

ARTICLE XXIX.

Of the wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper.

The Wicked and such as be void of a lively Faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their Teeth (as St. Austin saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they Partakers of Christ; but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the Sign or Sacrament of so great a Thing.

THIS Article arises naturally out of the former, and depends upon it: for if Christ's body is corporally present in the sacrament, then all persons good or bad, who receive the sacrament, do also receive Christ: on the other hand, if Christ is present only in a *spiritual manner*, and if the mean that receives Christ is *faith*, then such as believe not, do not receive him. So that to prove that the wicked do not receive Christ's body and blood, is upon the matter the same thing with the proving that he is not corporally present; and it is a very considerable branch of our argument by which we prove that the fathers did not believe the corporal presence, because they do very often say, that the wicked do not receive Christ in the sacrament.

Here the same distinction is to be made that was mentioned upon the article of baptism. The sacraments are to be considered either as they are acts of church-communion, or as they are federal acts, by which we enter into covenant with God. With respect to the former, the visible profession that is made, and the action that is done, are all that can fall under human cognizance: so a sacrament must be held to be good and valid, when, as to outward appearance, all things are done according to the institution: but as to the internal effect and benefit of it; that turns upon the truth of the profession that is made, and the sincerity of those acts which do accompany it: for, if these are not seriously and sincerely performed, God is dishonoured, and his institution is profaned. Our Saviour has expressly said, that 'whosoever eats his flesh, and drinks his blood, has eternal life.' From thence we conclude, that no man does truly receive Christ, who does not at the same time receive with him both a right to eternal life, and likewise the beginnings and earnest of it. The sacrament being a federal act, he who dishonours God, and profanes this institution, by receiving it unworthily, becomes highly guilty before God, and draws down judgments upon himself: and as it is confessed on all hands, that the inward and spi-

ritual effects of the sacrament depend upon the state and disposition of him that communicates, so we, who own no other presence but an inward and spiritual one, cannot conceive that the wicked, who believe not in Christ, do receive him.

In this point several of the fathers have delivered themselves very plainly.

Origen says, *Christ is the true food, whosoever eats him shall live for ever; of whom no wicked person can eat; for if it were possible that any who continues wicked should eat the Word that was made flesh, it had never been written, Whoso eats this bread shall live for ever.* This comes after a discourse of the sacrament, which he calls the typical and symbolical body, and so it can only belong to it. In another place he says, *The good eat the living bread, which came down from heaven; but the wicked eat dead bread, which is death.* Comment. in Matth. c. 15.

Zeno, bishop of Verona, who is believed to have lived near Origen's time, has these words: *There is cause to fear that he, in whom the Devil dwells, does not eat the flesh of our Lord, nor drink his blood; though he seems to communicate with the faithful; since our Lord has said, He that eats my flesh, and drinks my blood, dwells in me, and I in him.* D'Achery. Spicilegium. Tom. ii.

St. Jerome says, *They that are not holy in body and spirit, do neither eat the flesh of Jesus, nor drink his blood; of which he said, He that eats my flesh, and drinks my blood, hath eternal life.* In cap. 66. Isaia.

St. Augustin expresses himself in the very words that are cited in the Article, which he introduces with these words: *He that does not abide in Christ, and in whom Christ does not abide, certainly does not spiritually eat his flesh, nor drink his blood, though he may visibly and carnally press with his teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ: but he rather eats and drinks the sacrament of so great a matter to his condemnation.* And in another place he says, *Neither are they (speaking of vicious persons) to be said to eat the body of Christ, because they are not his members: to which he adds, He that says, Whoso eats my flesh, and drinks my blood, abides in me, and I in him, shews what it is not only in a sacrament, but truly to eat the body of Christ, and to drink his blood.* He has upon another occasion those frequently cited words, speaking of the difference between the other disciples and Judas, in receiving this sacrament: *These did eat the bread that was the Lord (panem Dominum); but he the bread of the Lord against the Lord (panem Domini contra Dominum).* To all this a great deal might be added, to shew that this was the doctrine of the Greek church, even after Damascene's opinion concerning the assumption of the elements into an union with the body of Christ, was received among them. But more needs not be said concerning this, since it will be readily granted, that, if we are in the right in the main point of denying the corporal presence, this will fall with it. Tract. 26. in Joan. Lib. xxi. de Civ. Dei, c. 25. Tract. 54. in Joan.

ARTICLE XXX.

Of both Kinds.

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to Lay People. For both Parts of the Sacrament, by Christ's Ordinance and Commandment, ought to be ministred to all Christian Men alike.

THERE is not any one of all the controversies that we have with the church of Rome, in which the decision seems more easy and shorter than this. The words of the institution are not only equally express and positive as to both kinds, but the diversity with which that part that relates to the *cup* is set down, seems to be as clear a demonstration for us, as can be had in a matter of this kind: and looks like a special direction given, to warn the church against any corruption that might arise upon this head. To all such as acknowledge the immediate union of the Eternal Word with the human nature of Christ, and the inspiration by which the apostles were conducted, it must be of great weight to find a specialty marked as to the chalice: of the cup it is said, 'Drink ye all of it;' whereas of the bread it is only said, 'Take, eat;' so we cannot think the word *all* was set down without design. It is also said of the cup, 'and they all drank of it;' which is not said of the bread: we think it no piece of trifling nicety to observe this specialty. The words added to the giving the cup are very particularly emphatical. 'Take, eat, This is my body which is given for you,' is not so full an expression as, 'Drink ye all of this, for this is my blood of the new testament which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.' If the surest way to judge of the extent of any precept, to which a reason is added, is to consider the extent of the reason, and to measure the extent of the precept by that; then since all that do communicate, need the remission of sins, and a share in the *new covenant*, the reason, that our Saviour joins to the distribution of the cup, proves that they ought all to receive it. And if that discourse in St. John concerning the eating Christ's flesh, and the drinking his blood, is to be understood of the sacrament, as most of the Roman church affirm, then the *drinking Christ's blood* is as necessary to *eternal life* as the *eating his flesh*; by consequence it is as necessary to receive the cup as the bread. And it is not easy to apprehend why it should still be necessary to consecrate in both kinds, and not likewise to receive in both kinds. It cannot be pretended, that since the apostles were all of the sacred order, therefore their receiving in both kinds is no precedent for giving the

laity the cup; for Christ gave them both kinds, as they were sinners who were now to be admitted into covenant with God by the sacrifice of his body and blood. They were in that 'to shew forth his death,' and were to 'take, eat, and drink, in remembrance of him.' So that this institution was delivered to them as they were *sinner*s, and not as they were *priests*. They were not constituted by Christ the pastors and governors of his Church, till after his resurrection, when 'he breathed on them, and laid his hands on them, and blessed them.' So that at this time they were only Christ's disciples and witnesses; who had been once sent out by him on an extraordinary commission; but had yet no stated character fixed upon them. John xx. 22.

To this it is said, that Christ, by saying, 'Do this,' constituted them *priests*; so that they were no more of the laity, when they received the cup. This is a new conceit taken up by the schoolmen unknown to all antiquity: there is no sort of tradition that supports this exposition; nor is there any reason to imagine, that 'Do this,' signifies any other than a precept to continue that institution as a memorial of Christ's death; and 'Do this,' takes in all that went before, the *taking*, the *giving*, as well as the *blessing*, and the *eating*, the bread; nor is there any reason to appropriate this to the blessing only, as if by this the consecrating and sacrificing power were conferred on the priests. From all which we conclude both that the apostles were only disciples at large, without any special characters conferred on them, when the eucharist was instituted, and that the eucharist was given to them only as disciples, that is, as laymen.

The mention that is made, in some places of the New Testament, only of 'breaking of bread,' can furnish them with no argument; for it is not certain that these do relate to the sacrament; or if they did, it is not certain that they are to be understood strictly; for, by a figure common to the eastern nations, *bread* stands for all that belongs to a meal; and if these places are applied to the sacrament, and ought to be strictly understood, they will prove too much, that the sacrament may be consecrated in one kind; and that the 'breaking of bread,' without the *cup*, may be understood to be a complete sacrament. But when St. Paul spoke of this sacrament, he does so distinctly mention the 'drinking the cup' as well as 'eating the bread,' that it is plain from him how the apostles understood the words and intent of Christ, and how this sacrament was received in that time.

From the institution and command, which are express and positive, we go next to consider the nature of sacramental actions. They have no virtue in them, as charms tied either to elements, or to words; they are only good because commanded. A different state of things may indeed justify an alteration as to circumstances: the danger of *dipping* in cold

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climates, may be a very good reason for changing the form of baptism to *sprinkling*; and if climates were inhabited by Christians to which wine could not be brought, we should not doubt but that whensoever God makes a real necessity of departing from any institution of his, he does thereby allow of such a change, as that necessity must draw after it: so we do not condemn the license that is said to have been granted by pope Innocent the Eighth to celebrate without wine in Norway; nor should we deny a man the sacrament who had a natural and unconquerable aversion to wine, or that communicated being near his last agonies, and that should have the like aversion to either of the elements. When those things are real, and not pretended, *mercy is better than sacrifice*. The punctual observance of a sacramental institution does only oblige us to the essential parts of it, and in ordinary cases: the pretence of what may be done, or has been done, upon extraordinary occasions, can never justify the deliberate and unnecessary alteration of an essential part of the sacrament. The whole institution shews very plainly, that our Saviour meant that the *cup* should be considered every whit as essential as *bread*; and therefore we cannot but conclude from the nature of things, that since the sacraments have only their effects from their institution, therefore so total a change of this sacrament does plainly evacuate the institution, and by consequence destroy the effect of it.

All reasoning upon this head is an arguing against the institution; as if Christ and his apostles had not well enough considered it; but that 1200 years after them, a consequence should be observed that till then had not been thought of, which made it reasonable to alter the manner of it:

The *concomitance* is the great thing that is here urged; since it is believed that Christ is entirely under each of the elements; and therefore it is not necessary that both should be received, because Christ is fully received in any one. But this subsists on the doctrine of *transubstantiation*; so if that is false, then here upon a controverted opinion, an uncontroverted piece of the institution is altered. And if *concomitance* is a certain consequence of the doctrine of *transubstantiation*, then it is a very strong argument against the antiquity of that doctrine, that the world was so long without the notion of *concomitance*; and therefore, if *transubstantiation* had been sooner received, the *concomitance* would have been more easily observed. The institution of the sacrament seems to be so laid down, as rather to make us consider the *body* and *blood* as in a state of separation, than of *concomitance*; the *body* being represented apart, and the *blood* apart; and the *body as broken*, and the *blood as shed*. Therefore we consider the design of the sacrament is, to represent Christ to us as dead, and in his *crucified*, but

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not in his *glorified* state. And if the opinion be true, that the glorified bodies are of another texture than that of flesh and blood which seems to be very plainly asserted by St. Paul, in a discourse intended to describe the nature of the glorified bodies, then this theory of *concomitance* will fail upon that account. But whatsoever may be in that, an institution of Christ's must not be altered or violated, upon the account of an inference that is drawn to conclude it needless. He who instituted it knew best what was most fitting and most reasonable; and we must choose rather to acquiesce in his commands, than in our own reasonings.

If, next to the institution and the theory that arises from the nature of a sacrament, we consider the practice of the Christian church in all ages, there is not any one point in which the tradition of the church is more express and more universal than in this particular, for above a thousand years after Christ. All the accounts that we have of the ancient rituals, both in Justin Martyr, Cyril of Jerusalem, the Constitutions, and the pretended Areopagite, do expressly mention both kinds as given separately in the sacrament. All the ancient liturgies, as well these that go under the names of the apostles, as those which are ascribed to St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, do mention this very expressly; all the offices of the western church, both Roman and others; the missals of the latter ages, I mean down to the twelfth century, even the *Ordo Romanus*, believed by some to be a work of the ninth, and by others of the eleventh century, are express in mentioning the distribution of both kinds. All the fathers, without excepting one, do speak of it very clearly, as the universal practice of their time. They do not so much as give a hint of any difference about it. So that, from Ignatius down to Thomas Aquinas, there is not any one writer that differs from the rest in this point; and even Aquinas speaks of the taking away the chalice as the practice only of some churches; other writers of his time had not heard of any of these churches; for they speak of *both kinds* as the universal practice.

But besides this general concurrence, there are some specialties in this matter: in St. Cyprian's time some thought it was not necessary to use *wine* in the sacrament; they therefore used *water* only, and were from thence called *Aquarii*. It seems they found that their morning assemblies were smelled out by the *wine* used in the sacrament; and Christians might be known by the smell of *wine* that was still about them; they therefore intended to avoid this, and so they had no wine among them, which was a much weightier reason, than that of the wine sticking upon the beards of the laity. Yet St. Cyprian condemned this very severely, in a long epistle writ upon that occasion. He makes this the main argument, and goes over it frequently, that we ought to

Apol. 2.
Catech.
Mis. 4 ta.
Const.
Apost. 1. ii.
c. 57.
Eccles.
Hiera. c. 3.Aquinas.
Com. in
6. Johan. v.
53. In Sum-
ma. par. 9.
quæst. 80.
art. 12.Cyp. Ep.
63. ad
Cecil.

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Among the other profanations of the Manicheans, this was one, that they came among the assemblies of the Christians, and did receive the bread, but they would not take any *wine*: this is mentioned by pope Leo in the fifth century; upon which pope Gelasius, hearing of it in his time, appointed that all persons should either communicate in the sacrament *entirely*, or be *entirely* excluded from it; for that such a dividing of one and the same sacrament might not be done without a heinous sacrilege.

In the seventh century a practice was begun of *dipping* the bread in the wine, and so giving both kinds together. This was condemned by the council of Bracara, as plainly contrary to the gospel: *Christ gave his body and blood to his apostles distinctly, the bread by itself, and the chalice by itself.* This is, by a mistake of Gratian's, put in the canon-law, as a decree of pope Julius to the bishops of Egypt. It is probable, that it was thus given first to the sick, and to infants; but though this got among many of the eastern churches, and was, it seems, practised in some parts of the west; yet, in the end of the eleventh century, pope Urban in the council of Clermont decreed, that none should communicate without taking the body apart, and the blood apart, except upon necessity, and with caution; to which some copies add, and *that by reason of the heresy of Berengarius, that was lately condemned, which said that the figure was completed by one of the kinds.*

We need not examine the importance or truth of these last words; it is enough for us to observe the continued practice of communicating in both kinds till the twelfth century; and even then, when the opinion of the corporal presence begot a superstition towards the elements, that had not been known in former ages, so that some drops sticking to men's beards, and the spilling some of it, its freezing or becoming sour, grew to be more considered than the institution of Christ; yet for a while they used to suck it up through small quills or pipes (called *fistulae*, in the *Ordo Romanus*), which answered the objection from the beards.

In the twelfth century, the bread grew to be given generally *dipt in wine*. The writers of that time, though they justify this practice, yet they acknowledge it to be contrary to the institution. Ivo of Chartres says, the people did com-

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In the ancient church, the instance of Serapion is brought to shew that the bread alone was sent to the sick, which he that carried it was ordered to *moisten* before he gave it him. Justin Martyr does plainly insinuate that both kinds were sent to the absents; so some of the *wine* might be sent to Serapion with the bread; and it is much more reasonable to believe this, than that the bread was ordered to be *dipt in water*; there being no such instance in all history; whereas there are instances brought to shew that both kinds were carried to the sick. St. Ambrose received the bread, but expired before he received the cup: this proves nothing but the weakness of the cause that needs such supports. Nor can any argument be brought from some words concerning the communicating of the *sick*, or of *infants*. Rules are made from ordinary, and not from extraordinary practices. The small portions of the sacrament that some carried *home*, and reserved to other occasions, does not prove that they communicated only in one kind. They received in *both*, only they kept (out of too much superstition) some fragments of the *one*, which could be more easily, and with less observation, saved and preserved, than of the *other*: and yet there are instances that they carried off some portions of both kinds. The Greek church communicates during most of the days in Lent, in *bread dipt in wine*; and in the *Ordo Romanus* there is mention made of a particular communion on Good Friday; when some of the bread that had been formerly consecrated was put into a chalice with unconsecrated wine: this was a practice that was grounded on an opinion that the unconsecrated wine was sanctified and consecrated by the contact of the bread; and though they used not a formal consecration, yet they used other prayers, which was all that the primitive church thought was necessary even to consecration; it being thought, even so late as Gregory the Great's time, that the Lord's Prayer was at first the prayer of consecration.

These are all the colours which the studies and the subtleties of this age have been able to produce for justifying the decree of the council of Constance;* that does acknowledge,

* The following is the decree of the council of Constance on the subject of half communion:—

Cum in nonnullis mundi partibus, quidam temerarie asserere presument, populum Christianum debere sumere eucharistiae sacramentum, sub utraque panis et vini specie suscipere, et non solum sub specie panis, sed etiam sub specie vini, populum laicum passim communicent, etiam post cenam, vel alias non jejunum, &c. &c. hinc est, quod hoc presens concilium sacrum generale Constant. in spiritu sancto legitime congregatum, adversus hunc errorem salutis fidelium providere satagens, matura plurimum doctorum, tam divini quam humani juris, deliberatione prehabita, declarat, decernit, et diffinit, quod licet Christus post cenam instituerit,

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Eus. Hist. l. vi. c. 44.

Just. Mart. Apol. 2.

Paulinus in vita Ambros.

Conc. Const. Sess. 13.

that *Christ did institute this sacrament in both kinds, and that the faithful in the primitive church did receive in both kinds: yet, a practice being reasonably brought in to avoid some dangers and scandals, they appoint the custom to continue, of consecrating in both kinds, and of giving to the laity only in one kind: since Christ was entire and truly under each kind.* They established this practice, and ordered that it should not be altered without the authority of the church. So late a practice and so late a decree cannot make void the command of Christ, nor be set in opposition to such a clear and universal practice to the contrary. The wars of Bohemia that followed upon that decree, and all that scene of cruelty which was acted upon John Huss and Jerom of Prague, at the first establishment of it, shews what opposition was made to it even in dark ages, and by men that did not deny transubstantiation. These prove that plain sense and clear authorities are so strong, even in dark and corrupt times, as not to be easily overcome. And this may be said concerning this matter, that as there is not any one point in which the church of Rome has acted more visibly contrary to the gospel than in this; so there is not any one thing that has raised higher prejudices against her, that has made more forsake her, and has possessed mankind more against her, than this. This has cost her dearer than any other.

et suis discipulis administraverit, sub utraque specie panis et vini, hoc venerabile sacramentum, tamen hoc non obstante, sacrorum canonum auctoritas laudabilis; et approbata consuetudo ecclesie servavit et servat, quod hujus modi sacramentum non debet confici post cœnam, neque a fidelibus recipi non jejunis, nisi in casu infirmitatis, alterius necessitatis, ajure vel ecclesia concessio vel admissio. Et sicut hæc consuetudo ad evitandum aliqua pericula et scandala est rationabiliter introducta, quod licet in primitiva ecclesia hujusmodi sacramentum reciperetur a fidelibus sub utraque specie, postea a conficientibus sub utraque, et a laicis tantummodo sub specie panis, suscipiatur, &c. Unde cum hujusmodi consuetudo ab ecclesia et sanctis patribus rationabiliter introducta, et diutissime observata sit, habenda est pro lege, quam non licet reprobare, aut sine ecclesie auctoritate pro libito mutare. Quapropter dicere, quod hanc consuetudinem aut legem observare, sit sacrilegium aut illicitum, censi debet erroneum: et pertinaciter asserentes oppositum præmissorum, tanquam hæretici arcendi sunt, et graviter puniendi per diæcesanos locorum, seu officiales eorum, aut inquisitores hæreticæ pravitatis, in regnis seu provinciis, in quibus contra hoc decretum, aliquid fuerit forsan attentatum, aut præsumptum, juxta canonicas et legitimas sanctiones, in favorem catholicæ fidei, contra hæreticos et eorum fautores, salubriter adinventas. *Labb. and Coss. vol. xii. p. 99, &c. Par. 1672.*

The above decree is thus confirmed by the council of Trent:—

‘ Si quis dixerit, sacram ecclesiam catholicam, non justis causis et rationibus, adductam fuisse, ut laicos atque etiam clericos non conficientes, sub panis tantummodo specie communicaret; aut in eo errasse; anathema sit!’ *Sessio xxi. canon 2.—[Ed.]*

ARTICLE XXXI.

Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.

The offering of Christ once made, is that perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the Sins of the whole World, both Original and Actual: And there is none other Satisfaction for Sin, but that alone: Wherefore in the Sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the Dead, to have Remission of Pain and Guilt, were blasphemous Fables and dangerous Decrets.

It were a mere question of words to dispute concerning the term *sacrifice*, to consider the extent of that word, and the many various respects in which the eucharist may be called a sacrifice. In general, all acts of religious worship may be called *sacrifices*: because somewhat is in them offered up to God: ‘ Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.’ These shew how largely this word was used in the Old Testament: so in the New we are exhorted by him (that is, by Christ) ‘ to offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name.’ A Christian’s dedicating himself to the service of God, is also expressed by the same word of ‘ presenting our bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God.’ All acts of charity are also called ‘ sacrifices, an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God.’ So in this large sense we do not deny that the *eucharist* is a ‘ sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving:’ and our church calls it so in the office of the Communion. In two other respects it may be also more strictly called a *sacrifice*. One is, because there is an oblation of bread and wine made in it, which being sanctified are consumed in an act of religion. To this many passages in the writings of the fathers do relate. This was the oblation made at the altar by the people: and though at first the Christians were reproached, as having a strange sort of religion, in which they had neither *temples, altars*, nor *sacrifices*, because they had not those things in so gross a manner as the heathens had; yet both Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, and all the succeeding writers of the church, do frequently mention the oblations that they made: and in the ancient liturgies they did with particular prayers offer the bread and wine to God, as the great Creator of all things; those were called the gifts or offerings which were offered to God, in imitation of Abel, who offered the

Ps. cxli. 2.
Ps. li. 17.

Hebr. xiii.
15.

Rom. xii. 1.
Phil. iv. 18.

fruits of the earth in a sacrifice to God. Both Justin Martyr, Irenæus, the Constitutions, and all the ancient liturgies, have very express words relating to this. Another respect, in which the *eucharist* is called a *sacrifice*, is, because it is a commemoration, and a representation to God of the sacrifice that Christ offered for us on the cross: in which we claim to that, as to our expiation, and feast upon it, as our *peace-offering*, according to that ancient notion, that covenants were confirmed by a *sacrifice*, and were concluded in a *feast on the sacrifice*. Upon these accounts we do not deny but that the *eucharist* may be well called a *sacrifice*: but still it is a commemorative *sacrifice*, and not propitiatory: that is, we do not distinguish the *sacrifice* from the *sacrament*; as if the priest's consecrating and consuming the elements, were in an especial manner a *sacrifice* any other way, than as the communicating of others with him is one: nor do we think that the consecrating and consuming the elements is an act that does reconcile God to the 'quick and the dead:': we consider it only as a federal act of professing our belief in the death of Christ, and of renewing our baptismal covenant with him. The virtue or effects of this are not general; they are limited to those who go about this piece of worship sincerely and devoutly; they, and they only, are concerned in it, who go about it: and there is no special propitiation made by this service. It is only an act of devotion and obedience in those that 'eat and drink worthily;' and though in it they ought to pray for the whole body of the church, yet those their prayers do only prevail with God, as they are devout intercessions, but not by any peculiar virtue in this action.

On the other hand, the doctrine of the church of Rome is, that the *eucharist* is the highest act of homage and honour that creatures can offer up to the Creator, as being an oblation of the Son to the Father; so that whosoever procures a mass to be said, procures a new piece of honour to be done to God, with which he is highly pleased; and for the sake of which he will be reconciled to all that are concerned in the procuring such masses to be said; whether they be still on earth, or if they are now in purgatory: and that the priest, in offering and consuming this *sacrifice*, performs a true act of priesthood by reconciling sinners to God. Somewhat was already said of this on the head of purgatory.

It seems very plain, by the institution, that our Saviour, as he blessed the sacrament, said, 'Take, eat:': St. Paul calls it a 'communion of the body and blood of the Lord;' and a 'partaking of the Lord's table:' and he, through his whole discourse of it, speaks of it as an action of the church and of all Christians; but does not so much as by a hint intimate any thing peculiar to the priest: so that all that the scripture has delivered to us concerning it, represents it as an action of the whole body, in which the priest has no special share but

that of officiating. In the Epistle to the Hebrews there is a very long discourse concerning *sacrifices* and *priests*, in order to the explaining of Christ's being both *priest* and *sacrifice*. There a *priest* stands for a person called and consecrated to offer some living *sacrifice*, and to slay it, and to make reconciliation of sinners to God, by the shedding, offering, or sprinkling, the blood of the *sacrifice*. This was the notion that the Jews had of a priest; and the apostle, designing to prove that the death of Christ was a true *sacrifice*, brings this for an argument, that there was to be another priesthood after the order of *Melchisedec*. He begins the fifth chapter with settling the notion of a priest, according to the Jewish ideas: and then he goes on to prove that Christ was such a priest, 'called of God and consecrated.' But in this sense he appropriates the priesthood of the new dispensation singly to Christ, in opposition to the many priests of the Levitical law: 'and they truly were many priests,' because 'they were not suffered to continue, by reason of death: but this man, because he continueth ever, hath an unchangeable priesthood.'^{A R T. XXXI.}

It is clear from the whole thread of that discourse, that, in the strictest sense of the word, Christ himself is the only *Priest* under the gospel; and it is also no less evident that his death is the only *sacrifice*, in opposition to the many oblations that were under the Mosaic law, to take away sin; which appears very plain from these words, 'Who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people; for this he did once, when he offered up himself.' He opposes that to the annual expiation made by the Jewish high priest, 'Christ entered in once to the holy place, having obtained redemption for us by his own blood:' and having laid down that general maxim, that 'without shedding of blood there was no remission,' he says, 'Christ was offered once to bear the sins of many:': he puts a question to shew that all *sacrifices* were now to cease; 'When the worshippers are once purged, then would not sacrifices cease to be offered?' and he ends with this, as a full conclusion to that part of his discourse: 'Every priest stands daily ministering and offering oftentimes the same sacrifices, which can never take away sin: but this man, after he had offered up one sacrifice for sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God.' Here are not general words, ambiguous expressions, or remote hints, but a thread of a full and clear discourse, to shew that, in the strict sense of the words, we have but one *Priest*, and likewise but one *Sacrifice*, under the gospel;* therefore how largely soever those words of

* The Epistle to the Hebrews (ch. x. 14.) tells us, that 'Christ ought to be but once offered, because by that one offering he has fully satisfied for our sins, and has perfected for ever them that are sanctified.' If therefore by that first offering he hath fully satisfied for our sins, then is there no more need of any offering for sin.

priest or *sacrifice* may have been used; yet, according to the true idea of a propitiatory *sacrifice*, and of a *priest* that reconciles sinners to God, they cannot be applied to any acts of our worship, or to any order of men upon earth. Nor can the value and virtue of any instituted act of religion be carried, by any inferences or reasonings, beyond that which is put in them by the institution: and therefore since the institution of this sacrament has nothing in it that gives us this idea of it, we cannot set any such value upon it: and since the reconciling sinners to God, and the pardoning of sin, are free acts of his grace, it is therefore a high presumption in any man to imagine they can do this by any act of theirs, without powers and warrants for it from scripture. Nor can this be pretended to without assuming a most sacrilegious sort of power over the attributes of God: therefore all the virtue that can be in the sacrament is, that we do therein gratefully commemorate the *sacrifice* of Christ's death, and, by renewed acts of faith, present that to God as our *sacrifice*, in the memorial of it, which he himself has appointed: by so doing we renew our covenant with God, and share in the effects of that death which he suffered for us. All the ancient liturgies have this as a main part of the office, that being mindful of the death of Christ, or commemorating it, they offered up the gifts.

This is the language of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and of all the following writers. They do compare this *sacrifice* to that of Melchisedec, who offered *bread and wine*: and though the text imports only his *giving bread and wine to Abraham* and his followers, yet they applied that generally to the oblation of *bread and wine* that was made on the altar: but this shews that they did not think of any sacrifice made by the offering up of Christ. It was the bread and the wine only which they thought the priests of the Christian religion did offer to God. And therefore it is remarkable, that when the fathers answer the reproach of the

If by that *first sacrifice* he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified, the mass certainly must be altogether needless to make any addition to that which is already perfect. In a word, if the sacrifices of the law were therefore repeated, as this Epistle tells us, because they were *imperfect*; and had they been otherwise, they should have ceased to have been offered; what can we conclude, but the church of Rome then, in every mass she offers, does violence to the *cross of Christ*; and in more than one sense, *crucifies to herself the Lord of glory*?

Lastly, the council of Trent declares, that because there is a new and proper *sacrifice* to be offered, it was necessary that our Saviour Christ should institute a new and proper *priesthood* to offer it. And so they say he did, after the *order of Melchisedec*, in opposition to that after the *order of Aaron* under the law. Now certainly nothing can be more contrary to this Epistle than such an assertion: both whose description of this *priesthood* shews it can agree only to our blessed Lord; and which indeed in express terms declares it to be peculiar to him. It calls it an *unchangeable priesthood*, that passes not to any other, as that of Aaron did from father to son, but continues in him only, because that he also himself continues for evermore. Wake.—[Ed.]

heathens, who charged them with irreligion and impiety for having no *sacrifices* among them, they never answer it by saying, that they offered up a *sacrifice* of inestimable value to God; which must have been the first answer that could have occurred to a man possessed with the ideas of the church of Rome. On the contrary, Justin Martyr, in his Apology, says, *They had no other sacrifices but prayers and praises*: and in his Dialogue with Trypho he confesses, that *Christians offer to God oblations, according to Malachi's prophecy, when they celebrate the eucharist, in which they commemorate the Lord's death*. Both Athenagoras and Minutius Felix justify the Christians for having no other sacrifices but pure hearts, clean consciences, and a steadfast faith. Origen and Tertullian refute the same objection in the same manner: they set the prayers of Christians in opposition to all the sacrifices that were among the heathens. Clemens of Alexandria and Arnobius write in the same strain; and they do all make use of one topic, to justify their offering no sacrifices, that God, who made all things, and to whom all things do belong, needs nothing from his creatures. To multiply no more quotations on this head, Julian in his time objected the same thing to the Christians, which shews that there was then no idea of a *sacrifice* among them; otherwise he, who knew their doctrine and rites, had either not denied so positively as he did their having sacrifices; or at least he had shewed how improperly the eucharist was called one. When Cyril of Alexandria, towards the middle of the fifth century, came to answer this, he insists only upon the inward and spiritual sacrifices that were offered by Christians; which were suitable to a pure and spiritual essence, such as the Divinity was, to take pleasure in; and therefore he sets that *in opposition to the sacrifices of beasts, birds, and of all other things whatsoever*: nor does he so much as mention, even in a hint, the sacrifice of the eucharist; which shews that he did not consider that as a sacrifice that was propitiatory.

These things do so plainly set before us the ideas that the first ages had of this sacrament, that to one who considers them duly, they do not leave so much as a doubt in this matter. All that they may say in homilies, or treatises of piety, concerning the *pure-offering* that, according to Malachi, all Christians offered to God in the sacrament, concerning the sacrifice, and the unbloody sacrifice of Christians, must be understood to relate to the prayers and thanksgivings that accompanied it, to the commemoration that was made in it of the sacrifice offered once upon the cross, and finally to the oblation of the bread and wine, which they so often compare both to Abel's sacrifice, and to Melchisedec's offering bread and wine.

Apol. 2.

Leg. pro
Christ.Minut. in
Octav.

lib. viii.

con. Cel-
sum.Tert. Apol.
c. 30.Clem
Strom. l. vii.Arnob.
lib. vii.Cyr. Al.
lib. x.

cont. Jul.

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It were easy to enlarge further on this head, and from all the rituals of the ancients to shew, that they had none of those ideas that are now in the Roman church. They had but one *altar* in a church, and probably but one in a city: they had but one *communion* in a day at that *altar*: so far were they from the many *altars* in every church, and the many masses at every altar, that are now in the Roman church. They did not know what solitary masses were, without a communion. All the liturgies and all the writings of the ancients are as express in this matter as is possible. The whole constitution of their worship and discipline shews it. Their worship concluded always with the eucharist: such as were not capable of it, as the *catechumens*, and those who were doing public penance for their sins, assisted at the more general parts of the worship; and so much of it was called their *mass*, because they were dismissed at the conclusion of it. When that was done, then the faithful stayed, and did partake of the eucharist; and at the conclusion of it they were likewise dismissed; from whence it came to be called the *mass of the faithful*. The great rigour of penance was thought to consist chiefly in this, that such penitents might not stay with the faithful to communicate. And though this seems to be a practice begun in the third century, yet, both from Justin Martyr and Tertullian, it is evident that all the faithful did constantly communicate. There is a canon, among those which go under the name of the Apostles', against such as came and assisted in the other parts of the service, and did not partake of the eucharist; the same thing was decreed by the council of Antioch; and it appears by the Constitutions, that a deacon was appointed to see that no man should go out, and a subdeacon was to see that no woman should go out, during the oblation. The fathers do frequently allude to the word *communion*, to shew that the sacrament was to be communion to all. It is true, in St. Chrysostom's time, the zeal that the Christians of the former ages had to communicate often, began to slacken; so that they had thin communions, and few communicants: against which that father raises himself with his pathetic eloquence, in words which do shew that he had no notion of solitary masses, or of the lawfulness of them: and it is very evident, that the neglect of the sacrament in those who came not to it, and the profanation of it by those who came unworthily, both which grew very scandalous at that time, set that holy and zealous bishop to many eloquent and sublime strains concerning it, which cannot be understood, without making those abatements that are due to a copious and Asiatic style, when much inflamed by devotion.

In the succeeding ages we find great care was taken to suffer none that did not communicate to stay in the church,

Can. 9.
Apost.Con. Antioch. A.D. 341. can. 2.
Const. Apost. l. viii. cap. 11.
Hom. 3. in Ep. ad Eph. cap. i.ART.
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and to see the mysteries. There is a rubric for this in the office mentioned by Gregory the Great. The writers of the ninth century go on in the same strain. It was decreed by the council of Mentz, in the end of Charles the Great's reign, that no priest should say mass alone; for how could he say, 'The Lord be with you,' or, 'Lift up your hearts,' if there was no other person there besides himself? This shews that the practice of solitary masses was then begun, but that it was disliked. Walafridus Strabus says, that to a lawful mass it was necessary that there should be a priest, together with one to answer, one to offer, and one to communicate. And the author of Micrologus, who is believed to have writ about the end of the eleventh century, does condemn solitary communions, as contrary both to the practice of the ancients, and to the several parts of the office: so that till the twelfth century it was never allowed of in the Roman church; as to this day it is not practised in any other communion.

But then with the doctrine of purgatory and transubstantiation mixt together, the saying of masses for other persons, whether alive or dead, grew to be considered as a very meritorious thing, and of great efficacy; thereupon great endowments were made, and it became a trade. Masses were sold, and a small piece of money became their price; so that a profane sort of simony was set up, and the holiest of all the institutions of the Christian religion was exposed to sale. Therefore we, in cutting off all this, and in bringing the sacrament to be, according to its first institution, a communion, have followed the words of our Saviour, and the constant practice of the whole church for the first ten centuries.

So far all the articles that relate to this sacrament have been considered. The variety of the matter, and the important controversies that have arisen out of it, has made it necessary to enlarge with some copiousness upon the several branches of it. Next to the infallibility of the church, this is the dearest piece of the doctrine of the church of Rome; and is that in which both priests and people are better instructed than in any other point whatsoever; and therefore this ought to be studied on our side with a care proportioned to the importance of it: that so we may govern both ourselves and our people aright in a matter of such consequence, avoiding with great caution the extremes on both hands, both of excessive superstition on the one hand, and of profane neglect on the other. For the nature of man is so moulded, that it is not easy to avoid the one without falling into the other. We are now visibly under the extreme of neglect, and

Dialog.
Conc. Mogunt. can. 43.Walafr.
Strab. de Rebus Eccles. c. 22.

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ARTICLE XXXII.

Of the Marriage of Priests.

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law either to bow the Estate of single Life, or to abstain from Marriage: Therefore it is lawful for them, as well as for all Christian Men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to Godliness.

THE first period of this Article to the word *Therefore*, was all that was published in king Edward's time. They were content to lay down the assertion, and left the inference to be made as a consequence that did naturally arise out of it. There was not any one point that was more severely examined at the time of the Reformation than this: for as the irregular practices and dissolute lives of both seculars and regulars had very much prejudiced the world against the celibate of the Roman clergy, which was considered as the occasion of all those disorders; so, on the other hand, the marriage of the clergy, and also of those of both sexes who had taken vows, gave great offence. They were represented as persons that could not master their appetites, but that indulged themselves in carnal pleasures and interests. Thus, as the scandals of the unmarried clergy had alienated the world much from them; so the marriage of most of the reformers was urged as an ill character both of them and of the Reformation; as a doctrine of libertinism, that made the clergy look too like the rest of the world, and involved them in the common pleasures, concerns, and passions, of human life.

The appearances of an austerity of habit, of a severity of life in watching and fasting, and of avoiding the common pleasures of sense, and the delights of life, that were on the other side, did strike the world, and inclined many to think, that what ill consequences soever *celibate* produced, yet that these were much more supportable, and more easy to be reformed, than the ill consequences of an unrestrained permission of the clergy to marry.

In treating this matter, we must first consider *celibate* with relation to the laws of Christ and the gospel; and then with relation to the laws of the church. It does not seem contrary to the purity of the worship of God, or of divine performances, that married persons should officiate in them; since, by the law of Moses, priests not only might marry, but the priesthood was tied to descend as an inheritance in a certain family. And even the high priest, who was to perform the great function of the annual atonement that was made for the sins

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of the whole Jewish nation, was to marry, and be derived to his descendants that sacred office. If there was so much as a remote unsuitableness between a married state and sacerdotal performances, we cannot imagine that God would by a law tie the priesthood to a family, which by consequence laid an obligation on the priests to marry. When Christ chose his twelve apostles, some of them were married men; we are sure, at least, that St. Peter was; so that he made no distinction, and gave no preference to the unmarried: our Saviour did no where charge them to forsake their wives; nor did he at all represent *celibate* as necessary to the 'kingdom of heaven,' or the dispensation of the gospel.* He speaks indeed

* 'In the Bible, we read that the priests, under the old dispensation, were married, and that the high priesthood passed from father to son. And in the New Testament, that St. Peter, whom you call your first pope (although you are not his successor in either doctrine or practice), was a married man; "And when Jesus was come into Peter's house, he saw his wife's mother laid, and sick of a fever," Matt. viii. 14; and Paul says, "Have we no power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as OTHER APOSTLES, and as the brethren of the Lord, and CEPHAS?" 1 Cor. ix. 5. I read, moreover, in the directions given by God to the bishops and deacons, these words, "A bishop must then be blameless, THE HUSBAND OF ONE WIFE, one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection, with all gravity; for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?" "Let the deacons be THE HUSBANDS OF ONE WIFE, ruling their children, and their own houses well." 1 Tim. iii. 2, 4, 5, 12. And in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xiii. 4.) it is written, "Marriage is honourable IN ALL, and the bed undefiled; but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." But the word of God informs us, "that in the latter times, some shall depart from the faith," (as your church did, when it commanded pope Pius the IVth's creed to be taught and believed, as necessary to salvation,) that one of the marks by which this apostacy shall be known, is "forbidding to marry." 1 Tim. iv. 1, 3. Whether, then, this mark of the apostacy better fits us, who do marry, or you, who forbid and condemn marriage of the clergy, and have besides set up monasteries and nunneries, let the people judge.

But I must give another instance of your church's contempt of God's word:—In 1 Tim. iii. 2. it is said, "a bishop then must be BLAMELESS, the husband of one wife;" and in Heb. xiii. 4. "Marriage is HONOURABLE in all." Why does the church of Rome condemn marriage of the clergy? Her own council of Lateran must speak—"Because it is UNWORTHY that they should be the slaves of CHAMBERING and UNCLEANNESS." I shall now give the decree in the words of Lateran, "Decernimus etiam ut ii, qui in ordine subdiaconatus, et supra, uxores duxerint, aut concubinas habuerint, officio, atq. ecclesiastico beneficio careant. Cum enim ipsi templum Dei, vasa Domini, sacrarium Spiritus Sancti debeant esse, et dici: INDIGNUM est, eos CUBILIBUS, et IMMUNDITIS deservire." 2 Concil Lat. Labbei, vol. x. p. 1003, canon vi. Here then is Lateran against the word of God, and yet, according to you, the council of Lateran was infallible!!! Before this council, pope Gregory the VIIth had condemned the marriage of the clergy, in the 13th can. of the first Roman council, in A. D. 1074. (Labbei concil: vol. x. p. 326—328.) Gregory had, besides, assembled councils or synods in other places, to condemn the marriage of the clergy. The English clergy opposed this in a very determined manner; and, when Gregory's decree was published in Germany, the clergy appealed to the word of God, and charged the pope with contradicting St. Paul. But Gregory was more than a match for them; and he, who deprived kings of their kingdoms, and trampled royalty under foot, easily prevailed, after some time, against the clergy.

The public must now have a specimen of your church's consistency, contradiction, and extraordinary doctrine, on the subject of matrimony. The church of Rome calls marriage a sacrament!! (one of the five *new* sacraments she herself made; and, according to the Trent doctrine, the sacraments confer grace, *justifying* grace. Luther maintained that "the sacraments of the new law do not confer *justifying* grace upon those who do not place a bar in the way." This is the first

of some that brought themselves to the state of eunuchs for the 'sake of the gospel;' but in that he left all men at full liberty, by saying, 'Let him receive it that is able to receive it;' so that in this every man must judge of himself by what he finds himself to be. That is equally recommended to all ranks of men, as they can bear it. St. Paul does affirm, that 'marriage is honourable in all;' and to avoid uncleanness, he says, 'It is better to marry than to burn;' and so gives it as a rule, that 'every man should have his own wife.' Among all the rules or qualifications of bishops or priests, that are given in the New Testament, particularly in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, there is not a word of the celibate of the clergy, but plain intimations to the contrary, that they were and might be married. That of 'the husband of one wife' is repeated in different places: mention is also made of the *wives* and *children* of the clergy, rules being given concerning them: and not a word is so much as insinuated, importing, that this was only tolerated in the beginnings of Christianity, but that it was afterwards to cease. On the contrary, the 'forbidding to marry' is given as a character of the apostacy of the later times. We find Aquila, when he went about preaching the gospel, was not only married to Priscilla, but that he carried her about with him: not to insist on that privilege that St. Paul thought he might have claimed, of 'carrying about with him a sister and a wife, as well as the other apostles.' And thus the first point seems to be fully cleared, that by no law of God the clergy are debarred from marriage. There is not one word in the whole scriptures that does so much as hint at; whereas there is a great deal to the contrary.

Marriage being then one of the rights of human nature, to which so many reasons of different sorts may carry both a wise and a good man, and there being no positive precept in the gospel that forbids it to the clergy; the next question is, Whether it is in the power of the church to make a perpetual law, restraining the clergy from marriage? It is certain that no age of the church can make a law to bind succeeding ages; for whatsoever power the church has, she is always in possession of it; and every age has as much power as any of the former ages had. Therefore if any one age should by a law enjoin celibate to the clergy, any succeeding age may repeal and alter that law. For ever since the inspiration that conducted the apostles has ceased, every age of the church may make or change laws in all matters that are within their authority. So it seems very clear, that the church can make no perpetual law upon this subject.

of the "*plurima Lutheri hereses*," condemned by pope Leo X. (Labbei and Coss. vol. xiv. 5 Conc. Lat. p. 392.) Marriage then, according to your doctrine, confers justifying grace. But what would this sacrament confer on you? Pollution and damnation!!! This is most excellent! "Doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter?" James iii. 11. Page's Letters to a Romish Priest.—[Ed.]

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XXXII.Matt. xix.
10, 11, 12.Heb. xiii. 4
1 Cor. vi. 9.1 Tim. iii.
2, 4, 5, 12.1 Tim. iv.
3.1 Cor. ix.
5.

In the next place it may be justly doubted, whether the church can make a law that shall restrain all the clergy in any of those natural rights in which Christ has left them free. The adding a law upon this head to the laws of Christ, seems to assume an authority that he has not given the church. It looks like a pretending to a strain of purity beyond the rules set us in the gospel: and is plainly the laying a yoke upon us, which *must be thought tyrannical, since the Author of this religion, who knew best what human nature is capable of, and what it may well bear, has not thought fit to lay it on those whom he sent upon a commission that required a much greater elevation of soul, and more freedom from the entanglements of worldly or domestic concerns, than can be pretended to be necessary for the standing and settled offices in the church. Therefore we conclude, that it were a great abuse of church power, and a high act of tyranny, for any church, or any age of the church, to bar men from the services in the church, because they either are married, or intend to keep themselves free to marry, or not, as they please: this does indeed bring the body of the clergy more into a combination among themselves; it does take them in a great measure off from having separated interests of their own; it takes them out of the civil society, in which they have less concern, when they give no pledges to it. And so in ages in which the papacy intended to engage the whole priesthood into its interests against the civil powers, as the immunity and exemptions of the clergy made them safe in their own persons, so it was necessary to free them from any such incumbrances or appendages by which they might be in the power or at the mercy of secular princes. This, joined with the belief of their *making God* with a few words, by the virtue of their character, and of their *forgiving sin*, was like armour of proof, by which they were invulnerable, and by consequence capable of undertaking any thing that might be committed to them. But this may well recommend such a rule to a crafty and designing body of men, in which it is not to be denied, that there is a deep and refined policy; yet we 'have not so learned Christ,' nor to 'handle the word of God,' or the authority that he has trusted to us, *deceitfully*.

As for the consequences of such laws, inconveniences are on both hands: as long as men are corrupt themselves, so long they will abuse all the liberties of human nature. If not only common lewdness in all the kinds of it, but even brutal and unnatural lusts, have been the visible consequences of the strict law of celibate; and if this appears so evident in history that it cannot be denied; we think it better to trust human nature with the lawful use of that in which God has not restrained it, than to venture on that which has given occasion to abominations that cannot be mentioned without horror. As for the temptation to covetousness, we think it is

neither so great, nor so unavoidable, upon the one hand, as those monstrous ones are on the other. It is more reasonable to expect divine assistances to preserve men from temptations, when they are using those liberties which God has left free to them, than when, by pretending to a purity greater than that which he has commanded, they throw themselves into many snares. It is also very evident, that covetousness is an effect of men's tempers, rather than of their marriage; since the instances of a ravenous covetousness, and of a restless ambition, in behalf of men's kindred and families, hath appeared as often and as scandalously among the *unmarried* as among the *married clergy*.

From these general considerations concerning the power that the church has to make either a perpetual or an universal law in a thing of this kind; I shall, in the next place, consider, in short, what the church has done in this matter. In the first ages of Christianity, Basilides and Saturninus, and after them, both Montanus and Novatus, and the sect of the Encratites, condemned marriage as a state of libertinism that was unbecoming the purity required of Christians. Against those we find the fathers asserted the lawfulness of marriage to all Christians, without making a difference between the clergy and the laity. It is true, the appearances that were in Montanus and his followers seem to have engaged the Christians of that age to strain beyond them in those things that gave them their reputation: many of Tertullian's writings, that critics do now see were writ after he was a Montanist, which seems not to have been observed in that age, carry the matter of celibate so high, that it is no wonder, if, considering the reputation that he had, a bias was given by these to the following ages in favour of celibate: yet it seemed to give great and just prejudices against the Christian religion, if such as had come into the service of the church should have forsaken their wives. It is visible how much scandal this might have given, and what matter of reproach it would have furnished their enemies with, if they could have charged them with this, that men, to get rid of their wives, and the care of their families, went into orders; that so, under a pretence of a higher degree of sanctity, they might abandon their families. Therefore great care was taken to prevent this. They were so far from requiring priests to forsake their wives, that such as did it, upon their entering into orders, were severely condemned by the canons that go under the name of the Apostles. They were also condemned by the council of Gangra in the fourth century, and by that of Trullo in the seventh age. There are some instances brought of bishops and priests, who are supposed to have married after they were ordained; but as there are only few of those, so perhaps they are not well proved. It must be acknowledged, that the general practice was, that men once in orders did not marry: but many bishops in the

best ages lived still with their wives. So did the fathers both of Gregory Nazianzen and of St. Basil. And among the works of Hilary of Poitiers, there is a letter writ by him in exile to his daughter Abra, in which he refers her to her mother's instruction in those things which she, by reason of her age, did not then understand; which shews that she was then very young, and so was probably born after he was a bishop.

Some proposed in the council of Nice, that the clergy should depart from their wives; but Paphnutius, though himself unmarried, opposed this, as the laying an unreasonably heavy yoke upon them. Heliodorus, a bishop, the author of the first of those love-fables that are now known by the name of *Romances*, being upon that account accused of too much levity, did, in order to the clearing himself of that imputation, move that clergymen should be obliged to live from their wives. Which the historian says they were not tied to before; for till then bishops lived with their wives. So that in those days the living in a married state was not thought unbecoming the purity of the sacred functions. A single marriage was never objected in bar to a man's being made bishop or priest. They did not indeed admit a man to orders that been *twice married*; but even for this there was a distinction: if a man had been once married before his baptism, and was once married after his baptism, that was reckoned only a single marriage; for what had been done when in heathenism went for nothing. And Jerome, speaking of bishops who had been twice married, but by this nicety were reckoned to be the *husbands of one wife*, says, 'the number of those of this sort in that time could not be reckoned; and that more such bishops might be found, than were at the council of Arimini.' Canons grew to be frequently made against the marriage of those in holy orders; but these were positive laws made chiefly in the Roman and African synods; and since those canons were so often renewed, we may from thence conclude that they were not well kept. When Synesius was ordained priest, he tells in an Epistle of his, that he declared openly, that he would not live secretly with his wife, as some did; but that he would dwell publicly with her, and wished that he might have many children by her. In the eastern church the priests are usually married before they are ordained, and continue afterwards to live with their wives, and to have children by them, without either censure or trouble. In the western church we find mention made, both in the Gallican and Spanish synods, of the wives both of bishops and priests; and they are called *episcopæ* and *presbyteræ*. In the Saxon times the clergy in most of the cathedrals of England were openly married: and when Dunstan, who had engaged king Edgar to favour the monks, in opposition to the married clergy, pressed them to forsake their wives, they refused to do it, and so were turned

out of their benefices, and monks came in their places. Nor was the celibate generally imposed on all the clergy before Gregory the Seventh's time, in the end of the eleventh century. He had great designs for subjecting all temporal princes to the papacy; and, in order to that, he intended to bring the clergy into an entire dependance upon himself; and to separate them wholly from all other interests but those of the ecclesiastical authority: and that he might load the married clergy with an odious name, he called them all *Nicolaitans*; though the accounts that the ancients give us of that sect say nothing that related to this matter: but a name of an ill sound goes a great way in an ignorant age. The writers that lived near that time condemned this severity against the married clergy, as a new and a rash thing, and contrary to the mind of the holy fathers; and they tax his rigour in turning them all out. Yet Lanfranc among us did not impose the celibate generally on all the clergy, but only on those that lived at cathedrals and in towns; he connived at those who served in villages. Anselm carried it further, and imposed it on all the clergy without exception: yet he himself laments that unnatural lusts were become then both common and public; of which Petrus Damiani made great complaints in Gregory the Seventh's time. Bernard, in a sermon preached to the clergy of France, says it was common in his time, and then even *bishops* with *bishops* lived in it. The observation that abbot Panormitan made of the progress of that horrid sin, led him to wish that it might be left free to the clergy to marry as they pleased. Pius the Second said, that there might have been good reasons for imposing the celibate on the clergy; but he believed there were far better reasons for leaving them to their liberty. As a remedy to these more enormous crimes, dispensations for concubinate became so common, that, instead of giving scandal by them, they were rather considered as the characters of modesty and temperance; in such concubinary priests the world judged themselves safe from practices on their own families.

When we consider those effects that followed on the imposing the celibate on the clergy, we cannot but look on them as much greater evils than those that can follow on the leaving it free to them to marry. It is not to be denied but that, on the other hand, the effects of a freedom to marry may be likewise bad: that state does naturally involve men in the cares of life, in domestic concerns, and it brings with it temptations both to luxury and covetousness. It carries with it too great a disposition to heap up wealth, and to raise families; and, in a word, it makes the clergy both look too like, and live too like, the rest of the world. But when things of this kind are duly balanced, ill effects will appear on both hands: those arise out of the general corruption of human nature, which does so spread itself, that it will corrupt us in the

most innocent, and in the most necessary practices. There are excesses committed in eating, drinking, and sleeping. Our depraved inclinations will insinuate themselves into us in our best actions: even the public worship of God and all devotion receive a taint from them. But we must not take away those liberties in which God has left human nature free, and engage men to rules and methods that put a violence upon mankind: this is the less excusable, when we see, in fact, what the consequences of such restraints have been for many ages.

Yet after all, though they who 'marry, do well;' yet those 'who marry not, do better,' provided they live chaste, and do not *burn*. That man, who subdues his body by fasting and prayer, by labour and study, and that separates himself from the concerns of a family, that 'he may give himself wholly to the ministry of the word, and to prayer,' that lives at a distance from the levities of the world, and in a course of native modesty and unaffected severity, is certainly a burning and shining light: he is above the world, free from cares and designs, from aspirings, and all those restless projects which have so long given the world so much scandal: and therefore those, who allow themselves the liberty of marriage, according to the laws of God and the church, are indeed engaged in a state of many temptations, to which if they give way, they lay themselves open to many censures, and they bring a scandal on the Reformation for allowing them this liberty, if they abuse it.

It remains only to consider how far this matter is altered by vows; how far it is lawful to make them; and how far they bind when they are made. It seems very unreasonable and tyrannical to put vows on any, in matters in which it may not be in their power to keep them without sin. No vows ought to be made, but in things that are either absolutely in our power, or in things in which we may procure to ourselves those assistances that may enable us to perform them. We have a federal right to the promises that Christ has made us, of inward assistances to enable us to perform those conditions that he has laid on us; and therefore we may vow to observe them, because we may do that which may procure us aids sufficient for the execution of them. But if men will take up resolutions, that are not within those necessary conditions, they have no reason to promise themselves such assistances: and if they are not so absolutely masters of themselves, as to be able to stand to them without those helps, and yet are not sure that they shall be given them, then they ought to make no vow in a matter which they cannot keep by their own natural strength, and in which they have not any promise in the gospel that assures them of divine assistances to enable them to keep it. This is, therefore, a tempting of God, when men pretend to serve him by assuming a stricter course of life than either he has com-

manded, or they are able to go through with. And it may prove a great snare to them, when by such rash vows they are engaged into such a state of life, in which they live in constant temptations to sin, without either command or promise, on which they can rest as to the execution of them.

This is to 'lead themselves into temptation,' in opposition to that which our Saviour has made a petition of that prayer which he himself has taught us. Out of this, great distractions of mind, and a variety of different temptations, may, and probably will, arise; and that the rather, because the vow is made; there being somewhat in our natures that will always struggle the harder because they are restrained. It is certain that every man, who dedicates himself to the service of God, ought to try if he can dedicate himself so entirely to it, as to live out of all the concerns and entanglements of life. If he can maintain his purity in it, he will be enabled thereby to labour the more effectually, and may expect both the greater success here, and a fuller reward hereafter. But because both his temper and his circumstances may so change, that what is an advantage to him in one part of his life may be a snare and an encumbrance to him in another part of it, he ought therefore to keep this matter still in his own power, and to continue in that *liberty*, in which God has left him *free*, that so he may do as he shall find it to be most expedient for himself, and for the work of the gospel.

Therefore it is to be concluded, that it is unlawful either to impose or to make such vows. And, supposing that any have been engaged in them, more, perhaps, out of the importunity or authority of others, than their own choice; then though it is certainly a character of a man that shall dwell in God's holy hill, that though 'he swears to his own hurt, yet he changes not;' he is to consider, whether he can keep such a vow, without breaking the commandments of God, or not: if he can, then, certainly, he ought to have that regard to the name of God, that was called upon in the vow, and to the solemnities of it, and to the scandals that may follow upon his breaking it, that if he can continue in that state, without sinning against God, he ought to do it, and to endeavour all he can to keep his vow, and preserve his purity. But if, after he has used both fasting and prayer, he still finds that the obligation of his vow is a snare to him, and that he cannot both keep it, and also keep the commandments of God; then the two obligations, that of the law of God, and that of his vow, happening to stand in one another's way, certainly the lesser must give place to the greater. Herod's oath was ill and rashly made, but worse kept, when, 'for his oath's sake,' he ordered the head of John the Baptist to be cut off. Our Saviour condemns that practice among the Jews, of vowing that to the *corban* or treasure of the temple, which they ought to have given to their parents; and imagining that, by

Psal. xv. 4.

Matt. xiv.
9. xv. 5.

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such means, they were not obliged to take care of them, or to supply them. The obligation to keep the commandments of God is indispensable, and antecedent to any act or vow of ours, and therefore it cannot be made void by any vow that we may take upon us: and if we are under a vow, which exposes us to temptations that do often prevail, and that probably will prevail long upon us, then we ought to repent of our rashness in making any such vow, but must not continue in the observation of it, if it proves to us like the taking fire into our bosom, or the handling of pitch. A vow that draws many temptations upon us, that are above our strength to resist them, is, certainly, much better broken and repented of, than kept. So that, to conclude, celibate is not a matter fit to be the subject either of a law or a vow; every man must consider himself, and what he is able to receive: 'He that marries does well, but he that marries not does better.'

ARTICLE XXXIII.

Of Excommunicate Persons, how they are to be avoided.

That Person which, by open Denunciation of the Church, is rightly cut off from the Unity of the Church, and Excommunicate, ought to be taken of the whole Multitude of the Faithful as a Heathen and a Publican: Until he be openly reconciled by Penance, and be received into the Church by a Judge that hath Authority thereunto.

ALL Christians are obliged to a strict purity and holiness of life: and every private man is bound to avoid all unnecessary familiarities with bad and vicious men; both because he may be insensibly corrupted by these, and because the world will be from thence disposed to think, that he takes pleasure in such persons, and in their vices. What every single Christian ought to set as a rule to himself, ought to be likewise made the rule of all Christians, as they are constituted in a body under guides and pastors. And as, in general, severe denunciations ought to be often made of the wrath and judgments of God against sinners; so if any that is called a *brother*, that is, a Christian, lives in a course of sin and scandal, they ought to give warning of such a person to all the other Christians, that they may not so much 'as eat with him,' but *separate* themselves from him. 1 Cor. v. 11.

In this, private persons ought to avoid the moroseness and affectation of saying, 'Stand by, for I am holier than thou:' Isai. lxxv. 5.
'if one is overtaken in a fault, then those who are spiritual ought to restore such an one in the spirit of meekness:' every one considering himself, 'lest he be also tempted.' Gal. vi. 1.
Excessive rigour will be always suspected of hypocrisy, and may drive those on whom it falls either into despair on the one hand, or into an unmanageable licentiousness on the other.

The nature of all societies must import this, that they have a power to maintain themselves according to the design and rules of their society. A combination of men, made upon any bottom whatsoever, must be supposed to have a right to exclude out of their number such as may be a reproach to it, or a mean to dissolve it: and it must be a main part of the office and duty of the pastors of the church, to separate the good from the bad, to warn the unruly, and to put from among them wicked persons. There are several considerations that shew not only the lawfulness, but the necessity, of such a practice.

First, that the contagion of an ill example and of bad prac-

A R T. XXXIII. tices may not spread too far to the corrupting of others: 'Evil communications corrupt good manners.' Their 'doctrines will eat and spread as a gangrene:' and therefore, in order to the preserving the purity of those who are not yet corrupted, it may be necessary to *note* such persons, and to 'have no company with them.'

A second reason relates to the persons themselves, that are so separated, that they may be *ashamed*; that they may be thus 'pulled out of the fire,' by the terror of such a proceeding, which ought to be done by *mourning* over them, lamenting their sins and praying for them.

The apostles made use even of those extraordinary powers that were given to them for this end. St. Paul delivered Hymenæus and Alexander unto Satan, 'that they might learn not to blaspheme.' And he ordered that the incestuous person at Corinth 'should be delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.' Certainly a vicious indulgence to sinners is an encouragement to them to live in sin; whereas when others about them try all methods for their recovery, and mourn for those sins in which they do perhaps glory, and do upon that withdraw themselves from all communication with them, both in spirituals, and as much as may be in temporals likewise; this is one of the last means that can be used in order to the reclaiming of them.

Another consideration is the peace and the honour of the society. St. Paul wished that 'they were cut off that troubled the churches:' great care ought to be taken, that 'the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed,' and to give no occasion to the enemies of our faith to reproach us; as if we designed to make parties, to promote our own interests, and to turn religion to a faction; excusing such as adhere to us in other things, though they should break out into the most scandalous violations of the greatest of all the commandments of God. Such a behaviour towards excommunicated persons would also have this further good effect; it would give great authority to that sentence, and fill men's minds with the awe of it, which must be taken off, when it is observed that men converse familiarly with those that are under it.

These rules are all founded upon the principles of societies, which, as they associate upon some common designs, so, in order to the pursuing those, must have a power to separate themselves from those who depart from them.

In this matter there are extremes of both hands to be avoided: some have thought, that because the apostles have, in general, declared such persons to be *accursed*, or under an *anathema*, who preach another gospel,' and 'such as love not the Lord Jesus, to be Anathema Maran-atha,' which is generally understood to be a total cutting off, never to be admitted till 'the Lord comes;' that therefore the church

may still put men under an *anathema*, for holding such unsound doctrines, as, they think, make the gospel to become another, in part at least, if not in whole; and that she may thereupon, in imitation of another practice of the apostles, deliver them over *unto Satan*, casting them out of the protection of Christ, and abandoning them to the Devil: reckoning that the 'cutting them off' from the body of Christ is really the exposing them to the Devil, who goes about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. But with what authority soever the apostles might, upon so great a matter as the 'changing the gospel,' or the 'not loving the Lord Jesus,' denounce an *anathema*, yet the applying this which they used so seldom, and upon such great occasions, to every opinion, after a decision is made in it, as it has carried on the notion of the infallibility of the church, so it has laid a foundation for much uncharitableness, and many animosities: it has widened breaches, and made them incurable. And, unless it is certain that the church which has so decreed cannot err, it is a bold assuming of an authority to which no fallible body of men can have a right. That 'delivery unto Satan' was visibly an act of a miraculous power lodged with the apostles: for as they struck some *blind* or *dead*, so they had an authority of letting loose evil spirits on some to haunt and terrify, or to punish and plague them, that a desperate evil might be cured by an extreme remedy. And therefore the apostles never reckon this among the standing functions of the church; nor do they give any charge or directions about it. They used it themselves, and but seldom. It is true, that St. Paul being carried by a just zeal against the scandal, which the incestuous person at Corinth had cast upon the Christian religion, did adjudge him to this severe degree of censure: but he *judged* it, and did only order the Corinthians to publish it, as coming from him, 'with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ:' that so the thing might become the more public, and that the effects of it might be the more conspicuous. The primitive church, that being nearest the fountain, did best understand the nature of church-power, and the effects of her censures, thought of nothing, in this matter, but of denying to suffer apostates, or rather scandalous persons, to mix with the rest in the sacrament, or in the other parts of worship. They admitted them upon the profession of their repentance, by an imposition of hands, to share in some of the more general parts of the worship; and even in these they stood by themselves, and at a distance from the rest: and when they had passed through several degrees in that state of mourning, they were by steps received back again to the communion of the church. This agrees well with all that was said formerly concerning the nature and the ends of church-power; 'which was given for edification, and not for destruction.' This is suitable to the designs of the gospel,

ART. XXXIII. both for preserving the society pure, and for reclaiming those who are otherwise like to be carried away by the ' Devil in his snare.' This is to *admonish* sinners as *brethren*, and not to use them as enemies; whereas the other method looks like a power that designs *destruction*, rather than *edification*, especially when the secular arm is called in, and that princes are required, under the penalties of deposition, and losing their dominions, to extirpate and destroy, and that by the cruellest sort of death, all those whom the church doth so anathematize.

We do not deny but that the form of denouncing or declaring *anathemas* against heresies and heretics is very ancient. It grew to be a form expressing horror, and was applied to the dead as well as to the living. It was understood to be a *cutting* such persons off from the communion of the church: if they were still alive, they were not admitted to any act of worship; if they were dead, their names were not to be read at the altar among those who were then commemorated. But as heat about opinions increased, and some lesser matters grew to be more valued than the weightier things both of law and gospel, so the adding *anathemas* to every point, in which men differed from one another, grew to be a common practice, and swelled up at last to such a pitch, that, in the council of Trent, a whole body of divinity was put into canons, and an *anathema* was fastened to every one of them. The *delivering to Satan* was made the common form of excommunication; an act of apostolical authority being made a precedent for the standing practice of the church. Great subtilities were also set on foot concerning the force and effect of church-censures: the straining this matter too high, has given occasion to extremes on the other hand. If a man is condemned as an heretic, for that which is no heresy, but is an article founded on the word of God, his conscience is not at all concerned in any such censure: great modesty and decency ought indeed to be shewed by private persons, when they dispute against public decisions: but unless the church is infallible, none can be bound to implicit faith, or blind submission. Therefore an *anathema*, ill founded, cannot hurt him against whom it is thundered. If the doctrine, upon which the censures and denunciations of the church are grounded, is true, and if it appears so to him that sets himself against it, he who thus *despises* the pastors of the church *despises* Christ; in whose name, and by whose authority, they are acting. But if he is still under convictions of his being in the right, when he is indeed in the wrong, then he is in a state of ignorance, and his sins are sins of ignorance, and they will be judged by that God, who knows the sincerity of all men's hearts, and sees into their secretest thoughts, how far the ignorance is wilful and affected, and how far it is sincere and invincible.

And as for those censures that are founded upon the proofs that are made of certain facts that are scandalous, either the

person on whom they are charged knows himself to be really guilty of them, or that he is wronged, either by the witnesses, or the pastors and judges: if he is indeed guilty, he ought to consider such censures as the medicinal provisions of the church against sin: he ought to submit to them, and to such rebukes and admonitions, to such public confessions, and other acts of self-abasement, by which he may be recovered out of 'the snare of the Devil;' and may repair the public scandal that he has brought upon the profession of Christianity, and recover the honour of it, which he has blemished, as far as lies in him. ^{2 Tim. ii. 26}

This is the 'submitting to those that are over him, and the obeying them as those that watch for his soul, and that must give an account of it.' But if, on the other hand, any such person is run down by falsehood and calumny, he must submit to that dispensation of God's providence, that has suffered such a load to be laid upon him: he must not betray his integrity; he ought to commit his way to God, and to bear his burden patiently. Such a censure ought not at all to give him too deep an inward concern: for he is sure it is ill founded, and therefore it can have no effect upon his conscience. God, who knows his innocence, will acquit him, though all the world should condemn him. He must indeed submit to that separation from the body of Christians: but he is safe in his secret appeals to God, who sees not as man sees, but judges righteous judgment: and such a censure as this cannot be bound in heaven. ^{Heb. xiii. 17.}

In the pronouncing the censures of the church, great care and tenderness ought to be used; for men are not to be rashly *cut off* from the body of Christ; nothing but a wilful obstinacy in sin, and a deliberate contempt of the rules and orders of the church, can justify this extremity. Scandalous sinners may be brought under the medicinal cure of the church, and the offender may be denied all the privileges of Christians, till he has repaired the offence that he has given. Here another extreme has been run into by men, who, being jealous of the tyranny of the church of Rome, have thought that the world could not be safe from that, unless all church-power were destroyed: they have thought that the ecclesiastical order is a body of men bound by their office to preach the gospel, and to offer the sacraments, to all Christians; but that as the gospel is a doctrine equally offered to all, in which every man must take the particular application of the promises, the comforts, and the terrors of it to himself, as he will answer it to God; so they imagine that the sacraments are in the same promiscuous manner to be offered to all persons; and that every man is to *try and examine himself*, and so to *partake* of them; but that the clergy have no authority to deny them to any person, or to put marks of distinction or of *infamy* on men: and that therefore the ancient discipline of

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the church did arise out of a mutual compromise of Christians, who, in times of misery and persecution, submitted to such rules as seemed necessary in that state of things; but that now all the authority that the church hath, is founded only on the law of the land, and is still subject to it. So that what changes or alterations are appointed by the civil authority must take place, in bar to any laws and customs of the church, how ancient or how universal soever they may be.

In answer to this, it is not to be denied, but that the degrees and extent of this authority, the methods and the management of it, were at first framed by common consent: in the times of persecution, the laity, who embraced the Christian religion, were to the church instead of the magistrate. The whole concerns of religion were supported and protected by them; and this gave them a natural right to be consulted with in all the decisions of the church. The *brethren* were called to join with the *apostles* and *elders* in that great debate concerning the circumcision of the Gentiles, which was settled at Jerusalem; and of such practices we find frequent mention in St. Cyprian's Epistles: the more eminent among the laity were then naturally the patrons of the churches; but when the church came under the protection of Christian princes and magistrates, then the patronage and protection of it fell to them, upon whom the peace and order of the world depended. Yet though all this is acknowledged, we see plainly, that in the New Testament there are many general rules given, for the government and order of the church. Timothy and Titus were appointed to *ordain*, to *admonish*, and *rebuke*, and that *before all*. The body of the Christians is required to *submit* themselves to them, and to *obey* them; which is not to be carried to an indefinite and boundless degree, but must be limited to that doctrine which they were to teach, and to such things as depended upon it, or tended to its establishment and propagation. From these general heads we see just grounds to assert such a power in the pastors of the church as is for *edification*, but not for *destruction*; and, therefore, here is a foundation of power laid down; though it is not to be denied but that, in the application of it, such prudence and discretion ought to be used, as may make it most likely to attain those ends for which it is given.

A general consent, in time of persecution, was necessary; otherwise too indiscreet a rigour might have pulled down that which ought to have been built up. If in a broken state of things a common consent ought to be much endeavoured and stayed for, this is much more necessary in a regular and settled time, with relation to the civil authority, under whom the whole society is put, according to its constitution. But it can never be supposed that the authority of the *pastors of the church* is no other than that of a lawyer or a physician to their clients, who are still at their liberty, and are in no sort

bound to follow their directions. In particular advices, with relation to their private concerns, where no general rules are agreed on, an authority is not pretended to; and these may be compared to all other advices, only with this difference, that the *pastors* of the church 'watch over the souls of their people, and must give an account of them.' But when things are grown into method, and general rules are settled, there the consideration of edification and unity, and of maintaining peace and order, are such sacred obligations on every one that has a true regard to religion, that such as despise all this may be well looked on as *heathens* and *publicans*; and they are so much worse than they, as a secret and well-disguised traitor is much more dangerous than an open, professed enemy. And though these words of our Saviour, of 'telling the church,' may, perhaps, not be so strictly applicable to this matter, in their primary sense, as our Saviour first spoke them; yet the nature of things, and the parity of reason, may well lead us to conclude, that though those words did immediately relate to the composing of private differences, and of delating intractable persons to the synagogues, yet they may be well extended to all those public offences, which are injuries to the whole body; and may be now applied to the Christian church, and to the pastors and guides of it, though they related to the synagogue when they were first spoken.

It is therefore highly congruous both to the whole design of the Christian religion, and to many passages in the New Testament, that there should be rules set for censuring offenders, that so they may be reclaimed, or at least ashamed, and that others may fear: and as the final sentence of every authority whatsoever, must be the cutting off from the body all such as continue in a wilful disobedience to the laws of the society; so if any, who call themselves Christians, will live so as to be a reproach to that which they profess, they must be cut off, and cast out; for if there is any sort of power in the church, it must terminate in this. This is the last and highest act of their authority; it is like death or banishment by the civil power, which are not proceeded to but upon great occasions, in which milder censures will not prevail, and where the general good of the society requires it: so *casting out* being the last act of church-power, like a parent's disinheriting a child, it ought to be proceeded in with that slowness, and upon such considerations, as may well justify the rigour of it. A wilful contempt of order and authority carries virtually in it every other irregularity; because it dissolves the union of the body, and destroys that respect, by which all the other ends of religion are to be attained; and, when this is deliberate and fixed, there is no other way of proceeding, but by *cutting off* those who are so refractory, and who set so ill an example to others.

If the execution of this should happen to fall under great

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XXXIII.Matt. xviii.
17.

disorders, so that many scandalous persons are not censured, and a promiscuous multitude is suffered to break in upon the most sacred performances, this cannot justify private persons, who upon that do withdraw from the communion of the church: for after all that has been said, the divine precept is to every man to 'try and examine himself,' and not to *try* and censure others. All order and government are destroyed, if private persons take upon them to judge and censure others; or to separate from any body, because there are abuses in the use of this authority.

Private confession in the church of Rome had quite destroyed the government of the church, and superseded all the ancient penitentiary canons; and the tyranny of the church of Rome had set many ingenious men on many subtle contrivances, either to evade the force of those canons, to which some regard was still preserved, or to maintain the order of the church, in opposition to the appeals that were made to Rome: and while some pretended to subject all things to the papal authority, others studied to keep up the ancient rules. The encroachments that the temporal and spiritual courts were making upon one another occasioned many disputes: which being managed by such subtle men as the civilians and canonists were, all this brought in a great variety of cases and rules into the courts of the church: so that, instead of the first simplicity, which was evident in the constitution of the church, not only for the first three centuries, but for a great many more that came afterwards, there grew to be so much practice, and so many subterfuges in the rules and manner of proceeding of those courts, that the church has long groaned under it, and has wished to see that effected which was designed in the beginnings of the Reformation. The draught of a reformation of those courts is still extant; that so instead of the intricacies, delays, and other disorders, that have arisen from the canon law, we might have another short and plain body of rules; which might be managed, as anciently, by bishops, with the assistance of their clergy. But though this is not yet done, and that, by reason of it, *the tares grow up with the wheat*, we ought to *let them grow together* till the great harvest comes, or at least, till a proper *harvest* may be given to the church by the providence of God; in which the good may be distinguished and separated from the bad, without endangering the ruin of all; which must certainly be the effect of people's falling indiscreetly to this before the time.

ARTICLE XXXIV.

Of the Traditions of the Church.

It is not necessary that Traditions and Ceremonies be in all Places one, or utterly like; for at all times they have been diverse, and may be changed according to the diversity of Countries and Men's Manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private Judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the Traditions and Ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common Authority, ought to be rebuked openly (that others may fear to do the like) as one that offendeth against the common Order of the Church, and hurteth the Authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the Consciences of weak Brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath Authority to ordain, change, and abolish Ceremonies or Rites of the Church, ordained only by men's Authority; so that all things be done to edifying.

THIS Article consists of two branches: the first is, that the church hath power to appoint such rites and ceremonies as are not contrary to the word of God; and that private persons are bound to conform themselves to their orders. The second is, that it is not necessary that the whole church should meet to determine such matters; the power of doing that being in every national church, which is fully empowered to take care of itself; and no rule made in such matters is to be held unalterable, but may be changed upon occasion.

As to the first, it hath been already considered, when the first words of the twentieth Article were explained. There the authority of the church in matters indifferent was stated and proved. It remains now only to prove, that private persons are bound to conform themselves to such ceremonies, especially when they are also enacted by the civil authority. It is to be considered, that the Christian religion was chiefly designed to raise and purify the nature of man, and to make human society perfect: now brotherly love and charity does this more than any one virtue whatsoever: it raises a man to the likeness of God; it gives him a divine and heavenly temper within himself, and creates the tenderest union and firmest happiness possible among all the societies of men: our Saviour has so enlarged the obligation to it, as to make it, by the extent he has given it, 'a great and new commandment,' by which all the world may be able to know and distinguish his followers from the rest of mankind: and as all

A R T. XXXIV. the apostles insist much upon this in every one of their Epistles, not excepting the shortest of them; so St. John, who writ last of them, has dwelt more fully upon it than upon any other duty whatsoever. Our Saviour did particularly intend that his followers should be associated into one body, and joined together, in order to their keeping up and inflaming their mutual love; and therefore he delivered his prayer to them *all* in the plural, to shew that he intended that they should use it in a body: he appointed baptism as the way of receiving men into *this body*, and the eucharist as a joint memorial that the *body* was to keep up that of his death. For this end he appointed pastors to teach and keep his followers in a body: and in his last and longest prayer to the Father, he repeats this, that 'they might be one;' that 'they might be kept in one (body), and made perfect in one,' in five several expressions; which shews both how necessary a part of his religion he meant this should be, and likewise intimates to us the danger that he foresaw, of his followers departing from it; which made him intercede so earnestly for it. One expression that he has of this union, shews how entire and tender he intended that it should be; for he prayed that the union might be such as that between *the Father and himself* was. The apostles use the figure of a *body* frequently, to express this union; than which nothing can be imagined that is more firmly knit together, and in which all the parts do more tenderly sympathise with one another.

Upon all these considerations we may very certainly gather, that the dissolving this union, the dislocating this body, and the doing any thing that may extinguish the love and charity by which Christians are to be made so happy in themselves, and so useful to one another, and by which the body of Christians grows much the firmer and stronger, and shines more in the world; that, I say, the doing this upon slight grounds, must be a sin of a very high nature. Nothing can be a just reason either to carry men to it, or to justify them in it, but the imposing on them unlawful terms of communion; for in that case it is certain, that 'we must obey God rather than man;' that we must 'seek truth and peace' together; and that the rule of 'keeping a good conscience in all things,' is laid thus, to do it first 'towards God, and then towards man.' So that a schism that is occasioned by any church's imposing unlawful terms of communion, lies at their door who impose them, and the guilt is wholly theirs.* But without such a necessity, it is certainly, both in its own nature, and in its consequences, one of the greatest of sins, to create needless disturbances in the church, and to give occasion to all that alienation of mind, all those rash censures, and unjust judgments, that do arise from such divisions. This receives a

* See note, page 100.

A R T. XXXIV. very great aggravation, if the civil authority has concurred by a law to enjoin the observance of such indifferent things; for to all their lawful commands we owe an obedience, 'not only for fear, but for conscience sake;' since the authority of the magistrate is chiefly to be employed in such matters. As to things that are either commanded or forbidden of God, the magistrate has only the execution of these in his hands; so that in those, his laws are only the sanctions and penalties of the laws of God. The subject matter of his authority is about things which are of their own nature indifferent; but that may be made fit and proper means for the maintaining of order, union, and decency, in the society: and therefore such laws as are made by him in those things, do certainly bind the conscience, and oblige the subjects to obedience. Disobedience does also give scandal to the weak. *Scandal* is a *block* or *trap* laid in the way of another, by which he is made to stumble and fall. So this figure of giving scandal, or the laying a stumbling-block in our brother's way, is applied to our doing of such actions as may prove the occasions of sin to others. Every man, according to the influence that his example or authority may have over others, who do too easily and implicitly follow him, becomes thereby the more capable of giving them *scandal*: that is, of drawing them after him to commit many sins: and since men are under fetters, according to the persuasions that they have of things, he who thinks a thing sinful, does sin if he does it, as long as he is under that apprehension; because he deliberately ventures on that which he thinks offends God; even while 'he doubts of it,' or makes a *distinction* between meats, (for the word rendered *doubts*, signifies also the *making a difference*.) 'he is damned' (that is, self-condemned, as acting against his own sense of things) if he does it. Another man, that has larger thoughts and clearer ideas, may see that there is no sin in an action, about which others may be still in doubt, and so upon his own account he may certainly do it: but if he has reason to believe that his doing that may draw others, who have not such clear notions, to do it after his example, they being still in doubt as to the lawfulness of it, then he gives *scandal*, that is, he lays a stumbling-block in their way, if he does it, unless he lies under an obligation from some of the laws of God, or of the society to which he belongs, to do it. In that case he is bound to obey; and he must not then consider the consequences of his actions; of which he is only bound to take care, when he is left to himself, and is at full liberty to do, or not to do, as he pleases.

This explains the notion of *scandal*, as it is used in the Epistles: for there being several doubts raised at that time, concerning the lawfulness or obligation of observing the Mosaical law, and concerning the lawfulness of eating meats offered to idols, no general decision was made, that went

A R T. XXXIV.
1 John iii.
11, 23.
iv. 21.

John xvii.
11, 21, 22,
23.

1 Cor. xii.
12--26.

Acts xiv.
16.

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Rom. xiii. 5.

Rom. xiv.
23.

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13.

through that matter; the apostles having only decreed, that the Mosaical law was not to be imposed on the Gentiles; but not having condemned such as might of their own accord have observed some parts of that law, scruples arose about this; and so here they gave great caution against the laying a *stumbling-block* in the way of their brethren. But it is visible from this, that the fear of giving scandal does only take place where matters are free, and may be done or not done. But when laws are made, and an order is settled, the fear of giving scandal lies all on the side of obedience; for a man of weight and authority, when he does not obey, gives scruples and jealousies to others, who will be apt to collect from his practice that the thing is unlawful: he who does not conform himself to settled orders gives occasion to others, who see and observe him, to imitate him in it; and thus he lays a scandal or stumbling-block in their way; and all the sins which they commit through their excessive respect to him, and imitation of him, are in a very high degree to be put to his account, who gave them such occasion of falling.

The second branch of this Article is against the unalterableness of laws made in matters indifferent; and it asserts the right of every national church to take care of itself. That the laws of any one age of the church cannot bind another, is very evident from this, that all legislature is still entire in the hands of those who have it. The laws of God do bind all men at all times; but the laws of the church, as well as the laws of every state, are only provisions made upon the present state of things, from the fitness or unfitness that appears to be in them for the great ends of religion, or for the good of mankind. All these things are subject to alteration, therefore the power of the church is in every age entire, and is as great as it was in any one age since the days in which she was under the conduct of men immediately inspired. So there can be no unalterable laws in matters indifferent. In this there neither is nor can be any controversy.

An obstinate adhering to things, only because they are ancient, when all the ends for which they were at first introduced do cease, is the limiting the church in a point in which she ought still to preserve her liberty: she ought still to pursue those great rules in all her orders, of doing all things to *edification*, with *decency*, and *for peace*. The only question that can be made in this matter is, whether such general laws as have been made by greater bodies, by general councils for instance, or by those synods whose canons were received into the body of the canons of the catholic church; whether these, I say, may be altered by national churches; or whether the body of Christians is so to be reckoned one body, that all the parts of it are bound to submit, in matters indifferent, to the decrees of the body in general? It is certain, that all the parts of the catholic church ought to hold a communion one

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with another, and mutual commerce and correspondence together: but this difference is to be observed between the Christian and the Jewish religion, that the one was tied to one nation, and to one place, whereas the Christian religion is universal, to be spread to all nations, among people of different climates and languages, and of different customs and tempers: and therefore, since the power in indifferent matters is given the church only in order to edification, every nation must be the proper judge of that within itself. The Roman empire, though a great body, yet was all under one government; and therefore all the councils that were held while that empire stood, are to be considered only as national synods, under one civil policy. The Christians of Persia, India, or Ethiopia, were not subject to the canons made by them, but were at full liberty to make rules and canons for themselves. And in the primitive times we see a vast diversity in their rules and rituals. They were so far from imposing general rules on all, that they left the churches at full liberty: even the council of Nice made very few rules: that of Constantinople and Ephesus made fewer: and though the abuses that were growing in the fifth century gave occasion to the council of Chalcedon to make more canons, yet the number of these is but small: so that the tyranny of subjecting particular churches to laws that might be inconvenient for them, was not then brought into the church.

The corruptions that did afterwards overspread the church, together with the papal usurpations, and the new *canon law* that the popes brought in, which was totally different from the old one, had worn out the remembrance of all the ancient canons; so it is not to be wondered at, if they were not much regarded at the Reformation. They were quite out of practice, and were then scarce known. And as for the subordination of churches and sees, together with the privileges and exemptions of them, these did all flow from the divisions of the Roman empire into dioceses and provinces, out of which the dignity and the dependences of their cities did arise.

But now that the Roman empire is gone, and that all the laws which they made are at an end, with the authority that made them; it is a vain thing to pretend to keep up the ancient dignities of *sees*; since the foundation upon which that was built is sunk and gone. Every empire, kingdom, or state, is an entire body within itself. The magistrate has that authority over all his subjects, that he may keep them all at home, and hinder them from entering into any consultations or combinations but such as shall be under his direction: he may require the pastors of the church under him to consult together about the best methods for carrying on the ends of religion; but neither he nor they can be bound to stay for the concurrence of other churches. In the way of managing this, every body of men has somewhat peculiar to itself: and

the pastors of that body are the properest judges in that matter. We know that the several churches, even while under one empire, had great varieties in their forms, as appears in the different practices of the eastern and western churches: and as soon as the Roman empire was broken, we see this variety did increase. The Gallican churches had their missals different from the Roman: and some churches of Italy followed the Ambrosian. But Charles the Great, in compliance with the desires of the pope, got the Gallican churches to depart from their own missals, and to receive the Roman; which he might the rather do, intending to have raised a new empire; to which a conformity of rites might have been a great step. Even in this church there was a great variety of usages, which perhaps were begun under the Heptarchy, when the nation was subdivided into several kingdoms.

It is therefore suitable to the nature of things, to the authority of the magistrate, and to the obligations of the pastoral care, that every church should act within herself as an entire and independent body. The churches owe not only a friendly and brotherly correspondence to one another; but they owe to their own body government and direction, and such provisions and methods as are most likely to promote the great ends of religion, and to preserve the peace of the society both in church and state. Therefore we are no other way bound by ancient canons, but as the same reason still subsisting, we may see the same cause to continue them, that there was at first to make them.

Of all the bodies of the world, the church of Rome has the worst grace to reproach us for departing in some particulars from the ancient canons, since it was her ill conduct that had brought them all into desuetude: and it is not easy to revive again antiquated rules, even though there may be good reason for it, when they fall under that tacit abrogation, which arises out of a long and general disuse of them.

ARTICLE XXXV.

Of Homilies.

The Second Book of Homilies, the several Titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these Times; as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the Time of Edward the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the People.

The Names of the Homilies.

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| 1. <i>Of the right Use of the Church.</i> | <i>of God's Word.</i> |
| 2. <i>Against Peril of Idolatry.</i> | 11. <i>Of Alms-doing.</i> |
| 3. <i>Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.</i> | 12. <i>Of the Nativity of Christ.</i> |
| 4. <i>Of good Works. First, of Fasting.</i> | 13. <i>Of the Passion of Christ.</i> |
| 5. <i>Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.</i> | 14. <i>Of the Resurrection of Christ.</i> |
| 6. <i>Against Excess of Apparel.</i> | 15. <i>Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.</i> |
| 7. <i>Of Prayer.</i> | 16. <i>Of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost.</i> |
| 8. <i>Of the Place and Time of Prayer.</i> | 17. <i>For the Rogation-Days.</i> |
| 9. <i>That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known Tongue.</i> | 18. <i>Of the State of Matrimony.</i> |
| 10. <i>Of the reverent Estimation</i> | 19. <i>Of Repentance.</i> |
| | 20. <i>Against Idleness.</i> |
| | 21. <i>Against Rebellion.</i> |

AT the time of the Reformation, as there could not be found at first a sufficient number of preachers to instruct the whole nation; so those that did comply with the changes which were then made, were not all well-affected to them; so that it was not safe to trust this matter to the capacity of the one side, and to the integrity of others; therefore, to supply the defects of some, and to oblige the rest to teach according to the *form of sound doctrine*, there were two books of Homilies prepared; the first was published in king Edward's time; the second was not finished till about the time of his death; so it was not published before queen Elizabeth's time. The design of them was to mix speculative points with practical matters; some explain the doctrine, and others enforce the rules of life and manners. These are plain and short discourses, chiefly calculated to possess the nation with a sense of the purity of the gospel, in opposition to the corruptions of popery; and to reform it from those crying sins that had

been so much connived at under popery, while men knew the price of them, how to compensate for them, and to redeem themselves from the guilt of them, by masses and sacraments, by indulgences and absolutions.

In these Homilies the scriptures are often applied as they were then understood; not so critically as they have been explained since that time. But by this approbation of the two books of Homilies, it is not meant that every passage of scripture, or argument that is made use of in them, is always convincing, or that every expression is so severely worded, that it may not need a little correction or explanation: all that we profess about them, is only that they *contain a godly and wholesome doctrine*. This rather relates to the main importance and design of them, than to every passage in them. Though this may be said concerning them, that considering the age they were written in, the imperfection of our language, and some lesser defects, they are two very extraordinary books. Some of them are better writ than others, and are equal to any thing that has been writ upon those subjects since that time. Upon the whole matter, every one who subscribes the Articles, ought to read them, otherwise he subscribes a blank; he approves a book implicitly, and binds himself to read it, as he may be required, without knowing any thing concerning it. This approbation is not to be stretched so far, as to carry in it a special assent to every particular in that whole volume; but a man must be persuaded of the main of the doctrine that is taught in them.

To instance this in one particular; since there are so many of the Homilies that charge the church of Rome with *idolatry*, and that from so many different topics, no man who thinks that church is not guilty of *idolatry*, can with a good conscience subscribe this Article, that the Homilies *contain a good and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times*; for according to his sense they contain a false and an uncharitable charge of *idolatry* against a church that they think is not guilty of it; and he will be apt to think that this was done to heighten the aversion of the nation to it: therefore any who have such favourable thoughts of the church of Rome, are bound, by the force of that persuasion of theirs, not to sign this Article, but to declare against it, as the authorizing of an accusation against a church, which they think is ill grounded, and is by consequence both unjust and uncharitable.

By *necessary for these times*, is not to be meant that this was a book fit to serve a turn; but only that this book was necessary at that time to instruct the nation aright, and so was of great use then: but though the doctrine in it, if once true, must be always true, yet it will not be always of the same necessity to the people. As for instance; there are many discourses in the Epistles of the apostles that relate to

the controversies then on foot with the Judaizers, to the engagements the Christians then lived in with the heathens, and to those corrupters of Christianity that were in those days. Those doctrines were necessary for that time; but though they are now as true as they were then, yet, since we have no commerce either with Jews or Gentiles, we cannot say that it is as necessary for the present time to dwell much on those matters, as it was for that time to explain them once well. If the nation should come to be quite out of the danger of falling back into popery, it would not be so necessary to insist upon many of the subjects of the Homilies, as it was when they were first prepared.

ARTICLE XXXVI.

Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.

The Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the Time of Edward the Sixth, and confirmed at the same Time by Authority of Parliament, doth contain all Things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering; neither hath it any Thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are Consecrated and Ordered according to the Rites of that Book since the Second Year of the aforementioned King Edward unto this Time, or hereafter shall be Consecrated or Ordered according to the same Rites, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully Consecrated and Ordered.

As to the most essential parts of this Article, they were already examined, when the pretended sacrament of orders was explained; where it was proved, that *prayer* and *imposition* of hands was all that was necessary to the giving of orders; and that the forms added in the Roman Pontifical are new, and cannot be held to be necessary, since the church had subsisted for many ages before those were thought on. So that either our ordinations without those additions are good: or the church of God was for many ages without true orders. There seems to be here insinuated a ratification of orders that were given before this Article was made; which being done (as the lawyers phrase it) *ex post facto*, it seems these orders were unlawful when given, and that error was intended to be corrected by this Article. The opening a part of the history of that time will clear this matter.

There was a new form of ordinations agreed on by the bishops in the third year of king Edward; and when the book of Common-Prayer, with the last corrections of it, was authorized by act of parliament in the fifth year of that reign, the new book of Ordinations was also enacted, and was appointed to be a part of the Common-Prayer-Book. In queen Mary's time these acts were repealed, and those books were condemned by name. When queen Elizabeth came to the crown, king Edward's Common-Prayer-Book was of new enacted, and queen Mary's act was repealed. But the book of Ordination was not expressly named, it being considered as a part of the Common-Prayer-Book, as it had been made in king Edward's time; so it was thought no more necessary to mention that *office* by name. than to mention all the other

offices that are in the book. Bishop Bonner set on foot a nicety, that since the book of Ordinations was by name condemned in queen Mary's time, and was not by name received in queen Elizabeth's time, that therefore it was still condemned by law, and that by consequence ordinations performed according to this book were not legal. But it is visible, that whatsoever might be made out of this, according to the niceties of our law, it has no relation to the validity of ordinations, as they are sacred performances, but only as they are legal actions, with relation to our constitution. Therefore a declaration was made in a subsequent parliament, that the book of Ordination was considered as a part of the Book of Common-Prayer: and, to clear all scruples or disputes that might arise upon that matter, they by a retrospect declared them to be good; and from that retrospect in the act of parliament the like clause was put in the Article.

The chief exception that can be made to the form of giving orders amongst us, is to those words, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost;' which as it is no ancient form, it not being above five hundred years old, so it is taken from words of our Saviour's, that the church in her best times thought were not to be applied to this. It was proper to him to use them, who had the 'fulness of the Spirit' to give it at pleasure: he made use of it in constituting his apostles the governors of his church in his own stead; and therefore it seems to have a sound in it that is too bold and assuming, as if we could convey the Holy Ghost. To this it is to be answered, that the churches both in the east and west have so often changed the forms of ordination, that our church may well claim the same power of appointing new forms, that others have done. And since the several functions and administrations that are in the church are by the apostle said to flow 'from one and the same Spirit,' all of them from the *apostles* down to the *pastors* and *teachers*, we may then reckon that the *Holy Ghost*, though in a much lower degree, is given to those who are inwardly moved of God to undertake that holy office. So that though that extraordinary effusion that was poured out upon the apostles, was in them in a much higher degree, and was accompanied with most amazing characters; yet still such as do sincerely offer themselves up, on a divine motion, to this service, receive a lower portion of this Spirit. That being laid down, these words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' may be understood to be of the nature of a wish and prayer; as if it were said, 'May thou receive the Holy Ghost;' and so it will better agree with what follows, 'And be thou a faithful dispenser of the word and sacraments.' Or it may be observed, that in those sacred missions the church and churchmen consider themselves as acting in the *name* and *person* of Christ. In baptism it is expressly said, 'I baptize in the name of the Father,' &c. In the eucharist we repeat the words of Christ,

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ARTICLE XXXVII.

Of Civil Magistrates.

The Queen's Majesty hath the chief Power in this Realm of England, and other her Dominions, under whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all Causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any Foreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief Government, by which Titles we understand the Minds of some slanderous Folks to be offended: We give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments; the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only Prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, That they should rule all Estates and Degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The Bishop of Rome hath no Jurisdiction in this Realm of England.

The Lawes of the Realm may punish Christian Men with Death for heinous and grievous Offences.

It is lawful for Christian Men, at the Commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serbe in the Wars.

THIS Article was much shorter as it was published in king Edward's time, and did run thus: *The king of England is supreme head in earth, next under Christ, of the church of England and Ireland.* Then followed the paragraph against the pope's jurisdiction, worded as it is now: to which these words were subjoined, *The civil magistrate is ordained and allowed of God; wherefore we must obey him, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience sake.* In queen Elizabeth's time it was thought fitting to take away those prejudices that the papists were generally infusing into the minds of the people against the term *head*; which seemed to be the more incongruous, because a woman did then reign; therefore that was left out, and instead of it the words *chief power* and *chief government* were made use of, which do signify the same thing.

The queen did also by her Injunctions offer an explanation of this matter; for whereas it was given out by those who had complied with every thing that had been done both in her father's and in her brother's time, but that resolved now

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XXXVII. to set themselves in opposition to her, that she was assuming a much greater authority than they had pretended to: she upon that ordered that explanation which is referred to in the Article, and is in these words: 'For certainly her majesty neither doth nor ever will challenge any authority, other than that was challenged and lately used by the said noble kings of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth, and king Edward the Sixth, which is and was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be: so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. And if any person that hath conceived any other sense of the said oath, shall accept the same oath with this interpretation, sense, or meaning, her majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf, as her good and obedient subjects; and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties, contained in the said act, against such as shall peremptorily and obstinately refuse to take the same oath.'

Thus this matter is opened, as it is both in the Article and in the Injunctions. In order to the treating regularly of this Article, it is, first, to be proved that the pope hath no jurisdiction in these kingdoms. 2dly, That our kings or queens have it. And, 3dly, The nature and measures of this power and government are to be stated.

As for the pope's authority, though it is now connected with infallibility, yet it was pretended to, and was advanced for many ages before *infallibility* was so much as thought on. Nor was the doctrine of their infallibility ever so universally received and submitted to in these *western* parts as was that of their universal jurisdiction. They were in possession of it: appeals were made to them: they sent legates and bulls every where: they granted exemptions from the ordinary jurisdiction; and took bishops bound to them by oaths, that were penned in the form of oaths of *fealty* or homage. This was the first point that our reformers did begin with, both here and every where else; that so they might remove that which was an insuperable obstruction, till it was first taken out of the way, to every step that could be made toward a reformation. They laid down therefore this for their foundation, that all bishops were by their office and character equal; and that every one of them had the same authority that any other had over that flock which was committed to his care: and therefore they said, that the *bishops of Rome* had no authority, according to the constitution in which the churches were settled by the apostles, but over the city of *Rome*: and that any further jurisdiction that any ancient popes might have had, did arise from the dignity of the *city*, and the customs and

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XXXVII. laws of the *empire*.* As for their deriving that authority from St. Peter, it is very plain that the apostles were all made equal to him; and that they never understood our Saviour's words to him, as importing any authority that was given to him over the rest; since they continued to the last, while our Saviour was among them, 'disputing which of them should be the greatest.' The proposition that the mother of James and John made, in which it is evident that they likewise concurred with her, shews that they did not apprehend that Christ had made any declaration in favour of St. Peter, as by our Saviour's answer it appears that he had not done; otherwise he would have referred them to what he had already said upon that occasion. By the whole history of the Acts of the Apostles, it appears that the apostles acted and consulted in common, without considering St. Peter as having any superiority over them. He was called to give an account of his baptizing Cornelius; and he delivered his opinion in the council of Jerusalem, without any strain of authority over the rest. St. Paul does expressly deny, that the other apostles had any superiority or jurisdiction over him; and he says in plain words, that 'he was the apostle of the uncircumcision, as St. Peter was the apostle of the circumcision;' and in that does rather claim an advantage over him; since his was certainly the much wider province. He withstood St. Peter to his face, when he thought that he deserved to be blamed; and he speaks of his own *line* and *share*, as being subordinate in it to none: and by his saying, that 'he did not stretch himself beyond his own measure,' he plainly insinuates, that within his own province he was only accountable to Him that had called and sent him. This was also the sense of the primitive church, that all bishops were *brethren, colleagues, and fellow-bishops*: and though the dignity of that city, which was the head of the empire, and the opinion of that church's being founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, created a great respect to the bishops of that see, which was supported and increased by the eminent worth, as well as the frequent martyrdoms, of their bishops; yet St. Cyprian in his time, as he was against the suffering of any causes to be carried in the way of a complaint for redress to Rome, so he does in plain words say, that 'all the apostles were equal in power; and that all bishops were also equal; since the whole office and episcopate was one entire thing, of which every bishop had a complete and equal share.' It is true, he speaks of the *unity* of the Roman church, and of the union of other churches with it; but those words were occasioned by a schism that Novatian had made then at Rome; he being elected in opposition to the rightful bishop: so that St. Cyprian does not insinuate any thing concerning an authority of the see of Rome over other sees, but

* The reader ought to study Barrow's 'Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy,' in which that great writer has exhausted this subject.—[Ed.]

ART. XXXVII. speaks only of their union under one bishop; and of the other churches holding a brotherly communion with that bishop. Through his whole epistles he treats the bishops of Rome as his equals, with the titles of *brother* and *colleague*.

Conc. Nic. In the first general council, the authority of the bishops of the great sees is stated as *equal*. The bishops of Alexandria and Antioch are declared to have, *according to custom*, the same authority over the churches subordinate to them, that the bishops of Rome had over those that lay about that city. This authority is pretended to be derived only from *custom*, and is considered as under the limitations and decisions of a general council. Soon after that, the Arian heresy was so spread over the *east*, that those who adhered to the Nicene faith, were not safe in their numbers; and the *western* churches being free from that contagion, (though St. Basil laments that they neither understood their matters, nor were much concerned about them, but were swelled up with pride,) Athanasius and other oppressed bishops fled to the bishops of Rome, as well as to the other bishops of the *west*; it being natural for the oppressed to seek protection wheresoever they can find it: and so a sort of appeals was begun, and they were

Ep. x. ad Greg. authorized by the council of Sardica. But the ill effects of this, if it should become a precedent, were apprehended by the second general council; in which it was decreed, that *every province should be governed by its own synod*; and that all bishops should be at first judged by the *bishops of their own province*; and from them an appeal was allowed to the bishops of the *diocese*; whereas by the canons of Nice no appeal lay from the bishops of the *province*. But though this canon of Constantinople allows of an appeal to the bishops of every such division of the Roman empire as was known by the name of *diocese*; yet there is an express prohibition of any other or further appeal; which is a plain repealing of the canon at Sardica. And in that same council it appears upon what the dignity of the see of Rome was then believed to be founded; for Constantinople being made the seat of the empire, and called *new Rome*, the bishops of that see had the same privileges given them, that the bishops of *old Rome* had; except only the point of *rank*, which was preserved to *old Rome*, because of the dignity of the city.

Con. Chalced. can. 28. Labb. and Coss. vol. iv. p. 1691. This was also confirmed at Chalcedon in the middle of the fifth century. This shews, that the authority and privileges of the bishops of Rome were then considered as arising out of the dignity of that city, and that the order of them was subject to the authority of a general council.

Conc. Afric. cap. 101. et 105. Epist. ad Bonifac. et Celest. Labb. and The African churches in that time knew nothing of any superiority that the bishops of Rome had over them: they condemned the making of appeals to them, and appointed that such as made them should be excommunicated. The popes, who laid that matter much to heart, did not pretend

to an universal jurisdiction as St. Peter's successors by a ART. XXXVII. divine right: they only pleaded a canon of the council of Nice; but the Africans had heard of no such canon, and so they justified their independence on the see of Rome. Great search was made after this canon, and it was found to be an imposture. So early did the see of Rome aspire to this universal authority, and did not stick at forgery in order to the compassing of it. In the sixth century, when the emperor Mauritius continued a practice begun by some former emperors, to give the bishop of Constantinople the title of universal bishop; Pelage, and after him Gregory the Great, broke out into the most pathological expressions that could be invented against it; he compared it to the pride of Lucifer; and said, that *he who assumed it was the forerunner of anti-christ*; and as he renounced all claim to it, so he affirmed that none of his predecessors had ever aspired to such a power.

This is the more remarkable, because the Saxons being converted to the Christian religion under this pope's direction, we have reason to believe that this doctrine was infused into this church at the first conversion of the Saxons: yet pope Gregory's successor made no exceptions to the giving himself that title, against which his predecessor had declaimed so much: but then the confusions of Italy gave the popes great advantages to make all new invaders or pretenders enlarge their privileges; since it was a great accession of strength to any party to have them of their side. The kings of the Lombards began to lie heavy on them; but they called in the kings of a new conquering family from France, who were ready enough to make new conquests; and when the nomination of the popes was given to the kings of that race, it was natural for them to raise the greatness of one who was to be their creature; so they promoted their authority; which was not a little confirmed by an impudent forgery of that time of the Decretal Epistles of the first popes; in which they were represented as governing the world with an universal and unbounded authority. This book was a little disputed at first, but was quickly submitted to; and the popes went on upon that foundation, still enlarging their pretensions. Soon after that was submitted to, it quickly appeared that the pretensions of that see were endless.

They went on to claim a power over princes and their dominions; and that first with relation to spiritual matters. They deposed them, if they were either heretics themselves, or if they favoured heresy, at least so far as not to extirpate it. From deposing they went to the disposing of their dominions to others; and at last Boniface the Eighth completed their claim; for he decreed, that *it was necessary for every man to be subject to the pope's authority*: and he asserted a direct dominion over princes as to their temporals, that they

Coss. vol. iii. p. 528. 532.

Greg. Ep. lib. iv. Ep. 32, 34, 36, 38, 39. lib. vi. Ep. 24, 28, 30, 31. lib. vii. Ep. 69.

ART. XXXVII. were all subject to him, and held their dominions under him, and at his courtesy. As for the jurisdiction that they claimed over the spirituality, they exercised it with that rigour, with such heavy taxes and impositions, such exemptions and dispensations, and such a violation of all the ancient canons, that as it grew insupportably grievous, so the management was grossly scandalous, for every thing was openly set to sale. By these practices they disposed the world to examine the grounds of that authority, which was managed with so much tyranny and corruption. It was so ill founded, that it could not be defended but by force and artifices. Thus it appears, that there is no authority at all in the scripture for this extent of jurisdiction that the popes assumed: that it was not thought on in the first ages: that a vigorous opposition was made to every step of the progress that it made: and that forgery and violence were used to bring the world under it. So that there is no reason now to submit to it.

As for the patriarchal authority, which that see had over a great part of the Roman empire, that was only a regulation made conform to the constitution of that empire: so that the empire being now dissolved into many different sovereignties, the new princes are under no sort of obligation to have any regard to the Roman constitution: nor does a nation's receiving the faith by the ministry of men sent from any see, subject them to that see; for then all must be subject to Jerusalem, since the gospel came to all the churches from thence. There was a decision made in the third general council in the case of the Cypriot churches, which pretended that they had been always complete churches within themselves and independent; therefore they stood upon this privilege, not to be subject to appeals to any patriarchal see. The council judged in their favour. So since the Britannic churches were converted long before they had any commerce with Rome, they were originally *independent*; which could not be lost by any thing that was afterwards done among the Saxons, by men sent over from Rome. This is enough to prove the first point, that the bishops of Rome had no lawful jurisdiction here among us.

The second is, that kings or queens have an authority over their subjects in matters ecclesiastical. In the Old Testament, the kings of Israel intermeddled in all matters of religion: Samuel acknowledged Saul's authority; and Abimelech, though the high priest, when called before Saul, appeared and answered to some things that were objected to him that related to the worship of God. Samuel said in express words to Saul, that 'he was made the head of all the tribes;' and one of these was the *tribe of Levi*. David made many laws about sacred matters, such as the orders of the courses of the priests, and the time of their attendance at the public service. When he died, and was informing Solomon of the extent of

1 Sam. xv.
30. xxii.
14.

xv. 17.

his authority, he told him, that 'the courses of the priests and all the people were to be wholly at his commandment.' Pursuant to which, Solomon did appoint them their charges in the service of God; and 'both the priests and Levites departed not from his commandment in any matter.' He turned out Abiathar from the high priest's office, and yet no complaint was made upon it, as if he had assumed an authority that did not belong to him. It is true, both David and Solomon were men that were particularly inspired as to some things; but it does not appear that they acted in those matters by virtue of any such inspiration. They were acts of regal power, and they did them in that capacity. Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, gave many directions and orders in sacred matters: but though the priests withstood Uzziah when he was going to offer incense in the holy place, yet they did not pretend privilege, or make opposition to those orders that were issued out by their kings. Mordecai appointed the feast of *Purim*, by virtue of the authority that king Ahasuerus gave him: and both Ezra and Nehemiah, by virtue of commissions from the kings of Persia, made many reformatations and gave many orders in sacred matters.

Under the New Testament, Christ, by saying, 'Render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's,' did plainly shew, that he did not intend that his religion should in any sort lessen the temporal authority. The apostles writ to the churches to 'obey magistrates, to submit to them, and to pay taxes:' they enjoined obedience, 'whether to the king as supreme, or to others that were sent by him:' 'every soul,' without exception, is charged 'to be subject to the higher powers.' The magistrate is ordained of God, and 'is his minister to encourage them that do well, and to punish the evil doers.' If these passages of scripture are to be interpreted according to the common consent of the fathers, churchmen are included within them, as well as other persons. There was not indeed great occasion to consider this matter before Constantine's coming to the empire; for till then the emperors did not consider the Christians otherwise than either as enemies, or at best as their subjects at large: and therefore, though the Christians made an address to Aurelian in the matter of Samosatenus, and obtained a favourable and just answer to it; yet in Constantine's time, the protection that he gave to the Christian religion led him and his successors to make many laws in ecclesiastical matters, concerning the *age*, the *qualifications*, and the *duties*, of the clergy. Many of these are to be found in Theodosius and Justinian's code: Justinian added many more in his Novels. Appeals were made to the emperors against the injustice of synods: they received them, and appointed such bishops to hear and try those causes as happened to be then about their courts. In the council of Nice many complaints were given to the emperor by the

ART. XXXVII.

1 Chron.
xxiii. 6.
xxviii. 21.
2 Chron.
viii. 14, 15.

2 Chron.
xvii. 8, 9.
ch. x. 8, to
the end.
xxvi. 16—
19.

Rom. xiii.
6.
Ver. 1.
1 Pet. ii. 13,
14.

ART. XXXVII. bishops against one another. The emperors called general councils by their summons; they sate in them, and confirmed their decrees. This was the constant practice of the Roman emperors, both in the east and in the west: when the church came to fall under many lesser sovereignties, those princes continued still to make laws, to name bishops, to give investitures into benefices, to call synods, and to do every thing that appeared necessary to them, for the good government of the church in their dominions.

When Charles the Great was restoring those things that had fallen under much disorder in a course of some ignorant and barbarous ages, and was reviving both learning and good government, he published many Capitulars, a great part of them relating to ecclesiastical matters; nor was any exception taken to that in those ages: the synods that were then held were for the greatest part mixed assemblies, in which the *temporality* and the *spirituality* sate together, and judged and decreed of all matters in common. And it is certain, that such was the *sanhedrim* among the Jews in our Saviour's time; it was the supreme court both for spirituals and temporals.

In England our princes began early, and continued long, to maintain this part of their authority. The letters that are pretended to have passed between king Lucius and pope Eleutherius are very probably forgeries; but they are ancient ones, and did for many ages pass for true. Now a forgery is generally calculated to the sense of the age in which it is made. In the pope's letter, the King is called *God's vicar in his kingdoms*; and it is said to *belong to his office, to bring his subjects to the holy church, and to maintain, protect, and govern them in it*. Both Saxon and Danish kings made a great many laws about ecclesiastical matters; and after the conquest, when the nation grew into a more united body, and came to a more settled constitution, many laws were made concerning these matters, particularly in opposition to those practices that favoured the authority that the popes were then assuming; such as appeals to Rome, or bishops going out of the kingdom without the king's leave. King Alfred's laws were a sort of a text for a great while; they contain many laws about sacred matters. The exempting of monasteries from episcopal jurisdiction was granted by some of our kings at first. William the Conqueror, to perpetuate the memory of his victory over Harold, and to endear himself to the clergy, founded an abbey in the field where the battle was fought, called *Battle-Abbey*: and in the charter of the foundation, in imitation of what former kings had done in their endowments, this clause was put; *It shall be also free and quiet for ever from all subjection to bishops, or the dominion of any other persons*. This is an act that does as immediately relate to the authority of the church, as any one that we can

imagine. The Constitutions of Clarendon were asserted by both king and parliament, and by the whole body of the clergy, as *the ancient customs of the kingdom*. These relate to the clergy, and were submitted to by them all, Becket himself not excepted, though he quickly went off from it.

It is true, the papacy got generally the better of the temporal authority in a course of several ages; but at last the popes living long at Avignon, together with the great schism that followed upon their return to Rome, did very much sink in their credit, and that stopped the progress they had made before that time: which had probably subdued all, if it had not been for those accidents. Then the councils began to take heart, and resolved to assert the freedom of the church from the papal tyranny. *Pragmatic sanctions* were made in several nations to assert their liberty. That in France was made with great solemnity: in these the bishops did not only assert their own jurisdiction, independent in a great measure of the papacy, but they likewise carried it so far as to make themselves independent on the civil authority, particularly in the point of elections. This disposed princes generally to enter into agreements with the popes; by which the matter was so transacted, that the popes and they made a division between them of all the rights and pretensions of the church. Princes yielded a great deal to the popes, to be protected by them in that which they got to be reserved to themselves. Great restraints were laid both on the clergy, and likewise on the see of Rome, by the appeals that were brought into the secular courts, from the ordinary judgments of the ecclesiastical courts, or from the bulls or powers that legates brought with them. A distinction was found that seemed to save the ecclesiastical authority, at the same time that the secular court was made the judge of it. The *appeal* did lie upon a pretence that the ecclesiastical judge had committed some *abuse* in the way of proceeding, or in his sentence. So the *appeal* was from that *abuse*, and the secular court was to examine the matter according to the rules and laws of the church, and not according to the principles or rules of any other law: but upon that they did either confirm or reverse the sentence. And even those princes that acknowledge the papal authority, have found out distinctions to put such stops to it as they please; and so to make it an engine to govern their people by, as far as they think fit to give way to it; and to damn such bulls, or void such powers, as they are afraid of.

Thus it is evident, that both according to scripture, and the practice of all ages and countries, the princes of Christendom have an authority over their subjects in matters ecclesiastical. The reason of things makes also for this; for if any rank of men are exempted from their jurisdiction, they must thereby cease to be subjects: and if any sort of causes, spiritual ones in particular, were put out of their authority, it were an easy

thing to reduce almost every thing to such a relation to *spirituals*, that if this principle were once received, their authority would be very precarious and feeble. Nothing could give princes stronger and juster prejudices against the Christian religion, than if they saw that the effect of their receiving it must be the withdrawing so great a part of their subjects from their authority; and the putting as many checks upon it as those that had the management of this religion should think fit to restrain it by. In a word, all mankind must be under one obedience and one authority. It remains that the measures and the extent of this power be rightly stated.

It is certain, first, that this power does not depend upon the prince's religion; whether he is a Christian, or not; or whether he is of a true or a false religion: or is a good or a bad man. By the same tenure that he holds his sovereignty, he holds this likewise. Artaxerxes had it as well as either David or Solomon, when the Jews were once lawfully his subjects; and the Christians owed the same duty to the emperors while heathen, that they paid them when Christian. The relations of nature, such as that of a *parent* and *child*, *husband* and *wife*, continue the same that they were, whatsoever men's persuasions in matters of religion may be: so do also civil relations, *master* and *servant*, *prince* and *subject*: they are neither increased nor diminished by the truth of their sentiments concerning religion. All persons are subject to the prince's authority, and liable to such punishments as their crimes fall under by law. 'Every soul is subject to the higher powers:': neither is *treason* less *treason*, because spoke in a pulpit or in a sermon: it may be more treason for that than otherwise it would be, because it is so public and deliberate, and is delivered in the way in which it may probably have the worst effect. So that, as to persons, no great difficulty can lie in this, since 'every soul' is declared to be 'subject to the higher powers.'

As to ecclesiastical causes, it is certain, that as the magistrate cannot make void the laws of nature, such as the authority of parents over their children, or of husbands over their wives, so neither can he make void the law of God: that is from a superior authority, and cannot be dissolved by him. Where a thing is positively commanded or forbid by God, the magistrate has no other authority but that of executing the laws of God, of adding his sanctions to them, and of using his utmost industry to procure obedience to them. He cannot alter any part of the doctrine, and make it to be either truer or falser than it is in itself; nor can he either take away or alter the sacraments, or break any of those rules that are given in the New Testament about them; because in all these the authority of God is express, and is certainly superior to his. The only question that can be made, is concerning indifferent things: for instance, in the canons or

other rules of the church, how far they are in the magistrate's power, and in what cases the body of Christians, and of the pastors of the church, may maintain their union among themselves, and act in opposition to his laws. It seems very clear, that in all matters that are indifferent, and are determined by no law of God, the magistrate's authority must take place, and is to be obeyed. The church has no authority that she can maintain in opposition to the magistrate, but in the executing the laws of God and the rules of the gospel: in all other things, as she acts under his protection, so it is by his permission. But here a great distinction is to be made between two cases that may happen: the one is, when the magistrate acts like one that intends to preserve religion, but commits errors and acts of injustice in his management; the other is, when he acts like one that intends to destroy religion, and to divide and distract those that profess it. In the former case, every thing that is not sinful of itself, is to be done in compliance with his authority; not to give him umbrage, nor provoke him to withdraw his protection, and to become, instead of a nursing father, a persecutor of the church. But on the other hand, when he declares, or it is visible, that his design is to destroy the faith, less regard is to be had to his actions. The people may adhere to their pastors, and to every method that may fortify them in their religion, even in opposition to his invasion. Upon the whole matter, the power of the king in ecclesiastical matters among us is expressed in this Article under those reserves, and with that moderation, that no just scruple can lie against it; and it is that which all the kings, even of the Roman communion, do assume, and in some places with a much more unlimited authority. The methods of managing it may differ a little; yet the power is the same, and is built upon the same foundations. And though the term *head* is left out by the Article, yet even that is founded on an expression of Samuel's to Saul, as was formerly cited. It is a figure, and all figures may be used either more loosely or more strictly. In the strictest sense, as the *head* communicates vital influences to the whole body, Christ is the only head of his church; he only ought to be in all things obeyed, submitted to, and depended on; and from him all the functions and offices of the church derive their usefulness and virtue. But as *head* may in a figure stand for the fountain of order and government, of protection and conduct, the king or queen may well be called *the head of the church*.

The next paragraph in this Article is concerning the lawfulness of capital punishments in Christian societies. It has an appearance of compassion and charity, to think that men ought not to be put to death for their crimes, but to be kept alive, that they may repent of them. Some, both ancients and moderns, have thought that there was a cruelty in all

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capital punishments that was inconsistent with the gentleness of the gospel; but when we consider that God, in that law which he himself delivered to the Jews by the hand of Moses, did appoint so many capital punishments, even for offences against positive precepts, we cannot think that these are contrary to justice or true goodness; since they were dictated by God himself, who is eternally the same, unalterable in his perfections. This shews that God, who knows most perfectly our frame and disposition, knows that the love of life is planted so deep in our natures, and that it has such a root there, that nothing can work so powerfully on us, to govern and restrain us, as the fear of death. And therefore, since the main thing that is to be considered in government is the good of the whole body; and since a feeble indulgence and impunity may set mankind loose into great disorders, from which the terror of severer laws, together with such examples as are made on the incorrigible, will naturally restrain them; it seems necessary, for the preservation of mankind and of society, to have recourse sometimes to capital punishments.

The precedent that God set in the Mosaical law seems a full justification of such punishments under the gospel. The charity, which the gospel prescribes, does not take away the rules of justice and equity, by which we may maintain our possessions, or recover them out of the hands of violent aggressors: only it obliges us to do that in a soft and gentle manner, without rigour or resentment. The same charity, though it obliges us, as Christians, not to keep up hatred or anger in our hearts, but to pardon, as to our own parts, the wrongs that are done us; yet it does not oblige us to throw up the order and peace of mankind, and abandon it to the injustice and violence of wicked men. We owe to human society, and to the safety and order of the world, our endeavours to put a stop to the wickedness of men; which a good man may do with great inward tenderness to the souls of those whom he prosecutes. It is highly probable, that as nothing besides such a method could stop the progress of injustice and wickedness, so nothing is so likely a mean to bring the criminal to repent of his sins, and to fit him to die as a Christian, as to condemn him to die for his crimes; if any thing can awaken his conscience, and strike terror in him, that will do it. Therefore, as capital punishments are necessary to human society, so they are often real blessings to those on whom they fall; and it may be affirmed very positively, that a man who can harden himself against the terrors of death, when they come upon him so solemnly, so slowly, and so certainly, he being in full health, and well able to reflect on the consequences of it, is not like to be wrought on by a longer continuance of life, or by the methods of a natural death.

It is not possible to fix rules, to which capital punishments

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ought to be proportioned. It is certain, that, in a full equality, *life* only can be set against *life*: but there may be many other crimes, that must end in the ruin of society, and in the dissolution of all order, and all the commerce that ought to be among men, if they go unpunished. In this all princes and states must judge according to the real exigencies and necessities that appear to them. Nor can any general rule be made, save only this, that since man was made after the image of God, and that the life of man is precious, and when once extinguished it ceases for evermore; therefore all due care and tenderness ought to be had in preserving it; and since the end of government is the preservation of mankind, therefore the lives of men ought not to be too lightly taken, except as it appears to be necessary for the preservation and safety of the society.

Under the Gospel, as well as under the Law, the magistrate is the 'minister of God,' and has the sword put in his hand; which 'he beareth not in vain,' for he is appointed to be 'a revenger, to execute wrath on him that doeth evil.' The natural signification of his carrying the sword is, that he has an authority for punishing capitally; since it is upon those occasions only that he can be said to use the sword as a revenger. Nor can Christian charity oblige a man, whom the law has made to be the avenger of blood, or of other crimes, to refuse to comply with that obligation which is laid upon him by the constitution under which he is born; he can only forgive that of which he is the master, but the other is a debt which he owes the society; and his private forgiving of the wrong done himself, does not reach to that other obligation, which is not in his own power to give away.

The last paragraph in this Article is concerning the lawfulness of wars. Some have thought all wars to be contrary to Christian charity, to be inhuman and barbarous; and that therefore men ought, according to the rule set us by our Saviour, 'not to resist evil;' but when one injury is done, not only to bear it, but to shew a readiness rather to receive new ones; 'turning the other cheek to him that smites us on the one; going two miles with him that shall compel us to go one with him; and giving our cloak to him that shall take away our coat.' It seems just, that, by a parity of reason, societies should be under the same obligations to bear from other societies, that single persons are under to other single persons. This must be acknowledged to be a very great difficulty; for as, on the one hand, the words of our Saviour seem to be very express and full; so, on the other hand, if they are to be understood literally, they must cast the world loose, and expose it to the injustice and insolence of wicked persons, who would not fail to take advantages from such a compliance and submission. Therefore these words must be considered, first, as addressed to private persons; then, as

Rom. xiii.
4.

Matt. v. 39.

Ver. 40.

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relating to smaller injuries, which can more easily be borne; and, finally, as phrases and forms of speech, that are not to be carried to the utmost extent, but to be construed with that softening that is to be allowed to the use of a phrase. So that the meaning of that section of our Saviour's sermon is to be taken thus; that private persons ought to be so far from pursuing injuries, to the equal retaliation of an 'eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth,' that they ought in many cases to bear injuries, without either resisting them, or making returns of evil for evil; shewing a patience to bear even repeated injuries, when the matter is small and the wrong tolerable.

Under all this, secret conditions are to be understood, such as when by such our patience we may hope 'to overcome evil with good;' or at least to shew to the world the power that religion has over us, to check and subdue our resentments. In this case certainly we ought to sacrifice our just rights, either of defence, or of seeking reparation, to the honour of religion, and to the gaining of men by such an heroic instance of virtue. But it cannot be supposed that our Saviour meant that good men should deliver themselves up to be a prey to be devoured by bad men: or to oblige his followers to renounce their claims to the protection and reparations of law and justice.

1 Cor. vi.
6, 7.

In this St. Paul gives us a clear commentary on our Saviour's words: he reproves the Corinthians 'for going to law with one another, and that before unbelievers;' when it was so great a scandal to the Christian religion in its first infancy. He says, 'Why do not ye take wrong? Why do not ye suffer yourselves to be defrauded?' Yet he does not deny, but that they might claim their rights, and seek for redress; therefore he proposes their doing it by arbitration among themselves, and only urges the scandal of suing before heathen magistrates; so that his reproof did not fall on their suing one another, but on the scandalous manner of doing it. Therefore men are not bound up by the gospel from seeking relief before a Christian judge, and, by consequence, those words of our Saviour's are not to be urged in the utmost extent of which they are capable. If private persons may seek reparation of one another, they may also seek reparations of the wrongs that are done by those who are under another obedience; and every prince owes a protection to his people in such cases; for 'he beareth not the sword in vain;' he is their *avenger*. He may demand reparation by such forms as are agreed on among nations; and, when that is not granted, he may take such reparation from any that are under that obedience, as may oblige the whole body to repair the injury. Much more may he use the sword to protect his subjects, if any other comes to invade them. For this end chiefly he has both the sword given him, and those taxes paid him, that

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may enable him to support the charge, to which the use of it may put him. And as a private man owes, by the ties of humanity, assistance to a man whom he sees in the hands of thieves and murderers; so princes may assist such other princes as are unjustly fallen upon, both out of humanity to him who is so ill used, and to repress the insolence of an unjust aggressor, and also to secure the whole neighbourhood from the effects of success in such unlawful conquests. Upon all these accounts we do not doubt but that wars, which are thus originally, as to the first occasion of them, *defensive*, though in the progress of them they must be often *offensive*, may be lawful.

God allowed of wars in that policy which he himself constituted; in which we are to make a great difference between those things that were permitted by reason of the hardness of their hearts, and those things which were expressly commanded of God. These last can never be supposed to be immoral since commanded by God, whose precepts and judgments are altogether righteous. When the soldiers came to be baptized of St. John, he did not charge them to relinquish that course of life, but only to 'do violence to no man, to accuse no man falsely, and to be content with their wages.' Nor did St. Peter charge Cornelius to forsake his post when he baptized him. The primitive Christians thought they might continue in military employments, in which they preserved the purity of their religion entire; as appears both from Tertullian's works, and from the history of Julian's short reign. But though wars, that are in their own nature only defensive, are lawful, and a part of the protection that princes owe their people; yet unjust wars, designed for making conquests, for the enlargement of empire, and the raising the glory of princes, are certainly public robberies, and the highest acts of injustice and violence possible; in which men sacrifice to their pride or humour the peace of the world, and the lives of all those that die in the quarrel, whose blood God will require at their hands. Such princes become accountable to God, in the highest degree imaginable, for all the rapine and bloodshed that is occasioned by their pride and injustice.

Luke iii. 14.
Acts x.

When it is visible that a war is unjust, certainly no man of conscience can serve in it, unless it be in the defensive part: for though no man can owe that to his prince to go and murder other persons at his command, yet he may owe it to his country to assist towards its preservation, from being overrun even by those whom his prince has provoked by making war on them unjustly. For even in such a war, though it is unlawful to serve in the attacks that are made on others, it is still lawful for the people of every nation to defend themselves against foreigners.

There is no cause of war more unjust, than the propagating the true religion, or the destroying a false one. That is to be

ART. left to the providence of God, who can change the hearts of
 XXXVII. men, and bring them to the knowledge of the truth, when he
 will. Ambition, and the desire of empire, must never pretend
 to carry on God's work. 'The wrath of man worketh not
 out the righteousness of God.' And it were better bare-
 facedly to own that men are set on by carnal motives, than to
 profane religion, and the name of God, by making it the
 pretence.

ARTICLE XXXVIII.

Of Christian Men's Goods, which are not common.

The Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching
 the Right, Title, and Possession of the same; as certain Ana-
 baptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every Man ought
 of such Things as he possesseth, liberally to give Alms to the
 Poor, according to his Ability.

THERE is no great difficulty in this Article, as there is
 no danger to be apprehended that the opinion condemned
 by it is like to spread. Those may be for it, who find it
 for them. The poor may lay claim to it, but few of the rich
 will ever go into it. The whole charge that is given in the
 scripture for charity and almsgiving; all the rules that are
 given to the *rich*, and to *masters*, to whom their servants
 were then properties and slaves, do clearly demonstrate that
 the gospel was not designed to introduce a community of
 goods. And even that fellowship or community, which was
 practised in the first beginnings of it, was the effect of par-
 ticular men's charity, and not of any law that was laid on
 them. 'Barnabus having land, sold it, and laid the price Acts iv.
 of it at the apostles' feet.' And when St. Peter chid Ananias 36, 37.
 for having vowed to give in the whole price of his land to
 that distribution, and then withdrawing a part of it, and, by
 a lie, pretending that he had brought it all in; he affirmed Acts v. 3,
 that the right was still in him, till he by a vow had put it out 4.
 of his power. When God fed his people by miracle with the
 manna, there was an equal distribution made; yet, when he
 brought them into the promised land, every man had his pro-
 perty. The equal division of the land was the foundation of
 that constitution; but still every man had a property, and
 might improve it by his industry, either to the increasing of
 his stock, the purchasing houses in towns, or buying of
 estates, till the redemption at the jubilee.

It can never be thought a just and equitable thing, that the
 sober and industrious should be bound to share the fruits of
 their labour with the idle and luxurious. This would be such
 an encouragement to those whom all wise governments ought
 to discourage, and would so discourage those who ought to
 be encouraged, that all the order of the world must be dis-
 solved, if so extravagant a conceit should be entertained.
 Both the rich and the poor have rules given them, and there
 are virtues suitable to each state of life. The rich ought to be
 sober and thankful, modest and humble, bountiful and cha-
 ritable, out of the abundance that God has given them, and
 not to set their hearts upon uncertain riches, but to trust in

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the living God, and to make the best use of them that they can. The poor ought to be patient and industrious, to submit to the providence of God, and to study to make sure of a better portion in another state, than God has thought fit to give them in this world.

It will be much easier to persuade the world of the truth of the first part of this Article, than to bring them up to the practice of the second branch of it. We see what particular care God took of the poor in the old dispensation, and what variety of provision was made for them; all which must certainly be carried as much higher among Christians, as the laws of love and charity are raised to a higher degree in the gospel. Christ represents the essay that he gives of the day of judgment, in this article of charity, and expresses it in the most emphatical words possible; as if what is given to the poor were to be reckoned for as if it had been given personally to Christ himself; and in a great variety of other passages this matter is so often insisted on, that no man can resist it who reads them, and acknowledges the authority of the New Testament.

It is not possible to fix a determined quota, as was done under the Law, in which every family had their peculiar allotment, which had a certain charge specified in the Law, that was laid upon it. But under the Gospel, as men may be under greater inequalities of fortune than they could have been under the old dispensation; so that vast variety of men's circumstances makes that such proportions as would be intolerable burdens upon some, would be too light and disproportioned to the wealth of others. Those words of our Saviour come pretty near the marking out every man's measure. 'These have of their abundance cast into the offerings of God; but she of her penury hath cast in all the living that she had.' *Abundance* is superfluity in the Greek, which imports that which is over and above the 'food that is convenient;' that which one can well spare and lay aside. Now, by our Saviour's design, it plainly appears, that this is a low degree of charity, when men give only out of this: though, God knows, it is far beyond what is done by the greater part of Christians. Whereas that which is so peculiarly acceptable to God is when men give out of their *penury*, that is, out of what is necessary to them; when they are ready, especially upon great and crying occasions, even to pinch nature, and straiten themselves within what upon other occasions they may allow themselves; that so they may distribute to the necessities of others, who are more pinched, and are in great extremities. By this every man ought to judge himself, as knowing that he must give a most particular account to God, of that which God hath reserved to himself, and ordered the distribution of it to the poor, out of all that *abundance* with which he has blessed some far beyond others.

Luke xxi.
4.Prov. xxx.
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ARTICLE XXXIX.

Of a Christian Man's Oath.

As we confess that vain and rash Swearing is forbidden Christian Men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and James his Apostle; so we judge that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a Man may swear when the Magistrate requireth, in a Cause of Faith and Charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in Justice, Judgment, and Truth.

An oath is an appeal to God, either upon a testimony that is given, or a promise that is made, confirming the truth of the one, and the fidelity of the other. It is an appeal to God, who knows all things, and will judge all men: so it is an act that acknowledges both his omniscience, and his being the Governor of this world, who will judge all at the last day according to their deeds, and must be supposed to have a more immediate regard to such acts, in which men made him a party. An appeal truly made, is a committing the matter to God: a false one is an act of open defiance, which must either suppose a denial of his knowing all things, or a belief that he has forsaken the earth, and has no regard to the actions of mortals: or, finally, it is a bold venturing on the justice and wrath of God, for the serving some present end, or the gaining of some present advantage: and which of these soever gives a man that brutal confidence of adventuring on a false oath, we must conclude it to be a very crying sin; which must be expiated with a very severe repentance, or will bring down very terrible judgments on those who are guilty of it.

Thus, if we consider the matter upon the principles of natural religion, an oath is an act of worship and homage done to God; and is a very powerful mean for preserving the justice and order of the world. All decisions in justice must be founded upon evidence; two must be believed rather than one; therefore the more terror that is struck into the minds of men, either when they give their testimony, or when they bind themselves by promises, and the deeper that this goes, it will both oblige them to the greater caution in what they say, and to the greater strictness in what they promise. Since therefore truth and fidelity are so necessary to the security and commerce of the world, and since an appeal to God is the greatest mean that can be thought on to bind men to an exactness and strictness in every thing with which that appeal is joined; therefore the use of an oath is fully justified upon the principles of natural religion. This has spread itself so universally through the world, and began so

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We find this was practised by the patriarchs; Abimelech reckoned that he was safe, if he could persuade Abraham to swear to him by God, that he would not deal falsely with him; and Abraham consented so to swear. Either the same Abimelech, or another of that name, desired that an oath might be between Isaac and him; and 'they swear one to another.' Jacob did also swear to Laban. Thus we find the patriarchs practising this before the Mosaical Law. Under that Law we find many covenants sealed by an oath; and that was a sacred bond, as appears from the story of the Gibeonites. There was also a special constitution in the Jewish religion, by which one in authority might put others under an *oath*, and *adjure* them either to do somewhat, or to declare some truth. The law was, that 'when any soul (i. e. man) sinned, and heard the voice of swearing (adjuration), and was a witness whether he hath seen it, or known it, if he do not utter it, then he shall bear his iniquity;' that is, he shall be guilty of perjury. So the form then was, the judge or the parents did adjure all persons to declare their knowledge of any particular. They charged this upon them with an oath or curse, and all persons were then bound by that oath to tell the truth. So Micah came and confessed, upon his mother's adjuration, that he had the eleven hundred shekels, for which he heard her put all under a curse: and upon that she blessed him. Saul, when he was pursuing the Philistines, put the people under a curse, if they should eat any food till night; and this was thought to be so obligatory, that the violation of it was capital, and Jonathan was put in hazard of his life upon it. Thus the high priest put our Saviour under the oath of *cursing*, when he required him to tell, whether he was the Messiah or not? Upon which our Saviour was, according to that law, upon his oath; and though he had continued silent till then, as long as it was free to him to speak or not, at his pleasure; yet then he was bound to speak, and so he did speak, and owned himself to be what he truly was.

This was the form of that constitution: but if, by practice, it were found that men's pronouncing the words of the oath themselves, when required by a person in authority to do it; and that such actions, as their lifting up their hand to heaven, or their laying it on a Bible, as importing their sense of the terrors contained in that book, were like to make a deeper impression on them, than barely the judge's charging them with the *oath* or *curse*; it seems to be within the compass of human authority, to change the rites and manner of this oath, and to put it in such a method as might probably work most on the minds of those who were to take it. The institution in general is plain, and the making of such alterations seems to be clearly in the power of any state, or society of men.

In the New Testament we find St. Paul prosecuting a discourse concerning the *oath*, which God swore to Abraham, 'who, not having a greater to swear by, swore by himself;' and to enforce the importance of that, it is added, 'an oath for confirmation (that is, for the affirming or assuring of any thing) is the end of all controversy.' Which plainly shews us what notion the author of that Epistle had of an oath; he did not consider it as an impiety or profanation of the name of God.

In St. John's visions an angel is represented as 'lifting up his hand, and swearing by him that liveth for ever and ever:'⁶ and the apostles, even in their Epistles, that are acknowledged to be writ by divine inspiration, do frequently appeal to God in these words, 'God is witness;' which contain the whole essence of an oath. Once St. Paul carries the expression to a form of imprecation, when he calls 'God to record upon (or against) his soul.'

These seem to be authorities beyond exception, justifying the use of an oath upon a great occasion, or before a competent authority; according to that prophecy quoted in the Article, which is thought to relate to the times of the Messias: 'And thou shalt swear, The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness; and the nations shall bless themselves in him, and in him shall they glory.' These last words seem evidently to relate to the days of the Messiah: so here an oath religiously taken is represented as a part of that worship, which all nations shall offer up to God under the new dispensation.

Against all this the great objection is, that when Christ is correcting the glosses that the Pharisees put upon the law, whereas they only taught that men 'should not forswear themselves, but perform their oaths unto the Lord;' our Saviour says, 'Swear not at all; neither by the heaven, nor the earth, nor by Jerusalem, nor by the head; but let your communication be yea, yea, and nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil.' And St. James, speaking of the enduring afflictions, and of the patience of Job, adds, 'But above all things, my brethren, swear not; neither by the heaven, neither by the earth, neither by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation.' It must be confessed that these words seem to be so express and positive, that great regard is to be had to a scruple that is founded on an authority that seems to be so full. But according to what was formerly observed of the manner of the judiciary oaths among the Jews, these words cannot belong to them. Those oaths were bound upon the party by the authority of the judge; in which he was passive, and so could not help his being put under an oath: whereas our Saviour's words relate only to those oaths which a man took voluntarily on himself, but not to those

A R T. XXXIX. Heb. vi. 13, 14, 15. Ver. 16.

Rev. x. 5. Rom. i. 9. Gal. i. 20. 2Cor. i. 23.

Jer. iv. 2.

Matt. v. 34-37.

Jam. v. 12.

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under which he was bound, according to the law of God. If our Saviour had intended to have forbidden all judiciary oaths, he must have annulled that part of the authority of magistrates and parents, and have forbid them to put others under oaths. The word *communication*, that comes afterwards, seems to be a key to our Saviour's words, to shew that they ought only to be applied to their communication or commerce; to those discourses that pass among men, in which it is but too customary to give oaths a very large share. Or since the words that went before, concerning the performing of vows, seem to limit the discourse to them, the meaning of 'swear not at all,' may be this; Be not ready, as the Jews were, to make vows on all occasions, to devote themselves or others: instead of those, he requires them to use a greater simplicity in their communication. And St. James's words may be also very fitly applied to this, since men in their afflictions are apt to make very indiscreet vows, without considering whether they either can, or probably will, pay them; as if they would pretend by such profuse vows to overcome or corrupt God.

This sense will well agree both to our Saviour's words and to St. James's; and it seems most reasonable to believe that this is their true sense, for it agrees with every thing else; whereas, if we understand them in that strict sense of condemning all oaths, we cannot tell what to make of those oaths which occur in several passages of St. Paul's Epistles: and least of all, what to say to our Saviour's own answering upon oath, when adjured. Therefore all rash and vain swearing, all swearing in the communication or intercourse of mankind, is certainly condemned, as well as all imprecatory vows. But since we have so great authorities from the scriptures in both Testaments for other oaths; and since that agrees so evidently with the principles of natural religion, we may conclude with the Article, that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth it. It is added, *in a cause of faith and charity*; for certainly, in trifling matters, such reverence is due to the holy name of God, that swearing ought to be avoided: but when it is necessary, it ought to be set about with those regards that are due to the great God, who is appealed to. A gravity of deportment, and an exactness of weighing the truth of what we say, are highly necessary here: certainly, our words ought to be few, and our hearts full of the apprehensions of the majesty of that God, with whom we have to do, before whom we stand, and to whom we appeal, who knows all things, 'and will bring every work to judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil.'