss and Jerome of Prague in Germany, had long ago given utterance to a feeling which lay deep in the hearts and spread wide among the ranks of thinking men. It was said of Wickliffe, that half of the secular priests in England agreed with him ; and his followers long gave serious trouble both to Church and State. On the Continent, the Bohemian Church was rent by faction ; and even open war was the result of an obstinate denial of the Cup in the Lord's Supper to the lay-members of Christ's Church. The two great Councils of Constance (A. D. 1415) and Basle (A. D. 1431) were the results of the general call for a reformation of abuses ; and they left them where they were, or aggravated and strengthened them.

But there was a leaven which could not be prevented from working. The revival of letters and the art of printing taught men how to think, and how to communicate their thoughts. Men, whose character was almost purely literary, contributed not a little to pull down the system which threatened to stifle learning by confounding it with heresy. Amongst these, on every account, the most important and influential was Erasmus. It is thought by many that his Biblical criticism and his learned wit did more to rouse men to reform, than the honest but headlong zeal of Luther. At least, if there had been no Erasmus to precede him, Luther's voice, if it could not have been stilled, might soon have been stifled. He might not have found both learning and power

zealous to protect him, so that he could defy and prove superior to the allied forces of the Emperor and the Pope. But Erasmus was himself alarmed at the spirit he had raised. He had been zealous for reformation; but he dreaded destruction. And he was the type of many, more in earnest than himself. On both sides of the great controversy, which soon divided Europe into two hostile communities, were many who wished to have abuses eradicated, but who feared to see the fabric of ages shaken to its centre. Some, like Erasmus, remained in communion with Rome; others, like Melancthon, joined the Reformation. The distance in point of sentiment between the more moderate men, thus by force of circumstances arrayed in opposition to each other, was probably but very small. But in the ranks of both parties there were many of a more impetuous and less compromising spirit; and, as the voice of a community is generally expressed in the tones of its loudest speakers, we are apt to look on all the reformers as actuated by a violent animosity to all that was Roman, and on the adherents of Rome as unrelentingly bent to destroy and exterminate all that was Protestant.

While this state of things was pending, and whilst the spirit of inquiry was at least as much alive in England as on the Continent, Henry VIII. was drawn into a difference with the Papal see on the subject of his divorce with Catharine of Aragon. The merits of the question may be debated elsewhere. This much alone we may observe, that Henry, if he acted from principle, not from passion, might have suffered his scruples to weigh with him when his wife was young and well-favoured, not when she had grown old and care-worn; when she brought him a rich dowry, not when he had absorbed and spent it; when he had hopes of a male heir to his throne, not when those hopes had been disappointed, the lady Mary being the sole issue of his alliance. But, whatever the moving cause, he was in hostility to the see of Rome; and his only chance of making head against it was to call up and give strength to the spirit of reformation.

Cranmer had been introduced to him by some casual observations on the best way of settling the question of the divorce; and Cranmer from that time forth Henry steadily favoured and protected. In 1533, the king threw off the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and declared the independence of his kingdom and of its Church. But it has been said that he rejected the Pope, not the Papacy. The Church was to be independent of Rome, but not independent absolutely. For a spiritual, he substituted a temporal

head, and wished to confer on that temporal head — himself — all the ecclesiastical authority which had been enjoyed by the spiritual. Cranmer was now Archbishop of Canterbury. His character has been differently described by those who have taken their views of it from different sides of the question. His greatest enemies can scarcely deny him the virtues of mildness, moderation, and patience, nor the praise of learning and candor.¹ His greatest admirers can hardly affirm that he was free from weakness and timidity, and a too ready compliance with the whims and wishes of those in power. But he had a hard post to fill. Henry had thrown off the power of the Pope, and so had thrown himself into the party of the reformers; but he had no mind to throw off all the errors of Popery, and to go all lengths with the Reformation. Cranmer had often to steer his course warily, lest his bark should make shipwreck altogether; and over-zeal for his cause might provoke the hostility of one whose word was law, and whose will would brook no restraint from an archbishop, when it had dethroned a Pope.

During Henry's reign, several documents were put forth, varying in their complexion, according as Cranmer had more or less influence with him. The *Six Articles* nearly swamped the Reformation, and endangered even the archbishop. The *Bishops' Book*, or the *Institution of a Christian Man*, was a confession of faith set forth when Cranmer and Ridley were in the ascendant. But it was succeeded by the *King's Book*, the *Necessary Doctrine*, which was the king's modification of the *Bishops' Book*, in which Gardiner had greater influence, and which restored some of those doctrines of the Roman communion which the *Bishops' Book* had discarded.²

Cranmer was himself not as yet fully settled in his views. He had early split with the Papacy, and convinced himself of the

¹ His first Protestant successor in the archiepiscopal see has thus described him: Ut theologiam a barbarie vindicaret, adjecit literas Græcas et Hebraicas; quarum sane post susceptum doctoratus gradum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse. Quibus perceptis antiquissimos tam Græcos quam Latinos patres evolvit: concilia omnia et antiquitatem ad ipsa Apostolorum tempora investigavit; theologiam totam, detracta illa quam sophistæ obdlexerant vitiata cute, ad vivum resecauit: quam tamen non doctrina magis quam moribus et vita expressit. Mira eniu temperantia, mira animi lenitate

atque placabilitate fuit; ut nulla injuria aut contumelia ad iram aut vindictam provocari possit; inimicissimosque, quorum vim ac potentiam etsi despexit ac leviter tulit, ab offensione tamen ad inimicitias deponendas atque gratiam ineundam sæpe humanitate duxit. Eam præterea constantiam, gravitatem ac moderationem præ se tulit, ut in omni varietate rebusque, sive secundis, sive adversis, nunquam turbari animum ex fronte vultuque colligeret. — Matt. Parker, *De Antiq. Britann. Eccles.* p. 495. Lond. 1729.

² See Cardwell's *Synodalia*, p. 34, note

need of reformation, and of the general defection from the faith of the Scriptures and the primitive Church. But he was some time before he gave up the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and other opinions in which he had been educated.¹ The bishops and clergy in general were far less disposed to reformation than the king or the archbishop. It was rather by an exercise of regal prerogative than by the force of persuasion, that changes were effected, even to the extent which took place in Henry's reign. It was also not much to the taste of the clergy, that they should be forced to pay the same obedience to a temporal which they had hitherto paid to a spiritual head: especially when Henry seemed to claim, and Cranmer, at least for a time, to sanction, spiritual obedience to such a temporal authority; and most of all when Henry had given marked indications, that, instead of making lighter the yoke which the Pope had put upon them, his little finger would be thicker than the Pope's loins. But neither clergy nor people were allowed to speak louder than the king chose to suffer. Convocation, both in this reign and the next, had little weight, and was not often consulted.

However, in Henry's reign many important steps were taken. The Church was declared independent of Rome. The Bible was translated into English. So also were many portions of the Church service. Negotiations were opened with the German Reformers, especially with Melancthon, whom Henry and Cranmer besought in vain to come over and help them.² And in 1538, in consequence of conferences between Cranmer and the German divines, a body of thirteen articles was drawn up, in great measure agreeing with the Confession of Augsburg.³

On the accession of Edward VI., who was himself a zealous partisan of the Reformation, greater changes were speedily made. In 1547 the first book of Homilies was put forth. In 1548 "The Archbishop of Canterbury with other learned and discreet bishops and divines" were appointed "by the king to draw an order of divine worship, having respect to the pure religion of Christ taught in the Scripture, and to the practice of the primitive

¹ Ridley was converted from a belief in Transubstantiation to believe in the Spiritual Presence by reading Ratramn's book, and he was the means of bringing over Cranmer, who in time brought Latimer to the same conviction. See Ridley's *Life of Ridley*, p. 162. The date assigned to Ridley's conviction is 1545. See also Soames's *Hist. of Reformation*, III. ch. II. p. 177

² Melancthon seems to have known Henry's character too well to wish to become his counsellor. See Laurence, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 198, third edition, London, 1838; and Dr. Cardwell's *Preface to the two Liturgies of King Edward VI.* Oxf. 1838, p. iv. note 6.

³ See Cranmer's *Works*, by Jenkyns, IV. p. 273.

Church." This commission is said to have consisted of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Day, Bishop of Chichester; Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Skip, Bishop of Hereford; Holbeach, of Lincoln; Ridley, of Rochester; Thirlby, of Westminster; May, Dean of St. Paul's; Taylor, Dean of Lincoln; Haynes, Dean of Exeter; Robertson, Archdeacon of Leicester; Redmayne, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Cox, almoner to the king and Dean of Westminster and Christ Church.¹ These commissioners, or a portion of them,² drew up the first Service Book of Edward VI., which was approved by Convocation, and confirmed by both Houses of Parliament. The principal sources from which it was derived were the ancient offices of the Church of England, and with them very probably the Liturgy drawn up by Melancthon and Bucer, at the request of Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, for the use of his diocese, which had been principally derived from the ancient liturgy of Nuremberg.³

The same year, Cranmer translated a Catechism written by Justus Jonas, which he put forth with his own authority, and which is commonly called Cranmer's Catechism. The Calvinistic reformers of the Continent made many objections to the Liturgy as drawn up in 1548; and many English divines entertained similar scruples. It is probable that the clergy at large were not desirous of farther reformation. But the king and the archbishop were both anxious for a revision, which should do away with any appearance of giving sanction to Roman superstitions. Accordingly an order was given to prepare a new Service Book. The king and his council were most zealous in favor of the change, and it is even said that the king declared, in a spirit like his father's, that, if the bishops would make the desired change, he would interpose his own supreme authority to enforce its acceptance.

The new Service Book was put forth in 1552, and, with few exceptions, although these few are very important, it is the same as that we now possess under the name of the Book of Common Prayer.

¹ See Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 193. Ridley's *Life of Ridley*, p. 221. Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* II. p. 252, &c. Downes's *Lives of the Compilers of the Liturgy*, prefixed to Sparrow's *Rationale*. Soames's *Hist. Ref.* III. p. 352. The first Service Book was attributed by his contemporary Bale to Cranmer. On Cranmer's approbation of it, see Jenkyns's *Cranmer*, I. pp. liii. liv.

² Soames seems satisfied that the parties actually engaged were Cranmer,

Ridley, Goodrich, Holbeach, May, Taylor, Haynes, and Cox. "If," he says, "it be true that Dr. Redmayn did not cordially approve the new Liturgy, that circumstance is to be regretted, for his age could boast of few men more erudite and honest."—III. p. 256. This witness is true.

³ See Cardwell's *Preface to the two Liturgies of Edward VI.*, p. xiii., and the authorities there referred to.

The Convocation was not permitted to pass its judgment on it, because it would, in all probability, have thrown all possible difficulties in the way of its publication. It came forth with the authority of Parliament; though the act which enjoined its acceptance declared that the objections to the former book were rather curious than reasonable.¹

The same year saw the publication of the forty-two "Articles of Religion." They were framed by the archbishop at the king's command, and committed to certain bishops to be inspected and approved by them. They were then returned to the archbishop and amended by him; he then sent them to Sir William Cecil and Sir John Cheke, who agreed that the archbishop should offer them to the king, which accordingly he did. They were then communicated to some other divines, and returned once more to the archbishop. The archbishop made his last remarks upon them, and so returned them again in three days to the council, beseeching them to prevail with the king to give authority to the bishops to cause their respective clergy to subscribe them.²

It has been doubted whether these articles, thus drawn up, were ever sanctioned by Convocation. Dr. Cardwell, in his *Synodalia*, has given good reason to think that they received full synodical authority.

It has been shown by Archbishop Laurence³ and others, that the Lutheran Confessions of Faith, especially the Confession of Augsburg, were the chief sources to which Cranmer was indebted for the Articles of 1552. He did not servilely follow, but yet made copious use of them.

The chief assistant to Cranmer, both in this labor and in the

¹ Strype's *Cranmer*, pp. 210, 266, 289. Ridley's *Life of Ridley*, p. 333. Collier's *Eccle. Hist.* II. 309. Soames, III. ch. VI. p. 592. "The prelates themselves appear to have considered the existing Liturgy as sufficiently unexceptionable, for in the act authorizing the new one it was declared that the former book contained nothing but what was agreeable to the word of God, and the primitive Church; and that such doubts as had been raised in the use and exercise thereof proceeded rather from the curiosity of the ministers and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause." — Soames, III. p. 595.

² Wake's *State of the Church, &c.*, p. 599. quoted by Cardwell, *Synodalia*, I. p. 3. See also Jenkyns's *Cranmer*, I. p. 357. It is asserted by Strype, in his *Life of Cranmer*, and repeated by Gloucester

Ridley, that of these Articles "the archbishop was the penner, or at least the great director, with the assistance, as is very probable, of Bishop Ridley." *Ridley's Life*, p. 343.

Mr. Soames says, "Of the Articles now framed Abp. Cranmer must be considered as the sole compiler. . . . It seems likely that he consulted his friend Ridley, and that he obtained from him many notes. It is however certain, that the Bishop of London was not actually concerned in preparing the Articles, as Cranmer, when examined at Oxford, took upon himself the whole responsibility of that work:" for which he quotes Foxe, 1704. Soames's *Hist. Ref.* III. p. 648.

³ *Bampton Lectures*, *passim*, especially p. 230.

translations and revisions of the Liturgy, was unquestionably his great friend and counsellor, Ridley. It is well known that he had material influence in inducing the archbishop to renounce the doctrine of Transubstantiation and to embrace that of the Spiritual Presence;¹ and the Romanist party of the day asserted that Cranmer derived all his learning from Ridley. However untrue this may be, it is pretty certain that they always acted in concert. In the drawing up of the first Service Book, Ridley was one of the commissioners; and no doubt, next to Cranmer, had a principal hand in compiling and afterwards revising it. Some of the commissioners protested against the passing the act for authorizing the first book, inasmuch as it went beyond their views of liturgical reform. But Ridley showed the greatest zeal to induce conformity both to it, and to the Second Service Book, which was far more extensively reformed. And indeed throughout, Cranmer and he appear to have walked in the same course, and acted on the same principles.

It is of consequence to remember these facts. For, if Cranmer and Ridley were the chief compilers both of the Prayer Book and of the Articles, although the Church is in no degree bound by their private opinions, yet, when there is a difficulty in understanding a clause either in the Articles or the Liturgy, which are the two standards of authority as regards the doctrine of the English Church, it cannot but be desirable to elucidate such difficulties by appealing to the writings and otherwise expressed opinions of these two reformers. It is true, both Liturgy and Articles have been altered since their time. Yet by far the larger portion of both remains just as they left them. The Convocation appears to have made little alteration in the Articles, and none in the Liturgy in Edward's reign; for the Second Service Book was not submitted to it, and it has been even doubted whether the Articles were passed by it.

The event which seemed to crush the Reformation in the bud, in fact gave it life. Neither clergy nor people appear to have been very hearty in its cause, when it came commended to them by the tyranny of Henry, or even by the somewhat arbitrary authority of Edward and the Protector Somerset. But when its martyrs bled at the stake, and when the royal prerogative was arrayed against it, it then became doubly endeared to the people, as the cause of liberty as well as of religion.

Elizabeth, though not less a Tudor than her predecessors, was

¹ Ridley's *Life of Ridley*, p. 162, referred to above

wiser, if not better than they. She at once disclaimed the title of Supreme Head of the Church in such a sense as might make it appear that her authority was spiritual, or trenching on the prerogative and rights of the clergy.¹ She allowed the Convocation to be consulted, both on the Liturgy and the Articles.

And now both clergy and laity were more prepared to adopt the tenets and the worship of the Reformers. Men who did not wish to change their creed at the will of Henry, had learned to dread the despotism of Rome, as exhibited in the reign of Mary. There were yet many different sets of opinion in the country. A large number of clergy and laity were still for communion with Rome and for retaining the mass; others had imbibed a love of the doctrine and discipline of Geneva, and viewed a surplice with horror and aversion; others again leant to what were called Lutheran sentiments, and were viewed by one extreme as papists, by the other as heretics. Happily the leading divines in the Church, and especially Parker, the new archbishop, were imbued with moderate sentiments, and succeeded for a time in steering the Ark of the Church skilfully amid the fury of the contending elements. Their wise conduct and the gradual progress of opinions in the course of time appeased the vehemence of the Romanist party; though it is painful to add, that measures of a most cruel character were too often adopted by the friends of the Reformation, against the leading propagators of Romish doctrine: measures which stain the memory of Elizabeth's reign almost as deeply, and not so excusably, as the fires of Smithfield do that of Mary's.² But, though Romanism was then decaying, the opposite extreme party was gradually advancing; and it advanced, till in the end it overthrew the altar and the throne. Its influence, however, was not great on the formularies of the Church. The Second Service Book of Edward VI. was restored in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, with some alterations, principally the insertion of a few rubrics and passages from the First Service Book, and partly the omission of one or two sentences, which were thought needlessly offensive, or doubtful in their orthodoxy. The Prayer Book underwent subsequent revisions in the reigns of James I. and Charles II., which reduced it to its present form.

The alterations in the Articles have been fewer, and perhaps less important. Soon after his appointment to the primacy, which

¹ In her Injunctions set forth in the year 1559, referred to and confirmed in the XXXVIIth Article of the Church.

² See Soames's *Elizabethan Religious History*, ch. v.

took place in 1559, Archbishop Parker set on foot various measures for the regulation and government of the Church, now again under the care of a reforming sovereign, and with a reforming archbishop at its head. It appears that one of Parker's earliest labors was directed towards a recasting of the "Articles of Religion." He expunged some parts of the original Articles, and added some others. In this work he was guided, like Cranmer, in a great degree by Lutheran formularies. As Cranmer had derived much from the Confession of Augsburg, so he took several clauses from the Confession of Wurtemberg.¹ Both Houses of Convocation considered the draught of the Articles thus made by the archbishop, and by him committed to their inspection and revision. The Convocation, as appears from an original document in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, made several farther alterations, besides those which the archbishop had made. Especially, they erased the latter part of the original 3d Article, concerning the preaching to the spirits in prison, the whole of the 39th, 40th, and 42d, the archbishop having previously erased the 41st, thus reducing the whole number to 38. There was some little difference between the copy of the Articles thus submitted to and approved by the Convocation in 1562 and the copy afterwards published by the queen's command, and with her royal approbation. The latter omitted the 29th Article, whose title was "Impii non manducant Corpus Christi in usu cœnæ," and added the famous clause in the 20th Article, "Habet Ecclesia ritus statuendi jus et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem." Both alterations are believed to be due to the queen herself, in the exercise of what she considered her undoubted right.

An English translation of these Articles was put forth soon after by the authority of Convocation, not apparently of the queen. This translation does not contain the famous clause on Church authority, which the queen or her council had inserted, nor yet the Article "Impii non manducant," which the Convocation had authorized, but which the council had expunged.²

In the year 1571 the Articles were again subscribed by both Houses of Convocation, and committed to the editorship of Bishop Jewell. They were then put forth in their present form, both in Latin and English; and received, not only the sanction of Convocation, but also of Parliament. The Latin Articles, as published at this period, omitted the famous clause concerning Church authority;

¹ Laurence's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 233.

² See Cardwell's *Synodalia*, p. 84.

the English retained it. Both contained the 29th Article, concerning the wicked not eating the Body of Christ.

The Articles, which were now 39 in number, making, with the Confirmation, 40, were thus set forth with the authority of the Queen, of the Convocation, and of the Parliament. The clause concerning Church authority was still, however, in a measure doubtful; it being even to this day uncertain whether it received fully the sanction of Convocation. The bishops of both provinces soon after enacted canons, by which all members were bound to subscribe the Articles approved in the synod.¹

The mode in which the Articles, thus reduced to their present form, were drawn up and imposed upon the Church is a subject which may well admit of question and debate. The exercise of State authority, in the whole course of the Reformation, corresponds more with the notions of prerogative suited to those days, than with the feelings of modern times.² But whatever may be said on this head, one fact is plain, namely, that the Articles thus drawn up, subscribed, and authorized, have ever since been signed and assented to by all the clergy of the Church, and by every graduate of both Universities; and have hence an authority far beyond that of any single Convocation or Parliament, namely, the unanimous and solemn assent of all the bishops and clergy of the Church, and of the two Universities for well-nigh three hundred years.

In the interpretation of them, our best guides must be, first, their own natural, literal, grammatical meaning; next to this, a knowledge of the controversies which had prevailed in the Church, and made such Articles necessary; then, the other authorized formularies of the Church; after them, the writings and known opinions of such men as Cranmer, Ridley, and Parker, who drew them up; then, the doctrines of the primitive Church, which they professed to follow; and, lastly, the general sentiments of the distinguished English divines, who have been content to subscribe the Articles, and have professed their agreement with them for now three hundred years. These are our best guides for their interpretation. Their authority is derivable from Scripture alone.

On the subject of subscription, of late so painfully agitated,

¹ Cardwell's *Synodalia*, I. p. 127.

² It will be remembered, that in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. the whole nation, and therefore, of course, the king and the Parliament, considered themselves as members of the national Church. Hence their interference in the

reformation of the Church was a very different thing from the interference of a Parliament not consisting exclusively of churchmen. The question, as to how far the laity ought to be consulted in drawing up formularies or services, may be considered as open to discussion.

very few words may be sufficient. To sign any document in a non-natural sense seems hardly consistent with Christian integrity or common manliness. But, on the other hand, a national Church should never be needlessly exclusive. It should, we can hardly doubt, be ready to embrace, if possible, all who truly believe in God, and in Jesus Christ whom He hath sent. Accordingly, our own Church requires of its *lay* members no confession of their faith, except that contained in the Apostles' Creed.¹

In the following pages an attempt is made to interpret and explain the Articles of the Church, which bind the consciences of her clergy, according to their natural and genuine meaning; and to prove that meaning to be both Scriptural and Catholic. None can feel so satisfied, nor act so straightforwardly, as those who subscribe them in such a sense. But, if we consider, how much variety of sentiment may prevail amongst persons, who are, in the main, sound in the faith; we can never wish that a national Church, which ought to have all the marks of catholicity, should enforce too rigid and uniform an interpretation of its formularies and terms of union. The Church should be not only Holy and Apostolic, but as well, One and Catholic. Unity and universality are scarcely attainable, where a greater rigor of subscription is required, than such as shall insure an adherence and conformity to those great catholic truths, which the primitive Christians lived by, and died for.

¹ See the Baptismal Service and the Visitation of the Sick.

[The Articles were not adopted in the United States of America till September 12th, 1801, although a body of twenty Articles appears in the PROPOSED BOOK. Bishop White states that the subject had been seriously considered and discussed by the bishops, both in 1789 and 1792. In 1789, Bishop Seabury, the only bishop present besides Bishop White, "*doubted of the need of Articles.*" In 1792, Bishops White and Claggett were in favour of adopting them, while Bishops Provoost and Madison were "directly against" them. Bishop Seabury still doubted, but was disposed to consider their adoption more favourably than in 1789. The latitudinarian objections of Bishops Provoost and Madison might well startle any man who found himself, even though on very different grounds, occupying the same position with them.

In the General Convention of 1799, the subject was taken up "at the pressing instance of the deputies from Connecticut," and in consequence of instructions

to them "from the Convention of their Diocese." The only action, however, was that of the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. They appear to have appointed a committee who reported "a proposed body of Articles wholly new in form," which were printed in the Journal. These articles were never voted on in the House in which they were reported, were never acted on by the bishops, and, indeed, were never seen by them till they appeared in print. The measure was in every aspect of it, injudicious, and even absurd. But, after all, it worked towards a good result, by "showing the impossibility of agreement in a new form," and exhibiting the inherent folly of the proposal. The feeling of opposition against any such attempt was a continually growing one; and at last — with some alterations, which will be specified in their proper places — the English Articles were adopted, in 1801.

See Bishop White's *Memoirs, &c.*, notes K and N. — *J. W.*]

ARTICLE I.

*Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.**De fide in Sacrosanctam Trinitatem.*

THERE is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in the unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

UNUS est vivus et verus Deus, æternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, impassibilis; immensæ potentiæ, sapientiæ, ac bonitatis; Creator et Conservator omnium, tum visibilium, tum invisibilium. Et in unitate hujus divinæ naturæ tres sunt Personæ, ejusdem essentiæ, potentiæ, ac æternitatis: Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.

SECTION I.—HISTORY.

THIS Article is evidently concerned with two somewhat distinct subjects.

FIRST.. The Nature and Essential Attributes of God in the general.

SECONDLY. The Doctrine of the Trinity in Unity.

The FIRST part is common to natural and revealed religion, and requires less either of illustration from history or demonstration from Scripture; it having been the universal creed, both of Jews and Christians, “God is one, living and true, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible.”

There have, however, been two classes of speculators, against whom we may suppose these words to be directed.

1. The obscure sect of the *Anthropomorphites* is reckoned as a heresy of the fourth century, and is said to have reappeared in the tenth, in the district of Vicenza in Italy.¹ Their opinion, as

¹ See Suicer, s. v. ἀνθρωπομορφῖται, and Mosheim, *Ecclesiast. Hist.* Cent. x. pt. II. ch. v. § 4.

[This error has been revived by the *Mormons*. In the *Latter-Day Saints' Catechism*, or *Child's Ladder*, by Elder David Moffat, God is described as an “intelligent, material personage, possessing both body and parts,” possessing “passions,”

and unable to “occupy two distinct places at once.” The same statement occurs in the *Millennial Star*. On the Divine attributes, the profound work of Dean Jackson, and the fourth chapter of Mr. Owen's *Introduction to the Study of Dogmatic Theology*, should be studied. — J. W.]

expressed by their name, was that God was in form as a man, material, and with body and members like our own.

2. The more important and dangerous error of the *Pantheists* may not be directly alluded to in the Article, but is plainly opposed by it.

Pantheism has been the prevailing Esoteric doctrine of all Paganism, and, with various modifications, the source of a great part of ancient philosophy.¹ The Orphic Hymns have evident traces of it. Thales and the Eleatic School expressed it distinctly, and in the definite language of philosophy.² There can be little doubt, that it was the great doctrine revealed in the mysteries. The Egyptian theology was plainly based upon it.³ It was at the root of the Polytheism of the Greeks and Romans; and their gross idolatry was probably but an outward expression of its more mystic refinements.⁴ The Brahmins and Buddhists, whose religious systems still prevail amongst nearly half the human race, though also, exoterically, gross Polytheists, are yet, in their philosophy, undisguised Pantheists.⁵ The Jewish Cabala is thought to have drunk deep of the same fountain.⁶

When the Christian faith came in contact with Eastern philosophy, it is probable that Pantheistic notions found their way into its corruptions. Gnostics and Manichees, and possibly some of the later heretics, such as the Paulicians, had some admixture of Pantheism in their creeds. Simon Magus himself may possibly have used its language, when he gave himself out as "the great power of God."

Its leading idea is, that God is everything, and everything is God.⁷ Though all mind, whether of men or animals, is God, yet no individual mind is God; and so all distinct personality of the Godhead is lost. The supreme being of the Hindoos is therefore neither male nor female, but neuter.⁸ All the numberless forms of matter are but different appearances of God; and though he is

¹ Cudworth, *Int. Syst.* ch. iv. *passim*, especially §§ 29, 32, 33, 34.

² Cudworth, B. i. ch. iv. §§ 30, 31. Tennemann's *Manual of Philosophy*, pp. 59, 70. (Oxf. 1832.)

³ Ἐγὼ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγενῶς, καὶ ὄν, καὶ ἐσόμενον· καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν: "I am all that hath been, is, and shall be, and my veil hath no mortal ever uncovered." Inscription on the Temple of Saïs, ap. Plutarch. *De Iside*. Again, τὸν πρώτον Θεὸν τῷ παντὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν. Plutarch, from Hecataeus, *De Iside et Osiri*. See Cudworth, ii. ch. iv. pp. 170, 175. All that Cud-

worth adduces, and it is well worth reading, shows that the Egyptians were genuine Pantheists.

⁴ See Faber, *Pagan Idolatry*, B. i. ch. 111.

⁵ See Sir W. Jones's *Works*, i. p. 252; Maurice's *History of Hindostan and Indian Antiquities*, *passim*; Faber, as above, Mill's *Pantheistic Theory*.

⁶ Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, note 16.

⁷ "Jupiter est quodcumque vidēs, quocumque moveris." Lucan. ix. 580. See also Virg. *Eclog.* 111. 60, *Georg.* iv. 219, *Æn.* vi. 724; Lucret. ii. 61.

⁸ Sir W. Jones's *Works*, i. p. 249.

invisible, yet everything you see is God.¹ Accordingly, the Deity himself becomes identified with the worshipper. "He, who knows that Deity, is the Deity itself."² Hence, as all living beings are manifestations of, and emanations from the Deity, the devout Brahmin or Buddhist, while he believes that by piety man may become more and more truly God, looks forward, as his final consummation and bliss, to *Nirwana*, or absorption in the Deity.

This system of religion or philosophy, which has prevailed so extensively in heathendom, and found favour with the early philosophic heretics, and probably with the brethren of the free spirit in the twelfth century,³ was taught in the seventeenth century by Benedict de Spinoza, a Portuguese Jew,⁴ and has been called from him Spinozism. Some of the philosophic divines of Germany have revived it of late, and have taught it as the solution of all the Christian mysteries; so that with them the Christ or God-man is not the individual personal Jesus: but *mankind* is God made man, the miracle-worker, the sinless one; who dies and rises, and ascends into heaven, and through faith in whom man is justified.

The history of the SECOND part of this Article, that is, of the doctrine of the Trinity, may be considered as almost equivalent to the history of Christianity.

I. What degree of knowledge of it there may have been previously to the coming of Christ, is a question of great interest, but of great difficulty. This question, as regards Scripture, must be deferred to the next section; here it is considered by the light of history alone.

It has been thought, with considerable reason, that there are distinct intimations of it (1) in the Jewish writings, (2) in the mythology of most ancient nations, (3) in the works of Plato and other philosophers.

1. The Jewish Targums and Philo-Judæus both speak frequently of the *Word of the Lord*. The latter may possibly have been indebted to philosophic sources. This can hardly be conjectured with probability of the former; and, although none of them are much earlier than the Christian era, there is no doubt

¹ Sir W. Jones's *Works*, i. p. 252. Ward's *Religion of the Hindoos*, iv. 274.

² Mill's *Pantheistic Theory*, p. 159.

³ Mosheim, Cent. XII. pt. II. ch. v. § 10.

⁴ Mosheim, Cent. XVII. §§ 1, 24; Ten-

nemann, p. 324. Giordano Bruno, in the sixteenth century, a Dominican, was burnt at Rome as a heretic, A. D. 1600, for holding opinions very similar to Pantheism. See Tennemann, p. 283.

that they speak the language and contain the tradition of former ages. Passages, such as that in the Targum, in Psalm cx., where "the Lord said unto my Lord" is rendered "the Lord said unto His Word," and many like it, seem, at first sight at least, very clearly to indicate a notion of Personal plurality in the Divine Unity.¹ Yet, of late, a different opinion has prevailed concerning the signification of the term *Memra* or *Word* (מִמְרָא דֵי) used in the Targums; it being contended, that the phrase means not a distinct and separate Person, but is, in fact, only another form of the pronoun "Himself."² Both views have found able advocates, and may be supported by considerable arguments; and therefore the question concerning the Jewish opinions on the Trinity must be considered as one which is not fully decided.

2. In the mythology of almost all nations, it is plain that the number three has been a sacred number. The triads of classical mythology (*e. g.* Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades; or again, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva in the Capitol) are well known.³ More remarkable by far is the Trimourti of Hindostan. Christians have frequently believed that the Trimourti originated in some patriarchal tradition, whilst unbelievers have found in it an argument against the Christian Faith, as being merely one development of the many speculations concerning God which have prevailed in India and elsewhere. In answer to the latter, it may be enough to say, that the whole significance of the Trimourti is utterly unlike that of the Trinity, the likeness being in number only. Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, were no tripersonal unity, but three distinct, created divinities, embodiments of the various powers of nature; though subsequently both Vishnu and Siva were, by their respective votaries, identified with the Great Supreme. And, on the other hand, it is now well ascertained that the gods of the Trimourti were unknown to the Vedas and more ancient books of the Hindoos;⁴ so that the origin of a belief in them cannot be traced to primitive tradition, but must

¹ See Allix's *Testimony of the Ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians*; Bryant's *Opinions of Philo-Judæus*; Bull, *Fid. Nic. Def.* i. 1. 16-19.

[See also Oxlee, *On the Trinity*, &c., a laborious, curious, and valuable work. — *J. W.*]

² Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. vii. p. 221, and note 93.

³ Cudworth, *B.* i. ch. iv. § 27, p. 319, § 32, p. 470. The Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva of the Capitol were the same as the three great Gods, *Tinia*, *Cupra*, and

Menrva, who had temples in every Etruscan city.

⁴ See especially Professor Wilson's translation of the *Rig Veda*. The legend of Crishna, which seemed peculiarly to resemble some portions of Christian history, occurs first in the *Bhagavat Gita*, a work of about the third century A. D. Some part of it has probably been directly borrowed from the Gospels, or Apocryphal Gospels. The student may consult Rev. C. Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, Part II.

more probably be ascribed to the speculations of later Indian Theosophists.¹

3. Plato and some other Greek Philosophers are generally considered as having expounded a doctrine which bears some resemblance to the doctrine of the Gospels.² If it be so, we may, probably enough, trace his sentiments to some like source of patriarchal tradition or Jewish creed. Some think Plato had it of Pherecydes of Syros, who may perhaps have learned it from some Eastern source. Others, that, according to the testimony of Numenius, Plato gained a knowledge of Hebrew doctrine during his thirteen years' residence in Egypt.³ But, on the other hand, it has been argued, that Plato's view of the Logos was utterly unlike the Christian belief in the Trinity. It is said, he never spoke of the Word or "Reason of God as a distinctly existing person; it was only a mode or relation in which the operations of the Deity might be contemplated."⁴ After the Christian Revelation, indeed, philosophic Christians, and still more philosophic heretics, early used Platonic terms to express Christian doctrine. Hence the language of philosophy became tinged with the language of Christianity: hence, too, at a very early period, the heretics, using the language of Platonism, corrupted Christianity with Platonic philosophy. Hence, again, St. John, who wrote after the rise of such heretics, uses language which they had introduced; yet not in their sense of such language, but with the very object of correcting their errors.⁵ It is clear then, that, in more ways than one, we may account for the fact that St. John used terms which had been used before the Christian Revelation; and the sneer of the infidel, which hints that he learned his doctrine from Plato, becomes harmless and unmeaning.⁶

II. When once the mystery of the Trinity had been revealed in the Gospel, it became the fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith. Yet we must not expect to find the first Christian writers using the same technical language to express their belief in it, which afterwards became necessary, when heresy sprang up, and controversy gave rise to definite controversial terms. Unitarian writers have charged Justin Martyr (A. D. 150) with being the first

¹ On the Trinity of Zoroaster and the Magi, see Cudworth, *Intell. Syst.* B. I. ch. iv. § 16, &c. On the appearance of a Trinity in the Egyptian Pantheism, see § 18, II. p. 194.

² On Plato's *Trinity*, see Cudworth, B. I. ch. iv. § 24. II. p. 300. § 34. III. pp. 54, 82, &c.

³ On the statement of Numenius, who

asks, "What is Plato, but Moses in Attic?" see Lardner's *Test. of Anc. Heathens*, ch. xxxv. Allix's *Judgment of the Jewish Church*, ch. xxiii. p. 286.

⁴ See Burton, *Bampton Lect.* p. 213.

⁵ Burton's *Bampton Lect.* Lect. viii. and note 90.

⁶ Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. xv.

to introduce "the Platonic doctrine of a second God" into Christianity; that is to say, they have admitted that Justin Martyr speaks of Christ as God, but deny that the Apostolic fathers held the doctrines of Trinitarianism. Such assertions, however unfounded, render the doctrines of the Apostolical fathers not a little important; as it could hardly fail to puzzle us, if we found the earliest Christians and their most famous pastors ignorant of what we have learned to esteem the groundwork of the faith.

There is certainly nothing in the subjects treated of by any of the Apostolical fathers, to lead them naturally to set forth a distinct acknowledgment of the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the Divinity of Jesus Christ; and many expressions might occur of love to Christ and reverence for Him, without a distinct enunciation of the doctrine of His Godhead. It is therefore the more remarkable and satisfactory, when we find, as we do, in all the works ascribed to those fathers commonly called Apostolical, passages which seem distinctly to assert the Deity of Jesus Christ, and so, at least by implication, the doctrine of the Trinity. Ignatius, especially, is so clear on this point, that the only possible way of evading the force of his testimony is to deny the genuineness of his epistles. A majority of learned men are of opinion that this question has been well nigh set at rest by Bp. Pearson in his *Vindiciæ Ignatiance*.¹

¹ The following passages exhibit some of the testimonies of the Apostolic fathers to the Divinity of Christ, and, by implication, to the doctrine of the Trinity:—

Clemens Romanus. "The Sceptre of the Majesty of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the show of pride and arrogance, though he might have done so." (1 *Cor.* xvi.) "Being content with the portion God had dispensed to you; and hearkening diligently to His word, ye were enlarged in your bowels, having HIS SUFFERINGS always before your eyes." (1 *Cor.* ii. See also chapters xxxii. xxxvi. xlv. &c.)

Ignatius calls our Saviour "Jesus Christ our God," (in the Inscription to the Epistles to the Ephesians and Romans, also in *Trall.* 7, *Rom.* iii.) speaks of "the blood of God," (*Eph.* i.) "the passion of my God," (*Rom.* vi.) says, "I glorify God, even Jesus Christ." (*Smyrn.* i.) "When God was manifested in human form (ὁ θεὸς ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου) for newness of eternal life." (*Eph.* xix.) "There is one Physician, both fleshly and spiritual, made and not made, God incarnate: true life in death; both of Mary and of God; first passible,

then impassible; even Jesus Christ our Lord." (*Eph.* vii.) "Expect Him, who is above all time, eternal, invisible, though for our sakes made visible, who was intangible, impassible; yet for our sakes became subject to suffering, enduring all manner of ways for us." (*Ign. to Polyc.* iii.) "God, who was manifested by His Son Jesus Christ, who is the Eternal Word, not coming forth from silence." (*Magn.* viii.)

The Trinity of Persons in the Godhead is plainly referred to in such passages as these:—

"Study that so . . . ye may prosper in body and spirit, in faith and charity—in the Son, and in the Father, and in the Spirit—in the beginning and in the end;" and again, "Be subject to your bishop and to one another, as Jesus Christ to the Father, according to the flesh, and as the Apostles both to Christ and the Father, and the Holy Ghost." (*Magn.* xiii.)

Polycarp speaks most clearly in the doxology ascribed to him, as some of his last words, in the *Circular Epistle of the Church of Smyrna on the Martyrdom of Polycarp*.

Justin Martyr, A. D. 150, is the first early Christian writer of whom we have any considerable remains. If he does not state the doctrine of the Trinity in the form of the Nicene or Athanasian Creeds, he yet clearly and constantly asserts that the Son is God, of one substance and nature with the Father, and yet numerically distinct from Him.¹ The word *Trinity* occurs in a treatise attributed to Justin Martyr (*De Expositione Fidei*); but this work is generally allowed to be spurious. The first use of this term is therefore commonly ascribed to Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, A. D. 181, who speaks of the three days of creation, which preceded the creation of the sun and moon, as "types of the Trinity, namely, of God, His Word, and His Wisdom."²

"For this, and for all things else, I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, by the eternal and heavenly High Priest, Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, with whom, to Thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now and to all succeeding ages, Amen." *Martyrdom of Polyc.* xiv. On this passage see Waterland, II. p. 232.

A vindication of Clement of Rome and Polycarp from the imputation of Arianism may be found in Bull, *F. D.* II. 3, 2.

Barnabas, whose Epistle, though perhaps not the work of the Apostle of that name, is doubtless the work of one who lived nearly contemporaneously with the other Apostolical fathers, writes: "For this cause the Lord was content to suffer for our souls, although He be the Lord of the whole earth; to whom God said before the beginning of the world, 'Let us make man in our image.'" (*Barnab.* c. v.) Again, "You have in this, also, the glory of Jesus, that by Him and for Him are all things." *δτι εν Αδρω πάντα, και εις Αδρον* (c. XII. See Bull, *F. D.* I. 2, 2.)

Hermas, who is reckoned an Apostolical father, and was certainly a writer not later than the middle of the second century, has the following: "The Son is indeed more ancient than any creature, inasmuch as He was in counsel with the Father at the creation of all things." (*Simil.* ix. 12.) "The Name of the Son of God is great, and without bounds, and the whole world is supported by it." (*Simil.* ix. 14.)

Concerning the genuineness of the seven shorter Epistles of Ignatius, see Pearson's *Vindiciae Ignat.* in the second volume of Cotelerii *Patres Apostolici*. A Synopsis of his Arguments is given in Dupin's *Eccles. Hist.*, in the Life of Igna-

tius. See also Bp. Horsley's *Works*, IV. p. 133. Dr. Burton (*Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 14) enumerates the following, as great names to be ranked on the same side with Bp. Pearson in holding that the genuineness of these Epistles has been fully proved. I. Vossius, Ussher, Hammond, Petavius, Grotius, Bull, Cave, Wake, Cotelerius, Grabe, Dupin, Tillemont, Le Clerc, Lardner, Horsley, &c. On the opposite side he reckons Salmasius, Blondel, Dallæus, Priestley.

Since the discovery of the Syriac Version of the Epistles of Ignatius, and their publication by Mr. Cureton, a new controversy has arisen; namely, whether the three Epistles in the Syriac be the only genuine, and the seven shorter Greek Epistles deserving of acceptance only so far as they agree with the Syriac. Whatever may be the ultimate fate of this controversy, it is most satisfactory to know that even the three Syriac Epistles contain some of the strongest of those passages, in the Seven Greek Epistles, which prove the writer's belief in the true Deity of Christ.

¹ An example of his mode of speaking may be seen in the following short passage from *Apol.* I. c. 63: "They, who say that the Son is the Father, are convicted of neither knowing the Father, nor of understanding, that the God of the universe has a Son, who, being the First-born Word of God, is also God." Of Justin's sentiments on the Logos and the Trinity, see Bull, *F. D.* II. 4; Waterland, III. pp. 157, 246; Burton's *Testimonies of Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 30; Bp. Kaye's *Just. Mart.* ch. II. where also, in the Appendix, is an account of the opinions of Tatian, Athenagoras, and Theophilus of Antioch.

² *Ad Autolyceum*, Lib. II. p. 106. *τῆς*

Irenæus, A. D. 185, gives something like regular forms of creeds, greatly resembling the Apostles' Creed (see I. 9, IV. 33). His statements of the Deity of Christ are singularly clear, and he expressly tells us that the Scriptures would never have given to any one absolutely the name of God, unless he were truly God.¹

There is a well-known passage in a heathen author, somewhat earlier than Irenæus, (the *Philopatriis* of Lucian,) which shows the received doctrine of the Church, at which he sneers, more plainly perhaps than if the words had been those of a Christian. There is a doubt whether the work is Lucian's or not; but its genuineness is not of much consequence, if, as is generally admitted, it was either his writing, or that of some contemporary of his.²

Tertullian, A. D. 200, both distinctly propounds the doctrine of the Trinity, and is the first *Latin* who uses the term *Trinitas*.³

We might trace the chain onwards through Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Hippolytus, Cyprian, Dionysius, and so down to the Council of Nice. Some may see in the bold speculations of Origen the germ of heresy even on the important doctrine of the Trinity; and Dionysius of Alexandria, in his zeal against Sabellius, appears to have been led into some heedless expressions. There is, however, little doubt that Origen was a firm believer in the Trinity; and the expressions of Dionysius, which called forth the censure of his brethren, were afterwards fully and satisfactorily explained. Thus all the early fathers who continued in the communion of the Catholic Church, are unanimous in their testimony to the faith of that Church in one God and three Persons in the Godhead.

Some, even, who were charged with schism or heresy, as Montanus and Novatian, were yet clear and decided in their language on

τῆς Τριάδος, τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Λόγου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς Σοφίας αὐτοῦ. On his doctrine, consult Bull, *F. D.* II. 4, 10.

¹ Iren. III. c. VI. § 1; Burton, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 68, where see the testimony of Irenæus at length; also in Bull, *F. D.* II. 5, and Beaven's *Account of Irenæus*, ch. IV.

² The passage is — Κρι. Καὶ τίνα ἐπομόσωμαι γε; Ἰδι. Ὑψιμέδοντα Θεόν, μέγαν, ἀμβροτον, οὐρανόβιον, υἱὸν πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἐν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία.

³ *E. g.* *Adv. Praxeam*, c. III. "Itaque duos et tres jam jactitant a nobis prædicari, se vero unius Dei cultores præsumunt, quasi non et unitas inrationaliter collecta hæresim faciat, et Trinitas rationaliter **expensa** veritatem constituat."

Dr. Hey, in his lectures on the First Article, observes that the charge, which the heretics made against the Catholics, of holding three Gods, is to him the strongest evidence that the Catholics held the doctrine of the Trinity.

Tertullian distinctly illustrates the consubstantiality of the Persons in the Godhead, by introducing the comparison of the sun, and a ray from the sun, or light kindled from light. As the substance of the light remains the same, though a ray has been sent forth, or another light kindled, "so what proceeds from God is both God and the Son of God, and both are one." *Apol.* c. XXI. See Bull, *F. D.* II. 7; Burton, p. 162; and Bp. Kaye's *Tertullian*, p. 553, where the ambiguity of some of Tertullian's language is fully considered

this head. Bingham¹ has collected abundant proof, that the devotions of the ancient Church were paid to every Person of the Blessed Trinity.

Bishop Bull, in his *Fidei Nicæne Defensio*, and Dr. Burton, in his *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*, have given fully the testimonies of the fathers to the Godhead of Christ before the Council of Nice. To their works the student may refer for farther evidence that the doctrine of the Trinity was firmly and fully maintained by the early Christian writers from the first.²

But, though the Church was thus sound at heart, it had been declared by the Apostle that "there must needs be heresies, that the approved might be made manifest;" and we find, that, even during the lifetimes and labours of the Apostles themselves, "the mystery of iniquity did already work," which soon after was revealed in the monstrous forms of Gnosticism and other Antichristian heresies.

It is plain from St. Paul's Epistles, that there were two evil elements, even then, at work, to corrupt the faith and divide the Church. Those elements were Judaism and Eastern Philosophy. The Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, and Timothy, and the writings of St. John, abound with allusions to these dangers. The "Philosophy falsely so called" (γνώσις ψευδώνυμος), and the seeking justification by the Jewish Law, are the constant topics of the Apostle's warning. There are also two points deserving of particular notice: first, that these warnings are especially given to the Churches of Proconsular Asia;³ secondly, that St. Paul evidently connects with his warnings against both these errors earnest enforcement of the doctrine of Christ's Divinity.⁴

Accordingly, in the early history of the Church, we find two classes of false opinions, the one derived from a mixture of the Gospel with Judaism, the other from a like mixture with Oriental or Platonic philosophy, and both tending to a denial of the mystery of the Trinity, and of the supreme Godhead of Jesus Christ. As was most probable, the Eastern rather than the Western Church, and especially, in the first instance, the Churches of Asia Minor,

The use of the word *Trinity*, first to be found in Greek in Theophilus, and in Latin in Tertullian, received synodical authority in the Council of Alexandria, A. D. 317.

¹ *Eccles. Antiq.* Book XIII. ch. II.

² See also Bull's *Primitiva Traditio*; Waterland, *On the Trinity*; Faber's *Apostolicity of Trinitarianism*.

³ St. John lived latterly at Ephesus, and

especially addresses the Churches of Asia. Timothy was Bishop of Ephesus, and St. Paul's most marked allusions to philosophical heresy are in the Epistles to Timothy, the Ephesians, and the Colossians.

⁴ This may be especially seen in such passages as Eph. i. 23; Col. i. 15, 19; ii. 9; 1 Tim. iii. 16, compared with iv. 1, 2, 3.

and afterwards the Church of Antioch, were the birthplaces of the heresiarchs and of their heresies. These Churches exhibited, independently of distinct heresy, a considerable tendency to Judaism. The celebrated controversy about Easter first arose from the Churches of Proconsular Asia adopting the Jewish computation, in which they were followed by the Church of Antioch.¹ Again, in the East it was that the Judaical observance of the Sabbath, or seventh day of the week, prevailed; which is first condemned by St. Paul,² then by Ignatius,³ and afterwards by the Council of Laodicea.⁴

The earliest heretics of whom we read are Simon Magus and the Nicolaitans, both mentioned in Scripture; who adopted, according to Ecclesiastical history, the Gnostic philosophy, and endeavoured to combine it with the Gospel. Gnosticism, in its more developed form, seems to have taught, that the one Supreme Intelligence, dwelling in darkness unapproachable, gave existence to a line of Æons, or heavenly spirits, who were all, more or less, partakers of His nature, (*i. e.* of a nature specifically the same,) and included in His glory (*πλήρωμα*), though individually separate from the Sovereign Deity.⁵ Of these Æons, Christ or the Logos was the chief,—an emanation from God, therefore, but not God Himself, although dwelling in the *Pleroma*, the special habitation, and probably the Bosom of God. Here then we see, that the philosophic sects were likely to make our Lord but an emanation from God, not one with Him.

Cerinthus,⁶ a heretic of the first century, is by some considered more as a Judaizer, by others more as a Gnostic or philosophic heretic. It is probable that he combined both errors in one. But early in the second century we meet with the Nazarenes and Ebionites, who undoubtedly owed their origin to Judaism, although, like others, they may have introduced some admixture of philosophy into their creed.⁷ All these held low opinions of the Person and nature of Christ. The Cerinthians are said to have held the common Gnostic doctrine, that Jesus was a mere man, with whom the Æon Christ was united at baptism. The Nazarenes are supposed to have held the birth of a Virgin, and to have admitted that Jesus was in a certain manner united to the Divine Nature. The Ebionites, on the other hand, are accused of esteem-

¹ See Newman's *Arians*, ch. I. § 1.

² Col. ii. 16.

³ Ignat. *Ad Magnes.* xviii.

⁴ *Can.* xxix. See Suicer, II. p. 922.

⁵ Newman's *Arians*, ch. II. § 4, p. 206.

⁶ See Mosheim, Cent. I. pt. II. ch. v. § 16.

⁷ Mosheim, Cent. II. pt. II. ch. v. §§ 2, 3. See also Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 217.

ing Christ the son of Joseph and Mary, though with a heavenly mission and some portion of Divinity.¹

Here we have almost, if not quite, in Apostolic times, the germ at least of all false doctrine on the subject of the Trinity. Such heretics, indeed, as have been mentioned were at once looked on as enemies to, not professors of, the Gospel; and were esteemed, according to the strong language of St. John, not Christians but Antichrists.

In the latter part of the second century, the Church of Rome, which had been peculiarly free from heresy, was troubled by the errors of Theodotus and Artemon. They are generally looked on as mere humanitarians; but they probably held that Christ was a man endued with a certain Divine energy, or some portion of the Divine nature.²

The end of the same century witnessed the rise of another heresy of no small consequence. Praxeas, of whose opinions we can form a more definite notion from Tertullian's treatise against him, asserted the doctrine that there was but one Person in the Godhead. That one Person he considered to be both Father and Son; and was therefore charged with holding that the Father suffered, whence his followers were called Patripassians.³

Noetus (A. D. 220) of Smyrna, and after him Sabellius of Pentapolis in Africa (A. D. 255), held a similar doctrine; which has since acquired the name of Sabellianism. Its characteristic peculiarity is a denial of the three Persons in the Trinity, and the belief that the Person of the Father, who is one with the Son, was incarnate in Christ. But a more heretical and dangerous form of the doctrine made, not the Godhead, but an emanation only from the Godhead, to have dwelt in Jesus; and thus what we may call the *low* Sabellians bordered on mere humanitarians, and also nearly symbolized on this important subject with Valentinus and other Gnostics, who looked on the supreme *Æon*, Christ or the *Logos*, as an emanation from God, which dwelt in Jesus, and returned from Jesus to the *Pleroma* of God.

Beryllus, Bishop of Bozrah, seems to have taken up this form

¹ Mosheim, Cent. II. pt. II. ch. v. § 21.

² Theodotus, having denied his faith in persecution, excused himself by saying, that he had not denied God, but man; he, according to Eusebius, being the first who asserted that Jesus Christ was a mere man; for all former heretics had admitted at least some Divinity in

Jesus. (See Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 247.) This should seem to show that Theodotus was a mere humanitarian.

³ See Tertullian, *Adv. Praxeam*; also Bp. Kaye's *Tertullian*, p. 526; Mosheim, Cent. II. pt. II. ch. v. § 20. Praxeas is placed A. D. 200. He propagated his opinions at Rome.

of Sabellianism. He was converted by the arguments of Origen. But, not long after, Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, the most important see in Asia, a man supported by the influence of the famous Zenobia, professed a creed which some have considered pure humanitarianism; but which was evidently, more or less, what has been called the Emanative, in contradistinction to the Patripassian, form of Sabellianism. He held, "that the Son and the Holy Ghost exist in God, in the same manner as the faculties of reason and activity do in man; ¹ that Christ was a mere man; but that the Reason or Wisdom of the Father descended into him, and by him wrought miracles upon earth, and instructed the nations; and finally, that, on account of this union of the Divine Word with the man Jesus, Christ might, though improperly, be called God." Several councils were called in consequence of this spiritual wickedness in high places; and although the rhetoric and sophistry of Paulus for a time baffled his opponents, he was finally condemned by the Council of Antioch (A. D. 264), and dispossessed of his bishopric by Aurelian (A. D. 272), after having held it, in spite of condemnation, by the aid of Zenobia.²

The controversies which these various errors gave rise to, naturally tended to unsettle men's minds, and to introduce strife about words; and so paved the way for the most formidable heresy that has probably ever disturbed the Christian Church. Arius, a native of Antioch, but a presbyter of Alexandria, began by charging his bishop, Alexander, with Sabellianism. It is most probable, that, as his predecessor Dionysius, in his zeal against Sabellianism, had been betrayed into incautious expressions, seeming to derogate from the dignity of Christ's Divine nature; so Alexander, in his zeal to maintain that dignity, may have used language not unlike the language of the Patripassians. There is no doubt, however, that he was a sound believer in the Trinity. Arius was, from this beginning, led on to propound, and mould into shape, his own dangerous heresy.

It was unlike the heresy of any of his predecessors. For, though some of them may have been mere humanitarians, those who held that the Logos dwelt in Christ, held that Logos to be either God, or an emanation from God, and so in some sense co-

¹ He spoke of the Son of God, as being an *unsubsisting knowledge* or *energy*, *ἐπιστήμη ἀνπόστατος*. In opposition to which, the fathers of the Council of Antioch speak of Him as *ζῶσαν ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἐνπόστατον*, a *living and subsisting energy*.

Routh, *Reliq. Sac.* Tom. II. pp. 468, 469. Bull. *Fid. Nic. Def.* Lib. III. c. 1v.

² See Mosheim, *Cent.* III. pt. II. ch. v. § 15; Newman's *Arians*; Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, note 103.

eternal and consubstantial. Arius and his followers, on the contrary, held that there was a period¹ when the Son of God was not (*ἦν πότε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*), and that He was created by God, of a substance which once was not (*ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*). They called Him by the name of God, and allowed to Him, in terms, all the attributes of God, but denied that He was *homo-ousios*, of one Substance with the Father,² or in any sense one with Him. The true Logos they esteemed to be merely the Wisdom, an attribute of God; but the Son they held to have been *created* before all worlds, and so far enlightened by the Wisdom of God, that He might, though improperly, be called the Logos, and that by Him God made the world. They said of Him, that, before He was created or begotten, He did not exist (*πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, οὐκ ἦν*), and they explained the title of *μονογενής*, Only-Begotten, as though it meant Begotten by God alone, *γεννηθείς παρὰ μόνου*.³

Here we see a second and created God introduced into the Christian Theology. The Patripassians, on the one hand, had denied the Trinity of Persons; the Valentinians and Manichees, on the contrary, are accused of saying that there were three unconnected, independent Beings in the Godhead.⁴ But Arianism taught distinctly the existence of one, or two beings, who were to be worshipped as God, and yet were neither one nor of the same nature with the Father. The inevitable tendency of this was either to direct Polytheism, or more probably and naturally to Humanitarianism.⁵

The Council of Nice, consisting of 318 bishops, was summoned in 325 by Constantine the Great; which condemned Arianism, established the doctrine of the homo-ousion (*i. e.* that the Son was consubstantial with the Father), and drew up the Creed which now bears the name of Nicene, with the exception of the clauses which follow the words "I believe in the Holy Ghost." Arianism, thus checked for a time, soon revived again. Constantine was convinced that Arius had been unjustly banished, and recalled him. His son Constantius, who ruled first in the East, and then over the whole empire, and afterwards Valens, who

¹ He avoided saying "time" (*χρόνος*); because he appears to have admitted that the production of the Logos was before all time. See Neander, *Church History*, iv. p. 4. London, Bohn, 1851.

² Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. I. p. 135. (fol. Lond. 1723.)

³ This was the fallacy of Eunomius. See Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. II. p. 138.

⁴ The Apostolical Canons mention and condemn certain persons, who baptized in the name of three unoriginated principles, *τρεις ἀνόρχους*. *Can. Apost.* c. 49. And the first Council of Bracara says that the Gnostics and Priscillianists introduced a Trinity of Trinities. See Bingham, B. XI. ch. III. § 4.

⁵ See Newman's *Arians*, ch. II. § 5.

ruled also in the East, favoured the Arians. Partly by this powerful patronage, partly by subtilty of argament, and partly in consequence of the prevalence of Judaizing or philosophic doctrine, this dangerous heresy, or some modification of it, spread extensively, especially in the Eastern Churches. The famous Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, exhibited unbounded zeal and courage in defending the Catholic faith, and suffered greatly from the persecution of the Arians. There then arose a variety of sects, with more or less of the Arian tenets; such as the Eusebians, Anomœans, Semi-Arians. The latter adopted as their symbol the term *homoi-ousios*, of like substance, instead of *homo-ousios*, of one substance. From among the latter sprang *Macedonius*. The pure Arians, and those who symbolized with them,—the Anomœans, and Eunomians, and Semi-Arians,—appear to have held that the Holy Ghost, like the Son, was a created being. Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, whose followers were called Macedonians, or Pneumatomachi, seems to have been more orthodox on the Person of the Son, but to have esteemed, like the Arians, that the Holy Ghost was a creature.¹ This heresy was condemned at the second General Council at Constantinople, A. D. 381; which added to the Nicene Creed the clauses which follow “I believe in the Holy Ghost.”² With this Council the struggles between the Catholics and the Arians ended. Arianism thenceforth became a heresy excommunicated and detached from the Church.³ It found refuge for some time with the Gothic invaders of the Empire, who persecuted the Catholics; but at length declined and became extinct.

After this, we hear of a sect of Tritheists in the sixth century, the principal defender of whose doctrine was Philoponus of Alexandria.⁴

The discussions between the Nominalists and Realists of the Middle Ages often led to something like erroneous statements of the Trinitarian question. The Nominalists were charged with teaching Tritheism, and their founder, Roscellinus, was con-

¹ “Macedoniani sunt a Macedonio Constantinopolitanæ ecclesiæ episcopo, quos et Πνευματομάχος Græci dicunt, eo quod de Spiritu Sancto litigent. Nam de Patre et Filio recte sentiunt, quod unius sint ejusdemque substantiæ, vel essentiæ: sed de Spiritu Sancto hoc nolunt credere, creaturam Eum esse dicentes.”—S. August. *Heret.* 52. See Pearson, *On the Creed*, p. 316, note, Art. VIII.

² With the exception of course of the famous “Filioque.”

³ Much information on the terms of the controversy may be found by turning to the words Τριῦς, ὑπόστασις, οὐσία, ὁμοούσιος, Ἄρειος, Ἡμιάρειοι, Πνεῦμα (ε), πνευματομάχος, &c., in Suicer’s *Theaurus*. See also Bp. Kaye’s *History of the Council of Nicæa*.

⁴ See Suicer, s. v. Τριθέται, and Moheim, Cent. vi. pt. II ch. v. § 10.

demned by the Council of Soissons, A. D. 1092. A subsequent synod at the same place, A. D. 1121, condemned Abelard, another famous reasoner of the same school, for errors on the subject of the Trinity; though what his errors were is a question of some difficulty. His great opponent, St. Bernard, charged him with nothing short of Arianism.¹

After the Reformation, when freedom of opinion was introduced, and an unsettled state of mind naturally sprang from violent changes, several heretics arose, who denied the doctrine of the Trinity. Servetus, a Spaniard, in 1531, taught a doctrine like that of the low or emanative Sabellians; that Christ, who was born of the Virgin, was united to one of the two *personal representations* or *modes of existence*, which God, before the world, had produced within Himself. He was apprehended by Calvin, on his way through Geneva, and put to death.²

Several other sects of Arians and Anti-Trinitarians arose about this time; some of which took refuge in Poland, as the country of most religious liberty. They called themselves Unitarians. In the Cracow Catechism, which they published as their confession of faith, they plainly deny the Divinity of the Son and of the Spirit, making Jesus Christ but a prophet of God.

In the mean time, Lælius and Faustus Socinus constructed the system which bears their name. They were natives of Tuscany, which they left from hatred to Romanism; and Faustus after his uncle's death joined the Unitarians of Poland, and there taught his doctrines, which soon spread into Hungary, Holland, and England. He professed that Luther had begun, but that he would perfect the Reformation; which was incomplete whilst any doctrine which Rome had held remained to be believed. His fundamental error was, that Scripture should be received as truth, but be made to bend to reason. He taught, that Jesus was born of a virgin, and, having been translated to heaven, was instructed in God's will, and endued with that portion of the Divine power called the Holy Ghost. He then came down as a teacher of righteousness. Those who obey him shall be saved. The disobedient shall be tormented for a time, and then annihilated. In a certain sense, Socinus allowed Christ to be called God, and worshipped. But his followers have generally looked

¹ "Cum de Trinitate loquitur, sapit Arium; cum de Gratiâ, sapit Pelagium; cum de Personâ Christi, sapit Nestorium."—Bernard. *Ad Guidon. Car-* *thn. Epist.* 192; apud Cave, *Hist. Lit.* p. 652.

² Mosheim, *Cent. xvi. pt. II. ch. xv.* § 3.

on Him as a mere man; following herein that sect of Socinians whose first leader was Budnæus.¹

In the Reformed Church of England, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, Mr. Whiston, Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge, adopted and maintained the Arian doctrine, or a slight modification of it.² And Dr. Samuel Clarke, a man of learning and unblemished character, maintained the subordination of the Persons in the Godhead in so objectionable a form as to lay himself open to the charge of Arianism, or semi-Arianism. The masterly works of Waterland on the Trinity were many of them called forth by the unsound views of Dr. Clarke.

Later in the century, Priestley advocated with learning and skill, though without accuracy or caution, the far more heretical doctrines of the Socinians, or rather of the pure humanitarians. Those writings of Bishop Horsley are considered as of most value which are directed against Priestley.

It has been observed, that the various bodies of Presbyterian Christians, both in Great Britain and on the Continent, have had a considerable tendency to lapse into Socinianism, with the exception of the Kirk of Scotland, which has maintained a most honourable superiority to all other Presbyterians, partly, no doubt, because — unlike the generality of them — she strictly guards the Creeds of the Church, and other formularies of the faith.

In Germany and Switzerland the rationalism which so generally prevails among foreign Protestants has been favourable to Unitarian views of the Godhead, and humanitarian doctrines concerning Christ.

SECTION II.—SCRIPTURAL PROOF.

HAVING thus far given a history of the doctrine contained in this Article, I proceed to the proof from Scripture.

So much of the subject may seem to belong to natural religion that we might easily be tempted to begin with proofs from reason alone. It appears to me, however, that, as a Christian Church presupposes acceptance of the Christian revelation, the proper way of treating the symbols and articles of a church is to prove them

¹ Mosheim, Cent. xvi. pt. II. ch. iv. ² [See Johnson Grant's *History of the Church of England*, III. c. xvii. — J. W.]
 § 8; also Cent. xvii. pt. II. ch. vi. § 2.

from the authentic records of that revelation. The proofs from reason belong rather to the department of Christian evidences. Yet thus much perhaps it may be necessary to premise: that the mystery of the doctrines contained in this Article should be considered as no argument against their truth. For, as, with all our study, we can scarce attain to any clear understanding of the mode in which we exist ourselves; reason alone should teach us to look upon it as hardly likely, that, with any searching, we could find out God. The mode of His subsistence who is infinitely above us may probably enough be infinitely above our powers to comprehend.

According, then, to the division of the subject proposed above, we have to show, —

FIRST, in opposition to Anthropomorphites, that “God is a Spirit, without body, parts, or passions.”

SECONDLY, in opposition to Pantheists, that God is a personal, living Being, — “living and true, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, Maker and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible,” “everlasting.”

THIRDLY, in opposition to Tritheists, Arians, and every kind of Polytheists, that God is One.

FOURTHLY, in opposition to Arians, Sabellians, Macedonians, Socinians, &c., that, “in the Unity of the Godhead there are three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, — the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.”

I shall consider it sufficient to establish the doctrines contained in the first three of the foregoing propositions by simply referring to some of the many texts of Scripture by which they may be proved; reserving for the fourth and last any more extended arguments.

FIRST, then, “God is a Spirit, without body, parts, or passions.” Joh. iv. 24. Comp. Isai. xl. 18, 25. Deut. iv. 15. Luk. xxiv. 39. Joh. i. 18; v. 37. Acts xvii. 24, 28, 29. Rom. i. 20, 21. 1 Tim. i. 17; vi. 16.

“Without passions” may be inferred from Num. xxiii. 19. Mal. iii. 6. Heb. vi. 17, 18. James i. 13, 17.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to add, that, whereas God is often spoken of in terms which express bodily relations, it is that the Infinite may in some degree be made intelligible to the finite; the Almighty having been pleased to condescend to our infirmities, and to deal with us, as parents do with their children, teaching them by such figures and modes of instruction as their tender minds will bear.

SECONDLY. God is

1. "Living and true." Exod. iii. 6, 14, 15; vi. 2, 3. Num. xxvii. 16. Deut. v. 26. Josh. iii. 10. 1 Sam. xvii. 26. Ps. xlii. 2; lxxxiv. 2. Isai. xlii. 8. Jer. x. 10. Dan. vi. 26. Matt. xvi. 16. Joh. xvii. 3. Acts xiv. 15. Rom. ix. 26. 2 Cor. vi. 16. 1 Thess. i. 9. 1 Tim. iv. 10; vi. 17. Heb. x. 31. Rev. iv. 8; x. 5, 6.

2. "Of infinite power." Gen. xvii. 1; xviii. 14. Job xlii. 2. Jer. xxxii. 17, 27. Matt. xix. 26. Eph. iii. 20. Rev. iv. 11; xix. 6.

3. "Wisdom." Gen. xvi. 13. 1 Sam. ii. 3. 1 Kings viii. 39. Job xxvi. 6; xxviii. 10, 23, 24; xxxiv. 21. Psal. xlv. 21; xciv. 9; cxxxix. 4. Prov. xv. 3. Jer. xxiii. 23, 24. Dan. ii. 22, 28. Acts xv. 18. Rom. xi. 33; xvi. 27. Heb. iv. 13. 1 Joh. i. 5. Jude 25.

4. "Goodness." Ex. xv. 11; xxxiv. 6. Lev. xi. 44. Deut. iv. 31. 1 Sam. ii. 2. Psal. lxxxvi. 15; cxviii. 1; cxlv. 8. Isai. vi. 3. Dan. ix. 9. Joel ii. 13. Jonah iv. 2. Mic. vii. 18. Luke i. 77, 78. Rom. ii. 4. 2 Cor. i. 3. Eph. ii. 4. Heb. vi. 10. 2 Pet. iii. 15. 1 Joh. iv. 8. Rev. xv. 3.

5. "Maker of all things, visible and invisible." Gen. i. ii. 2 Kings xix. 15. Neh. ix. 6. Psal. xxxiii. 6; c. 3; cxxxv. 6. Acts xvii. 24. Eph. iii. 9. Col. i. 16. Heb. iii. 4. Rev. iv. 11; x. 6.

6. "Preserver of all things." Deut. xxxii. 39, &c. 1 Sam. ii. 6. 1 Chron. xxix. 11, 12. Job xii. 9. Psal. xxii. 28; lxxxv. 6, 7; xc. 3; xcvi. 3, 4, 5, 7. Isai. xiv. 27; xl. 11, 12, 13, 15, 22. Jer. v. 24; xviii. 6-9. Dan. v. 23. Matt. vi. 25-30; x. 29, 30. Rom. xi. 36.

7. "Everlasting." Gen. xxi. 33. Deut. xxxiii. 27. Psal. ix. 7; xc. 2, 4; cii. 12, 26, 27. Isai. xlv. 6; lvii. 15. Lam. v. 19. Rom. i. 20; xvi. 26. 1 Tim. i. 17. Rev. i. 8; v. 14; x. 6.

THIRDLY. We have to show, in opposition to Tritheists, Arians, and every kind of Polytheists, that "God is One." "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord" (Deut. vi. 4). "The Lord, He is God, there is none else beside Him" (Deut. iv. 35). "Thus saith the Lord . . . Beside Me there is no God" (Is. xlv. 6; comp. v. 8). "There is one God, and there is none other but He" (Mark xii. 32). "The only true God" (Joh. xvii. 3). "We know that there is none other God but One" (1 Cor. viii. 4). "God is One" (Gal. iii. 20). "There is One God, and one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus" (1 Tim.

ii. 5). "Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well" (Jam. ii. 19). "Denying the only Lord God" (Jude 4). "The only wise God, our Saviour" (Jude 25).

See also Ex. xx. 3. 2 Sam. xxii. 32. Psal. lxxxvi. 10. Isai. xxxvii. 16; xlii. 8. Mark xii. 29. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Eph. iv. 6.

FOURTHLY. We have to show, in opposition to Sabellians, Arians, Macedonians, Socinians, &c., that "In the Unity of the Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, — the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

As regards this doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, we must not expect to find the same express declarations in Scripture that we find, for instance, of the facts, that "God is a Spirit," "God is a righteous God," or the like. But it by no means therefore follows, that the one is less true than the other. It appears to have been far from the design of the Author of Holy Scripture to set down every article of Christian truth in the form of a distinct enunciation. Scripture is not a system of catechetical instruction, designed to lead us, step by step, to the knowledge of religious verities, and to place everything so clearly before us, that, if we will, we cannot mistake it. On the contrary, it is plainly intended, that, if we do not fear the Lord, we shall not be able to penetrate His secret, and that, unless our hearts are set to do His will, we shall not be able to know of His doctrine. If there were no other reason than this, we might see why many things in Scripture require to be sought out.

But, again, God has appointed various instruments for instruction in His Church; all, of course, in subordination to the teaching of His Holy Spirit. He has bestowed upon us, first, reason; secondly, Scripture; thirdly, the ministry of His word and Sacraments. If Scripture were a regular course of catechetical teaching, so plain that it could not be mistaken, the prophetic or didactic office of the Church and the ministry would be altogether superseded. Again, it is evidently desirable that our reason, enlightened by God's Spirit, should be exercised to the understanding of His word; and one great blessing derived from this appointment is, that so, whilst the ignorant may find enough to guide them safe, the most profound and acutest intellect may find abundance to employ its meditations, and exercise its thoughts. Else, what was suited for the one might pall upon the taste of the other.

Believing, then, that we are not only permitted, but called upon, in humble dependence on the Divine guidance, to use our reason,

dispassionately but reverently, in order to understand what God has delivered to us, I shall endeavour to class together the various facts which Scripture has recorded concerning the nature of God, so far as they bear on this part of our subject; and then, by the common process of induction, shall hope to arrive at a just conclusion from a general view of them all.

Now these different facts of Scripture may be classed under four heads.

I. Scripture teaches, that there is One God.

II. There is, nevertheless, clear *intimation* of some kind of plurality in the Godhead, even in the old Testament; but in the new Testament there is a clear *declaration* that

The Father is God, — the Son is God, — the Holy Ghost is God.

III. This fact of the plurality is not in express terms a contradiction of the Unity; such as would be the case, if in one passage it were said, “There is one God,” and in another passage, “There are three Gods;” for it appears from Scripture, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are but one and the same God.

IV. Still, though Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are but one God, there is plain evidence from Scripture, that the Father is not the Son, nor is either of them the Holy Ghost; but that they are clearly distinguished from one another, and distinguished, too, as *Personal* Agents, not merely as modes, operations, or attributes.

If I find these four propositions clearly established in Scripture, I do not know what more can be required to prove the doctrine of this Article, that “in the Unity of the Godhead there be three Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;” and that these three Persons are “of one substance, power, and eternity.”

I. In the first place, then, Scripture teaches us, that there is but one God. This has been already shown in the **THIRD** principal division of the subject. It is revealed as the fundamental truth of all religion. Whatever contradicts this truth is evident falsehood. Therefore Tritheism, which speaks of the Father, Son, and Spirit as three Gods, is false. Therefore Arianism, which speaks of the Father as the supreme God, and of the Son as another inferior, subordinate God, is false. Therefore every kind of Polytheism is false; for “there is one God, and there is none other but He.” Mark xii. 32.

II. But next, plain as is this doctrine of the Unity of the Godhead, there are (1) in the old Testament decided *intimations* of a plurality in the Godhead, and (2) in the new Testament express *declarations*, that

The Father is God, — the Son is God, — and the Holy Ghost is God.

(1) In the old Testament there are decided intimations of a plurality in the Godhead.

The Jews indeed were placed in the midst of idolaters, themselves easily tempted to idolatry; and, being subjects of a carnal dispensation, were but little capable of embracing spiritual truth. It may therefore probably have been in mercy, to prevent the danger of Tritheism, that the doctrine of the Unity was so strongly insisted on, and so little said of a Trinity or plurality of Persons. Yet *intimations* are not wanting.

I do not insist on the plural form of the name of God, because the Hebrews used plurals at times to express greatness or intensity; and such may have been the force of the plural in the name *Elohim*.

But, in the history of the Creation (Gen. i. 26, 27), it is certainly remarkable, that God said, "Let *us* make man in *our* image;" and then it is added, "So God created man in *His* own image." This is the more remarkable, if we compare with it what is said by St. Paul (Col. i. 16; Heb. i. 2, &c.), namely, that God made all things *by His Son*. The same plural expression occurs after the fall, when God says, "The man is become as one of *us*;" and at the confusion of Babel, "Let *us* go down and confound their language." We cannot conceive the infinite Creator of all things thus coupling any finite creature with Himself.

Again, in the old Testament there are various manifestations of God, which at one time are spoken of as manifestations of God Himself, at another as manifestations of a Messenger or Angel sent by God: as though God were at once the Sender and the Sent, — the God of Angels and the Angel of God.

This may be observed of the wrestling of Jacob with the Angel (Gen. xxxii. 24). In Genesis it is said Jacob wrestled with a *man*; but he called the place, "Peniel, because he had seen *God* face to face" — (ver. 30); and where the same is referred to by Hosea (xii. 3, 4), it is first said, "He had power with *God*," and then in the next verse, "He had power over the *Angel*, and prevailed."

In Joshua (v. 14), one appears to Joshua, who calls Himself

“the Captain of the Lord’s host.” Yet three verses further (ch. vi. 2), when the Captain of the Lord’s host speaks to Joshua, the name by which He is called is the LORD (*i. e.* JEHOVAH). From this we infer, that He, who came as the Captain of JEHOVAH’S host, was also Himself JEHOVAH.¹

In the second chapter of Judges, the *Angel* of the LORD appears to speak with full authority, as if He were the LORD *Himself*. “I made you go out of Egypt.” “I said, I will never break *My* covenant with you.” Ver. 1.

The history of Manoah and the Angel (Judg. xiii. comp. vv. 20, 21, 22, 23) seems to teach the same thing.

But not only is One, who is sent by the Lord as His Angel, called by the highest name of God, namely, JEHOVAH; but also there is indication of the clearest kind in the old Testament, that One, who should be sent on earth by God, as a man, to suffer, and to deliver, is also the Fellow of God, and God Himself. Thus, in Jeremiah (xxiii. 6), the Messiah’s name is called “JEHOVAH our Righteousness.” In Isaiah (vii. 14), it is called “God with us.” In Malachi (iii. 1), we are told, “The LORD whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to His temple, even the Messenger of the Covenant whom ye delight in,”—language clearly used of the Messiah, but as clearly most suitable to God. In Isaiah (ix. 6), the Child, who is to be born as a Redeemer, is expressly called “The Mighty God.” In Zechariah (xiii. 7), in a prophecy of salvation by the Christ, we read, “Awake, O sword, against My Shepherd, and against the Man that is My Fellow (or Companion, עִמִּירִי), saith the Lord of hosts.”

I forbear to adduce such passages as those where the Wisdom, or the Word of God are spoken of with personal attributes (*e. g.* Prov. viii. ver. 22, 23, 24, 30, 31. Psal. xxxiii. 6. Isai. xlvi. 16); because we cannot be certain that in these cases personal attributes are not ascribed by the figure called Prosopopœia. But it is hard to explain how God in creation can use the plural number, speaking as to another, with whom He was, as it were, acting in concert,—how the same Person can be both JEHOVAH, and sent as JEHOVAH’S Angel, Captain, or Messenger,—how the same person can be sent on earth as Messiah, and yet be the mighty God,—how God can speak of the Man, that is His Fellow,—without supposing, that some sort of plurality in the Godhead is implied.

¹ Compare Ex. xxiii. 20, 21, where Israelites, seems plainly by ver. 21, to be the Angel, whom God sends before the God.

I conclude, therefore, that in the old Testament there are distinct intimations of a plurality in the Godhead.

(2) But next, in the new Testament, there are not only intimations of a plurality (such as the very use of the names, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and their conjunction in numerous passages plainly imply), but farther, it is *distinctly taught* us

1. That the FATHER is GOD, — 2. That the SON is GOD, —
3. That the HOLY GHOST is GOD.

1. That we are taught the FATHER is GOD, no one can doubt. So strong indeed are the expressions concerning the Father as God, that, if they stood alone, we should naturally conclude, that the Father alone was God, and that, as there is but One God, so there was but one Person in the Godhead. Thus our Lord says (John viii. 54), “My Father, of whom ye say that He is your God.” Again, addressing the Father, He says, “This is Life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God” (John xvii. 3). St. Paul speaks (Eph. iv. 6) of “One God and Father of all.” And again, “To us there is one God, the Father, and one Lord Jesus Christ.” (1 Cor. viii. 6.)¹

2. We learn also from the teaching of the new Testament that the SON is God. And this fact we deduce both from *reasonable inference*, and from *direct statement*.

Our *reasonable inference* is of the following kind.

We often meet with passages in the old Testament, which speak plainly of the Most High God, applied as plainly in the new Testament to Jesus Christ, the Son of God. For example, in Isaiah xl. 3, it is said, that “the voice of one crying in the wilderness shall prepare the way of JEHOVAH, and make straight in the desert a highway for our God.” But in each one of the Evangelists this passage is quoted. The “Voice” is said to be John the Baptist; and He for whom he prepares the way is said to be Christ.² Is not the natural and necessary inference, that Christ is as much “our God” and “JEHOVAH,” as John was the voice in the wilderness?

Again, in Zech. xii. 4, 10, if we compare the one verse with the other, we shall see that it is written, “In that day, saith JEHOVAH . . . they shall look on *Me* whom they have pierced.” But

¹ The apparently exclusive appropriation of the name of God to God the Father must be accounted for by the consideration that the Father is ever represented to us as the Fountain and Source of Life, the Ἀρχή, or Πηγή ζωῆς.

τος, from whom eternally both the Son and Spirit derive the same Life and Godhead. See below, pp. 65, 67.

² Matt. iii. 3; Mark i. 3; Luke iii. 4; John i. 23.

St. John (xix. 37) tells us, that this prophecy was concerning the piercing of *Christ*. Therefore we must conclude, that Christ is JEHOVAH.

Once more, in Isaiah vi. the prophet sees the Lord sitting upon His throne, even "the King, JEHOVAH of hosts" (ver. 5). But St. John (compare xii. 37-41) says, that the LORD, whose glory Isaiah then saw, was *Jesus Christ*.

Another reason why we *infer* that the Son is God, is that the worship due to God is offered to Him, the peculiar attributes of God are ascribed to Him, and the power of God is exerted by Him.

(1) He receives worship as God, and is prayed to.

See Matt. ii. 11; viii. 2; ix. 18; xiv. 33; xv. 25; xx. 20; xxviii. 9. Mark v. 6; ix. 24. Luke xxiii. 42. John ix. 38. Acts vii. 59. 2 Cor. viii. 8, 9. 1 Thess. iii. 11. Heb. i. 6. Rev. v. 8, 12, 13.

Whereas saints and angels universally refuse worship offered to them, and bid us worship none but God. Acts x. 26; xiv. 14, 15. Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 9.

(2) The peculiar attributes of God are ascribed to Him.

a. He is eternal, existing from everlasting to everlasting. Micah v. 2. John i. 1, 3; viii. 58. Col. i. 16, 17. Heb. i. 8, 10, 11, 12; vii. 3; xiii. 8. Rev. i. comp. vv. 8, 11, 12, 13, 18 (which comparison will show that the language is all used of Jesus Christ); xxii. 13.

It may be added, that several of the above passages show, that He is not only eternal, but unchangeable, *e. g.* Heb. i. 10, 11; xiii. 8.

β. He knows the thoughts, yea, all things. Matt. ix. 4; xii. 25. Luke vi. 8; ix. 47; xi. 17. John i. 48; xvi. 30; xxi. 17. Col. ii. 3. Rev. ii. 23.

Those of the above passages which show that Jesus Christ knew the thoughts of the heart, should be compared with such as the following: Jer. xvii. 10, "I the Lord search the heart." Acts xv. 8, "God, which knoweth the hearts" (ὁ καρδιογνώστης θεός), and 1 Kings viii. 39, "Thou, even Thou ONLY knowest the hearts of all the children of men."¹

γ. He is everywhere present. Matt. xviii. 20; xxviii. 20. Johr. i. 48; iii. 13.

¹ The objections to Christ's omniscience, taken from John viii. 28; Rev. i. 1; Mark xiii. 32; are answered by Waterland, *Moyer's Lecture*, Serm. vii., *Works*, II. p. 160. See the latter passage considered below, under Art. iv.

The last passage especially shows that, whilst He was on earth, He was still in Heaven.

δ. He is self-existent, like the Father, having derived from the Father the same eternal nature with Himself. John v. 26. Compare John xi. 25; xiv. 6. See also John i. 4; x. 30; xiv. 10. Phil. ii. 6.¹

(3) The power of God is exerted by Him.

α. He is Lord of the Sabbath, which God ordained, and none but God can change. Comp. Gen. ii. 2, 3, with Mark ii. 28. Luke vi. 5.

β. He sends His Angels, as God. Matt. xiii. 41. Rev. i. 1; xxii. 6.

γ. He has power to forgive sins as God. Matt. ix. 2-6. Mark ii. 5, 7, 10. Luke v. 20-24; vii. 48.

Whereas, when forgiveness is merely ministerial or ecclesiastical, the power is conferred by Him, and exercised in His name. Comp. John xx. 23 with 2 Cor. ii. 10.

δ. He shall judge the world. Job xix. 25. Matt. xiii. 41 xvi. 27; xxv. 31. John v. 22, 23. Acts x. 42. 2 Cor. v. 10.

ε. He created and preserves all things.² John i. 3, 10. Eph. iii. 9. Col. i. 16. Heb. i. 2, 3, 10, 11, 12.

With these passages compare Isaiah xlv. 24, "Thus saith the LORD (*i. e.* JEHOVAH), I am the LORD that maketh all things; that stretcheth forth the heavens *alone*; that spreadeth abroad the earth by MYSELF."

ζ. He has all power in Heaven and earth. Matt. xxviii. 18. Mark i. 27. John iii. 31, 35; v. 19, 21; xvi. 15. Acts x. 36. Rom. xiv. 9. Eph. i. 20-23. Phil. ii. 10; iii. 21. Heb. vii. 25. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. Rev. i. 5, 8.

Thus far, then, we have seen, that passages in the old Testament, spoken of God, are in the new Testament applied to Christ, the Son of God: that the worship due to God is offered to the Son: that the peculiar attributes of God are ascribed to the Son: that the power of God is exerted by the Son. If we had nothing more than this, surely our natural and necessary *inference* must be, that the Son is God.

But we are not left to the *inference* of our reason only on this

¹ On Phil. ii. 6, see Pearson, *On the Creed*, fol. p. 121.

² On the proof of Christ's proper Deity from creation, see Pearson, *On the Creed*,

p. 113; Waterland, *Works* (Oxf. 1828), II. 2d and 3d Sermons at Lady Moyer's Lecture

momentous subject. We have also *direct statement*, and that many times repeated, that Christ, the Son of God, is God.

And here we may recur, for a moment, to what was said concerning intimations of a plurality in the Godhead in the old Testament. Some of the passages there referred to, when seen in the light cast upon them by the new Testament, become direct assertions of the Godhead of Christ.

The prophecy in the seventh chapter of Isaiah, that a Virgin should bear a Son, whose name should be called Immanuel, *i. e.* God with us, is, in the first chapter of St. Matthew, distinctly interpreted of the birth of Jesus Christ. Therefore St. Matthew distinctly declares to us, that Jesus Christ is Emmanuel, God with us. Again, in the ninth chapter of Isaiah, which is a continuation of the prophecy in the seventh chapter, the child that was to be born is called "Wonderful, Counsellor, *the Mighty God*, the Everlasting Father." This prophecy, too, is by St. Matthew expressly interpreted of the Lord Jesus. (See Matt. iv. 16, which compare with Isai. ix. 1, 2.) We have then the express assurance of the Evangelist, that Jesus Christ was called in the old Testament, Immanuel, and the Mighty God.

We might add to these examples the language of Zechariah (xiii. 7), where the Lord's "Shepherd" is called his "Fellow;" and that of Jeremiah (xxiii. 6), where the "Branch," that should be raised to David, is called "JEHOVAH our Righteousness;"¹ because both these passages are unquestionable prophecies of Christ, though not so distinctly referred to by the Evangelists.

The first chapter of St. John begins with a declaration of the Divinity of the Son of God. From whatever source St. John derived the use of the term "the Word of God;" whether he used language already familiar to the Jews, or, as is perhaps more probable, adopted the phrase of Platonizing heretics;² it is quite plain, that by the "Word" he means the Son of God, who was incarnate in Jesus Christ. That is proved by Rev. xix. 13, where it is said of Jesus Christ that "His name is called the Word of God;" and again, by the 14th verse of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, where we read, "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the Only-begotten of the Father." Of this Word of God then, who was the Only-begotten of the Father, and, when made flesh, was called Jesus Christ, we are told (John i. 1), "In the beginning

¹ On this passage see Pearson, *On the Creed*, fol. p. 148, note.

² See Sect. I. *Historical View*.

was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Language cannot more strongly express the Deity of the Son of God, the Word of God. Yet, lest mistake should occur, the Evangelist adds a sentence which at once declares that the Word was uncreated, and was Himself the Creator of all things, exercising that, the highest act of Almighty power. "All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made." If no created thing was made but by Him; then was He Himself uncreated, and so He must be the eternal, uncreated Maker of the universe.

In the eighth chapter of the same Gospel, we find our Lord taking to Himself one of the most special names of God. God had first revealed Himself to Moses by the name "I AM." Here, then, Christ having declared Himself the Son of God, having assured the Jews that Abraham had seen His day and rejoiced; when they doubted the possibility of His having seen Abraham, He adds, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I AM." Had He merely spoken of His preëxistence, the past tense would have seemed more natural. But He uses that tense which expresses the existence of none but God,—an unchanging present, which has no future nor past,—and so adopts, as His own, the name of the self-existent JEHOVAH. That the Jews so understood Him is apparent from the fact, that, though they bore with Him whilst He called Himself God's Son, as soon as he had uttered the words "Before Abraham was, I am," they took up stones to cast at Him.

Again, (John xx. 28,) when Thomas is convinced of Christ's resurrection, he is therewith, though not till then, convinced of Christ's Divinity; for he immediately "said unto Him, My Lord and My God."¹

Another important passage is that in the ninth chapter of Romans, ver. 5; where St. Paul, speaking of the Jews, says that of them, "as concerning the flesh Christ came, who is over all, God, blessed forever." In this verse there is, as it were, proof upon proof, that Christ is God. First, the expression "as concerning the flesh," indicates that, according to something higher than the flesh, He had His Being elsewhere. Next He is said to be ἐπὶ πάντων, "over all;" as John the Baptist said of Him (John iii. 31), "He that cometh from above is above all." The very same epi

¹ The objections which have been made to the plain sense of this passage may be seen fully replied to, Pearson, *On the Creed*, p. 131; and Middleton, *On the Article*, in loc.

thet (ἐπὶ πάντων) is applied, Eph. iv. 6, to God the Father; nor can we conceive it to be of less significance than that similar title of God (ἐπιτοπ, ὑψιστος) "the *Most High*." Next comes the name (Θεός) God, which is in every manuscript and every version. Lastly, the whole is concluded by the words "Blessed forever:" a phrase which is a translation, or paraphrase of a well-known Jewish form used only in speaking of the Almighty: (בְּרִיךְ הוּא בְּרִיךְ הוּא).¹

Again, in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians, ver. 9, St. Paul says of Christ, that "in Him dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." The Gnostics made a fulness (pleroma) of numerous Æons, or emanations from God, and one of these emanations they believed to dwell in Jesus. The Apostle says, however, that it was no single Æon, no mere emanation from God: but that the whole Pleroma, the fulness of God, dwelt in Him bodily.²

The first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, besides ascribing Creation and Providence to the Son of God, besides saying that all the Angels should worship Him, distinctly applies to Him the name of God. It is thus the Apostle quotes the Psalms: "To the Son He saith, Thy Throne, O God, is for ever and ever." And again, "Thou, Lord, in the beginning, hast laid the foundation of the earth."

Let us next take the important passage in the Epistle to the Philippians (ii. 5-9). The Apostle exhorts the Philippians to humility by the example of the incarnate Son of God. "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." There are two ways in which this passage, or at least one phrase of it (οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο), may be translated: one, as in our version; the other (as Origen, Novatian, and many after them have interpreted it), "did not

¹ All MSS. all VSS. have the verse entire. All the Fathers have it, except that in Cyprian, Hilary, and Leo it is referred to without Θεός. Such an exception will be very far from invalidating the reading; but Erasmus observes that without Θεός, the verse would still prove the Divinity. See the passage fully considered, Pearson, p. 132; Wa-

terland, II. p. 133; Middleton, *On the Article*, in loc.; Magee, *On Atonement*, III. p. 91. The Arian interpretation, which would make the latter part of the verse a doxology to the Father, is considered and refuted very fully by Bp. Middleton. See also Tholuck and Alford on this passage.

² See Whitby on this passage. His Notes on the Colossians are very good.

pique Himself on this His dignity," or, "did not covet and earnestly desire to be so honoured."¹ It does not appear that one of these renderings is more calculated to weaken the force of the passage than the other. Both of them are intelligible, if we admit that St. Paul is speaking of Christ as God: both unintelligible on every other hypothesis.

The Arians indeed interpret the "being in the form of God," not as though it meant being in the "nature of God," but as though it were intended to signify, that Christ, before His incarnation, acted under the old Testament as God's Angel and Messenger, *represented* and *personated* God; and so might be said to be in the form of God. They would therefore explain it, "that Christ, having been sent as God's messenger, and permitted to personate and represent God, yet did not arrogate to Himself to be equal with God." But it must be observed, that, if this were the right sense of the passage, then also the phrase "taking the form of a servant" should mean, not the *becoming really* man, but merely personating or *appearing in the semblance* of a man; which sense of the passage might be correct, if the writer had been a Gnostic; not, as it was St. Paul. But as the "taking on Him the form of a servant" must mean that He was *truly* man; so the "being in the form of God" must mean that He was *truly* God. It must be observed again, that, as the Apostle distinctly tells us that Christ took the form of a servant by being made in the likeness of men, it is therefore quite plain that,

¹Ὁς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἤγησάτο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, μορφῇν δούλου λαβὼν, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, καὶ σχήματι εἰρηθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν, γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God (or, did not parade, covet, or pique Himself on the being equal with God); but emptied Himself (of his glory) by taking the form of a servant, (and that) by being made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself by becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." The participles express the manner in which the actions of the verbs were effected. He, being in the form of God, emptied Himself of His divine glory. How? Why, by taking the form of a servant. And how did He take the form of a servant? By being made in the likeness of men. And then, being no longer in the glory of God, but in fashion

as a man, He humbled Himself. How? By becoming obedient unto death.

Hence it appears, that, as He humbled Himself by becoming obedient to death, so He emptied Himself by taking the form of a servant, and He took the form of a servant by being made man. The taking the form of a servant, then, was the becoming man, the assuming human nature: "the form of a servant" was the nature of man. It follows that the "form of God" was the nature of God.

It must be admitted that *οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἤγησάτο* is an unusual expression; but to the interpretation "did not make a parade of, or pique Himself on the being equal with God," the few parallel expressions which are to be found seem most favourable.

On the whole passage see Grotius, Hammond, Whitby, Macknight, Rosenmüller, Middleton, in loc., Suicer, s. v. ἀρπαγμός; Pearson, *On the Creed*, p. 122, fol.; Waterland, II. Serm. v. p. 89.

before He was made in the likeness of men, He was *not* in the form of a servant. But who of all created beings is not in the form of a servant? Who, but the uncreated God, is not a servant of God? If therefore Christ was, before His incarnation, not a servant, nor in the form of a servant, then, before His incarnation, He must have been God.

The passage then requires us to interpret it as follows: "Take, for your example of humility, Jesus Christ. He, being in the form and nature of God, thought it not robbery to be (or, piqued not Himself on being) equal with God; but emptied Himself of His Divine glory, inasmuch, as He, being Lord of all, yet assumed the form of a servant, by being made in likeness of men; and when He was thus found in fashion no longer as God, but as man, He humbled Himself yet further, by becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."

In the famous passage in 1 Tim. iii. 16, we read, "God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." It is indeed true that there are three readings of the first word, which is in our version *God*. Yet whichever reading may be the true, the whole drift of the passage and its context clearly express the Deity of Him of whom the Apostle writes, that is of Jesus Christ.¹

There is another passage, in Acts xx. 28, which I couple with the last, because here too the reading is in doubt. St. Paul exhorts the elders of Ephesus "to feed the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood."² So strongly does this

¹ The state of the question is nearly this:—

ὁς is the reading of C*F.G. 17. 73. 181. — ὶ of D*. — Θεός of D*** J. K. and of nearly all cursive MSS.

B. E. H. are defective in this place, and supply no evidence at all.

The reading of A has been very much disputed. At present A reads Θεός, but the lines which distinguish ΘC from OC are in a newer and coarser ink than the original. The MS. is greatly defaced in this passage: and it is now extremely difficult to decide what the reading originally was. There is no trace now of a line either in or over the O written in the original ink; and from close inspection I am satisfied, that the tongue of the ε in the page on the other side of the leaf might have been seen through, and have appeared like the stroke of the middle of θ. But it is difficult to say how far this set-

tles the question concerning the reading of A.

The reading of VSS. is in favour of a relative, the Latin reading *quod*, the other ὁς, except the Arabic (Polygl.) and Slavonic, which have Θεός.

The Latin fathers followed the Vulgate in reading *quod*, except Hieron. In *Œsa* liii. 2, who reads ὁς.

Of the Greek fathers, some are doubtful. Ignat. *Ad Eph.* 19, Chrysost. Theodoret, Damasc., Œcum., Theophyl. read Θεός. Cyril. Alex., Theodor. Mopuest., Epiphani., Gelas. (Cyzic.) read ὁς.

² Θεοῦ is the reading of Cod. Vat. and seventeen other MSS., two of the Peshito, Vulg., Æthiop., Athanasius, Tertullian, &c. Κυρίου is the reading of Cod. Alex., Bezæ, and fourteen others; Copt., Sahid., Armen., Eusebius, &c. The fathers' authority is greatly for the first. The three readings Θεοῦ, Κυρίου, and Κυ-

speak, and so plainly assert the Deity of Christ, that the fathers, as early as Ignatius, who was a contemporary of the Apostles, considered themselves sanctioned by these words to use the remarkable expressions, "the Blood of God," and "the passion of God."¹

St. Peter (2 Pet. i. 1) speaks of "our God and Saviour Jesus Christ;" St. Jude, of "our only Lord God, even our Lord Jesus Christ," Jude 4. Compare Eph. v. 5; 2 Thess. i. 12; Tit. ii. 13.²

Lastly, St. John (1 John v. 20) distinctly calls Jesus Christ "the true God." "We are in Him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ. This (ὁὗτος) is the true God, and eternal life." The pronoun "this" (ὁὗτος), in all propriety of speech, should refer to the last antecedent, Jesus Christ. Hence, literally and grammatically, the passage teaches, that Christ is the true God. But also the context shows that it is of Him, and not of the Father, that St. John makes this statement. Our Lord is called by Himself, and by His Apostle St. John, "the Life," "the Life of men." Throughout the chapter, the Apostle has been urging, that eternal life is in the Son of God. Hence, when he has said all he has to say on the subject, he concludes with once more assuring us, that Jesus Christ is both "the true God and eternal Life." So cogent has this argument appeared, that some Arians have admitted that eternal life was meant of the Son, whilst the true God was meant of the Father. But it can never be denied that *ὁὗτος, this*, is equally the subject of both the predicates, *true God*, and *eternal life*. Therefore, if it be said, that *Christ is eternal life*, it is equally said, *Christ is the true God*. Lastly, there is no instance of the contrary interpretation in all antiquity, the objections being all modern, and of no weight in themselves.³

We may now then fairly conclude, that Scripture furnishes us, both by *reasonable inference* and by *direct statement*, with proof that the SON is God.

3. In the third place we learn also from Scripture that the HOLY GHOST is God.

Having found from the Scriptures that the Father is God, and that the Son is God, we shall need the less proof that He whose

ρίου και Θεοῦ, are nearly equally supported by MSS. The VSS. in number are nearly equal for Θεοῦ and Κυρίου; those of greater authority favour Θεοῦ.

The phrase Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ occurs eleven times in St. Paul's writings; Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου, never. See also Bp. Middleton in loc.; Burton's *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 15.

¹ Ignat. *Ad Ephes.* 1. *μνηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ,*

ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ. This passage is in Syriac.

² This is, of course, assuming Mr. Granville Sharp's Canon on the Article to be established. See Middleton, pt. 1. ch. 111. Sect. IV. § 2; and upon the five passages quoted and referred to in the text; also Waterland, II. p. 128.

³ See Waterland, II. p. 123

name is constantly joined with them is also God. Indeed, but few will deny the Divinity, though they may doubt the Personality of the Holy Ghost. Yet, since in old times Arians, Macedonians, and others appear to have held the strange notion that the Holy Spirit was a creature, it may be well to show briefly that Scripture does speak of Him as God.

As is the case as regards the Son, so to the Spirit are ascribed the power and the attributes of God.

(1) He is the great Worker of Miracles. Matt. i. 20; xii. 28. Luke iv. 1, 14. Acts ii. 4; x. 45. Rom. xv. 19. 1 Cor. xii. 4, 8. Heb. ii. 4.

(2) He is the Inspirer of Prophets, and can teach all things. Mark xii. 36; xiii. 11. Luke i. 15-41; xii. 12. John xiv. 26; xvi. 13. Acts i. 8; viii. 29; x. 19, 20; xiii. 2; xxviii. 25. 1 Cor. ii. 13; xii. 11. Eph. iii. 5. Heb. iii. 7. 1 Pet. i. 11, 12. 2 Pet. i. 21.

(3) He dwells in temples as God. 1 Cor. iii. 16; vi. 19.

(4) He is the Source of all holiness. John iii. 5. Rom. i. 4, 5; viii. 9, 14. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Gal. v. 16, &c. Compare Matt. xix. 17.

(5) He is Omnipresent and Omniscient. Ps. cxxxix. 7. 1 Cor. ii. 10.

(6) He is represented as the Creator. Gen. i. 2. Job xxvi. 13; xxxiii. 4. Ps. civ. 30, with which compare Is. xliv. 24. Mal. ii. 10.

(7) He is everlasting. Heb. ix. 14.

(8) Sin against Him is so great, that, though blasphemy of all other kinds is pardonable, blasphemy against the Holy Ghost is unpardonable. Matt. xii. 31. Mark iii. 29. Luke xii. 10.

Thus are attributes and powers ascribed to the Holy Ghost which can only be ascribed to God.

But, moreover, He is expressly called God.

In 2 Sam. xxiii. 2, 3, we read,

“The Spirit of the Lord spake by me,
And His Word was in my tongue,
The God of Israel said,
The Rock of Israel spake to me.”

According to the usage of Hebrew poetry, it is unquestionable that “the Spirit of the Lord” in the first verse is the same as “the God of Israel” in the third.

In Matt. xii. 28, our Lord says, “If I with the Spirit of God

cast out devils." The parallel passage, Luke xi. 20, has, "If I with the finger of God cast out devils;" where the word "finger," like "hand" in the old Testament, simply signifies *by or by means of*.¹ So that here *God* and *the Spirit of God* are synonymous.

In Acts xxviii. 25, St. Paul quotes a passage thus, "Well spake the *Holy Ghost* by the prophet Esaias." The passage is from Isaiah vi. 9: which, if we refer to it in Isaiah, we shall find to have been unquestionably spoken by *God*.

In 1 Cor. iii. 16, we read, "Ye are the temple of *God*." In 1 Cor. vi. 19, the parallel passage, we find, "Your body is the temple of the *Holy Ghost*."

In Exod. xxxiv., it is related that, when Moses had gone up to talk with the Lord on Mount Sinai, the skin of his face shone so brightly, that, when he had spoken to the people, he put a veil over his face, so that they were not able to look upon him; but, "when he went in before the Lord," (*i. e.* JEHOVAH,) "to speak with Him, he took the veil off until he came out," ver. 34. Now in 2 Cor. iii. 16, 17, St. Paul alludes to this history, and plainly referring to this very verse, he says, When the heart of the Israelites "shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away." He then adds, "Now *the Lord*" (*i. e.* the Lord, before whom Moses stood, and to whom the Israelites were to turn, *i. e.* JEHOVAH) "is that Spirit."

In Acts v. 3, 4, when Ananias had denied the truth before the Apostles, Peter said to Ananias, "Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to *the Holy Ghost*?" And immediately after he adds, "Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God." Plainly, therefore, the Holy Ghost is God.

Such are some of the passages of Scripture from which we may infallibly conclude, that,

As the FATHER is GOD, — And the SON is GOD, — So the HOLY GHOST is GOD.

III. Having shown that God is One, and yet, that, as regards the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, it is said of each that He is God; I propose next to show that these two truths are not direct contradictions to each other, as though it were said in one place, "there is One God," and in another, "there are three Gods;" for it appears from Scripture that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are but one and the same God.

1. It appears from Scripture, that the Father is One with the

¹ Thus בְּיַד מֹשֶׁה, "By the hand of Moses," means merely "by Moses."

Son. This is expressly declared by our Lord (John x. 30), "I and My Father are One." Again, He addresses the Father as being One with Him; and prays that His Church may be one Church in God, as He and His Father are One: "that they all may be One, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us." Again, that "they may be one, even as we are one" (John xvii. 21, 22). Therefore it is, that the Lord Jesus says of Himself, "He that seeth Me, seeth Him that sent Me," and in like manner He reproves His Apostle for asking to be shown the Father, saying, "Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known Me, Philip? he that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father: and how sayest thou then, Shew us the Father?"¹

2. That the Spirit of God is one with God the Father is shown by St. Paul, who compares the Spirit of God in God, to the spirit of man in man (1 Cor. ii. 10, 11): "What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? Even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God."

The passage in 2 Sam. xxiii. 2, 3, quoted above, where "the Spirit of God spake by me" is synonymous with "the God of Israel said," is to the same effect.

3. That the Son and the Spirit are One may appear from the fact that St. John says (xii. 37, 41), that the Lord, whose glory Isaiah saw in the vision recorded in the sixth chapter, was *the Son*, Jesus Christ; but St. Paul says (Acts xxviii. 25), that the Lord, who then spoke to Isaiah, was *the Holy Ghost*.

Again (in Matt. xi. 27) we read, "No one knoweth the Father, but the *Son*." Whereas, in 1 Cor. ii. 11, we are told that "the things of God knoweth no man, but the *Spirit* of God."

4. Accordingly we find, that what the Father does, that the Son does, and that the Holy Ghost does; where the Father is, there the Son is, and there the Holy Ghost is, *e. g.*

The Father made the world. Heb. i. 2. 1 Cor. viii. 6.

The Son made the world. John i. 3. Col. i. 16. Heb. i. 2.

The Spirit made the world. Job xxvi. 13; xxxiii. 4.

Again,

The Father quickeneth. John v. 21.

The Son quickeneth whom he will. John v. 21.

It is the Spirit that quickeneth. John vi. 63.

Again,

God the Father spake by the prophets. Heb. i. 1.

¹ John xiv. 9; see also Matt. x. 40; Mark ix. 37.

God the Son spake by the prophets. 2 Cor. xiii. 3.
1 Pet. i. 11.

God the Holy Ghost spake by the prophets. Mark xiii.
11. 2 Pet. i. 21.

Again, sanctification is ascribed

To the Father. Jude 1.

To the Son. Heb. ii. 11.

To the Holy Ghost. Rom. xv. 16.¹

Ordination is ascribed

To the Father. 2 Cor. iii. 5, 6.

To the Son. 1 Tim. i. 12.

To the Holy Ghost. Acts xx. 28.

Indwelling and presence in every Christian are ascribed

To the Father. John xiv. 23. 1 Cor. xiv. 25.

To the Son. John xiv. 23. 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

To the Holy Ghost. John xiv. 17.

From these considerations, and others like them, we naturally conclude, that, though the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, yet are they not three different Gods, but one and the same God.

Those, indeed, who take the Arian view of the Scriptures, maintain that there is but one God, even the Father; but they add, that the Son also is God, yet not the same God, but an inferior God to the Father, and so not of the same nature and substance with the Father. This is both self-contradictory and contradictory to Holy Scripture. First, it is self-contradictory, for it teaches that there is but one God, and yet that there are two Gods. Secondly, it is contradictory to Scripture; for it is opposed to the passages, which, as we have just seen, prove the Son to be one with the Father; and it is opposed most distinctly to such passages as teach that there is no God but the One Supreme Creator of the Universe. For example, we read, Isai. xlv. 8, "Is there a God beside Me? Yea, there is no God, I know not any;" and, Isai. xlv. 5, "I am the Lord, there is none else; there is no God beside me." (So Deut. iv. 35, 39; xxxii. 39. 2 Sam. xxii. 32.) Now, if the Arian hypothesis be true, there is another God, besides God the Father, even His Son Jesus Christ, who is not only another, but an inferior God to the Father. The only way, then, in which we can reconcile the two apparently contradictory truths, (1) that God is one, and (2) that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are each said to be God, is by admitting, as the

¹ See Jones's *Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity*.

Scriptures also teach us, that “they are not three Gods, but One God.”¹

Thus far, then, we have proved, — I. The Unity of the Godhead, — II. That the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, — III. That these two truths are not direct contradictions to each other; for that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are but One God, not three Gods.

But if this were all that we could learn from Scripture, we might naturally conclude that the Sabellian was the correct hypothesis, and that the names of Father, Son, and Spirit were the names but of different modes, operations, or characters of the Deity: so that, perhaps, God might be called Father, when viewed as Creator and Governor; Son, when viewed as Redeemer and Saviour; Spirit, when considered as Sanctifier and Teacher. Or perhaps we might suppose, that the Son and the Spirit were mere attributes of, or influences from God; as, for instance, the Son, the Logos, might be esteemed but as the Reason of God; the Spirit, as that Divine Influence by which He teaches the minds, and sanctifies the hearts of His servants.

IV. It is therefore necessary to show that there is plain evidence from Scripture that the Father is not the Son, and that neither of them is the Holy Ghost; but that they are plainly distinguished from one another, and distinguished, too, as Personal Agents, not merely as modes, operations, or attributes.

That there is some kind of distinction, must appear from the fact that the three, Father, Son, and Spirit, are so frequently mentioned together in the same sentence; especially in the forms of blessing and of baptism. (2 Cor. xiii. 14. Matt. xxviii. 19.) This alone might be sufficient to prove that these three sacred names were not names merely of different characters assumed by God at various times; for it seems scarcely reasonable to suppose that the Apostles prayed for blessing from three characters assumed by God, instead of praying for blessing from the One God to whom all such characters belonged; nor yet can we well believe that they should invoke blessing from the attributes of God, or baptize converts into a form of faith not in God alone, but in God, His attributes, and His influences.

But, in order to establish more clearly the fact that the Father,

¹ It may be observed, that, if this is true, then the doctrine of the *homo-ousion*, the consubstantiality of the Son and the Spirit is proved; for if the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be but one God, the Son and the Spirit must be of one nature and substance with the Father.

the Son, and the Holy Ghost are distinguished as personal Agents, it will be necessary to bring passages from Scripture, in which they are represented to us as acting personal parts, and even in which all three are represented as acting three distinct parts.

1. The Father and the Son act distinct personal parts, and are therefore distinct Personal Agents.

(1) The Father sends the Son; whereas no one can be said to send himself. John v. 36, 37; vi. 38, 39. Acts iii. 20. Gal. iv. 4. 1 John iv. 9, &c.

(2) The Son leaves the Father and returns to Him again. John viii. 42; ix. 4; xii. 49; xvi. 5, 28; xvii. 3. 1 John iv. 14.

(3) The Son offers Himself to the Father. Heb. ix. 14.

(4) The Father loves the Son, and the Son loves the Father. John iii. 35; v. 20; xiv. 31; xv. 9; xvii. 24, 26.

(5) The Son is said to make intercession with the Father. Heb. vii. 25. 1 John ii. 1. Comp. Heb. ix. 24.

(6) The Son in His human nature prays to the Father. Luke xxii. 42; xxiii. 34. John xvii.

(7) The Father hears and speaks to the Son. John xi. 42. Heb. v. 7. Matt. iii. 17; xvii. 5. Luke ix. 35. John xii. 28.

2. The Spirit acts distinct parts from either the Father or the Son.

(1) The Father and the Son both send the Spirit. John xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; xx. 22. Acts ii. 33. Gal. iv. 6.

(2) The Spirit makes intercession with the Father, whereas no one can intercede with Himself. Rom. viii. 26.

(3) The Son offers Himself to the Father through the Eternal Spirit. Heb. ix. 14.

(4) Christ tells His disciples, that He must go away from them, and that then the Holy Spirit should come in His place; that He would go to the Father; and from the Father send the Comforter. John xiv. 16, 26; xvi. 7.

(5) Christ says, that the Holy Spirit should not speak of Himself, but should receive of Christ's, and show to the Church. John xvi. 13, 14, 15.

3. We not only have the names of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit joined in blessing, and in the form of baptism, but we are told of a scene in which they all three acted jointly, yet separate parts. At the baptism of Christ, the Son was in the Man Christ Jesus baptized; the Spirit in the shape of a dove descended on Him; the Father, out of Heaven, pronounced Him His beloved Son.

All these facts, put together, sufficiently demonstrate that there is a distinction between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that a distinction of Personal Agents. Yet still, that we may leave no room for objection, it may, perhaps, appear necessary to consider separately, and more at length, the Personality (i) of the Son, (ii) of the Spirit.

(i) The general tone of Scripture so clearly indicates that God the Son is a Person, that, at first, it might appear that the Arian hypothesis, which makes the Son an inferior God to the Father, was the only one which could be at all maintained on Scriptural grounds; except, of course, the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity. But as the Sabellian hypothesis is not without its advocates and its arguments, it deserves and requires to be considered.

The view which Sabellianism takes of the Son of God, is, as has been said before, twofold. Some Sabellians considered God the Son as *altogether* the same as God the Father, and as having no proper distinction from Him. These were, in the early ages, called Patripassians. Others, again, looked on God the Son as but an *Emanation* from the Father, not as a Person distinct, in any sense, from Him. These have been called Emanative Sabellians. Both forms have found advocates in some degree in later times. Patripassianism has been virtually held by some divines, who, in the main orthodox, have endeavoured too boldly to make the doctrine of the Trinity square exactly with human reason and philosophy. The emanative theory has been adopted, more or less, by some, who are in fact Socinians, to elude the force or explain the difficulty of such passages as John i. 1.

Now, against both these hypotheses, the marked distinction which our Lord makes between Himself and the Father must be carefully noted. For example (John viii. 17, 18): "It is written in your Law that the testimony of two men is true. I am one that bear witness of Myself, and the Father that sent Me beareth witness of Me." Here is a distinct appeal to two distinct witnesses. As the Jewish Law required the evidence of two men; so here the Lord Jesus appeals to the evidence first of Himself, secondly of His Father. Would this be much unlike equivocation, if the Father and the Son had no personal distinction? Again (John v. 17), our Lord says: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." And when the Jews accused Him of blasphemy, for making God His Father, and so claiming equality with God, He does not deny the charge of making Himself equal with God, but

still goes on to declare to them, that, notwithstanding His unity of nature with the Father, He, the Son, had a personal subordination to Him. "The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father do: for what things soever He doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth Him all things that Himself doeth." In this passage surely, where the Son claims, as the Jews rightly interpreted Him, to be the true Son of God, and so equal with God, He yet plainly sets forth the doctrine, that in His Person, though not in His Nature, He was subordinate to the Father, receiving of the Father, and doing the same things as the Father doeth. And so He goes on, "As the Father raiseth up the dead and quickeneth them, even so the Son quickeneth whom He will. For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son." Again, "As the Father hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself:" that is, "the Father," unlike any creature, is self-existent, having "life in Himself," and so He hath given to the Son to be self-existent, and to "have life in Himself,"—(language clearly spoken of the eternal Son, not merely of the Man Christ Jesus,)—"And hath given Him authority to execute judgment also; because He is the Son of Man," *i. e.* because He is not only Son of God, but Son of man also, incarnate, and so the fitter agent to execute the wrath, as well as to show the mercy of God. But again, our Lord goes on, "I can of Mine own Self do nothing: as I hear I judge: and My judgment is just: because I seek not Mine own will, but the will of the Father, which hath sent Me."¹ Again, in the forty-third verse, "I am come in My Father's name, and ye receive Me not: if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive."

The whole of this passage is one in which our Lord clearly spoke of Himself in His Divine nature, and of His relation to His Father in that nature, which He had in common with Him; yet no language can more expressly mark a distinction of personal action, and personal attribute.

Again, some of the passages which seem to have as their special object to set forth the glory of the Divine Being of the Son, are so worded as specially to show His distinction of Person from the Father. Thus in Coloss. i. 15, 16, where creation and providence are ascribed to Him in terms of peculiar grandeur, He is called "the Image of the Invisible God, the First Born of," or "Begotten before, every creature." Here He is both repre-

¹ See John v. 17-30.

sented as the *Image* of the Father, and as having before all creation been *begotten* as *His Son*; both expressions markedly denoting personal difference.

The same thing is even more remarkable in the beginning of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is plain, from the language of the whole of the first chapter, that the subject is the Divine nature of the Son. Yet nothing can be more clear than the distinction which is made between the Father and the Son. First of all, God is said to have spoken in old times by the *prophets*, but in the latter days by *His Son*, "whom he hath appointed *heir* of all things, by whom also He made the worlds. Who being the brightness (the shining forth) of His glory, and the *express Image* of His *Person*, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat down on the right Hand of the Majesty on High" (vv. 1, 2, 3). Now here God is said to have spoken by His Son, as He did by the prophets; He is said to have appointed Him heir of all things; (both marking distinctions of Person); then the Son is said to be "the *express Image* of the Person" of the Father. It may be a question, what is meant by the word *ὑπόστασις*, translated *Person*; but there can be no question that the word *χαρακτήρ*, translated *express Image*, means that *the ὑπόστασις of the Son answers to that of the Father, as the impression on wax answers to the seal which made the impression*. Whether then *ὑπόστασις* means "*Person*," or whether it means "*Mode of existence*," we learn that, as the Son is the shining forth of the Father's glory, so His Person, or His mode of being, corresponds to that of the Father, (not only as a Son's to a Father's, but) as an impression on wax to the engraving on a seal. This indeed teaches us clearly, that the Son is of one glory, and so of one eternal essence with the Father; but as the image on the wax is distinct from that upon the seal, so must there be a distinction between the Father and the Son, of which the distinction of the seal and the wax is a figure and similitude.

The prayer of our Lord to His Father, in the seventeenth chapter of St. John, is another striking proof that the Son is indeed of one nature and substance, but not of one Person with the Father. No one can attentively peruse that prayer without seeing that our Lord speaks of Himself and His glory, as the Eternal Son, not merely as the Man Christ Jesus; so that whatever diversity we observe is not merely incident to our Lord's incarnation, but is also characteristic of Him in His uncreated nature. When, therefore, He says (ver. 1), "Father, glorify Thy

Son, that Thy Son also may glorify Thee," we may inquire, what sense the passage could bear, if the Father and the Son were personally identical? Again, the same question is suggested by the following: "And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine own self with the glory that I had with Thee before the world was" (ver. 5). And "I have given unto them the words which Thou gavest Me, and they have received them, and have known surely that I came out from Thee, and they have believed that Thou didst send Me" (ver. 8). And again, "Thou lovedst Me before the foundation of the world" (ver. 24). Does not all this necessarily prove that, before the world was created, the Person of the Son was different from the Person of the Father?

Perhaps the passage which most favours the Sabellian notions concerning the Person of the Son, is the important first chapter of St. John. That passage indeed distinctly asserts the *Divinity* of the Son; but language is used which may be supposed to mean that He is, as regards His Divine nature, not to be distinguished from the Father, or at least to be distinguished only as an emanation or attribute. Plato had used the term *Λόγος*; but he did not probably intend to distinguish, by any *personal* distinction, the *Λόγος* from God. The early heretics had mixed up the philosophy of Plato with the religion of Christ; and they used of the Son of God the language which the Platonists had used of the *Λόγος*. When, therefore, St. John came to use the same expression (adopted, as some think, on purpose to refute heretical teachers whilst using their own terms), it might be supposed that by the *Λόγος* he meant no more than the *Thought* or *Reason* of God, which, whilst it remained in the bosom of God, was the *Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*, the *inward Reason* or *Thought*; when it was exerted to create the world or reveal the will of God, it became the *Λόγος προφορικός*, or, as it were, the *outward Speech* of God.

This view of the passage may seem supported by the eighth chapter of Proverbs; where the Wisdom of God is spoken of in terms so like St. John's language concerning the Logos, that the fathers, and many after them, have considered that Solomon must there have been writing of Christ. If this be the meaning of the Logos in St. John, we may paraphrase his words somewhat as follows: In the beginning was the Reason or Wisdom of God. That Wisdom was in God, nay, it was God (for as God is Love, so God is Wisdom). All things were made by the Reason or Wisdom of God, and without it was nothing made that was made. . . . It was the true light, that lighteth every man that cometh

into the world. . . . And this wisdom was incarnate, or manifested in Christ, and so dwelt among us.

I have endeavoured to put this argument in its strongest form, that I may give it all the weight which it deserves. I proceed to show wherein it is defective and unsound.

In the first place, the later Platonists, and still more, the Platonizing and Gnostic heretics, had a notion of the Logos very different from Plato's, and far more personal. Again, the Gnostics, against whose opinions in all probability St. John directs many of his statements, considered the Pleroma or fulness of God to be made up of many Æons or Emanations from God, to which they gave the various names of Nus, Sophia, Dynamis, &c. The chief of these was the Logos, whom they believed to have descended on the man Jesus. It is probable that in the first chapter of his Gospel St. John uses the names of other Æons besides the Logos. For example, whereas he first calls the Son of God the Logos, he also tells us, that in Him was Zoe (life), and the Zoe was the Phos (light); by which he has been supposed to mean, that the Logos, the Zoe, the Phos, were not different Æons, but that, as St. Paul informed the Colossians (ii. 9), the whole Pleroma of Godhead dwelt in Christ, bodily. Again, St. John tells us that by the Logos, who is also the Phos and the Zoe, the world was created. The Gnostics taught that the world was created by a fallen Æon, who was an enemy to God, and that the Logos came down to destroy his dominion among men. But St. John teaches that the Logos was Himself the Creator of the Universe, and that without Him nothing was made that was made. Once more, he explains (ver. 14), that the Logos was really made flesh and dwelt among us. The Gnostics did not believe the Logos to be really made flesh; but they supposed, either that He only assumed the *appearance* of humanity, or that He descended, for a time, on the man Jesus, and then left him at his crucifixion. Therefore St. John uses the strong expression $\delta \Lambda \acute{\omicron} \gamma \omicron \varsigma \sigma \acute{\alpha} \rho \xi \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \acute{\epsilon} \nu \epsilon \tau \omicron$, "The Word was *made flesh*." Lastly, he says that "we beheld His glory, the glory of the *Monogenes* (the Only-begotten) of the Father; full of grace and truth." *Monogenes* (only-begotten) was the name of another Æon in the Gnostic Pleroma. St. John therefore adds to the other titles of the Son this title of *Monogenes*, to show still farther, that the Lord Jesus, the Son of the Father, combined in His own Person all the attributes which the Gnostics assigned to these various Æons, and was therefore not simply a single emanation from God, but, as St. Paul says, had in Him a fulness of

Deity, and was moreover the Creator of the universe, and not, as the Gnostics had it, one who was sent to overthrow the power of the Creator.

Now, if this be the true explanation of St. John's language, it is vastly unlike the language assigned to him by the Sabellian hypothesis. For whilst St. John is ascribing to the Son supreme Divinity, he does so in a manner which essentially implies Personality too.

But there are many other reasons why the word *Logos* in the first chapter of St. John must be interpreted of a Person, not of an attribute or quality, like Reason, or Wisdom.

(1) The Word is said to be God. It is not said that the Word is *θεῖος*, *divine*, but *Θεός*, *God*. Now it may be possible improperly to say "God is wisdom," as the Apostle says, "God is love." But we cannot say, "God's wisdom is God," any more than "Man's wisdom or reason is man."

(2) The Word is said to be "with God," not *in* God; which implies personality. God's *wisdom* is *in* Him, not, properly speaking, *with* Him.

(3) In ver. 11, the Word is said to have "come to His own;" meaning, no doubt, His own creatures; which again is personal.

(4) In verse 14, He is called the *Μονογενής*, *the Only-begotten*. But the idea of Sonship is personal. We cannot conceive of the *Son* of God, but as one in some personal sense distinct from him: just as the term *son* amongst men indicates one distinct from his father. And no doubt, as the term *Logos* is used to indicate that the Son from all eternity dwelt in the bosom of the Father, as the reason or wisdom dwells in the bosom of one endowed with such faculties; so the word *Son* is used to indicate to our finite understandings, that, notwithstanding such an intimate union, yet there is a distinction, such, in some degree, as the distinction of father and son.

(5) He is said to have been "made flesh, and to have dwelt among us;" and that, in opposition to the fancy of the Gnostics or Docetæ, that the Christ or *Logos* only took a *phantastic* body. Accordingly, in Rev. xix. 13, St. John sees a vision of a Person, who is evidently Jesus Christ, and whose name, written on His thigh, is King of kings, and Lord of lords; and he tells us that this *Person* is called "The Word of God."

(6) In the eighth verse, John the Baptist is contrasted with Him, and declared *not* to be the Light or the *Logos*. Now, John the Baptist was undoubtedly a *person*. We must therefore con-

clude that He, with whom he is contrasted, and of whom the Evangelist had been speaking before, was a *Person* also.

Thus, I trust, we may conclude that the testimony borne by St. John, in the first chapter of his Gospel, is a testimony to the doctrine of the distinct personality of the Son, not to Sabellianism.¹ And with this we may venture to leave the question of the Personality of God the Son.

(ii) We have next to show the Personality of the Spirit of God.

Now, as we are baptized "in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:" as the Apostles bless in the name of Jesus Christ, God the Father, and the Holy Ghost: and as on many occasions the Holy Spirit is joined with the Father and the Son; we cannot but think it probable, at least, that as the Father is a Person, and the Son has just been shown to be a Person distinct from the Father, so the Holy Ghost is a Person also distinct from either of them.

But beyond this, we find distinctly that, in Holy Scripture, personal actions are ascribed to the Holy Ghost.

(1) He makes intercession with God the Father, Rom. viii. 26. Now to make intercession is a personal act.

(2) He testifies. John xv. 26.

(3) He teaches. John xiv. 26.

(4) He hears and speaks. John xvi. 13.

(5) He gives spiritual gifts, dividing them according to His will. 1 Cor. xii. 8, 11.

(6) He inhabits a temple, 1 Cor. iii. 16; vi. 19. This is the act of a Person, not of an attribute or influence.

(7) He not only is represented as speaking generally, but we have speeches set down in Scripture, which the Holy Spirit is said to have uttered to peculiar persons, *e. g.* Acts x. 28: "The Spirit said unto Peter, Behold, three men seek thee . . . I have sent them." Acts xiii. 2: "The Holy Spirit said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them."

(8) He is put in direct opposition to evil spirits, who are doubtless *persons*. 1 Sam. xvi. 14. 2 Chron. xviii. 20, 21.

It has, however, been argued that these and similar personal actions, when ascribed to the Spirit, are the actions of the Father, who, when He does them Himself, is said to do them by His Spirit. In answer to this, it can plainly be shown that there are many personal actions ascribed to the Spirit which cannot be

¹ On this subject see Waterland's first Sermon at Lady Moyer's Lecture, on John i. 1, ii. p. 1.

ascribed to the Father. For instance, in Rom. viii. 26, as we have just seen, the Spirit intercedes with the Father for the saints. But it cannot be said that the Father intercedes with Himself. Here then we have an instance of the performance of a personal action by the Spirit, which cannot be performed by the Father. Again, Christ is said to send the Spirit (John xvi. 7). But it is never said of God the Father, that He is sent. He sends both the Son and the Spirit, but is never sent Himself. Moreover (in John xv. 26), our Lord promises "to send the Spirit from the Father." If the Spirit means here the Father, then Christ must send the Father from the Father.¹ Again (in chapter xvi. 13, 14), when our Lord promises to send the Paraclete, He says, that "He," the Paracletè, "shall not speak of Himself, but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak." "He shall glorify Me; for He shall receive of Mine, and shall show it unto you." Now, it certainly cannot be said of God the Father (from whom eternally both Son and Spirit are derived), that He should not speak of Himself, but should speak what He heard only. Nothing which implies *subordination* is ever spoken of God the Father. We conclude, therefore, that the Spirit (who is here represented as acting personal parts, and parts which cannot belong to the Person of the Father) is both a Person, and a Person distinct from the Father.

The fact that the Spirit is called *Paraclete*, which means either *Comforter* or, more probably, *Advocate*,² seems to imply distinct personality.

The use of the masculine pronoun *He*, *ἐκεῖνος*, to designate the Holy Ghost, surely indicates, that reference is made to a personal Agent, not to an influence or attribute. This is observable especially in John xvi. 13, where we have in immediate connection, "When He the Spirit of truth is come," *ἐκεῖνος, τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας*, a masculine pronoun, whilst *τὸ Πνεῦμα* is neuter.³

From these, then, and similar reasons, we conclude that the Spirit is a distinct Person from the Father and the Son.

Thus we have reached the conclusion of our reasoning on the subject of Personality, and so we believe our Fourth Proposition to be established: that although the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are but one God, yet are they clearly distinguished from One another, and distinguished as Personal Agents.

Now this is the doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, as held by the

¹ See Hey, II. p. 443.

² See Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. VIII. p. 829, note, fol.; and Suicer, s. v. *Παράκλητος*.

³ The Personality of the Holy Ghost is fully and admirably treated by Bp. Pearson, Art. VIII. p. 308, fol.

Catholic fathers, expressed in the Creeds of the Church, and exhibited in this first Article of the Reformed Church of England, namely, that "There is but one God," yet that "in the Unity of that Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

This conclusion we deduce from the statements of Scripture. We do not pretend to explain the mystery, for it is, of course, above the reach of finite understanding. Yet we cannot doubt that, in the substance of it at least, our conclusions are legitimate. To explain the subject philosophically would be inconsistent with the purpose in hand, inconsistent with the assertion that it is a mystery (that is, a thing which human reason cannot fathom), and therefore impossible. It may not even be altogether possible to mark out accurately the exact distinctions between Tritheism and Trinitarianism on the one hand, between Trinitarianism and Sabelianism on the other. This, by the way, should make us not the less earnest to maintain the truth, nay! the more earnest, because of the greater danger of error; but yet the more tender, the more ready in meekness to instruct those who from the difficulty of apprehending have been led to doubt this great article of the faith. But, though all this is true, yet, thoughtfully considered, this doctrine of the Trinity, though above our understanding, does not necessarily appear contrary to our reason. That reason may well teach us that it is likely God should subsist in a manner above what we can apprehend. That reason may teach us, that, though God's nature is infinite, and therefore cannot be multiplied; yet, seeing that he has shown himself to be essentially loving, and loving to have partakers of His love, it is not impossible that there might exist, even in the divine Essence, something like a Personal diversity, that so He, who, as regards the creature, dwells in light which is unapproachable, might have within Himself that which would be capable of receiving and imparting the love which can be perfect in God alone. Yet such a diversity existing in the Godhead, which from its very perfection can admit neither multiplication nor division, could not constitute a distinction of Deity, though it would constitute what, in the language of Theology, has been called a distinct Personality.

The Fathers, who used the language which has been inserted in the Creeds and generally adopted in the Church, never thought, when they used to speak of three Persons in one God, of speaking of such three Persons as they would speak of *persons* and *personality* among created beings. They did not consider, for example,

the persons of the Father and the Son as they would have done the persons of Abraham and Isaac, — the Persons of the Holy Trinity as they would have done the persons of Peter, Paul, and John, which are separate from one another, and do not in any way depend on each other for their essence. They held, that the Father is the Head and Fountain of Deity (Πηγὴ Θεότητος), from whom the Son and Holy Spirit are from all eternity derived, but so derived as not to be divided from the Father; but they are in the Father and the Father in them, by a certain περιχώρησις or *inhabitation*. So then, though they acknowledged the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost to be really three Persons, yet they held “them to have no divided or separate existence, as three different men have, but to be intimately united and conjoined one to another, and to exist in each other, and by the said ineffable περιχώρησις or *inhabitation* to pervade or permeate one another.”¹

¹ Bull, *Posth. Works*, p. 1004, quoted by Waterland, *Works*, II. p. 211. “Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, cum revera tres sint Personæ, nequaquam tamen ut tres homines seorsum et separatim existere, sed intime sibi invicem coherere et conjunctos esse; adeoque alterum in altero existere, atque, ut ita loquar, immeare invicem et penetrare per ineffabilem quandam περιχώρησιν, quam circummissionem Scholastici vocant.” — Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.* II. 9, 23; *Works*, IV. p. 363; see also Lib. IV. § 4; also Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. II. p. 138, fol.

On the meaning of the word *Person*, see Waterland, *Works*, III. p. 338.

The term by which to designate what we call *person*, was early a subject of dispute. The Greeks mostly used the word ὑπόστασις, the Latins *Persona*. Yet among the Greeks it was not uniformly agreed to speak of τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις and μία Οὐσία. Some, on the contrary, identified ὑπόστασις with οὐσία, and spoke of μία ὑπόστασις. These differences in language led to the Council of Alexandria, A. D. 362, at which Athanasius was present, and at which this λογμαχία was condemned.

See Athanasius, *Dial.* II. Tom. II. p. 159; Suicer, s. v. ὑπόστασις; and Newman's *Hist. of Arians*, ch. v. § 2.

[NOTE. It may not be useless to the student in Theology, to become familiar with the following analysis of the Scriptural argument for the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity in Unity. I. God is one. II. The Old Testament contains intimations of a plurality in this One Godhead. III. The New Testament affords proof by (a) necessary inferences, and (b) express declarations: (1) that the Father is God; (2) that the Son is God; (3) that the Holy Ghost is God. IV. How are these phenomena to be reconciled? There are but three modes: (1) Tritheism; (2) Sabellianism; (3) the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity. The first of these modes destroys the Divine Unity. The second ignores all the personal characteristics and agencies attributed to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Logically, then, the third remains.

By bringing together the Scripture passages which belong to each of the above heads, and then, by studying out the exact way in which the Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity harmonizes what the other two schemes reject, the student may thoroughly appropriate and make his own the very valuable collections and arguments of the preceding pages.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Owen's *Introduction*, may be profitably read. — *J. W.*]