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A COURSE OF LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE PARISH CHURCH OF CLAPHAM

BY

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PREFACE.

THE following course of lectures was delivered, in substance, on various Friday evenings during the summer and autumn of 1884, and their publication is due to the kind request of many persons who heard them. The original object of their delivery has, I trust, been kept in view; namely, the instruction of members of the Church of England in the history of their Church, and its position towards those religious communions which exist in separation from it. In a speech delivered at the annual meeting of the Church Defence Society in 1883, the Archbishop of Canterbury spoke of the "immense mass of ignorance" on the part of members of the Church of England concerning Church questions. "There is not only the ignorance of the helpless, but there is the ignorance of those who think they know, and who, thinking that they know, set to work at once to teach others; and there is the ignorance of all the ignorant who are taught ignorance by them. And this teaching of ignorance is upon a very large

scale." And the author of the "Established Church Question" takes up his parable and dilates on the remarkable and almost incredible absence of anything like systematic teaching in English Church History in the elementary and even the higher schools connected with the Church, and he avers that "it is the neglect of such systematic and definite teaching which has of late years afforded to the opponents of the Church a prepared field in which to sow broadcast amongst an uninstructed and credulous populace, and with a prospect of speedy and mischievous results, every kind of error, misstatement, and misrepresentation tending to the prejudice of the Church's usefulness, and contributing to the alienation of numbers of the people from her houses of prayer." I have endeavoured, accordingly, in the lectures of the series on the Church of England, to construct an epitome of a lengthened history under the several heads of the spiritual and historical continuity, the establishment and endowments of the Church, and the proposals for its disestablishment and disendowment. As many of the other religious communions in this country are so intimately related, in their historical position, to the Church of England, a certain sense of completeness, it was thought, required that some account of their origin, history, and tenets should be included in the series. The "dissidence of dissent" in these communions cannot be overlooked, but when I read the expression of an opinion from a well-known Nonconformist minister (Rev. J. Guinness Rogers) to the

following effect:—"The growing liberality of these times disposes many to seek for a removal of the differences by which Christians have been separated, and to desire a greater catholicity in our modes of worship," I cannot but entertain a hope that the rankling animosities of what has been only too long a divided house are being gradually assuaged, and that the spirit of fairness towards those between whom a perfect agreement is not yet possible may prevail over the spirit of bitterness and untruthfulness. Within the Church of England itself only the most despondent or the most unreasonable persons (if such there be) can, I think, continue to doubt that there is a strong, if slow, undergrowth of unity of spirit and fellowship between what may be called the various "schools of thought." "Parties" there always will be, but party-spirit is becoming rarer and less vindictive, except, perhaps, when it is galvanized into sudden and spasmodic movement by the ill-considered action of party societies. It may be that we are seeing evident signs of a gracious and growing answer to the divinely inspired prayer for unity which is daily rising up from an innumerable company of the faithful throughout the world.

I have not thought it necessary, in a book of this kind, to add in foot-notes the several authorities from whom I have gathered much valuble information. My experience is, that the reference to such notes interferes with the ordinary course of reading, and that the autho-

rities are very seldom referred to by readers. I must acknowledge, however, special obligations to Dr. Blunt's "Dictionary of Sects and Heresies;" to Canon Curteis' Bampton Lectures on "Dissent in Relation to the Church of England;" to Mr. Hore's "Eighteen Centuries of the Church in England;" to Dr. Littledale's "Plain Reasons against joining the Church of Rome;" and to several articles in the "Church Quarterly Review." On the question of the Establishment and Endowments of the Church of England, I have made ample use of "The Englishman's Brief," "The Established Church Question," and "The Dead Hand in the Free Churches," all inexpensive and trustworthy books, as well as the treatises by Mr. Morris Fuller, Dr. Freeman, and the late Mr. Brewer. The Official Year Books of the Church of England, published by the S.P.C.K., afford invaluable evidence of the increasing progress and strength of our beloved Church.

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LECTURE I.

INTRODUCTORY.

In the first of the lectures which it is proposed to deliver respecting the Church of England and some of the other religious communions in this country, which dissent from the Church, it may be thought necessary to endeavour to ascertain to what several causes dissent, in any definite form, can be ultimately traced. Strictly speaking, the historical use of this word dates only from the passing of the Toleration Act in the reign of William III. and Mary (1689). The designation, at an earlier date, of those who dissented from the worship and doctrine of the Church was "Separatists," or "Sectaries," and "Recusants."

Accepting, however, the present ordinary use of the word, it may be asked what is dissent? And dissent,

in its ecclesiastical sense, has been defined by Canon Curteis, in his Bampton Lectures (1871), as "the ripened and chronic form of a thing which in itself is often both natural and right, namely, dissatisfaction with the existing doctrines or practices of the Church." The same writer points out—"(1) that in all ages and countries where the Christian Church has found a footing, there have *always* (from the very construction of the human mind) arisen parties in opposition to the prevailing and authorized methods both of doctrine and discipline; (2) that this opposition and its resulting conflict is, in the ecclesiastical as well as every other kind of polity, the essential condition of vitality and movement: (3) that while 'dissension' is both healthy and inevitable, yet, when it runs into extreme forms, becomes exasperated by mismanagement, or poisoned by the admixture of hatred, jealousy, and self-will, it then becomes a dangerous and chronic disease; it has grown into something which cannot easily be cured; a chasm has opened which renders re-union very difficult, and 'dissension' has ripened into 'dissent.' When doctrine was mainly in question, dissent received the name of 'heresy'—that is, a selection or choice of some parts of the 'one faith' for belief, and the rejection of others. This is a weakening of the unity of the faith. When discipline and practical order were mainly in question, 'dissent' was called 'schism'—that is, a weakening by separation of the outward unity of the Church." Internal dissensions which do not issue in separation of communion are not schism; and where there is separation of communion the separated is not necessarily the schismatic.

I. It is commonly supposed that the Puritans of the reign of Elizabeth were the first body of dissenters in England, but the presence of a Puritan party within the Church can be traced for two centuries before the name "Puritan" was especially given to it.

In the fourteenth century the Friars (*Frères*, Brethren), who came into England as the militia of the Pope, and under his special patronage, acted the part of dissenting preachers, independently of, and generally in opposition to, the parochial clergy. This extra-parochial system of mission clergy, freed from the safeguards of responsibility, weakened the hold which the parish priest had upon the people, especially in the large towns. And when the Friars themselves, by their extortion and evil practices, and the evasion of the rules of the founders of their respective orders, began to lose their influence and became the recognized objects of course jests and biting satire, alienation from the clergy quickly developed into alienation from the entire system of Church order, and eventually from civil order in the State.

Against the excesses and the corruptions of these mendicant Friars, as well as against the usurpations of the Papacy, the licentious luxury of the monks, and the ignorance of the parish priests, Wiclif, when his spirit was stirred within him, lifted up his voice in manly and solemn protest. But being a man who, in the fervour of his zeal against "the forms of godliness without the power" which he saw around him, was more fitted to pull down and to destroy than to build up, his influence for good did not long survive him. His professed followers, the Lollards (either from *lullen*, "to sing a

lullaby," or from *lollium*, "tares"), as they were called, can scarcely be called religious reformers, for their opposition to the established order of things in the Church was only part of the opposition which they offered to established order in the State.

To the opinions which Wiclif and some of his followers held in the reaction against the errors they strove to correct, must historically be traced many of the wild and dangerous speculations which were so rife in the sixteenth century. And when at length the light of a true reformation in life and doctrine began to dawn, it was obscured by the clouds of sectarianism which were already thickly gathering. "A door was thus opened," says the late venerable Bishop of Lincoln, "to the endless multiplication of religious sects which England saw in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which overthrew her civil as well as her ecclesiastical polity, and which still paralyzes her efforts in her warfare against sin and error, and in her endeavours to spread the faith of Christ at home and abroad."

An anti-Church party was thus originated within the Church, at first through the errors and excesses and ignorance of the clergy of all ranks, and then encouraged by the teaching of Wiclif, or by the interpretation put upon his teaching by his professed followers. The soil was being prepared to receive, in later times, the seeds of Calvin's system, and the produce was Puritanism.

II. This anti-Church party was known at first as "The Christian Brethren," and their earliest efforts to increase the number of their followers were confined to writing and distributing tracts, in which the doctrines and ritual

of the Church of England were severely attacked. At Cambridge, in 1523, a theological party was formed which met at a house called the White House, to confer with others who were called in jest "Germans" because they "conversed much in the books of the divines of Germany brought thence." A few years later, in 1527, a society, very similar to that which was organized two centuries later by the Wesleys, was formed at Oxford.

"The leading spirit of this early anti-Church party was William Tyndale, who may very fairly be taken as a type of the class of the ultra-reformers. Tyndale had been a Franciscan friar and a priest, but he cast off his obligations in early life, and, being disappointed in his efforts to obtain a permanent home in the families of wealthy laymen, went abroad. While he was on the Continent he spent his time in attacking the doctrines and the spiritual rulers of the Church, the ministry of which he had forsaken. His writings show that he possessed enough facility to tempt him to argue, but no argumentative power." He stated his case often with great vigour, if the use of abusive language on subjects which all Christians concur in treating with due reverence be held to be a mark of vigour. He may be looked upon as the originator of that peculiar form of phraseology, sanctified it may be, but by no means saintly, with which the controversial writings of the Puritans has made us so unhappily familiar. His writings, it is true, were widely circulated. They established a form of "religious opinion" among the rising middle classes, who were socially opposed to the clergy, and, being very imperfectly educated, were easily taken with his racy

English. Certainly these classes were not highly regarded, either as to their morals, or their intelligence, or their piety, by the discerning eye of our own Shakspeare. "Tyndale was executed in the Netherlands, by the order of the Emperor Charles V. He was not burned at the stake as a martyr for daring to translate the New Testament into English. It is only a further evidence of the extent to which party feeling, supported by 'facts' which have no authority, will lead persons otherwise sensible, when we find such a man regarded as an able defender of the principles of the Church of England, and as a martyr in the cause of her reformation."

"'The name Puritan,' as Mr. Gardiner observes, 'is a constant source of trouble to the historian.' At Rome it means a *Protestant.* In England it denoted first a *Calvinist*, then a *Nonconformist* in ceremonial, lastly a *Dissenter* in doctrine, but all these latter without actual separation from the Church. In our time these appellations are all indiscriminately appropriated by Separatists (which the original Puritans were not), who agree only in hostility to State establishments, which the original Puritans held to be the first duty of the civil magistrate to uphold."

The Puritans are by some thought to have been so called in derision by their opponents, because they clamoured for a system of "pure" doctrine and "pure" worship, which to them meant an entire departure from all that had hitherto been believed and practised in the Church. They appeared at first as an anti-Church party within the Church of England during the reigns of Henry and Edward. But the persecutions under Mary,

and the revival of the statutes against heresy, drove the leaders of the party, and great numbers of Englishmen—perhaps under a thousand—to take refuge in Germany and in Switzerland.

It was in Geneva that they became more fully acquainted with that system of Church government and doctrine which Calvin (or Chauvin) had, at the age of twenty-eight years, consolidated in his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," and diffused throughout Europe. Calvin's system of Church government was founded on his own interpretation of one passage in the New Testament. That passage is to be found in St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (ch. iv. 11, 12): "He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; . . . for the work of the ministry, for the edifying [building up] of the body of Christ [the Church]." "Of these offices," said Calvin, "the two former were temporary in their character and purpose; but the three latter were intended to be permanent, and they include such offices as those of lay elders and lay deacons." Calvin subsequently became a coadjutor of Farel, a French Huguenot, whose agitation had driven away from Geneva its bishop. Farel usurped the bishop's authority, and Calvin became one of the chief "pastors" of the city. The republican party in Geneva was delighted with the opposition of Calvin to the Episcopal form of Church government which it had so recently rejected; but when Calvin protested against the immorality and profligacy of the people, they revolted in 1538, and banished Farel and himself from the city. He returned, however, in 1541, and became,

till his death in 1567, the ruler or dictator of Geneva. He imposed the most stringent restraint upon the press, and even upon the private expression of any opinions at variance with his own, and he rigorously excluded all preachers except those of his own appointment from the pulpits of his Church.

Calvin's system of doctrine is marked by the insistence of his own opinions on the difficult and disputed questions of election, the absolute and irreversible decrees of the Almighty, and particular redemption. Some of Calvin's works became known in England as early as 1542, when their use was prohibited. A few years later, when Archbishop Cranmer projected a general union of foreign Protestants with the Church of England, Calvin was invited to a conference at Lambeth Palace. He did not accept the invitation, but wrote many letters to the Protector Somerset, whom he addresses, as Collier remarks, "as if the government of the Church was almost wholly at his disposal," and also to the king and to Cranmer, condemning the Reformation of the Church of England as incomplete, and urging them to carry it further towards the Presbyterian pattern of Geneva. But the principles of his system of Church government were chiefly disseminated through the teaching of some of his foreign disciples, who were appointed to positions of influence in the Church of England. Peter Martyr, an Italian, who had been an Augustinian Friar, was Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford; Martin Bucer, a German, who had been a Dominican or Black Friar, held a similar post at Cambridge. A confessor to Pope Paul III. was made Canon

of Canterbury, and was afterwards banished for teaching Socinian doctrines, and for his advocacy of polygamy. John à Lasco, a Pole, was one of Cranmer's chief advisers. He is said to have been the first to introduce into England the irreverent custom of sitting instead of kneeling to receive the Holy Communion. He is said also to have used his influence to get the holy table brought down from the east end of the chancel into the body of the church, and to reverse its position, so that the short sides were placed east and west, and yet the minister retained his accustomed position at the middle of the long side, which became technically known as the "north side." John Knox, "a true representative of his generation" (says Mr. Lloyd, in his "Sketches of Church History in Scotland"), "intolerant, irreverent, and unscrupulous," a priest in the Scotch Church, was at one time acting as chaplain to Edward VI., and at another preaching down the Church and preaching up Presbyterianism in the northern border counties. "Probably no man ever did so much harm to the Protestant Reformation, or so zealously fomented the civil wars both of England and Scotland."

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the exiles who had left this country in the reign of her sister returned from Frankfort and Geneva. They brought with them what Archbishop Parker terms "their Germanical natures." They showed a strong preference for the Presbyterian system, and complained that the Reformation had not gone far enough, and was not complete. These Presbyterian Puritans lost no time in publishing their opinions, and in sowing the seeds of that religious

and political discord which culminated in the Great Rebellion, and in their own effacement by the "Sectaries," whom they vehemently opposed and utterly abhorred. The descriptive picture which Macaulay has drawn of the Puritan of those days will never probably be surpassed: "His gait, his garb, his lank hair, the sour solemnity of his face, the upward whites of his eyes, his nasal twang, his peculiar dialect, his malignant disposition, marked him out from other men. It was a sin to hang garlands on a May-pole, to drink to the health of a friend, to fly a hawk, to play at chess, or to read the 'Faëry Queen.' The weekly festival on which the Church had, from its first foundation, commemorated the resurrection of our Lord, was fenced round with the more than Pharisaic restrictions of the ancient sabbath. Some had scruples about teaching boys the rules of the Latin Grammar, because the names of Mars and Apollo and Bacchus were to be found in the examples. They objected to baiting bears, not because it gave pain to the bears, but because it afforded pleasure to the spectators." They were never wanting in objections to even the restricted ceremonial forms which had been ordered in the public performance of divine worship. Every vestige of ceremonial or ecclesiastical habit which was not Genevan, they condemned as "dregs of popery," "marks of antichrist and of the beast," or, what they considered as equally pernicious, as signs of Lutheranism, the only true form, historically, of Protestantism.

It was in 1564 that the Puritans broke out into open rebellion against all existing Church authority.

They objected—(1) to the use of a surplice as a symbol of sacerdotal or priestly pretensions; whereas, as we know, it is an ecclesiastical habit which has been used for many ages in the Church by choristers, lay clerks, and other laymen during the performance of divine worship; (2) to the sign of the cross as used at baptism or at any other time, which we know is carefully explained as an outward symbol in token that we are soldiers marching under the banner of the Crucified, and fighting against the world, the flesh, and the devil; (3) to the wedding-ring in marriage, which again is an outward symbol setting forth the perpetuity of the marriage union till death do part; (4) to bowing at the name of Jesus, which is a reverent acknowledgment of our belief in the humility of the Son of God in becoming man. They objected to set forms of prayer, to all instrumental music, to making responses in divine service, to kneeling at the reception of the Holy Communion, to lights before the Sacrament, to altar crosses, to chancel screens and painted windows, as well as to the use of a special vestment or dress by the minister at the Holy Communion;—in fine, to everything which could be named in the ceremonies of the Church of England, or which redeemed its teaching from the prosaic dead-level of "the pure gospel," as it was preached in the little town of Geneva.

And what was the result of this teaching in Geneva and in England? Calvin died in 1564, and "in the seventeenth century Geneva was distinguished by the open profession of infidel opinions, till at length the Catholic doctrines of the Trinity, the Atonement, and the Incar-

nation of the Son of God were prohibited by authority as subjects of public instruction." In England, in the reign of Elizabeth, it was just this, says Mr. Froude: "Systematic irreverence was intruded into the churches; carelessness and irreligion had formed an unnatural alliance with Puritanism, and in many places the Lord's table consisted of bare boards resting on tressels in the middle of the nave. The communicants knelt, stood, or sat, as they liked; the chalice was the first cup that came to hand; the clergyman wore surplice, the Genevan black gown, or his ordinary dress, as he pleased." It has been sometimes thought that a certain amount of concession might have been made to the Puritans for the sake of peace on matters of ceremonial which some regard as trifles. But, on the other hand, it may be said that if such matters may be regarded as trifles, is it necessary to organize an "associated" opposition to them?

The resistance which was offered was, in fact, only a part of that greater scheme for substituting the crude theories of Calvin and his form of Presbyterian Church government, and "Discipline," for the system of the Church of England, and supplanting, under the plea of completing, the English Reformation. And as for peace, there was only one way of securing it, and that was by allowing the Puritans everything, whether of importance or not, for which they made a sufficiently continuous demand.

The active measures which were taken by the "High Commission Court" to secure even a moderate uniformity, were resisted by the Puritan clergy, many of

whom were deprived of their benefices on account of their refusal to obey the law, while others held their benefices, but evaded the use of the Book of Common Prayer, by employing "readers" or Parliament ministers as they called them, and themselves remaining in the vestry until the time came for the delivery of the sermon.

III. The first organized separation of the Puritans as Presbyterians from the Church of England took place in 1572.

The first presbytery on Calvinistic principles was established at Wandsworth. Eleven elders (presbyters) were chosen, and their offices were described in a register called "The Orders of Wandsworth." The originators of this separation were Field, who had been lecturer at the parish church; Cartwright, who had been for a few months Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, the leader of the Puritans within and without the Church; and Travers, reader at the Temple, whose controversy with the Master, Richard Hooker, led the latter to write on "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity." Concerning this immortal work, Pope Clement VIII. is stated to have said, "His books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that they shall continue till the last fire shall devour all learning."

The controversy between "the judicious" Hooker and Travers was taken up at a later date by Dean Bridges, of Salisbury. His work called forth a series of ribald pamphlets, which were published under the name of "Martin Mar-Prelate Tracts," and written by one Penry, "a foolish jester." They were not only filled with the most venomous rancour against the bishops

and the non-Puritan clergy, but against the queen and her courtiers.

But the leaders of the Presbyterian Puritan party were not long in devising a plan by which they could maintain and spread abroad the principles of the "Discipline" without relinquishing their benefices, and this is probably one chief reason why they formed so few separate congregations. They tried to graft their new system of Presbyterian orders and government upon the old parent tree of the Church, but the graft remained to the end "a wild olive-branch." On the accession of James I., who had lived in the midst of the Presbyterian system, and had subscribed to the Scottish "Covenant," the Puritans naturally indulged in hopeful expectations of the success of their system. On his way to London they presented to the king the "Millenary Petition," so called from professing to have one thousand (there were really seven hundred and fifty) signatures attached to it. In this petition they prayed to be relieved of "a common burden of human rites and ceremonies," under which they as ministers were "groaning," and for the appointment of a "conference among the learned." The king accordingly summoned a meeting of representatives of the Church and anti-Church parties to consider the grievances complained of, and to provide remedies if necessary. This was called, from the place of its meeting, "The Hampton Court Conference." It lasted three days. On its conclusion, the king declared that most of the Puritan demands were inconsistent with the acknowledged status of the Church of England, but that a few verbal altera-

tions should be made in the Book of Common Prayer. At the same time an addition was made to the Church Catechism in explanation of the Sacraments, it is said from the pen of Overall, Dean of St. Paul's, and certainly not drawn up on Puritan lines.

The Archbishop (Abbot, an austere Calvinist), undid nearly all the previous labours of his predecessor (Bancroft) to rescue the Church out of the hands of the Puritans. Their power increased so much during his primacy, that in a few years after his death they attained for a time the object for which they had long hoped—the substitution of Presbyterian Church government for episcopacy. "The lax rule of his primacy and the latitudinarian views of Abbot conduced more than anything else to produce that rebellion which brought his successor to the scaffold. By his laxity of discipline, and his appointment of Puritans to important stations in the Church, under the plea of making concessions to tender consciences, he was preparing the evils of which Archbishop Laud became the victim, and of which he is incorrectly thought to have been the originator."

The Synod of Dort, in 1618, was summoned by the Prince of Orange with a view to settling the differences between the Arminians and the Calvinists. By sending commissioners from England, King James seemed, but only seemed, to give countenance to the decisions of the Synod in favour of the Calvinists, of whom it was chiefly composed. The Puritans in England regarded these decisions as strengthening their position against the Arminians, "the spawn of Papists," as it became the fashion for the members of the High Church party who

opposed the dogmas of the Calvinists to be called. They raised such controversial disputes that in order to allay them a proclamation was issued by the king, prohibiting any preacher under the rank of bishop or dean from preaching on any one of "the five points" of what was called the "Quinquarticular Controversy." With the same object in view, the "Declaration" was prefixed by Laud to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion in 1628, enforcing their plain grammatical and literal sense.

In the reign of Elizabeth, as we have seen, Puritanism was kept well under control. The queen recognized that a crisis was at hand; she understood it, and with her worldly wisdom she yielded graciously. The House of Commons, in which the Puritans formed a majority, had the power of withholding the supplies; and when, in the last year of the queen's reign, they gained the victory over the crown on the question of monopolies, they showed that they were not afraid to use that power. The dynasty of the Stuarts exalted the royal prerogatives even more than the dynasty of the Tudors. James I. was enamoured of his theory of the "divine right of kings," and he upheld the divine right (politically) of bishops, because they declared in favour of the divine right of kings. The unpopularity with which the throne came to be regarded accordingly involved the Church in unpopularity also. Puritanism became identified with the cause of civil and religious liberty, while the Church was regarded as the abettor of royal tyranny, and the enemy of the people. Charles I. had inherited the full meaning of his father's famous aphorism, "No bishop, no king." The Puritans still

formed a majority in the House of Commons. They felt and knew their power of granting or withholding supplies; and they took advantage of their constitutional right to oppose the king without breaking the laws of the kingdom.

It is very difficult, in dealing with the ecclesiastical events of this reign, so far as they represent the difference between the Church and the Puritan or dissenting anti-Church party, to distinguish between the history of the Church and the history of the State. "The history of the struggle between Charles and his Parliaments," it has been said, "is the history of a religious struggle, ending in the temporary triumph of Puritanism, but in that struggle we find Parliament usurping the duties of the Church and of Convocation, and pronouncing ecclesiastical censures; whilst the Church invaded the duties of Parliament by insisting on the divine right of kings, and of its own right to impose taxes without, and even in opposition to, the consent of Parliament." As the events in this reign, which closed amidst the sombre scenes of anarchy and bloodshed, can be read in any ordinary history of England, I need not recapitulate them. I will merely add that the "Long Parliament," so called from its duration (1640–1652), passed an Act (February 14, 1642), the forerunner of the "Root and Branch" Bill, depriving the bishops of their seats in the House of Lords, in which no bishop sat again for twenty years. Soon afterwards they were deprived of their official incomes, and some of them were reduced to great poverty and want. In 1643 a Bill was passed for the utter abolition of episcopacy,

and this was supplemented by an ordinance for placing all the possessions of their sees in the hands of a commission of aldermen. In the same year an assembly, known as "The Westminster Assembly of Divines," met for the first time in King Henry VII.'s Chapel in Westminster Abbey, and agreed to the "Solemn League and Covenant," which had been adopted in Scotland for the extirpation of papacy and prelacy, and the setting up of presbytery. For it was triumphantly asked, "Was not Christ Himself a Covenanter?" and "Was not every one who refused to join the Covenanters an Atheist?" The next work of the Assembly was to prepare a "Directory for Public Worship," as a substitute for the Book of Common Prayer; and the House of Commons, having adopted a counterfeit Great Seal, ordered it to come into use January 4, 1645. The Assembly also issued painful "Longer" or "Shorter" Catechisms, in which the leading doctrines of Calvinism were enunciated and illustrated with an array of texts, to the infinite terror of the children of "the third and fourth generation." This same Long Parliament, having abolished the Book of Common Prayer, made its use, whether in public, or even in a private family, a penal offence. The remaining "ordinances" were directed in favour of setting up the Presbyterian form of government in the Church of England; of ordaining ministers by the "classical presbyters" (that is, those who were appointed by a *classis* or *conference*); and of dividing the several counties of the kingdom into presbyteries and congregational elderships. A committee was formed for the removal of "scandalous or malignant clergy"—that is, of those who, remaining

loyal to the Church and king, refused to sign the "Covenant." They were convicted of malignity often on the unsupported evidence of the meanest and worst of the parishioners, and a pension, in some cases only, not exceeding one-fifth of the gross value of the benefices, was assigned to them, but not certainly paid. The number of those clergy who were thus unlawfully deprived of their benefices is stated on one authority to have been not far short of three thousand, while Gauden puts their number at eight thousand. Their benefices were filled, until the restoration of Charles II., by Presbyterians, and by the rising sect of "Brownists," or "Independents."

The Puritans had fully attained their object. The archbishop (Laud), who was an object of hatred to the Romanists no less than to the Puritans, after having been detained in prison for three years, and fined thirty-six thousand pounds, was beheaded on Tower Hill (January 10, 1644). The bishops and clergy had been driven from their sees and their benefices, and deprived of their incomes. The Book of Common Prayer had been abolished. The king, pronounced to be a traitor, a murderer, and a public enemy, was beheaded (January 30, 1649), in the presence of thousands of spectators, in front of the banqueting-hall of his own palace at Whitehall.

Thus the Puritans, having first destroyed and uprooted, as they supposed, prelacy in England, proceeded to uproot and destroy monarchy also. They succeeded in giving an unexpected turn to the expression of the wise monarch, "No bishop, no king." But the hour in

which the Puritans attained their final triumph sounded the knell of their departing day of power.

During the twelve years that intervened between the destruction of the Church and the monarchy and the restoration of both, the "Sectaries," as they were called, the Independents, the Baptists, the Quakers, and other minor sects, who cared nothing for the "Discipline" of the Presbyterian system, and discovered that "new presbyter" was only "old priest writ large," brought disunion and disaffection into their ranks. The Independents, under the guidance of Oliver Cromwell, became supreme in the House of Commons and in the army. And as the influence of the Independents increased that of the older Puritans grew weaker. The Presbyterian ministers repaired to their livings in the country, from which the lawful incumbents had been expelled. The Westminster Assembly came to an end, and by the time of the Restoration, the Puritans who had advocated Calvin's Presbyterian form of Church government had ceased, as a party, to exist within the Church of England.

LECTURE II.

THE INDEPENDENTS, OR CONGREGATIONALISTS.

WE have seen, in the previous lecture, that the queen (Elizabeth) acting chiefly under the advice of Cecil, would not at first restrain with too severe a hand the nonconformity of the Puritans. But after she had seen, during her memorable visit to Cambridge, a blasphemous pageant "in which a dog appeared carrying the Eucharist in its mouth," she was so shocked and horrified that she rose and left the room. The first attempt which the queen made to tighten the reins of Church discipline was met with a storm of abuse, and with determined resistance. She objected to the "Prophesyings of the Clergy," as they were called, that is, associations in each parish presided over by a moderator; and she called upon the primate (Parker) to suppress them. But she would neither herself consistently support, nor allow any assistance to be given by her secretaries of State, or any member of the council, to the archbishop. Nor did the primate receive that cordial support from the suffragans of his province which he might reasonably have expected. Most of the bishops who had been appointed at the beginning of the queen's reign, being

Puritans at heart, were unwilling to enforce on the clergy even the minimum of ritual which the ordinances, issued by the sole authority of Archbishop Parker, and so well known as "The Advertisements," prescribed. These "Advertisements" have been shown not to be the "taking of further order" spoken of in the "Ornaments Rubric" in the Prayer-book of 1559. There is no evidence to show that the queen ever saw them. They were not intended to prohibit the vestments in use in the second year of Edward VI., which were enacted in that rubric, but only to enforce some ritual and reverence in parish churches, and in a higher degree in cathedral and collegiate churches. The Bishop of Norwich especially resisted the primate, and appealed to the Earl of Leicester, to whose fascinations the queen, it was supposed, might be induced to yield. Leicester supported him, and the queen, with her capricious temper, seemed for a time inclined to follow the leadership of her present favourite. "The tale of bricks," says Mr. Froude, "must be delivered, although there was no straw given to burn them." The Puritans would at first neither conform nor secede. The principle of independency was not in their minds. They preferred to enjoy the position which an established Church would give them, but it must be a Church established on the perfect model which they had brought with them from Geneva—a Presbyterian form of government, a ministry pledged to promulgate the tenets of Calvin, liberty to have such modes of praying and preaching as each congregation liked best, and yet to be called the Church of England. This system was as far removed from

Independency as that of the Church itself, and some among the Puritans with more honesty and common-sense soon recognized how impossible it was to maintain such a position. They saw plainly enough that the doctrines of the Church of England and her traditional mode of ritual were opposed to the doctrine and discipline of Geneva, and they took the more honest course of separating from the communion of the Church, when they became persuaded in their own minds that the system of Calvin was the reproduction, after many days, of the organization of the Apostolic and Primitive Church.

I. The first person who led the way in 1569 in seceding from the Church on the principles of "Independency," or, as it is now called, "Congregationalism," was Robert Browne, a priest of the Church of England, chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and an "arrogant spirit." For two years, while Browne was master of the Free School at St. Olaves, he used to preach in a gravel pit in Islington. On being cited to appear before the High Court of Commission, he refused to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. Being screened by the Duke of Norfolk from the civil and ecclesiastical penalties attaching to his refusal, he went to Norwich, which at that time contained a large population of Calvinists from Holland, and there he formed separate or "Independent" congregations. He was summoned before the Queen's Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1581, and was bidden to hold his peace. After this he left England and settled in Holland, where he wrote a book in which he set forth those principles of congregational autonomy (self-govern-

ment) which have since become the distinctive characteristic of the Congregationalists. When dissensions arose amongst his "Independent" or "Free Churches" in Holland, which resulted in his being driven away by his congregations, he fled to Scotland. From Scotland, where, from his being "so great a malcontent, he was committed for a night or two to prison," he returned to England, where he stirred up dissensions in several places, and published a suggestive book, "On Reformation without tarrying for any." He was excommunicated by the Bishop of Peterborough, and subsequently (1584) terminated his association with the sect which he had founded. He was finally (1589) reconciled to the Church, and held the living of Thorpe Achurch, in Northamptonshire, for forty years, till his death in 1640, just as the shadow of those national troubles which his sect helped so much to originate was beginning to fall upon the country; "leaving," says Mr. Hanbury, "to the Church of England the ample legacy of his shame. All that was discreditable in him Independents remit to his ultimate patrons; the good alone that has followed his career they shrink not from applauding and adopting." This is a passage in style worthy of the "Letters of Junius," but it is singularly "independent" of the spirit which breathes in St. Paul's famous description of charity.

The principles of church government which Browne introduced into England were adopted by many among the Puritans, so that the sect rapidly increased. To the position formerly occupied by Browne succeeded Barrow, a barrister of Gray's Inn, and from him the members of this sect were called "Barrowists" as well as "Brownists."

Barrow seems to have held opinions similar, in many respects, to those of the Quakers. He objected to the whole system of ecclesiastical government, and refused to take an oath, or to use set forms of prayer. Both he and his associates, Greenwood and Penry (the author of the "Martin Mar-Prelate Tracts"), attacked the Prayer-book and episcopacy with that fanatical and incurable virulence which seems to be inherent in the Puritan character. They maintained that episcopacy was derived from Antichrist, and that they were called to found a new Church, and to choose to themselves a ministry of pastors, and teachers, and elders, and deacons, as Christ had appointed. Where the appointment *by Christ* of any order of the ministry except that of the Apostolate is recorded, was not stated. They were all three, with two others, executed at Tyburn for writing and talking seditious treason, saying that the queen was a perjured person, an enemy to religion and her people, and urging the overthrow of the constitution. They were not "sacrificed by a blood-guilty Protestant hierarchy," nor did they "fall to the resentment of an angry prelate" (Archbishop Whitgift). "The bishops," in fact, as Dr. Vaughan, a Congregationalist minister, says, "had been disposed to a more liberal course."

Amongst other leaders of this party were Robinson, beneficed near Yarmouth, who has been called, on account of the influence of his writings, the "Father of the modern Independents;" Johnson, a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who stated with more distinctness than heretofore the principle of Independency in his "Confession of Faith;" and Jacob, beneficed in

Kent, who in 1616 established a congregation at Blackfriars, which is commonly called "the first Independent or Congregational Church in England." It was Jacob who led the way to the adoption by the sect of the title "Independents," in place of that of "Brownists" or "Separatists," from his defining each congregation as "an entire and *independent* body politic, endued with power immediately under and from Christ, as every proper Church is and ought to be." In 1620 there set sail from Plymouth, in the *Mayflower*, a party of Independents, bound as "adventurers" for "New England," the northern part of the colony of Virginia, which had been founded in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. They have been called "the Pilgrim Fathers," and they are represented in one of the frescoes in the Houses of Parliament at Westminster, as "in the act of an imaginary parting on a beach that never existed." They are commonly supposed to have constituted the bulk of English Dissenters who were forced, by expulsion from their native land through religious persecution, to seek a safer, if a somewhat rude and inhospitable, asylum on a foreign shore.

The truth is, that only two or three out of the twenty families that emigrated came from England. The rest came from Holland. The party of the Independents in England found it more to their interest to remain at home and proclaim "liberty of conscience," while the Independents who were breathing the free air of the New World were proclaiming that "liberty of conscience was impious ignorance." Under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell, who came from the district which

had most readily received the tenets of Browne, the Independents had become supreme, not only in the House of Commons, but also in the army. They formed, under Cromwell's training, the famous troop known as "Ironsides," with whom he gained the decisive victory over the Royalists at Marston Moor. Their religious charter was, as we have seen, "liberty of conscience." But, as Cromwell himself complained in an after day, "each sect lustily cries out for liberty and toleration, and when they have acquired it, they will by no means allow it to any but themselves." He speaks of the Presbyterians as "that insolent sect which could tolerate none but itself."

As the influence of the Independent Puritans increased, that of the Presbyterian Puritans grew weaker. Although these two sects had sprung, it would seem, from the same parent, they were most bitter in their rivalry, and most vindictive in their hatred of each other. "The only ecclesiastical benefit," it has been said, "for which England has to thank the Independents of the Commonwealth is this—that they delivered this country from the then imminent danger of a Presbyterian Church Establishment;" while, again, "the death of Cromwell seems, humanly speaking, alone to have prevented an Independent State Establishment from being set up in its stead."

On the restoration of Charles II., which even the Presbyterians, now that they were thrown into the background by the Independents, desired, and the passing of the Act of Uniformity (1661), the ejected clergy of the Church of England who were living had the

opportunity offered them of returning to their benefices, and the intruders, chiefly Presbyterians and Independents, had the option of retaining those benefices the incumbents of which had died meanwhile, upon receiving ordination at the hands of the bishop. Of the *eight hundred* ministers ("two thousand confessors," they have been called) who were ejected because they could not conform, the larger proportion consisted of Independents. From that time (1662) they became known as Nonconformists, and after the passing of the Act of Toleration (1689), they formed one of the "three denominations" with the Presbyterians and the Baptists. As members forming a united body they received certain privileges, amongst which was a right to petition or address the sovereign. In the next century the Presbyterians, for the most part, drifted into different forms of misbelief, chiefly in respect to the doctrines of the Trinity, of the Divinity of our Lord, and the Atonement. These sections of the Presbyterians became merged in the Unitarian body, while the other sections united with the Independents.

These "three denominations" were at first united on behalf of the cause of religious and political liberty, but their theological "views" were widely divergent. The dissension which appeared at the end of the eighteenth, and increased in the nineteenth century restricted their union to occasional demonstrations in the cause of political freedom, or in endeavours to free themselves from the exactions of Church rates, or in resolutions condemnatory of State establishments. In 1836 the Presbyterians (or, as they might at that time have

been described, from a theological view, Anti-Trinitarians or Unitarians) seceded from the "union," and alleged that "the body of the three denominations was defunct." This allegation was met by a protest on the part of the Independents and Baptists, who appointed a deputation to wait on the Home Secretary (Lord John Russell), and communicate to him the fact that, although the Presbyterians (Unitarians) had retired, "the body of the three denominations continued to exist." The solution of this arithmetical puzzle is, that the *Scottish* Presbyterians were substituted for the English, and claimed to inherit the ancient privileges of that body. Meanwhile the Unitarians contended that they were the only real English Presbyterians.

While the Presbyterians had departed farther away from the system of Calvin and the principles of the "Westminster Confession," the Independents remained conservative in their doctrinal position. They clung to the traditions of their forefathers, and upheld the theology of the "Assembly's Catechism." The English Presbyterians (Unitarians) were enthusiastic advocates of liberal principles in politics. The Independents were not, at that time, as they have since become, conspicuous in the defence of the political rights of the people. "The Congregational Churches," says Dr. Stoughton, "in my early days contained for the most part old-fashioned Whigs, and could not count on many advanced Liberals." In the middle of the nineteenth century the old historic name of "Independents" was gradually allowed to fall into disuse, and the more modern name of "Congregationalists" was adopted. The reasons for this change of

name, which arose out of a modification of the old principles of Independency, are succinctly given by Dr. Stoughton. He says that "Independency was liable to fall into the weakness of a self-assertion and individuality which, in small communities, becomes jealous of everything which seems like a yoke of bondage. Seeing this, some among the Independents sought to gather the bonds of relationship amongst Churches of their own order into a comprehensive girdle. Each Church being a congregation of individual persons, and the entire denomination being a congregation of Churches, they wished to make the fact more manifest than it had been, and therefore brought into use the Congregational name, and brought out the social as well as the independent side of their Church principles." This was the object of the great Congregational movement of 1831.

II. It only remains for me now to give an account of the distinctive principles of Church organization and government which are held by the members of this religious communion, and the chief grounds on which they justify their separation from the Church of England. The chief principle of the Congregationalists is, that "each particular Church, *i.e.* each congregation of Christians, is an independent body," which has within itself the right—(1) to settle its own faith and doctrines, and mode of worship; (2) to elect or depose its pastors and Church officers; (3) to exercise discipline over its members; (4) to be free from the control of an external authority, ecclesiastical or civil.

With the view, however, of "strengthening the fraternal relations of the Congregational Churches, and

of facilitating co-operation in everything affecting their common interests," the Congregational Union was formed in 1831. Two years after its formation the Union agreed upon a "Description in Thirty-three Articles of the Faith, Order, and Discipline of the Congregational or 'Independent Dissenters.'" This declaration is said to be intended simply as a statement of the theological position of the members of the Union. "It is obviously inconsistent with the principles of Congregationalism," says Dr. Dale, "that any central authority should attempt to impose a creed either on the ministers or on the members of Congregational Churches. If the attempt were made, a creed could not be enforced. Each Church [*i.e.* congregation] stands apart, and claims to be under the immediate government of the Lord Jesus Christ. Loyalty to Him compels it to resist the interference of any synod or assembly with either its 'faith or its discipline.'" On the other hand, Dr. Davidson, in his Congregational Lecture in 1848, on the "Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament," says that "Congregationalists are wrong in splitting up what ought to be one Church, the company of believers in modern towns, into several Churches, each with its own pastor, which, in their independent individuality, are patches and shreds, often incapable of a right self-government, because they have lost sight of the unity and kind of a government existing in the earliest Churches."

"Where two or three meet together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them." This prophetic utterance of our Lord is taken by the Congregationalists

as explaining and justifying their independent position. But when more than this indefinitely meagre number of persons desires to join a "Church," while it is considered contrary to Congregationalist principles to impose a creed which, like the most ancient forms of the creed, might be even condensed into a single sentence, it is a common, and I believe an unvarying, practice to impose as a condition of membership the "testimony" of the "Church inquirers," and to determine the admission of a candidate by the vote of the majority. An investigation into the private religious experience of the candidates, essentially inquisitorial in its character, is made by "visitors," who report the results of their inquiries at the next monthly meeting of the Church, and the candidate, if accepted by vote, is received into membership.

The Congregationalists believe that their system of independent Churches is distinctly delineated in the pages of the New Testament. Each Church is, for spiritual purposes, under its own "pastor," "elder," or "president," which they consider is equivalent to "bishop" in the New Testament; and for administrative and financial purposes, under a "diaconate." The "deacons," too, are held to be really "elders" or "bishops," and the "pastor" is the presiding "elder" or "bishop." The duties of the "deacon" and "deaconesses" include that of "visiting and comforting the sick and the poor." Where the whole control and administration of Church business is left to the pastor and Church officers, as representatives of the congregation, the system or polity may be described as "Intra-Con-

gregational Presbyterianism." Where the control is practically in the hands of the pastor, the system may be described as "Episcopalian Independency." There are evidently rare opportunities in Congregationalism for the evolution of an infinite variety of species, and it is the very fact of this independent but necessary dissimilitude of character, which refuses to be reduced to one type, that makes it so difficult to catalogue Congregationalists as a religious "communion."

There is one feature or characteristic, however, in all the "Independent Churches" upon which we can fix as indicating a common origin and object. They are the advocates and supporters of "the voluntary system," as it has been called. They are opposed to any form of alliance between "the Church" and "the State;" and to endowments out of what they term "public" or "national" property. They maintain that "a Church cannot receive support from the State without sacrificing some measure of its spiritual freedom, and that a Church must therefore decline to accept political privileges and maintenance from national revenues in order to preserve its loyalty to Christ."

In the time of the Commonwealth, when Independents as well as Baptists and Presbyterians were admitted by Cromwell's "triers" into the benefices of the Church of England, they took advantage of their legal rights to receive tithes and other endowments which they held to have been appropriated to the maintenance of a "godly ministry." They were ready again to be the recipients of this form of what is incorrectly called "national property" in the reign of William III., "provided that

the Church services were modified." They accepted their share of the *Regium Donum* of £1000 a year, granted by George I. ostensibly for the support of ministers' widows. It is true that in 1834 an opposition was offered by some amongst the Independents and Baptists to the receipt of this royal bounty, but it continued to be voted in the annual parliamentary estimates until the year 1851. In the year 1833 the members of the Congregational Union resolved that "the institutions of the gospel ordained by Christ being sufficient for their own purposes without the aid of the civil power, the application of this power for the enforcement of these institutions must be considered as a reflection on the wisdom of Christ and an offence against His authority." This resolution, which first formally recognized the principle of the voluntary system, also complained of grievances, since redressed, in the levying of Church rates, and in the laws of marriage and burial. By means of the publications of the "Ecclesiastical Knowledge Society," the Congregationalists sought to diffuse their opinions on the voluntary system, and to bring the whole question of "State establishments" within the range of practical politics. Thus a controversy which had at first been conducted on purely religious grounds, namely, whether the principles of Church membership and organization, as derived from the New Testament, were Episcopalian or Congregational, came to be in the last degree political. Was not, it was asked in effect, the New Testament impatient of "establishments," and in favour of the "voluntary system," or "willinghood," as it came to be called.

Were not the apostles the champions of "religious equality?"

In 1844 Mr. Edward Miall, M.P. for Bradford, the promoter and editor of the *Nonconformist*, advocated the formation of a "British Anti-State Church Association," the pioneer of the "Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control." A primary rule adopted by this society was, that the proposed object should be pursued "without reference to sectarian or party distinction"—"a rule," says Dr. Stoughton, "capable of being explained differently by different persons."

It is on these two grounds—(1) that each congregation is by Christ's will a Christian Church, and independent of external control; and (2) that a Church, in order to preserve its loyalty to Christ, must decline to accept political privileges and maintenance from national revenues—that the Congregationalist communions maintain the necessity for their separation from communion with the Church of England.

The fallacy in the former of these propositions lies hid in the phrase "by Christ's will," for, in His divine wisdom, He left the organization of the Church to be regulated by those upon whom the plenary gifts of the Holy Spirit were bestowed after His ascension; and the outcome of their illumined guidance, if we are to trust the history of the Primitive Church of the first three centuries, was an organization ultimately diocesan. The bishop was the chief pastor of many Churches. Thus the two systems were wisely and

happily combined, much as we have them at this day, with some modification, in the Church of England. Each Church, that is, each congregation, is independent of every other church. It has its own chief pastor or incumbent, its own parish (*parochia*, originally the bishop's jurisdiction), its own congregation or parishioners, and its own endowments or sources of income. Thus the individual position of each Church is amply secured, but it is not isolated. It is part of a larger organization or union of Churches under one chief pastor. There are, it must be admitted, manifest advantages in this comprehensive and yet individual system; and it is not historically exact to say that it is anti-scriptural, any more than it is historically exact to say that Congregationalism or Independency is absolutely scriptural or "according to the will of Christ."

The fallacy in the latter proposition lies hid in the phrase, "maintenance from *national* revenues." As I shall have occasion to refer to this phrase when I come to treat of the endowments of the Church of England, I need not do more than refer to it on this occasion. As the Congregationalists affirm that they do not impose a creed upon their members, it is not easy to determine how far their belief agrees with or differs from that of the Church; but in points of essential doctrine they are undoubtedly at one in their belief with the Catholic Church. There seems to be a growing desire among the "Free Churches" at the present day to become wholly independent of doctrinal standards, even in their trust-deeds, upon the fulfilment of the conditions of which they are permitted by the State to hold their

property. "For Congregationalism," says Dr. Dale, "disbelieves in the efficacy of any legal securities for perpetuating the evangelical faith, and places its whole confidence in the permanent presence of the Lord Jesus Christ in the Church."

LECTURE III.

THE BAPTISTS.

IT is the recognition of an important truth when we find each religious communion, as it separates from the Church, and in some cases also from a parent of its own kind, making a serious appeal to the scriptures of the New Testament and the practice of the apostolic age to defend and sanction its doctrines and institutions. Practically, however, in dealing with the claims advanced by each of the various religious sects to represent the original or, as it may be called, the purest form of the Christian Church, the appeals which are made, in defence of their position, to the New Testament may be put on one side. For these claims are made to rest chiefly on the varying interpretations of isolated passages. And such passages from the Scriptures are, in some respects, like the earthworks thrown up in haste by a besieging force: they only cover what would be otherwise a weak and dangerous position, and they serve for a time as a shelter, from behind which the attacking party may take aim at their adversaries and retire under protection.

The New Testament, it has been often said, and it

will bear repetition, is a book instinct with principles, but not with ecclesiastical canons or rules; and we can only discover the outward constitution and practice of the Church (its "ecclesiastical polity," as it is called) in the apostolic age, so far as we take the New Testament for our guide, by a process of inference from the brief and, as it were, marginal references in the recorded acts and teaching of the apostles. It is clear, I think, that if this process of inference, unchecked by comparison with subsequent church history, is allowed to have "free course," it will be not so much "glorified" as nullified. Calvin, for instance, as we have seen, from one or two isolated passages in St. Paul's Epistles, plainly inferred what was the great charter of Church government. He inferred that the ministry of the Church in the apostolic age was Presbyterian in form, and its government that of an oligarchy of lay elders. Browne, at a later date, inferred from certain selected texts that the "Church" is not merely a convenient name under which to group a number of individual but co-operant units into one body, but that each of these units represented by a "congregation" is complete in itself as a "Church." Irving, or his followers, inferred from the New Testament that the gift of unknown tongues clearly indicated the divine authority for a new apostolate and new order of ministry. The Quakers and the Plymouth Brethren have inferred that there is no sanction in the pages of the New Testament for any separate order of ministry. The former sect infer from the same pages that the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist are not essential ordinances in the Church; while the latter sect infer their

perpetual obligation under the forms of "immersion" and "breaking bread." There is the same divergence of conclusions in the case of both essential doctrine and theological propositions. This very serious divergence of itself proclaims the mistake of supposing that the New Testament was designed, as if it had been composed by one writer in the methodical order of a treatise, to present the perfected picture of an infallible and unchangeable form and order of Church government or discipline, or a detailed system of doctrine.

When we call to mind that there is not an heretical opinion or a form of schism, ancient or modern, which has not hesitated to find in the scriptures of the New Testament a solemn authority for the schism or the heresy, we have reason to be thankful that there was for four centuries at least, and those nearest to the time of the original revelation, an undivided Church ordained by her Lord to be the witness and keeper of Holy Writ, and having authority derived immediately from her ever-living Head in controversies of faith. We are content to accept this the oldest authority of all, since some authority, it is clear, we must accept, in determining the question of all necessary doctrine which depends on the interpretation of disconnected passages in the Holy Scriptures. I have been led into these reflections partly by the impression left on my mind by the controversies respecting certain of the main doctrines of the Christian religion from the earliest times, and especially as they have been renewed, with so much earnestness and some bitterness, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century in Europe, and chiefly in England; and partly

because they lead up to the question which is now to come before us—On what grounds did the Baptists in the seventeenth century secede from the rest of the Puritans, and take the still further step of separation from the Church?

I. In the first place, let me recount briefly the history of this communion. The Baptists in England were an offshoot of the Brownists or early sect of the Independents, and they formed themselves into a separate body in the reign of Charles I. There is no historical connection between the Baptists in England and the Anabaptists of Germany, Switzerland, and Holland, and the only doctrinal connection is to be found in the fact that both of these sects rejected the baptism of infants, on the ground that the practice has no definite authority in the pages of the New Testament. The Anabaptists in Germany, under the leadership of Munzer, were the chief abettors of "The Peasants' War." They were the socialists and communists of that day, who had suffered from the tyrannical and extortionate demands of the feudal nobility. They were the objects of severe persecution from their Lutheran opponents, and were for a time suppressed; but nine years after the death of Munzer, the sect was revived at Munster, in Westphalia, under the leadership of John of Haarlem, a baker, and John of Leyden, a journeyman tailor. When the latter was killed at the siege of Munster, the Anabaptists gradually diminished, and some of them fled to England about 1525, where they formed the nucleus of a sect which caused much trouble to the government of this country for many years.

But the first formation of the "Baptists" as a separate religious communion in England dates from the year 1633. Some members of a congregation of Protestant Dissenters of the Independent persuasion at Blackfriars, in London, finding that the "congregation kept not their first principles of separation, and being also convinced that baptism was not to be administered to infants, but only to such as professed faith in Christ, desired to constitute themselves a distinct and separate Church, and their proposal was agreed to by the Independent persuasion." In point of Church polity, the Baptists remained Independents. But they held that they were justified in forming themselves into a separate communion on these three grounds: (1) for the stricter maintenance of Calvinistic doctrines; (2) for the exercise of a stricter discipline; and (3) for the practice of a mode of baptism in stricter accordance with the words of Scripture and the practice of the apostolic age.

Several other congregations of Baptists were rapidly formed in London and in different parts of the country. They enlisted in large numbers into the parliamentary army, and so many of Cromwell's supporters belonged to this sect that it attained considerable political influence during the period of the Great Rebellion.

Out of the eight hundred ministers who were ejected from the benefices which they held for refusal to conform to the laws of the realm at the Restoration, there were thirty-five Baptists. Shortly before the Restoration the Baptists divided themselves into two classes: (1) The "General" or "Arminian" Baptists,

and (2) the "Particular" or "Calvinistic" Baptists. These latter were again divided into (*a*) "Free or Open Communionists," and (*b*) "Strict or Close Communionists."

(1) The General or Arminian Baptists were so called because they held to the tenets of Arminius on universal redemption," or that Christ "has redeemed all mankind." They seceded from the original sect, or "Particular Baptists," about 1691. But in 1710 there was a division among them, some becoming Unitarians and joining themselves to that body, and others adhering to the Arminian tenets and calling themselves "The New Connexion of Baptists." (2) The Particular or Calvinistic Baptists continue to hold to the doctrine of the redemption of the few who are "elect," and to Calvin's tenets respecting predestination to life, and particular election. The entire controversy between these two main sections of the Baptists turns on the question why one can be saved and another cannot. Those who hold that such a question, as being within the category of the "secret things which belong to the Lord our God," must remain here unanswered, will be content to trust to "the promises of God as they are generally set forth in Holy Scripture." Of the two classes into which they are subdivided, (*a*) the Open Communionists admit to their forms of administration of the Lord's Supper both those who have been baptized in infancy as well as those who have been baptized only as adults; and (*b*) the Close Communionists admit only the latter class. Both of these sections, as well as the congregations of the New Connexion, are admitted through their repre-

sentatives to the "Baptist Union," which was founded in 1812.

II. The purely Calvinistic views respecting "the elect," for the maintenance of which the Baptists at first separated from the Independents, are really at the foundation of their particular discipline and ritual. In the "Confession of Faith," put forth in 1689, and republished by Mr. Spurgeon in 1863, it is said, "The Catholic or Universal Church, which (with respect to the internal work of the spirit of truth and grace) may be called *invisible*, consists of the whole number of the elect," that is, of such only as have made a credible profession of faith in Christ, and repentance towards God. Here we are met again with the Puritan notion—namely, that the Church consists only of holy and godly persons, that is, of "professors," who have given what is taken for evidence of holiness and goodness. From this premiss it is easy to draw the conclusion that as "of such [only] is the kingdom of heaven," the entrance into that kingdom through the initiatory rite of baptism is open only to them, and must be denied to unconscious infants and to those immature persons who have given no personal evidence of repentance and faith. "But the mistake made by the Baptists is to suppose that it is the plan of the Church to admit so many ignorant and immature persons by baptism within the fold, and there to leave them. Our Lord's commission to the apostles whom He had chosen was (St. Matt. xxviii. 19) 'Make disciples of all nations;' but how? (1) Baptize them; (2) teach them. So the Church was designed by its Divine Founder to be not merely a social but an educational

society. If infants are baptized, it is that, having been admitted within the school of Christ, they may be taught, when they come to an age of understanding, the chief doctrines and duties of the religion of Christ by means of such simple forms as the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments, and the authorized explanation of their teaching."

It would seem as if the doctrine of "Baptismal regeneration" was only imperfectly understood, and in consequence perfectly misrepresented. For instance, Mr. Spurgeon, in a sermon on this subject (July 5, 1864), said as follows:—"The man who has been baptized or sprinkled says, 'I am saved. I am a member of Christ. Call *me* to repentance? Call me to lead a new life? No matter what my life and conversation is, I am a child of God. It is true, I drink, and swear, and all that, but, you know, I am an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven.'" There is no intelligent and moderately educated member of the Church who does not know that this is not a fair representation of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. At the same time, it must be confessed that the authorized Church doctrine has in some cases been so obscured and surrounded with so much mist and such hazy statements as to lead to the drifting away of many sincere but half-educated people into various forms of dissent. The "Church doctrine" concerning baptism, as Mr. Sadler has so clearly explained and verified, is really "Bible truth." Having in view chiefly the baptism of infants, it teaches, just as the Baptists teach, that baptism is the divinely appointed mode of entrance into the kingdom of heaven. It teaches

that as each human being is ordinarily born into some family or household, so he is born anew or again at baptism into the family and household of Christ. Thus a baptized person and a Christian are really terms which have the same meaning. The first birth is of human, the second birth is of divine, origin. The former is by nature, the latter is by the Spirit. The former is from below, the latter is "from above." Our natural birth, again, brings us into responsible relationship with our natural parents; our spiritual new birth brings us into responsible relationship with our Father who is in heaven, and with the Church, which is our spiritual mother. Our natural birth confers upon us the rights and privileges, and imposes upon us the duties, which belong to us as children of our parents; our spiritual new birth confers privileges and imposes duties as having made us "children of God and joint-heirs with Christ." We may despise our birthright, our natural privileges, and neglect our natural duties; so we may despise our spiritual birthright—that is, the grace which is given to each one (who does not or cannot put a barrier in the way) in and through the sacrament of holy baptism,—and we may neglect our spiritual duties. Again, we may resume the performance of our natural duties, and renew our claim, like the younger son in the parable, to our natural privileges. So we may, after baptism—that is, after we have received the Holy Ghost—"depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may rise again and amend our lives." If, then, there is no special difficulty in understanding what is done in us, and for us, in the operations of nature, is there anything especially difficult

in understanding and accepting what is done by the operation of the Holy Spirit?

"Baptismal regeneration" is simply a definite and intelligible form of words to express what I suppose the majority of those who accept the teaching of Christ believe, namely, that a new or second birth of the spirit takes place in and through the sacrament of baptism. The "outward visible sign," or "matter" of the Sacrament, is the element of water, together with the divinely appointed words or "form," "Into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The "inward spiritual grace" of the sacrament is the gift of the "new birth unto righteousness." "Regeneration" has not the same meaning here as when we speak of the "regeneration of society," or the like. It is not to be confounded with "conversion," or "renewal." The distinction is carefully preserved in the collect for Christmas Day. "Grant that we, having been regenerate, may be daily renewed by Thy Holy Spirit." Thus it is not in accordance with truth to say that "the holding the doctrine of baptismal regeneration by the High Church School [the words 'High' and 'School' might be left out] precludes the absolute necessity of any subsequent change or renewal." But we may go a step further. We are admitted by baptism, as is implied into the fellowship of Christ's religion; we are adopted into the family and household of Christ, to be educated and to come under all the healthful and elevating influences of the family life in His Church. We are placed in that family to grow up by slow and, as it happens, by interrupted steps—as in the family life on

earth, sometimes ailing and sickly, and sometimes sorrowful, and sometimes in health and joy, so sometimes failing in self-mastery, and sometimes falling away, and sometimes renewed in spiritual strength—to grow up into Christian manhood, "to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

We are told that the baptism of infants rests upon no specific command in the New Testament, and we admit it. Yet neither is there any specific command not to baptize them. The truth is, that in the early days of Christianity the converts would be necessarily upgrown (adult) persons, and these only were at the first baptized, just as the Baptists maintain. But St. Peter's words were not without a predictive meaning when, on the Day of Pentecost (Whit Sunday), he thus addressed the company of the disciples: "The promise is unto you and your children" (Acts ii. 39). I pass over the practice (to which I made reference at the opening of this lecture) of appealing to the New Testament for isolated texts in favour of every particular detail of Church ritual or discipline, because (1) it implies that the guidance of the Holy Spirit, although promised, was not bestowed on the apostles; and (2) it would involve the abolition of much that is dear, and many points that are common to all Christians. I would rather refer to the fair and guarded, yet distinct statement of Article XXVII.: "The baptism of infants is any wise (*omnino*) to be retained in the Church," grounded on the dogmatic fact "as being most agreeable (*optimè congruat*) with the institution of Christ." "Whatever virtues," says Bishop Forbes, "accompany that newness of life which

is the special grace of baptism, infants obtain them in habit if not in act, of which they are incapable. Just as one asleep may have the habit of virtue, but while sleeping he is prevented from exercising it." That remission of sin (in the case of infants, of original sin only) is granted to them through the faith of others who are their sponsors, is not less certain than that to the man sick of the palsy our Lord said, "seeing their faith" —the faith of those who brought him to Jesus—"Son, thy sins be forgiven thee."

There are three ways in which the earnest Churchman may meet, and perhaps overcome, the difficulties of the Baptist. First, he may be more careful in the selection of sponsors, in order that the just requirements of the Church with respect to the after education of the baptized infant may be observed. For that is one of the main reasons for the institution of "sponsors," which has come down to us from times when the Church was working its way among heathen populations. The very fact of answering (being sponsor) for another person implies a measure of responsibility on our part towards that person. Secondly, he may encourage his own children, or those for whom he has acted as sponsor, or any others whom he may be able to influence, to attend to the instruction given in church at the public "catechizing." This is certainly the most intelligent and fruitful method of calling upon children "to hear Sermons." Thirdly, he may fulfil his responsible obligations by gathering in candidates for Confirmation, so that by the laying on of hands after the manner of the apostles, the bishop may complete and set the "seal"

of his apostolic authority to all the admissions by Baptism into the Church of Christ which have been made by the priests and deacons of his diocese. If the Baptists shall have reminded Churchmen of these duties their testimony will not have been in vain.

LECTURE IV.

THE UNITARIANS.

AT the period of the restoration of the Church and the Throne of England in 1661, the Puritans were chiefly either Presbyterians, or Independents, and Baptists, who differed from the Independents at first only on the question of adult baptism. On the banner of the Independents, in their early days, was inscribed the motto "Liberty of Conscience." The Presbyterians, on the other hand, as Oliver Cromwell said, were "an insolent sect that could tolerate none but itself." The eight hundred Puritans who refused to conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and were in consequence ejected from the benefices from which the lawful incumbent had been previously ejected, became known as Nonconformists. "The greater number of the ejected members were Independents who were much less inclined to accept the episcopal form of government than the Presbyterians, who had already lived under its shadow for about three-quarters of a century." For a time the Puritans who held to the belief that the Presbyterian form of Church government had been ordained by Christ, and the

Puritans who, under the titles of Independents and Baptists, maintained that the Congregational system was in accordance with the will of Christ, formed one communion, and worshipped under one roof. But it was not long before important differences arose. The Independents became less tolerant of any deviation from the tenets of Calvin. The Presbyterians yielded less and less obedience to those tenets, refused to be fettered by the bondage of subscription to a creed, and set up as an infallible authority their own interpretations of the Bible. After the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, the Presbyterian Nonconformists increased in numbers. It is asserted that there were as many as eight hundred congregations of Presbyterians distributed throughout the several counties of England. They formed one of the "three denominations" (the others being Independents and Baptists) who were recognized by the State, and, as members of a body corporate, had the right to petition the crown. In 1691 an attempt was made to effect a doctrinal union between the Presbyterians and Independents, but dissensions having arisen in consequence of the preaching of Antinomian doctrines by some amongst the latter sect, the proposals for union came to an end, and the Presbyterian congregations gradually adopted Arian or Socinian, or, as they came to be called, Unitarian views.

I. The Unitarians, as a distinct religious communion in England, are a product of the eighteenth century. But the first person who is known to have promulgated the opinion of the Arians and Socinians in England lived in the previous century. The Rev. John Biddle

was master of the grammar school at Gloucester. In 1645 he declared his opposition to the propositions respecting the doctrine of the Trinity as they are set forth in the Athanasian Creed. He maintained that he had arrived at the conclusions which he held purely by a solitary study of the Bible, and appealed to the well-known aphorism of Chillingworth, "The Bible, and the Bible only, the religion of Protestants." He was imprisoned for holding heretical opinions, and in 1648 he was condemned to death by the zealous Puritan divines in the Westminster Assembly, but was saved by the Parliamentary army. Cromwell procured his release from prison, and allowed him a pension of £25 a year. But his opinions were so distasteful to the Puritans that he was banished to the Scilly Islands; and at the Restoration he was again thrown into prison, where he died in 1662.

Unitarianism, proscribed alike by Conformists and Nonconformists, and denied toleration in express terms equally with the Romanists by the very Toleration Act itself, sank into obscurity for the remainder of the seventeenth century. Its principles were resuscitated at the close of that century when, through the liberality of Mr. Thomas Firmin, a wealthy draper in London, several books and pamphlets were published, in which the doctrines of the Trinity, and of the Deity of Christ were examined and condemned.

In 1712 Dr. Samuel Clarke, Rector of St. James's, Westminster, and one of the court chaplains, published a treatise on the "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," in which he advocated Unitarian opinions, and only escaped

the censure of Convocation by retracting his statements. He refused a bishopric, it is said, because he was unwilling to sign the Thirty-nine Articles; but, with singular inconsistency, he retained his benefice, which was held on the same terms. "His want of candour, which Fairbairn considers 'the characteristic of the party,' prevented him from seeing that the retaining his benefice implied adherence to subscription." Subscription to this doctrinal test was made the subject of a widespread grievance. It was contended that these articles were intended to be interpreted in a Calvinistic sense, while most of the clergy who signed them were Arminians. This is a mistake which even more modern writers, such as Macaulay, have made, who, to show the comprehensive, or it may be latitudinarian, character of the Church of England, describes the "Liturgy as Arminian and the Articles as Calvinistic." In "His Majesty's Declaration," which was prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles in 1628, it is stated that the several articles are to be taken in their "literal and grammatical sense." The Calvinist Puritans saw in this declaration a special condemnation of their teaching, and sought to stigmatize the "literal sense" as Jesuitical and Arminian.

The controversy to which the writings of Dr. Clarke, Whiston, and others within the Church of England, gave rise, drew forth some of the ablest defenders of the orthodox doctrine that any age has produced. We are indebted to this controversy for the famous works of Bishop Bull on the "Defence of the Nicene Creed;" Bishop Warburton's "Divine Legation of Moses;" and Bishop Butler's "Analogy of Religion, Natural and Re-

vealed," which is said to have been the result of twenty years' labour, and to have been prompted by a standard work on Deism, entitled "Christianity as old as the Creation," written by Tindal, a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, who became a Romanist and subsequently reverted. But the controversy was raging as fiercely among the dissenters. Two Presbyterian ministers in the West of England were accused of holding Arian views. The whole body of dissenting ministers, of Presbyterians and Independents in equal numbers, met at Salters' Hall in 1719. On the vote being taken whether one of the ministers accused (Mr. Pierce, of Exeter) should be ejected from his pastoral charge, "seventy-three creed-subscribing Presbyterians voted in favour of freedom of thought, and sixty-nine creed-hating Independents insisted that there was no way of putting down such fatal errors but by the imposition of tests," such as that which the ministers in Devonshire and Cornwall had in this case imposed. When it was carried by a majority of four votes, that no particular declaration of faith in the doctrine of the Trinity should be required, the Independents seceded, formed a fresh meeting of their own supporters, and subscribed to the first of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. Pierce, being locked out of his chapel by the trustees, opened a chapel for the promulgation of Unitarian doctrines, and was supported by about three hundred members of his former congregation. Several other dissenting preachers were dismissed from their posts by the vote of the majority in their congregations about the same time.

In 1766 Archdeacon Blackburne published his "Con-

fessional," in which he supports the maxim of Chillingworth, and contends that a subscription of conformity to the Bible is all that should be required of the clergy. He was a decided Calvinist and an anti-Trinitarian of some kind, but his conscience was easily pacified. It was what has been called "a domesticated conscience." His "wife and children" stood in the way of his honestly resigning his benefice. His son-in-law, the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey Vicar of Catterick, in Yorkshire, was the originator of the "Feathers Tavern Petition." This was a petition to the House of Commons to alter the form of subscription, and it received its name from the tavern in the Strand where the petitioners met in 1772. Paley, in his defence of this petition, says, that the only persons who at that time believed in the Thirty-nine Articles were the Methodists, who were refused ordination by the bishops. The petition was twice rejected by the House of Commons, and the grievance which it set forth was described by Edmund Burke as "infinitesimal." When Lindsey saw there was no hope of any change being introduced in the form of clerical subscription, he resigned his benefice in 1773, and went to London, where he opened a chapel in Essex Street, Strand, in which he continued to preach until his death in 1808.

From the opening of this chapel is to be dated the rise of modern Unitarianism in England. Its leading men were Priestley and Belsham. Priestley, as he says of himself, "came to embrace what is called the heterodox side of every question." He had been a Calvinist, then an Arminian, then an Arian, a Socinian, and eventually a Unitarian. He published a work called "The Corruption

of Christianity," in which he maintained that the doctrine of the Trinity was no older than the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 354); that it was the result of a gradual corruption of the Gospels; and that before this innovation the faith of the whole Christian Church was distinctly Unitarian. He avowed his belief in the non-inspiration of the Scriptures, and held that as our Lord was merely a man, it was an act of idolatry to worship Him. The publication of this book led to the greatest controversy of the latter half of the eighteenth century. Priestley's antagonist was Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Horsley, whom, in one of his counter-pamphlets, he describes as "this incorrigible dignitary." The triumph of Horsley was complete. He proved that Priestley was a sciolist in history and criticism; that he was neither a scholar nor a theologian, and was quite unfit to write on such a subject as he had undertaken. Priestley was the pastor of a chapel in Birmingham, and in 1791, when the "Birmingham Riots" took place, his chapel and private house were destroyed by the mob, who regarded him as a revolutionist, and an enemy to order and religion. He emigrated to America in 1794, and died there ten years later.

After Priestley's removal, the Unitarians received very efficient support from the writings of Thomas Belsham, the founder of the Unitarian Society in 1791. His "Calm Inquiry into the Scripture Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ," which was published in 1811, was at the time, and has ever since been recognized as the ablest defence of modern Unitarian opinions, and as a standard work on the subject. The elder

brethren, or Arians, as they had been called, shrank from making a confession of faith or forming an organized society. The new Unitarians believed it to be their duty to make a solemn public confession of their belief in the proper unity of God, and of the simple humanity of Jesus Christ. This course placed the two sections "in a position of mutual hostility." "The old spirit," says Dr. Stoughton, "if not exactly the old watchwords, had been freedom of thought, liberty for each to think for himself, no dogmatic creeds, no restraint on religious inquiry; but now came the renunciation of what many had once counted their glory, and believers in the simple humanity of Jesus formed themselves into a new sect, at war with other parties in Christendom, for they inscribed a negative as well as an affirmative motto on their shield. It was an era in the history of those who rejected the common faith. It marked a new beginning in the annals of anti-Trinitarianism."

Another of the leaders of this society was Robert Aspland. More even than Mr. Belsham, he contributed to form what has been since known as the Unitarian body in this country. He acted for some time as secretary to the "British and Foreign Unitarian Association." From about the year 1813, the Unitarians began to be recognized as a separate religious communion, and they came into possession of nearly all the chapels and endowments formerly belonging to the General Baptists and the old English Presbyterians.

II. The distinction between the Unitarian and other religious communions is best described in a negative form. It is more easy to state their denials than their posi-

tive belief. It is their boast that they have no standard of faith, or tests of orthodoxy. They are so many individual units without any bond of belief beyond that respecting the unity of God. But as this belief is as firmly held by all other Christians, as well as by Mohammedans and Jews, it cannot be considered as the special privilege of the Unitarians. They reject the received doctrines respecting the Incarnation of our Lord, and His atonement as a propitiatory satisfaction for sin. They deny the personality of the evil one, and the existence of fallen spirits. They deny the plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. They deny the doctrine of original sin and the innate depravity of human nature. They deny the deity of Christ, but yet believe in His sinlessness; and, as nothing in Him was particular, but everything was universal to the race, they believe in the possibility of sinlessness in mankind. "That belief in the possibility of human sinlessness," says Mr. Stopford Brooke, "is one that wants restoring to the Christian Church, for it furnishes an ideal of noble victory through the laws of right which is lost to those who believe in the deity of Christ." Unitarians claim to be the upholders of intellectual freedom, of the supremacy of reason, and of the limitation of religion by reason. They protest against creeds of any kind which they consider have a tendency to fetter this freedom, and to bring the mind and conscience of mankind into bondage. But they have not been able wholly to rid themselves of these much-dreaded creeds. "The negative elements of our belief," says Mr. Martineau, "are four only, and very brief." "The positive elements,"

says Dr. Beard, "appear to be eight or nine." But the principle as to whether a creed is necessary cannot be made to depend upon any system of numerical science. It is not a question of positive and negative quantities. Besides, is there any science which the human mind has yet formulated which is free from definitions and postulates and axioms? Are not these as much of the nature of dogmas as the articles of the Christian creed?

It is true that in some of the regions of science the dogmas put forth are at times provisional, and not fixed. Why is this? Is it not owing to the conviction that no greater boon can be conferred on any science than to project its ascertained data in a form that the imagination can grasp, and can then revise or improve? And if the dogmas of the Christian creed are incapable of being revised, is it not because the facts upon which the dogmas are founded are fixed and unchangeable? We know no more of the facts which are embodied in the form, commonly called the Apostles' Creed, than the apostles who first promulgated them with the certainty of belief. They knew no less than what we know. If the facts which they made known, and which formed the basis of the first Christian creed, were true then, as they believed them to be, they cannot be less true now. This creed, in its condensed form, is the epitome of the faith in which we are baptized. It is the creed of which a Unitarian writer avers that if he were called upon to make a confession of his faith, he would do it in no other words but these, for "this creed was wont to be the sufficient test of Christianity and Church Com-

munion." The preface to the most widely used Unitarian Prayer-book in London states, that "it is prepared for a body of Christians who own the importance both of *definite* individual conviction and of a broad average concurrence among the members of the same Church."

But the special difficulty which the Unitarian feels to lie in his way at the portals of the Church, arises from the metaphysical speculations, as he would call them, respecting the Triune Godhead, which are chiefly embodied in the creed or hymn commonly called the Athanasian. Without entering into the controversy which surrounds the retention and periodical recitation of this form of the creed, I will content myself with stating that it was purely in defence of the holy and inviolable unity of the Godhead, for which Unitarians with ourselves plead, that the whole doctrine of the undivided Trinity was formulated and amplified by the Church. To say that one is three and three is one may be numerically false, but there are departments in nature where it is true, and in endeavouring to explain the nature of the Godhead we are not bound by the rules of arithmetic. "Consider the case of a chord in musical composition. There is no mixture or confusion of the three notes. The trained ear perceives each separately, so that it can instantly detect if one is out of tune, yet all three notes can form one harmonious sound. What is more, the notes of a triad have a certain correlation which cannot be displaced. Invert them as you may, the tonic, the mediant, and the dominant, each retains its characteristic properties." This illustration may fail to be convincing as to

the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, but it serves to show that there are departments of truth in which a trinity in unity and a unity in trinity is possible. The Unitarians further find a difficulty in conceiving a Fatherhood that has no priority in time over Sonship. The expression in the Nicene Creed, "Light of (*de*=out of) Light," seems to meet this difficulty. "The light which streams from a lamp may be regarded as its offspring, but the instant the lamp begins to send forth light, the light is, so to speak, born." It is confessedly difficult to attempt such an explanation, or even an illustration, of these mysteries as will fully satisfy the demands of an intellectual inquirer; but this arises chiefly from the prior difficulty of applying the finite and rational method of interpreting such relative terms as those, for instance, of Fatherhood and Sonship to the infinite relationship of the Godhead. The Church of England owes, undoubtedly, many deep obligations to the Unitarians for their advocacy of intellectual freedom and moral duties. "Unitarianism has brought into prominence a philosophical view of religious action which is a useful corrective in days of much enthusiasm and intense human interest; but its power is essentially that of an intellectual philosophy, rather than of a living religion capable of stirring and maintaining the devotion of mankind." Let us hear what Mr. Martineau considers the Unitarians owe to the Church. "I am conscious," he says, "that my deepest obligations are to others than to the writers of my own communion. In devotional literature and religious thought I find nothing of ours that does not pale before the writings

of Augustine, Taüler, and Pascal. And in the poetry of the Church, it is the Latin or the German hymns, or the verses of Charles Wesley or of Keble, that fasten on my memory, and make all else seem poor and cold."

LECTURE V.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, OR QUAKERS.

I. THE "Society of Friends," or Quakers, who are next to occupy our attention, came into notice from about 1647 to 1650. The Puritans who favoured the Presbyterian form of Church government had at this time obtained the ascendancy in England, both in the Church and in Parliament. The Puritans who favoured the Independent or Congregational form of Church government succeeded to the Presbyterians. They had bitterly complained of Church tyranny, and had loudly proclaimed liberty of conscience, only again to deny it to any but themselves. The persecution of the Quakers in England during the time of Cromwell ill became those who had themselves been so recently the sufferers. And yet it must in fairness be admitted that some of the early Quakers, both men and women, by their audacity and indecency, certainly provoked the restraint and persecution to which they were subjected. When one woman, in a state of frenzy, rushed in the chapel at Whitehall during the time of divine service, to testify before the Protector, and when another stood with a drawn sword at the door of the parliament house,

declaring that she was inspired by the Spirit to slay all who were about to enter, we must not be surprised if the liberty of conscience and religion were overlooked in the necessary attempt to restrain the unbridled licence of a reckless lawlessness. The feeling of antagonism against these lawless "sectaries," as they were called, was carried across the Atlantic by the "Pilgrim Fathers." At Massachusetts it was enacted by the Independents that any Quaker landing on the coast should be seized, whipped, and sent back again. If he returned, which did not seem likely, the punishment was death. When Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain refer with exultant pride to their Puritan ancestors, they should remember, it has been said, that "the latter would probably have been burned alive, and the eloquence of the former would have received a serious check by the boring of a hole through his tongue with a hot iron."

In England the Quakers existed chiefly in the northern counties of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Durham. Their earliest leaders were Naylor and Fox. To the former of these, it is said, the name "Quaker" owes its origin; for since of both Isaac and Moses, and even of the earth, it is recorded in Scripture that they trembled and feared and "quaked," it follows, said Naylor, that the saints ought to be "Quakers." They are also said to be connected with the Traskites, a sect of extreme sabbatarian Puritans who "ate their bread with 'quaking' and drank their water with trembling." Another origin for the name is to be found in one of the casual expressions of George Fox, about "fearing and 'quaking' at the Word of the Lord." And yet

another origin is found in the history of Fox's committal to prison (1650), by a magistrate at Derby (Gervase Bennett, an Independent Puritan), who called him in jest a "Quaker," in allusion to the exhortations which Fox made to his hearers to "quake," and to the warnings which he addressed to the magistrate. Fox, it is added, had made the crushing retort that there would be "Quakers in England when justices of the peace had been forgotten." The Quakers began by calling themselves "The People of the Lord," "The Children of Light," but afterwards it became customary for them to use the title of "Friends," derived from the intimate spiritual relationship which existed between our Lord and His disciples, and also from expressions in the Epistles of St. John: "The friends salute thee;" "Greet the friends by name."

Naylor, one of the early founders of Quakerism, was an illiterate and fanatical man, from whom Fox subsequently separated. He was more than once imprisoned and put in the pillory for blasphemy, and he was publicly whipped by the order of a Puritan House of Commons. His followers blasphemously styled him "The Everlasting Son of Righteousness," "The Prince of Peace." But he at length recanted his errors, and was re-admitted to the "sweet society of the Independent Congregation," which had previously disowned him. George Fox was the son of a weaver at Drayton, in Leicestershire. He was apprenticed to a dealer in skins and leather, and by some writers he is said to have followed the trade of a cobbler in his native village. Two years before his apprenticeship would have expired,

he is said to have made for himself clothing out of some of the skins used in his trade, and to have wandered about the country without any visible means of support. His restless condition unfitted him for work, and he became the victim of despondency and fantastic dreams, which he regarded as divine revelations. In the early part of his life he was deeply impressed with the importance of spiritual religion, and the inefficiency of mere forms of worship to give life and energy to the soul. He speaks of himself as "knowing pureness and righteousness at the age of eleven years," and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. Yet, a few years after this admission, his troubled spirit is seeking rest, and finding none. He seeks for comfort and guidance from the parish priests. "One advises him to smoke tobacco and sing Psalms; another counsels a course of physic and bleeding." He can find no comfort either from the clergy or from those whom he calls the "chapel priests," that is, the Independents and Baptists. They are all "blind guides." "All was dark and under the chain of darkness." At length the divine light within him, the gift of the Spirit, began to shine. His doubts were removed, and he found peace. He felt it to be his duty to make known the principles which had been revealed to him. They were twofold. One was, that it is not a university education, the being "bred at Oxford and Cambridge," which fits a man for the ministry, but that the Spirit enlightens whom He wills. The other was, that he himself has been made the subject of spiritual revelations. His first efforts were directed to "prophesying and testifying" in the parish

churches, or "steeple-houses," which were at that time in the hands of the Presbyterian, and a few of the Independent and Baptist, Puritans. His intrusion and denunciations were as strongly resented by these ministers as if they had been "bigoted Episcopalians," and Fox had been a "right-minded Puritan," clamouring for "liberty of conscience." He delivered his testimony also before magistrates, but, on refusing to uncover his head, he was committed to prison for contempt of court. In 1651 we find him released from prison, and, in co-operation with Naylor, drawing together a large number of converts. But Cromwell thought the society to be so dangerous to the State, that he required from Fox, at a personal interview, a written undertaking that he would not molest the government. At the restoration of Charles II., Fox, who was then imprisoned in Lancaster Castle, was released, as were also some two hundred of his followers. The king was willing to grant them toleration, but the insurrection (1661) headed by Thomas Venner, a wine-cooper, and the refusal of the Quakers to take the oath of allegiance, rendered them objects of suspicion to the government, and in 1662 an Act was passed prohibiting their assembling for public worship.

After the death of Fox, the leadership of the Society practically passed into the hands of William Penn, and with this event came a great change. From this time the Quakers became more orderly, and we hear no more of disturbances in churches, or outrages upon public decency.

Penn was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn,

an intimate friend of the Duke of York, afterwards James II. He went over to the Quakers when he was an undergraduate of Christ Church, Oxford, from which he was expelled, it was said, for refusing to wear his surplice in the cathedral. He also refused to "worship" the king by taking off his hat in the royal presence, and was turned out of doors by his father.

In 1677 he visited America, where the Quakers, after severe persecutions at the hands of the "Pilgrim Fathers," had established themselves. In 1681 he received from the crown of England, in lieu of the payment of money advanced to his father for the service of the navy, a grant of land on the west of the Delaware, which at that time did not yield a farthing of revenue. Here he founded the town of Philadelphia, which became the head of a State named after himself by a patent from the king, Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania alone, it is said, of the American States has never known the horrors of a war with the Indians, and this is mainly owing to the conscientious respect which Penn paid to the rights of the natives, from whom he and his followers purchased instead of seizing the land which they required. He was so far in advance of his age that he established a system of compulsory education in his State. He punished great crimes by solitary confinement and hard labour, and restricted capital punishment to cases of murder. After some years of residence in America, he returned to England at the accession of James II. He then became a great favourite with the king, and was regarded as the acknowledged mouthpiece of the "Society of Friends." The Friends petitioned

the king for toleration on the ground that he, equally with them, dissented from the Established Church. The king favoured them because he saw a means of obtaining through them a better position for the Romanists. But these marks of royal favour were turned against the Society, and especially against Penn, after the Revolution. Penn, like Wesley at a later date, was accused of being a Papist and a Jesuit. He was accused of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the exiled king, and was more than once arrested. He was deprived of his colony in America, but it was restored to him by William, who declared that the charges against him were groundless. Before his death he offered the colony to the crown, accepting in its stead a yearly pension of £4000, which was paid to his lineal descendants until 1884, when it was commuted for the capital sum of £67,000. From the time of Penn the Society of Friends has been a prosperous community, very successful in trade, and winning respect by their exactness in conversation and their method in the conduct of business. "Your true Quaker," says Dr. Stoughton, "may sometimes provoke us by his eccentric customs, but he is usually a man of public spirit, upright and sincere, claiming men's respect, if they cannot share his convictions." It is recorded of Chalmers that he complained of one thing in Quakerism, and that is, the mode of introducing one person to another. "I could," he said, "have recognized in 'Mrs. Opie' a lady whose writings I had greatly esteemed, but I could not feel the charm of any such reminiscences when 'Joseph John' (Gurney) bade me conduct 'Amelia' (Opie) into the

dining-room." The writer of the "Present State of England, 1702," says of them, "They practised formerly abstinence and self-denial, but now of late none are prouder or more luxurious than the generality of them. They are extremely nice in the choice of tailors, semp stresses, and laundresses. They are as curious in their meals, as cheerful in their drinks, and as much in the enjoyment of life as others."

"Properly to understand Quakerism," says Dr. Stoughton, "critics must study the characters of Quakers." And a society is not to be despised which could produce men and women of such varied abilities, and with so much conscientious sincerity of character. William Penn, of whom I have already spoken, was the author of the well-known and valued treatise, "No Cross, no Crown." Robert Barclay was the author of the celebrated "Apology for the Quakers," which consists of fifteen chapters, dealing with fifteen propositions which set forth "the chief principles of the Christian religion as professed by the people called Quakers." They were written first in Latin, and afterwards in English, in 1678. Stephen Grellet, the son of a French noble, who was the intimate friend and counsellor of Louis XVI., became a Quaker in America in consequence of reading Penn's celebrated work, and subsequently devoted himself, both in Europe and America, to the cause he had espoused. His field of labour was in every circle. He attended meetings of the nobility; he interviewed the debtors and prisoners in Newgate, and gathered in thieves, pick-pockets, and abandoned women to the Friends' Meeting-house in St. Martin's

Lane. William Forster, "a man of large intelligence and not without literary taste," took an active share with Grellet in his efforts to reclaim the criminal classes in the metropolis. He also lent invaluable aid to those who sought to mitigate the terrible sufferings of the Irish peasantry during the potato famine. He supported Clarkson, Wilberforce, and the other leaders in the crusade against the horrors of the slave-trade. He assisted the efforts of those who were engaged in promoting the spiritual welfare of the actors and actresses in the theatres of London.

Elizabeth Fry (*née* Gurney), descended from a race of strict Quakers settled at Norwich, after her marriage came to London, and was accepted, according to the Society's rules, as a preacher. She is known and honoured for her "persevering exertions for the moral and spiritual reformation, and the more humane treatment, of female prisoners." "When she visited Newgate," says Dr. Stoughton, "she found herself surrounded by hundreds of her sex, sunk in the depths of crime and degradation. The best key to unlock the confidence and the affection of some of them she found to be an appeal to their motherly instincts."

Joseph Lancaster, the son of a soldier, devoted himself to the cause of education. He adopted the monitorial system, which had been recommended by Dr. Bell, and which still survives in our present code of education in elementary schools. On this system some of the more intelligent elder children are occasionally employed to instruct the younger ones. Lancaster and his friends in the Society established, in 1808, the British

and Foreign School Society, which was to do for the dissenting bodies what the National Society was founded to do for the support of the elementary schools attached to the Church of England.

The Society of Friends has also contributed two men whose names are justly held in honour in the scientific world—John Dalton, the expounder of the atomic theory; and William Allen, the discoverer of the chemical composition of the diamond. They have had also a painter in Benjamin West, and a novelist in Mrs. Opie.

II. The Friends have not been without the experience of the throes of secession, although they have not been fettered with any authorized formularies, such as Articles of Religion, or Confessions of Faith, for Barclay's fifteen propositions are regarded merely as the opinion of an individual Friend.

One secession took place in consequence of the "Beacon controversy," which involved three important points—(1) immediate revelation; (2) perceptible guidance; (3) universal saving and spiritual light. With respect to (1), the Friends hold that the Spirit immediately unfolds to the understanding of believers the great principles contained in the Scriptures, applying them to the various duties of life. The seceders regarded this view as weakening the authority of the inspired Word, which they held to be the sole standard of faith and obedience. (2) The Friends maintained that when neither man nor the Scriptures are near to inform us, the Spirit immediately and perceptibly informs our thoughts, and gives us true directions what to do,

and what to leave undone. The seceders questioned whether the grace by which a Christian is guided be perceptible, and, if perceptible, whether it is capable of being distinguished from the unassisted operation of our own thoughts. (3) The doctrine held by the Friends on the universal saving and spiritual light is, that, independently of any outward information, every individual human being may in himself come to the knowledge of the Saviour. The seceders objected to this doctrine on the ground that it seemed to weaken the belief in the promised guidance of the Holy Spirit, and in the revelation of the written Word.

Another party in 1695 seceded from the Society, under the leadership of George Keith, and were called after his name, but they adopted for themselves the designation of "Christian Quakers or Friends." Keith was one of the most refined and learned of the Society. Being opposed to the method introduced by some of the Friends in America, of allegorizing the Gospels to such an extent as to obscure the historical facts of our Lord's human life, he was accused, upon apparently insufficient evidence, of holding erroneous views respecting the human nature of Christ, and was expelled from the Society by Penn. His followers were at first numerous, but after Keith's return to England, they gradually dwindled into a small sect, and became reabsorbed into the original Society. Keith opened a chapel in London, where he restored the outward signs of the Sacraments, but retained many of the peculiarities of the Quakers. His followers were called "Quaker Baptists." In 1700 Keith conformed to the Church, and was

ordained as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for work in America, to gather in Quakers to the Church. After two years he returned to England, and became rector of Edburton, in Sussex. Of his former followers, he himself, it is said, received upwards of two hundred into the Church by baptism; others became either First-day or Seventh-day Baptists, and a few returned to the Quakers.

In the early part of this century (1827), a small party of Friends named Hicksites, after their leader Elias Hicks, separated from the original Society. They desired to return to what they supposed to be the original tenets of Fox, respecting "the inward light" as superior in authority to the Scriptures. But they reduced the inward light to man's natural reason or conscience, and they held that by following its dictates alone mankind will attain to eternal salvation. They repudiated the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and the Atonement, and, although they are said to be the most numerous body in America, they are considered by the older Quakers, both there and in England, to have departed from the fundamental truths of the Christian religion. The Hicksite theory, in fact, presents Quakerism as "Christianity shrouded in mystical Deism and struggling with it like a lamp in a vapoury atmosphere," and the Society has always protested against all forms of bare Deism.

The Society has for some years been declining in numbers. As early as 1836, Mr. Forster had noticed that "many of our meetings are very small, and they may be still smaller." In that year thirty resignations

of membership were sent in to a monthly meeting. In some places the secessions from the Friends have been so numerous that the Society has become extinct. In 1873 a Conference was held in London, to deliberate on the condition of the Society, and to inquire into the causes which retard the increase of its members. The children of the older Quakers, as they grew up, ceased to take an interest in silent meetings, and longed for a form of worship which would appeal to their imaginations and enlist their active sympathies. So those who cease to be members, and those who decline to become members of the Society, usually turn towards the Church of England. In 1846 Caroline Fox, the remarkable daughter of an earnest Friend, wrote in her journal, "I have assumed a name to-day for my religious principles, 'Quaker Catholicism.'" The younger generation, at least, has discovered that in the doctrine and ritual of the Church of England they have all that the teaching and principles of their own Society affirms, and much more besides of which, in its denials, it wrongfully deprives them. "Those who have left the Society in large numbers are the thoughtful, the grave, the cultivated, and the conscientious. They are a fatal loss to the Society, which they are constrained by conviction to leave. They are a valued gain to the Church of England."

III. 1. I will now proceed to state some of the doctrines peculiar to the Friends. That of the "inward light" is, in fact, nothing else, when estimated "according to the proportion of the faith," than, under its scriptural name, "the Power that worketh in us," or, under its form in the Creed, "the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the Giver of

life." It has been thought that this leading principle in the unbalanced teaching of George Fox, and the more systematic and refined teaching of Barclay and Penn, virtually set aside the authority of the Scriptures. But it was not so. The doctrine, as set forth by the Friends, was at the time a strong protest against the hardness of Calvinism and the narrowness of Puritanism. "It is not easy," says Mr. Maurice, "to imagine two sets of men more contrasted in their opinions and habits than the members of this sect and those of the old Scotch Calvinists." "The Bible, and the Bible only, the religion of Protestants." Such was the well-worn saying attributed to Chillingworth, in his book on "The Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way of Salvation." Chillingworth was always unsettled in his religious opinions. From being a priest of the English Church, and a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, he became a Romanist, under the influence of the Jesuit Fisher; but, having been persuaded by his godfather, Archbishop Laud, to examine the principles of the two Communions, returned to the Church of England. Subsequently his opinions were inclined towards Arianism, and at the time he wrote that celebrated aphorism respecting the Bible he could not bring himself to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, because he considered the doctrine of Arius—namely, that the Son was *like* (*homoi-ousion*), but not of "*one* substance" (*homo-ousion*) "with the Father"—to be either the truth, or at least not a heresy. But a few years after this he discovered that he could sign these Articles, since they necessarily form a preliminary act to the institution to a benefice. "Once," says Fox in his

journal, "there came a chapel priest, a Baptist, to oppose me, but the Lord confounded him. Then he out with his Bible and said it was the Word of God. I told him that it was the words of God, but not God the Word." Fox meant by this a great deal more than a poor play on terms of speech. "Then he said he would prove it to be a god; and so he toiled himself afresh till he perspired again." The protest of the Friends was against that mechanical use of the Scriptures which converts them merely into an armoury of texts from which to draw forth the weapons of defence or offence in theological warfare. Conscience, which is truly one of "the oracles of God," was stifled and crushed, because it was not recognized that the Holy Spirit speaks to each one through this channel, no less, although with a different purpose and over a wider area, than He spoke through "holy men of old," whose writings have been cherished and preserved. If in broken accents and uncultured speech, and in an untheological form, Fox and the earlier Friends heralded forth their doctrine of the "inward light," it was an effort, "a voice crying in the wilderness," to recall Christians to the acknowledgment of all the fulness of truth that is contained in the third section of the Nicene Creed—belief in "the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the Giver of life."

2. But the Friends have further protested against Calvinistic theories of election and reprobation. They who hold these theories teach that the greater part of mankind, do what they will, are predestined to eternal punishment (reprobation), and that a certain number (or, as might be suggested, an uncertain number) are

elected for heaven. Fox says in his journal that he was led to open to the people the falseness and folly of the doctrine of their "priests" (the Puritan incumbents) and "professors" (the Puritan separatists). "Was not Christ," he says, "a Propitiation for the sins of the *whole* world?" Where is this truth, it may be asked, taught with more singular persistence than in the office of the Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer, with which, it seems likely, Fox was as unacquainted as many Churchmen of our day?

3. To the Friends also is due our acknowledgment of their maintenance of the necessity of personal holiness. This doctrine, no less than the others upon which they have laid so much stress, has ever been the doctrine of the Church, which it has inherited from its Divine Founder, and from the recorded teaching of His apostles. But it seems as if this article of the Christian creed, which is included in our belief in "the Communion of Saints," had nearly passed out of sight in an age in which religion had become so formal and mechanical. "The Friends imbibed a notion, which they have in great measure since retained as one of their grounds of prejudice, that the outward ordinances are depended upon in the Church as *substitutes* for Christian virtue and grace and holiness of life."

4. There are other questions in which the Friends have always taken a great interest, and maintained a consistent course of action. They have been always zealous in advocating, and liberal in supporting, every effort which has been made for the suppression of the slave-trade. They have been eager advocates for the

abolition of war, and they base their advocacy on the inference which they draw from the terms of the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," and on the saying of our Lord, "Love your enemies." There is another commandment given by our Lord from the Mount of Beatitudes, "Swear not at all," which they interpret as rendering unlawful all kinds of oaths, even those which are administered in the civil courts in the interests of justice. Enactments have been passed in the English Parliament to meet these objections on their part, and the affirmation of a Quaker is now accepted instead of the customary form of oath. The abolition of the oath would not render the penalty for wilfully making a false affirmation one whit the less severe, and it would certainly close the door against much unseemly irreverence in the usual mode of administering the oath.

5. The points on which the Friends essentially differ from the doctrine and practice of the Church centre round the Sacraments ordained by Christ, and the appointment of an order given to administer them. "To the Friends the sacraments are but casual ordinances long since superseded." "It is strange that where the Church would teach a literal meaning in the words of Holy Scripture the Friends maintain a figurative interpretation, and where the interpretation is plainly figurative they as plainly uphold the literal." "*Outward* baptism," they say, "that is, the baptism by water, is not an ordinance of Christ, or, at least, not to be observed as of perpetual or universal obligation. Under the Christian dispensation there is one, and only one baptism, and that is an *inward* baptism 'with the Holy

Ghost and with fire.' This is the baptism of the Spirit by which conversion of heart is known, and the repentant sinner is brought through living faith in Christ into His adopted family." Of the other Sacrament of the Gospel they say, "The communion of the Body and Blood of Christ is inward and spiritual, of which the breaking of bread with His disciples was a figure, but is not of perpetual obligation." They hold that "the true Supper of the Lord consisted only in the spiritual eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood."

We see in these one-sided views the consequences of a disproportioned statement of the doctrine of the "inward light." In effect it leads to the abandonment of all the outward "means of grace." Yet the apostles, as simple men, must have taken the command of our Lord in its simple and natural sense. "Go ye, baptize." They would surely have been greatly surprised and confounded if He had added, "but not with water." Certainly it would have been difficult for St. John to have recorded our Lord's conversation with Nicodemus if this limitation had been imposed. The apostles knew that baptism with water was administered in certain cases as a symbol of purification in the Jewish Church. Those in the apostolic college who had been His disciples had seen John baptize with water. The outward sign was familiar to them. It only remained that they should be assured of the accompanying inward grace, the promise of the Holy Spirit. So, again, as having been accustomed to the offering of the daily memorial sacrifice (*anamnēsis*) on the altar in the temple, they would at once understand that our Lord was "fulfilling

all righteousness," gathering into His institution of the Holy Eucharist all the ancient types and the sacrifices under the Law, when He said, "This do ye in remembrance (*anamnēsis*) of Me." Here were two well-known sacrificial terms. "Offer ye this with a view to its being My memorial." And having perfectly understood our Lord's commands, and the reason for them, the apostles have handed over to the Church the tradition of their perpetual obligation. At the same time, to state the whole truth, it has been from the first admitted that to place limits to the mercy and grace of God in Christ does not belong to human hands. There have been cases where a baptism by fire, a martyrdom for Christ, has been held to be a passport of admission into the kingdom of heaven. There have been cases where the saying of St. Augustine could alone find its application—"Believe, and thou hast eaten." "Spiritual communion" is an act of faith and worship in which the faithful in the Church are happily now well versed; but it does not involve on their part any neglect or disparagement of the outward form of the divinely appointed "means of grace." In fact, apart from this, it would have to them neither meaning nor effect.

As to the appointed orders of a ministry, the Friends hold that "whoever is inwardly called to exercise the ministerial functions is sufficiently qualified for that post." But no one is at liberty to become a "Public Friend," that is, an acknowledged preacher in the Society in contradistinction from a "Plain Friend," until his case has been submitted to a monthly meeting, and sanction is given to his ministry.

After all, this is no new doctrine or practice. The "inward call" and the "outward sanction" are both amply recognized in the ordinal of the Church. The first question which is asked of the candidate for admission to either of the three orders of the ministry is, whether he believes himself to have been "inwardly called by the Holy Spirit" to that special office, and the outward sanction is given, according to primitive practice, in the face of the Church or congregation, by the laying on of the hands of the bishop, and, in the case of ordination to the priesthood, of the hands of the assistant priests as well, who are present, in conformity with the injunction of St. Paul to Timothy. As the Friends object to the existence of an order of ministers, they naturally object to being obliged to contribute in any way towards their maintenance. They object to the payment of tithes, as they have objected to the payment of a church-rate. The Quaker's kettle, put up to auction in distraint for tithe or church-rate, has often been used as a text louder than sounding brass or tinkling cymbal from which to preach a crusade against all forms of ecclesiastical tyranny. But the Friends object as strongly to all kinds of warfare, yet they contribute to the imperial taxation without the necessity for a distraint upon their goods. They are credited with being a shrewd race in matters of money and business. They probably know full well that it would be impossible to evoke any popular sentiment in favour of their outraged conscience by resistance to this impost. These amiable peculiarities, however, do not prevent the Friends from recognizing and assisting

all the good works which are being carried on outside their own communion. And we of the Church of England can speak with an appreciative sense of gratitude of the unsolicited and noble gift of a permanent residence lately made to the recently created see of Newcastle by a member of the Society of Friends (Sir Joseph Pease, Bart., M.P.).

LECTURE VI.

THE METHODISTS.

THE eighteenth century is remarkable for the development in England of two religious movements which took, in the end, wholly divergent courses. There was (1) the growth and gradual diffusion through all religious thought of the supremacy of reason, which led on to Deism and Unitarianism; and there was (2) the great enkindling of the religious consciousness of the people, which assumed the form of Methodism. When Methodism became the religion of a communion existing outside of the Church of England, the form which it took within the pale of the Church was known as Evangelicalism. With some trifling exceptions, the whole of the religious literature of the early part of the eighteenth century was drawn into the endeavour "to prove the truth of Christianity." And when the people in any age are found to be constantly occupied in "proving" their creed, it is a manifest token that they have ceased to have any belief in it for the practical purposes of life. The orthodox clergy of that day spent much of their time, as it seemed to be demanded of them, in manufacturing "evidence" as an ingenious exercise. It might readily be

supposed, therefore, that their public teaching would soon crystallize into a consistent repetition of statements which, however true and safe, had no power to stimulate those centres of religious force which, explain it how we may, exist in every human soul, and have an undoubted share in moulding the lives and characters of mankind. The incessant efforts of the orthodox clergy to "prove the truth" of the religion which it was their business to preach, left but little room for the exercise of the practical offices of religion; accordingly the clergy of that day have been described by Bishop Burnet as "the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives." Of the gentry of his time the bishop says, "They are, for the most part, the worst instructed and the least knowing of their rank." Of the middle and lower classes he says, "It is not to be conceived how ignorant they are in the matters of religion." And of the bishops, that "their pomp of living and the keeping high tables let in much promiscuous company, and much vain discourse."

I. It was about this period that a revival of spiritual life within the Church of England began at Oxford. Charles Wesley, the poet of Methodism, formed in 1729 a small society of undergraduates, of whom Whitefield was one, who agreed to assemble on Sunday evenings for prayer and the study of the New Testament in Greek. They also bound themselves to visit the prisoners in the castle and the poor in the city on Wednesday and Friday in each week, to attend the Holy Eucharist at St. Mary's Church every Sunday and holy day, and to make a *methodical* arrangement of their time. It is said

that the name "Methodist" owes its origin to this latter regulation, for "method" was a household word at Epworth Rectory, where John and Charles Wesley were born, and thus that the true founder of Methodism was not, as Bishop Warburton said, William Law, the author of the "Serious Call," a nonjuror and a High Churchman, but the mother of the Wesleys. Others have thought that the name was given to the members of the little society in ridicule by their fellow-students at Oxford. John Wesley, the elder brother, had been assisting his father as curate at Epworth, and when, after two years' absence, he returned to Oxford to reside on his Fellowship at Lincoln College, he found the society, of which, by reason of his age, his character, and his position he became the leader, already formed. In 1735, on the death of his father, he was offered the living of Epworth, which he refused; and accepted, from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the offer of a post as missionary in Georgia, one of the North American colonies, founded by General Oglethorpe as a refuge for debtors after their liberation from imprisonment in England. The purpose of this mission, in which he had the assistance of his brother Charles, was twofold; (1) that of ministering to the settlers there, and (2) that of evangelizing the neighbouring tribes of Red Indians. But his attempt to revive the ritual and discipline of the Church among the lately demoralized denizens of the Fleet and the Marshalsea prisons was unsuccessful, and his mission to convert the Red Indians was a failure. His failure in the colony is thought to have been owing chiefly to his imperious temper, his indiscretion, and a

not very creditable lawsuit in which he was involved, by his refusal to administer the Holy Communion to a lady to whom he had been betrothed.

On his voyage out to Georgia, and during his residence there, he had become very intimate with the Moravians, who for some time afterwards exercised a strong influence on his religious opinions. "I did not find," he said, "a door open for preaching to the Red Indians, but God hath opened to me a door into the whole Moravian Church." On his return to England he became a regular member of the Moravian Society in London. It was while he was attending the meetings of the society that he made the acquaintance of Peter Böhler, a Moravian minister. From him he learnt the two peculiar tenets of Methodism; (1) instantaneous or sudden conversion, and (2) personal and absolute assurance of forgiveness. He recounts in his journal, with some minuteness of detail, the process of his own conversion on May 24, 1738, at a quarter before nine in the evening. About three weeks after this event the two brothers, John and Charles Wesley, went on a visit to Hernhutt ("the Watch of the Lord"), in Saxony, where Christian David, a Moravian and formerly a Roman Catholic, with two of his friends, had established a home for the brethren. Here they made the acquaintance of Count Zinzendorf, the patron of the Moravians, and the godson of Spener the founder of the Pietists, or Methodists, of Germany. They were anxious to become more familiar with the tenets and practical system of the Moravians, originally a Lutheran community, but subsequently separated

under an episcopate, so-called, of its own creation. But the familiarity which they sought and obtained seems to have had much the same effect upon the Wesleys as is attributed to it in the common proverb. John Wesley declared that "the Moravians were the most plausible, and therefore the most dangerous, of all the Antinomians" (persons "who profess to be Christians, but reject the moral law on some ground of perverted Christian principle"). He repudiated their doctrine that sacraments and other "means of grace" were of no account, and he finally withdrew himself from their society. "This association had tended greatly to weaken Wesley's hold upon the system of the Church, and although to the latest day of his life he earnestly repudiated the idea of separating from it, yet his movement from that date distinctly and progressively tended towards the formation of a religious community independent of the Church."

About this time George Whitefield was attracting large congregations by the earnestness of his preaching. He had been a member of the society founded by the Wesleys at Oxford. After his ordination as deacon he had followed them to Georgia, where he laboured with great success, and he had now returned to England to take priest's orders. Whitefield persuaded his friend John Wesley to take up the work which he had so successfully begun, but was prohibited by the chancellor of the diocese from continuing, among the colliers of Kingswood, near Bristol, at that time the "Black Country" of England, inhabited by men and women sunk in the most brutal ignorance and vice, and entire strangers to religion.

In his intercourse with the Moravians Wesley had come under the influence of German mysticism. "Its doctrine of regeneration into God's kingdom by an interior convulsion of the mind has left its mark upon Wesleyan teaching to this day." In his work at Kingswood he was confronted with that peculiar form of fanaticism with which the "Convulsionists" of France are associated. It was an epidemic of religious hysteria—"that proteiform disorder of the nervous system in which the fond imaginations, the vain superstitions, and the inexplicable follies of all ages, have originated or been reflected." At every meeting and after every sermon strong men were smitten to the ground, while women fell down in convulsions and cried out for mercy. Wesley, who was always inclined to see miraculous interpositions in very trifling circumstances, thought at one time "it was Satan tearing them as they were coming to Christ," and at another that "Satan mimicked this part of the work of God in order to discredit the whole."

II. (1) The first step which Wesley took in the direction of an eventual separation by his followers from the discipline of the Church of England, was that of setting up "preaching-houses," but without the sanction of the parish priest or the licence of the bishop. In May, 1739, the foundation-stone of the first "preaching-house," called the "New Room," was laid in the Horse Fair at Bristol; and in November of the same year an old cannon foundry at Moorfields, in London, was fitted up and opened as "The Foundry." This was the headquarters of the confraternity. From this time preaching-houses began very rapidly to increase in numbers, and

the Methodists were organized into a "society," which received from John Wesley the name of the "United Society." The name seems to have been taken from the societies of the Moravians (*Unitas Fratrum*—United Society of Brethren), but this "germinal principle of Methodism" has been more truly traced to the influence of the early society, of which John Wesley became the leader, at Oxford. The original purpose for which these preaching-houses were built, was that Wesley and his coadjutors who were in Holy Orders might preach in them if refused admission to the parish church, and also that they might not be compelled to keep with strict conformity to the use of the Book of Common Prayer, as they must have done in consecrated buildings. (2) But when his clerical assistants became fewer, a proposal for permission to laymen to officiate was forced upon Wesley. He at first disapproved of the innovation, and came up in haste from Bristol to London to put a stop to it. But the feminine influence of his mother, and of the well-intentioned but weak-minded Countess of Huntingdon, induced him to yield to the proposal, and he soothed his conscientious scruples with the sanctity of a text: "It is the Lord; let Him do what seemeth to Him good." This was the second step in the organization of the Methodists as a sect. (3) The "preaching-houses" soon developed into "chapels," or "churches," as they are now called, and the lay preachers in these chapels received permission from Wesley to use the Book of Common Prayer. This was the third step in the same direction. As to this permission it may be said, if the lay preachers used, with

one or two excepted parts, the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, including the psalms and lessons, no objection could be raised, inasmuch as these services were condensed from more ancient forms used by laymen in the monasteries. But they clamoured to be allowed also to use the form for the administration of the sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Communion, and so to assume to themselves the right to exercise all the spiritual powers which are inherent in the holy order of the priesthood. The last recorded words of John Wesley show how strongly he resisted this attempt to make the Methodist Society into a sect independent of and separated from the Church. (4) Another step which led towards the final separation of Wesley's society from the communion of the Church has affected the Methodists in America rather than in England. It is nothing less than Wesley's pretended consecration of Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury as bishops, and other persons as priests, for his missions in North America. Wesley endeavoured to veil his schismatic act under the explanation that he intended them to be merely "superintendents" and "elders," and that he had been convinced by Lord King's account of the primitive Church that "bishops and presbyters are the same order, and have the same right to ordain." Wesley was undoubtedly, as Alexander Knox has said, "the dupe of his own weakness and of other men's arts." But the persons whom he pretended to ordain, though some doubted, claimed to themselves the title to the higher offices and the powers which appertain to them, and they became the originators of what is known as the

"Methodist Episcopal Church" in the United States of America, from which, however, there have been several large secessions of members on the questions of the so-called episcopacy, and of slavery and temperance.

III. The first Wesleyan Conference met in 1744. It consisted of five Methodist clergy of the Church of England, and one lay preacher, who assembled in London for what we should now call a "retreat," or a "quiet day." From this time conferences were held every year in London, Bristol, or Leeds. In 1784 Wesley drew up a "Deed of Declaration," which was formerly enrolled in Chancery, and Wesleyan Methodism became an "established" religious institution. This poll-deed entrusted the Conference with the use of all the property belonging to the society, which even then was of a considerable amount, and virtually identified Methodism with the "legal hundred" lay preachers, who are empowered to settle by a majority of votes all questions that may arise in the society.

Wesley died in 1791, at the age of eighty-eight, and within two months of his death the United Society which he had established was deeply divided on the questions (1) of the administration of the sacraments in the "chapels," and (2) of the admission of those whom, in the superiority of their pretensions, the lay preachers called "laymen," into the Conference, or governing body of the society. At a meeting of the Conference held at Manchester in 1791, the members decided to follow strictly the plan which Mr. Wesley left at his death. At other subsequent Conferences it was affirmed that the determination of the society was to remain in

connection with the Church of England; to forbid the administration of the Holy Communion by the preachers in any part of the Connexion, except when the society is unanimous and its union and concord cannot be preserved without it, and then it was to be administered *in the evening only*, and according to the form in the Prayer-book; to lay aside all ecclesiastical titles, such as "*Reverend*," etc., with gown and bands in preaching; and to forbid all preaching during the times of divine service in the parish church. But these restrictions were gradually relaxed, on the plea that if they were retained the society would be broken up. Up to the year 1836 the lay preachers were "ordained" by "setting apart and prayer." From that time the "imposition (or laying on) of hands" was adopted in order to give the solemn semblance of apostolic precedent to a simple function. Thus the steps which, one by one, Wesley had taken during his lifetime, however unwillingly or unwittingly, in the creation of a sect, rapidly increased after his death, and the Wesleyan Methodists are now the largest body of "separatists" from the Church of England.

IV. But they have also, on the other hand, suffered the penalty, if sectarianism be considered by them as an evil, of separation from among themselves. At an early date there had been a dispute between Wesley and Whitefield, similar to that which had raged on the Continent and in England, in the days of the Puritans, between the followers of Arminius and Calvin, respecting the doctrines of predestination and the eternal decrees of God. They preached and they printed sermons the

one against the other. So long as the waves of the wide Atlantic Ocean rolled between them, this was not a very serious matter. But as soon as Whitefield returned to England the quarrel became more serious, for he took up his parable on behalf of Calvinism close by the Foundry, the head-quarters of Methodism, at Moorfields. He was once permitted to preach in Wesley's chapel, and, with singular want of Christian charity, he took the opportunity of attacking the tenets of Arminius, which were held and taught there in some form by Wesley. On being refused permission on another occasion to preach, Whitefield took consolation in comparing himself with Calvin turned out of Geneva. "Wesley hated Calvinism, and declared he would rather be a Turk, a Deist, or even an Atheist." Whitefield became for a time the leader of the Calvinistic Methodists, who dissented from the teaching of Wesley; but the practical leadership drifted into the hands of the Countess of Huntingdon, who gave her name and her fortune to this sect, which she established, half within and half without the Church of England. The countess built what she called "Free Churches" in different places for the advocacy of Calvinism, and the use of the services of the Church of England. As the widow of an earl, she claimed the right to appoint chaplains to serve her churches, whom she bribed by the offer of a black silk scarf, the badge of a nobleman's chaplain, to be worn over the gown. When such men as Romaine, and Venn, and Toplady, and others found that "my lady" was inclined to set up a dissenting communion under her own headship they left her service, and became the

leaders of the so-called "Evangelical" or "Low Church" party in the Church of England. The countess was strongly opposed to Wesley, and the imperious temper of each gained for them respectively the sobriquet of "Pope John" and "Pope Joan."

Surrey Chapel, known in its new form as Christ Church, and formerly celebrated for the ministry of Rowland Hill, who was in deacon's orders, and Ranelagh Chapel, Chelsea, now the Court Theatre, belonged to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, or Calvinistic Methodists. The few scattered congregations of Calvinistic Methodists which still remain have taken the title of "Independent Methodists," and adopted, for the most part, the usages of the Congregationalists. After John Wesley's assumption of his power of ordaining bishops and elders, his brother Charles ceased to take any part in the affairs of the society. It is to Charles Wesley that the following caustic epigram upon his brother's action is attributed :—

> "How easy now are bishops made,
> By man or woman's whim!
> Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
> But who laid hands on him?"

1. The first secession took place in 1797, under the leadership of Alexander Kilham. The seceders were at first called, from the name of their leader, "Kilhamites," or the "New Itineracy," but they afterwards formed themselves into the "Methodist New Connexion." They separated from the society mainly on the questions of (1) the right of the people to have the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper ad-

ministered to them by the hands of their own ministers, and in their own chapels, at the usual hours of divine service, and (2) the right of the people to a representation in the district meetings and in the annual Conference. Kilham was expelled, and he took with him about five thousand seceders from the old Connexion. The Conference solemnly recorded the following not very charitable observation in its minutes: "The Captain of our salvation is stronger than the demon of discord, and He will, in His good time, drive him back to the hell whence he came." Still both these demands which the legal hundred refused, in the intolerance of opposition which they inherited from their founder, have been at length wholly conceded—the former very soon after the occurrence of this disruption, and the latter in 1878.

2. In 1810 the question of open-air preachings, camp-meetings, and "revival services" led to another separation under two local preachers in Staffordshire. They formed a section which professed to advocate the original plans of Wesley, Whitefield, and other field-preachers, and called themselves "Primitive Methodists." This section numbers more members than all the other secessions taken together from the old Connexion, and it is its most vigorous rival. It is strongest in point of numbers in Cornwall, Wales, and in some of the northern counties, and its members have been called "Ranters," "Jumpers," and in America "Shakers," owing to the exhibition at their revival services of the peculiar hysterical conditions which marked the early preaching of Wesley. Individuals, chiefly young women, are said to have lain

prostrate for hours during the services. Some were restive, and in a trance-like state, with closed eyes, walked about the chapel, or were ready, if not restrained, to throw themselves from the gallery. "There is a converting power," it is added, "about these services;" but the Registrar's returns, in certain districts, are said not to present a favourable comment on their morality.

3. In 1815 some Methodists in Cornwall, under the leadership of a local preacher named O'Bryan, separated from the society under the vague title of "Bible Christians." The only point which distinguishes them from the old Connexion, and also from St. Paul, is that they do "suffer women to teach."

4. In 1835 Dr. Warren, the minister of a chapel in Manchester, ventured to oppose the Conference on a proposal to establish a theological college. He was expelled from his chapel, and, on the matter being referred to the Court of Chancery, the expulsion was sustained. Within two years of his expulsion about twenty thousand Methodists had joined him in forming the "Wesleyan Methodist Association." But after Dr. Warren was ordained, and became the incumbent of All Souls' Church in Manchester, many of his former adherents fell away, and those who remained united themselves, in 1857, to the "Wesleyan Methodist Reformers."

5. Three of the leading "Reformers" had been expelled from the society in 1849, as having been the originators of a series of pamphlets called "Fly Sheets," in which the proceedings of the Conference were severely criticized, and some strong and, as the Conference held,

scurrilous reflections on the conduct of the president were introduced. These two sections, when amalgamated, adopted the combined ancient and modern title of the "United Methodist Free Church."

V. The strength of the original form of Methodism, which has been, in its main features, retained in all the various seceding bodies, was its effective system of organization, whether for the purposes of religious discipline among the classes of persons of whom the society was originally formed, of finance, or of Church government.

1. The first efforts which Wesley made to effect a religious discipline was the formation of four or five persons, classified according to the sexes, into "bands," each band being under the leadership of an elder person of their own sex. The purpose of these "bands" was to keep up a sense of sin in the confraternity, and to assist the members in overcoming temptation by means of that mutual confession which St. James recommends in cases of bodily weakness. Wesley, who was more than once accused of favouring the Papists and Jesuits, and of bringing in the Pretender, in reply to an objection against these "bands" that they are mere Popery, makes an answer worthy of record. "A very stale objection," he says, "which many people make against anything they do not like, and which betrays the gross ignorance of those who make it in two respects: (1) the confession we practise (in "bands") Papists do not; (2) the confession they hold (*i.e.* private to a priest) our Church (*i.e.* the Church of England) holds also."

2. The system of "bands" was discontinued after

Wesley's death, as soon as the "class-meeting," which took their place, became an essential feature, "the pearl," in the Methodist organization. The "classes" consist of from twelve to thirty persons. Every Methodist, that is, every "joined member," must belong to one of these classes, and several of these classes form a "society," or congregation. Each member of a class is required or assumed to attend a meeting once in each week, under a leader elected by the members, and to recount his or her spiritual "experience" during the past week. It has been more than once pointed out (1) that when such a system descends into the level plain of a mechanical routine, it is certain to encourage untruthfulness, by causing those who adopt it to exaggerate either the wickedness out of which they profess to have been delivered, or the heights of goodness to which they fancy they have attained; and (2) that this acquired habit of untruthfulness in narrating the details of "spiritual experiences" enters into and weakens the whole moral character. It is said that a serious discussion is being carried on in the society on the subject of the wisdom of retaining the class-meeting as a test of membership, and on the other hand it is urged that "to surrender the class-meeting is to take the heart out of Methodism," and that to the diminution of the numbers in the classes is to be attributed the "spiritual depression" of Methodism. The classes also, it should be mentioned, have an important bearing on the financial success of the society, since every member is required to pay at least one penny weekly, and one shilling a quarter to the general fund, out of which the ministers are paid.

In addition, therefore, to the advantages to be derived from the relation of "spiritual experiences" in the classes, there are considerations of a more temporal nature which demand the maintenance of the class-meeting, and point a practical moral to the remark that "to esteem the class-meeting lightly is to enfeeble the pulsations of the heart."

3. The arrangement of "circuits" and "districts" was the next step in the organization. Several of the "societies," formed by the union of several "classes," are gathered into a "circuit," which generally includes the chapels in a central town, and the mission-rooms in the villages for ten or twelve miles round. The "ministers" who visit these stations are called "travelling or itinerant preachers," and they do not remain in the same circuit for more than three years. There are also "local" preachers, who are lay persons, residing in the circuit. The senior minister of the circuit is called the "superintendent."

4. The circuits are finally grouped together into "districts." Each district contains, on an average, eighteen circuits. It has its meeting for purposes of discipline and finance, and acts as a local committee of the Conference. It has also its chairman and financial secretary.

5. The Conference is, as we have seen, the central governing body of the society. It meets annually in London, or in some large provincial town, and exercises a general supervision of the affairs of the Wesleyan Methodists in England, and in their mission stations abroad.

VI. The system of the original society is adopted, in nearly every essential feature, by the various seceding bodies. Each seceding society has its separate conference, its president, and office-bearers, as each has its separate ministry, separate chapels, and separate members. "To what purpose," it may be asked, in a different spirit from that which is supposed to have prompted the original question—"to what purpose is this waste?" John Wesley, the revered founder of the "United Society of Methodists," was, as we know, a priest of the Church of England. All those who were associated with him were either priests or deacons, or lay communicants of the church. They were High Churchmen of the school of Laud and Sanderson, and Jeremy Taylor and Beveridge. Their avowed object was to arouse into activity the spiritual life *within* the Church. "I hold all the doctrines of the Church of England," Wesley wrote as late as 1790, "and I love her Liturgy, I approve her plan of discipline, and only wish it could be put in practice." "A true Methodist," he wrote on another occasion, "is none other than a true Churchman, precise and methodical in his observance of Church rules respecting the practice of personal piety." "Do we separate from the Church?" it was asked at the first Conference in 1744. The answer was, "We conceive not. We hold communion with it for conscience' sake, by constantly attending both the Word preached and the sacraments administered therein." In the Minutes of Conference in 1749 we find these exhortations: "Let all our preachers go to church. Let all our people go constantly, and receive the Sacrament at every oppor-

tunity. Warn all against calling our society '*a Church*,' or '*the Church*,' and against calling our preachers 'ministers.'" Again, in 1766, the question was asked, "Are we not dissenters?" And the answer was, "We are *not* Dissenters in the only sense which the law acknowledges, namely, persons who believe it is sinful to attend the services of the Church of England, for we do attend them on all opportunities. We are not seceders. We will not, we dare not, separate from the Church, and we will do nothing willingly which tends to a separation from it." "As for myself," said John Wesley, "I declare that I have lived, and that I shall die, a member of the Church of England, and none who regard my opinion or advice will ever separate from it."

It is sometimes alleged that Wesley changed his opinion on these essential points in the later years of his life. But neither his own writings nor the observations of those who were most intimate with him confirm this allegation. Alexander Knox says, "He was a Church of England man of the highest tone." "I am now," he says of himself in his last years, "and have been from my childhood, a member, and from my manhood a minister, of the Church of England, and I have no desire or design to separate from it. I have uniformly gone on for fifty years, never varying from the doctrine of the Church at all." And if in the earlier days of his earnest enthusiasm he yielded too much, as we have seen, to the tenets of the Moravians concerning instantaneous conversion, his practical experience of its uncertain and, in some cases, disastrous results, led him in his later years to dwell upon it less and less, and in his

"Notes to the New Testament," and in the four volumes of his "Sermons," to which every Wesleyan minister subscribes as the text and standard of his teaching, he reaffirms most distinctly the doctrine of regeneration in Holy Baptism, as it is plainly set forth in all the authorized formularies of the Church of England. But Wesley was evidently a man of impetuous temper, who could ill brook any opposition, either on the part of his wife or his preachers, and yet he could be easily led and moulded under the wise and gentle and unsuspected influence of other persons. He was certainly not free from a goodly share of personal vanity and conceit of his own power over those who came under his influence; and he possessed the fatally facile gift of persuading himself that he was certainly in the right when he wished what he did to appear right to others. When he was asked, on one occasion, by what authority he acted in opening preaching-houses in any parish where he saw fit, his reply was, "By the authority of Jesus Christ, conveyed to me by the Archbishop of Canterbury, when he laid hands upon [*i.e.* ordained] me and said, 'Take thou authority to preach the gospel'"—a statement which is partly true, but with a suppression of the other important part of the commission, which runs, "in the congregation where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereto." On another occasion he is said to have made use of the expression which is recorded on his monument in Westminster Abbey, "The world is my parish." He had a profound respect for the exercise of his own authority over other persons—"I say to this man, Go, and he goeth;" but he was somewhat slow

to remember the other part of the soldier's admission, "I also am a man under authority."

Wesley had for himself no idea of separating from the Church, and, as I have shown, he urged his societies by his words and by his writings not to think of separating, or becoming Dissenters. But he must have been singularly wanting in that "uncommon acuteness," which one of his friends attributes to him, not to have already seen, in the later years of his eventful life, that there were manifest signs of an impending change which would speedily follow on his death. Even the system which he had with so much skilfulness elaborated would assist in perfecting the process of disintegration. The weak point in that system was the resting it chiefly on the personal influence of one man, and thus removing it out of the reach of the safeguards which the ordinary organization of the Church supplies. If Wesley had possessed more faith in the Episcopate as "a Divine mystery for perpetuating the Church," and as the authorized channel for the administration of the gifts of grace, and less confidence in his own powers of organization, he might have reformed the Church, instead of helping to found a sect, which soon became the prolific parent of generations of sects. For the Methodists have not only, in defiance of all the advice of their revered founder, separated themselves from the communion of the Church; but they have become, however much they may endeavour to explain away, or even to glory in, the unpleasant fact, a divided house amongst themselves. "The consequence has been an enormous waste of spiritual power, with endless jealousies and confusions,

arising from the co-existence of so many systems of rival 'circuits' and rival 'conferences.'" It is thought, however, that the step which was taken in 1878, in the admission of laymen to the Conference during the last week of its annual sitting (which is called the representative, to distinguish it from the ministerial session) for the purpose of dealing solely with questions of finance, may, within the next few years, lead to amalgamation with the other Methodist bodies in the government of which the lay element is fully admitted. If this event should come to pass, there can be little doubt that the laity will eventually secure for themselves what they hold to be their lawful claim. They claim an entire equality with the ministers in counsel and legislation in all Methodist affairs. And this party—the Dissenting-Methodist party—which is working its way to this position, although not at present very strong in numbers, is strong in knowing what it wants, and in its resolution to obtain it.

VII. Notwithstanding the gradual separation, after Wesley's death, of the Methodist societies from the Church, mainly owing to the assumption by their ministers of the position and powers of a priesthood, the usages of divine worship have been always more conformable to the order of the Church than to that of the Dissenting communions. A writer in the *London Quarterly Review* (October, 1883), remarks that "many of the people for years still looked to the parish church as their home, and acknowledged, so to speak, its *suzerainty*. But an increasing number owned no allegiance whatever to the Established Church, and were

more or less impregnated with the dissenting tone and spirit of seventy years ago—a less embittered spirit than that of 'political Dissent' at the present day." During the last few years the Church-Methodist party, as it has been called, hitherto the dominant party, has been gradually decreasing both in numbers and influence, and the Dissenting-Methodist party has been as steadily on the increase. It is this party which is now agitating for full admission of the laity to the Conference at all its sittings, as it had been previously agitating for a revision of the Book of Common Prayer.

In the Conference of 1882, this revision, which had been advocated eight years before, was in the main accepted, and "the first great doctrinal change ever made in Methodism was accomplished." Hitherto the Book of Common Prayer has been used in Wesleyan Methodist chapels, with only certain verbal alterations. In the revised book, of which the title is, "The Book of Public Prayers and Services for the Use of the People called Methodists," these slight alterations, made in practice, have been printed in full, and besides this, there are many important omissions and additions affecting questions of primitive Church doctrine.

It might be thought tedious in this lecture to enter into all the details of this latest revision of the prayer-book, in what is called, by a strange perversion of the meaning of a word, an "evangelical" or gospel direction. These details are given in an article on "Wesleyan Methodism," in the *Church Quarterly Review* (January, 1885), which is well worth reading and re-reading. Suffice it to say that, as the writer of that article clearly

shows, the office of Holy Baptism, which from the Church's point of view stands at the entrance of the spiritual life of a Christian, is, as revised by the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, not only at variance with the teaching of the gospel and of the primitive Church, but it is also in flagrant contradiction to the doctrinal writings of John Wesley. In other words, the Conference, by accepting this revised book, has practically torn to pieces its trust deed of 1763. Well may a former president (Dr. Osborn) have said at the Conference, "I feel the existence of Methodism is at stake [by this revision]. I cannot be a party to any system of teaching which shall bring me into direct and categorical contradiction to the standards to which I subscribed."

The chief reasons for the issue of the revised book of offices, given by a writer in the *London Quarterly Review* (October, 1883), under the editorship of Dr. Rigg, the most prominent leader of the revisionists, are: (1) That the use of the Book of Common Prayer in the Wesleyan Churches has acted as a direct training of Methodist young people for the Church of England. John Wesley, in "his incidental teaching," by which Dr. Rigg says he declines to be bound, advised every one of his preachers, who preached in Church hours, to read part of the Church prayers, "because," he said, "*this will endear the Church Service* to our brethren." (2) That the Book of Common Prayer contains the catechism of the Church of England, and the baptismal services, which strongly favour the dogma of baptismal regeneration. John Wesley, in one of the legal standard writings to which every minister has subscribed,

says, "It is certain our Church" (that is, the Church of England, for he never allowed his "society" to be called a "Church") "supposes that all who are baptized in their infancy are *at the same time* born again (regenerated), and it is observed that the whole office for the baptism of infants proceeds upon this supposition." And (3) that this service book is equivalent to a manifesto that Wesleyan Methodism, in regard to all Church responsibilities and all pastoral functions, is now everywhere and in every way an independent and fully organized communion; a truly characteristic Evangelical Church holding its own among the different Churches of the empire. John Wesley, in his "incidental teaching," emphatically begs the members of his "society" to refrain from calling it a "Church," and calls upon them to be "Church of England men" still. The meaning of all this is that the last links which bound "the people called Methodists" with the people called Churchmen are being or, it may be, have been already, deliberately snapped asunder. This does not present a very encouraging outlook to the earnest believers and workers in the noble cause of "home reunion." It looks much more as if the relations between Methodism and the Church will be less friendly than before, and as if the Methodist "Churches" were about to haul down the flag of a "benevolent neutrality," and to pass over into the opposing ranks of the Dissenting denominations. "Can this," it has been asked, "be for the welfare of English Christianity?"

The *Methodist Recorder* (Febuary 23, 1883) boldly avers that "the Wesleyan Methodists, from being friends

of the Establishment, are being converted into enemies." They are beginning to disown the relationship of their societies with the Church, which their fore-elders were so ready and so proud to acknowledge, and they prefer to trace their spiritual origin to the Moravians from whom John Wesley, as we have seen, entirely separated himself, when he was disgusted with their fanatical opinions. When the Methodists of this generation have succeeded in disowning their spiritual mother, and in revising the teaching of the revered founder of their "society," how long will it be before, in their case too, "the pious founder will go to the wall"?

VIII. There is one lesson, however, which the founder has taught his fellow-Churchmen, and for which we ought to be grateful. He has taught us to go down to the poor and to the outcast. He has taught us how to turn to practical account the apostolic injunction, "condescend to men of low estate." He has taught us that the classes who, by their daily employment, are far removed from the influences of culture and refinement, cannot be drawn to the observances and the practical duties of religion merely by dry and unimpassioned addresses to the intellect, which is necessarily, in great part, in their case insufficiently trained. The Church must not be afraid of appealing to the emotions, which are reached chiefly through the senses of sight and hearing. Methodism, it has been said, would not be the power that it now is but for its vigorous psalmody. The hymn-book of the society supplies the place of a book of devotions. It is an epitome of personal experiences, although sung to well-known music by a united congre-

gation. The Church of England has happily, of late years, recognized the necessity of appealing more to the emotional sentiment by the plentiful use of hymns. In nearly all the accepted hymn-books there is, as might be expected, more of what is called the objective than the subjective element; more, that is, of reference, in the way of devout and grateful praise, to the great facts of the gospel, than to our individual and personal interest in those facts. But this subjective side of religion has been by no means, nor should it ever be, neglected, and some of the sweetest hymns to be found in every Church hymn-book are from the pen of Charles Wesley.

One of the earliest objections raised against the Methodist system by the high and dry Churchmanship of that day was that it tended to enkindle and encourage enthusiasm. But enthusiasm is one of the motive powers in all religious progress. And the Church can afford to make ample room in its system for enthusiasm, because it can adequately supply the means necessary to regulate and temper it. Wesley's plan of gathering in and "garnering" his store of converts, as Whitefield pointed out long ago, was the stronghold of the Methodist position, whereas, as he said, his own work of merely exciting the momentary attention of his hearers by fervent appeals was "like a rope of sand." This is the plan which is adopted by the Church in the various "missions," as they are called, which are held, from time to time, in our cities and large towns, and also in rural parishes. It is not sufficient to excite enthusiasm. It will soon evaporate, unless it is expended on active work. For enthusiasm in the spiritual domain is co-related to active

work, as heat is to mechanical force in the physical domain. Heat generates force, and force generates heat. We must not expect to retain a permanent hold on those whose enthusiasm for the highest good of man has for so long a time slumbered and slept, unless we make use of some kind of Methodism, that is, of some well-devised and simple plans for religious associations and mutual help. These the Church supplies by means of "guilds" and associations of lay helpers, and kindred confraternities, or "little churches within the Church." Whatever debt is due to the genius of John Wesley, in the organization of such plans, we do not shrink from readily and gratefully acknowledging. But we do not forget, nor ought others to forget, that the models and materials for the composition of his system of "classes" and "preachers" are to be found in the Pietist revivals in Germany, in the "societies" of Horneck and Bishop Beveridge in the Church of England, in the confraternities of St. Vincent de Paul, in the orders of the Preaching Friars (*Frères*), and in that magnificent idea of the Middle Ages—the monastic system.

LECTURE VII.

THE NEW CHURCH—CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH —THE BRETHREN—THE POSITIVISTS.

I HAVE spoken, in the previous lectures, of the history, the organization, and the doctrines of those religious communions in England which have come into existence between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. I propose, in the present lecture, to give a brief account of the history and doctrines of three communions which are of more recent origin, and respecting which information is often needed. These are known as the "Swedenborgians," or "New Church;" the "Irvingites," or "Catholic Apostolic Church;" and the "Darbyites," or "Plymouth Brethren," or simply, "The Brethren." I will also add in this lecture a few words respecting the doctrines of the "Positivists."

I. 1. "Swedenborgianism," or "The Church of the New Jerusalem," or, as the adherents of Swedenborg's principles now prefer to be called, "The New Church," arose in the following manner. A small gathering of those persons who had received the theological speculations of Swedenborg formed themselves, in 1783, into a society for the study of his writings, under the name of "The

Theosophic Society." In 1787 the members of this society began to hold meetings for worship in each other's houses, and at one of these meetings James Hindmarsh, a Methodist preacher, was appointed "to officiate in the room of a priest," administering "the Holy Supper," and baptizing four of the members. In 1788 a chapel was opened in Great Eastcheap, and the name of "The New Church" was adopted in the place of that of "The Theosophic Society." It was then thought desirable that the Church should have a settled ministry, and that some one of their number should be elected to perform the rite of ordination. They agreed to cast lots, and the lot fell upon Robert Hindmarsh, a journeyman printer in Clerkenwell, London. Accordingly he proceeded to ordain his father, James Hindmarsh, and Samuel Smith, both of them preachers who had seceded from Wesley's society. When, about thirty years afterwards, some doubts were raised as to the competency of Robert Hindmarsh, a layman, to originate a succession of ministers in the New Church, it was determined that he himself was virtually ordained by the divine auspices of Heaven—"a decision," it has been said, "more convenient than logical," more easily assumed than capable of proof. The society, which had been established in Manchester by Mr. Clowes, the Rector of St. John's, for printing and publishing his translations of Swedenborg's writings, followed the example of the Theosophic Society in London, and established itself in a chapel in Peter Street in 1793. A "General Annual Conference" was also organized after the pattern of that existing among the Wesleyan Method-

ists, and its first meeting was held in 1789. In 1815 a "threefold ministry," consisting of "ministers," "pastors," and "ordaining ministers," was established, and, in addition, a "minister superintendent" over the Church at large was appointed. Most of the societies at first used a modification of the Book of Common Prayer as their manual of divine worship, but no particular form or ritual is considered to be binding on each society. In addition to those who have connected themselves with the society, which became a religious sect under Hindmarsh, there are, it is said, many of the clergy and laity in the Church of England who have adopted some of Swedenborg's philosophical and religious opinions, but who have not thought it to be necessary on that account to become members of a "New Church." On the other hand, the members of the New Church have never displayed any feeling of sectarian antagonism to the "old Church" on either political or religious grounds. "It is proper," says one writer, "to speak of the 'societies of the New Church' by way of distinction, but not of limitation and exclusion."

"The New Church," we are told, "is not Swedenborgianism. Swedenborg is no more the author of it than Newton is the author of the solar system." If this statement is intended to assure us that Swedenborg himself did not found, and probably had no intention of founding, a religious sect, it is true. That "greatest man living or dead" remained in the Lutheran communion till his death. But there surely is a sense in which Swedenborg must be looked upon as the author of the New Church, notwithstanding the somewhat un-

filial eagerness with which his followers hasten to disown their spiritual parentage. Swedenborg asserts that certain revelations have been made to himself. He makes known in writing the substance of these revelations. They are accepted as divine revelations by other persons. Then a society of fellow-believers becomes gradually formed for the promulgation of their belief, and for persuading other persons to believe the same. The increase in the number of believers necessitates some method of organization. A society or Church represents this form of organization. It draws up some kind of articles of faith or religion, to which it requires at least the implied assent of its members. It is clear that the end is the result of the beginning, and a beginning is due to some one who begins. The writings of Swedenborg, in effect, led to the formation of the New Church, as a society, to study, and maintain, and promulgate the special teaching on certain points which those writings set forth.

I need not enter here into an account of the personal history of Swedenborg, or of the nature of his philosophical writings, further than to say that in his early life he had devoted himself to the study of mathematics and physical science; that he was the first to draw attention to the metrical or decimal system of money, weights, and measures; that he held the office of assessor to the Royal School of Mines at Stockholm, and that he was ennobled by the King of Sweden. From the study of physical science he turned his attention to the study of metaphysics and theology. He was only one among so many who, while attaining to excellence

in the study of physics,—being, as we should now say, distinguished scientists,—find the study of metaphysics (the laws and processes of thought) beyond their grasp, and who regard theology as practically a limitless area for the discovery of the wildest specimens of belief. "A good scientist," it has been said by Professor Momerie, in his excellent sermons on "Agnosticism," "may be a bad metaphysician. The greatness of his achievements in science does not give any authority whatever to his views upon other subjects. No one can be an expert in everything. The scientist has a mission in the world which cannot be fulfilled by the metaphysical philosopher, and the latter has a mission which cannot be fulfilled by the scientist." "The world," says Professor Tyndall, "embraces not only a Newton but a Shakespeare, not only a Boyle but a Raphael, not only a Kant but a Beethoven, not only a Darwin but a Carlyle. They are not opposed, but supplementary; not mutually exclusive, but reconcilable." It is easy to be seen that the knowledge and mastery which Swedenborg had acquired in the varied domain of physical science, so far as his opportunities at that day enabled him to advance, inspired him with an easy confidence in the powers to master and perhaps to introduce improved methods into the sciences of metaphysics and theology. He was certainly theological in his scientific method. Perhaps this would now be considered a preliminary flaw in the casting or moulding of his arguments. He paid no devout homage to "an Unknown God." He had not thought fit to "get rid of the doctrine of a higher life," in order to enable him, with more "exactness of thought,

to become the student of the forms of a lower life." He had not seen his way to deny the possibility of knowing anything about the existence of the soul, or to resolve the soul into a series of sensations and thoughts. In other words, he was not what would be now called an A-gnostic (a, *without*; gnosis, *knowledge*). In his "Principia," he accepts the existence of a First Creative Cause. On the relation which exists between God, nature, and philosophy he says, "True philosophy does not confound God and nature. It leads rather to the most profound admiration and adoration of God." Again, in his work on "The Philosophy of the Infinite," he indicates the assent which reason and revelation give to the existence of an Infinite Being, and to the existence and immortality of the human soul.

The principal works which illustrate his peculiar views in theology are "Arcana Celestia" (Heavenly Mysteries), and "The True Christian Religion." They represent the matured opinions of a man well gifted with intellectual powers, then between sixty and eighty years of age. In a letter, written at the age of eighty, to his dear friend, Rev. Thomas Hartley, the non-resident Rector of Wenwick, in Northamptonshire, Swedenborg fixed the year 1743, the fifty-fifth of his age, as that in which he was "called to a holy office by the Lord Himself, Who opened in him a sight of the spiritual world, and enabled him to converse with spirits and angels." "He conversed," as he tells us in his "True Christian Religion," "with apostles, departed popes, emperors, and kings, as well as with the late reformers of the Church, Luther, Calvin, and Melancthon." Of Luther he said that, "as soon as

the reformer learnt what was taught by the New Church, he began to ridicule his own former tenets." He instances the cases of Elisha's servant in the Old Testament, and of St. Paul in the New, as having had opportunities of intercourse with, or visions of, the world of spirits, but he draws this distinction between those favoured ones and himself, that while their visions lasted but for a brief period of time, his own continued, without cessation, for nearly thirty years. If he were asked by what means he was enabled to associate with the inhabitants of other worlds for so long a time during his natural life, he would answer that it was by means of an "internal respiration," which our first parents, he thought, had lost when they fell from their state of innocence, and that by means of "external respiration" he was enabled, at the same time, to live as a human being in this material world. In early childhood he appears to have been subject to some peculiar abnormal action in the organs of respiration. He was once asked whether it was possible for any one to come into the same state of seership as he enjoyed, and he answered, "Take good care, this is the direct road to insanity; for when a man pores over spiritual and hidden things, he cannot protect himself against the delusions of hell—when by his own speculations he tries to fathom heavenly things which transcend his comprehension." It is thought by some writers that Swedenborg had himself nearly reached the goal at the end of the direct road of which he speaks. "A man," it has been said, "who is capable of drawing a conclusion that natural reason cannot harmonize with spiritual truth, because in a dream he had seen a beetle

that could not use its feet, is capable of any absurdity of which the imagination can conceive." On the other hand, Tenemann, in his "History of Philosophy," endeavours to defend him against the charge of insanity, by saying that "Swedenborg, when treating of the sublimest realities, proceeds with the coolness and imperturbable deliberation of a man entering items in his ledger."

There is much to admire in the singularly pure and childlike character of the man, and the simple beauty of his writings. "But it is one thing," say the authors of "The Unseen Universe," "to admit the beauty, the philosophical completeness, and even the possible truth of many of his statements, and another thing to believe that he actually conversed with the inhabitants of other worlds in the way in which one human being converses with another. Had Swedenborg confined himself to the relation of his experiences in the invisible universe, it would have been difficult to have proved that he was subject to an illusion. But when he discourses with angels from the planets in the visible universe he enters upon dangerous ground, more especially as his information relates only to those planets of which the existence was known when he wrote, Neptune and Uranus being passed over. When we find that he peoples Jupiter and Saturn with inhabitants like ourselves, scientific analogy is so strongly against his assertions that we conclude his speculations on these subjects to have been solely the product of his imagination, and that he mistook these religious speculations for special revelations." "Swedenborg," says one from a very different platform, "changed realities into dreams, and then

out of the dreams constructed facts with which he built up his system of metaphysical theology." If we can free ourselves from the speculative mysticism which pervades his later writings, and from the sense of the overpowering self-consciousness of the writer—that "absolute egotism which constitutes one of the points in which religious fanaticism borders nearest upon insanity"—we shall find many passages in his writings, especially in his treatise on "The Christian Religion," which cannot be seriously read without producing mental and moral results of the utmost benefit.

2. But it is time to turn to the consideration of the chief doctrines which are held by the members of the New Church. Swedenborg certainly did not contemplate or encourage the formation of a separate communion or sect, even when, in the rapturous language of an ecstatic vision, he spoke of the incoming of "a *fifth* Church," predicted as the "New Jerusalem descending out of heaven from God," and being established by means of the revelation of the spiritual sense of the inspired Word, of which revelation His servant Swedenborg claims to have been the chosen instrument. He indicates that this "New Church" is to consist of all those in the whole Church who worship the Lord alone, and "do works meet for repentance." He rather attempted, if without much present success, what Comte has since attempted on other lines, to introduce a new philosophy of religion which should be received by all sects and schools of thought. The writings of Swedenborg provide the source from which the adherents of the New Church have elected to draw their "articles of religion," or the "standard of their

doctrines." This standard at first took the form of forty-two propositions. These propositions were again embodied in thirty-two resolutions, which were agreed to at the first conference held in 1789. These thirty-two resolutions have again become condensed into twelve "articles of faith." The first article states the decision of the New Church on the doctrine of the Trinity. "Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the only God of heaven and earth, and in Him is the divine Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."

"The New Church," says Mr. Chauncey Giles, "is Unitarian in the broadest and fullest and absolute sense of the term, not, however, by denial of the Divinity of Jesus Christ, but by the belief that He is the only Divine Being. God is one Person in the same sense that man, who was created in God's image, and after God's likeness, is one person. Man is a trinity of body, soul, and spirit, or operating energy and life. The soul is the father, the body is the son, and the life-giving power by which all man's activities are excited is the spirit." "The Trinity in God is not a Trinity of Persons but of Essences, the Father being essential Divinity, the Son the Divine Humanity, and the Holy Ghost the Divine Proceeding." "The Nicene and Athanasian doctrine concerning a Trinity," says Swedenborg, "have together given birth to a faith which has entirely overturned the Christian Church."

The New Church professes to reconcile the Unitarian and Trinitarian ideas of God. "It is at once absolutely Unitarian, and at the same time more clearly and decidedly Trinitarian than any other Church." Like

many another attempt which has been made, in both ancient and modern times, to explain, and illustrate, and simplify this doctrine of the Divine Trinity in Unity, this one on the part of the New Church so far from settling the vexed question in a way to satisfy the reason and content the heart, seems rather to increase the inherent difficulties which exist not only in the metaphysical language of the creed, but in the brief formula itself, which looks so ineffably simple in the pages of the New Testament—"The Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

The doctrine of the New Church respecting the Incarnation and the human nature of our Lord is that it was not "perfect," for it partook of the imperfect nature of the virgin, and that the object of Jehovah God was to perfect this humanity, and to return with it into the Divinity which He had from all eternity. I do not think that the Old Church would be disposed, by accepting the doctrine of the New Church, to loose her hold on the ancient belief that our Lord's human nature was, from the first moment of the Incarnation, "perfect." He represented human nature as it existed before the fall, when it was pronounced by the Divine Creator to be "very good."

The doctrine representing the second advent of our Lord is that it is taking place now; that it is a coming not in person, but in the power and glory of His holy Word; and that during this period the old Christian Church is coming to an end, and the New Church is being prepared to take its place. Swedenborg maintained that the last judgment was accomplished in the

spiritual world in the year 1757, when the "former heaven and earth" (*i.e.* the Old Church) passed away.

The doctrine held and taught by the New Church respecting the Holy Scriptures is that there are two kinds of truth in the Word—(1) genuine, (2) apparent. All that speaks of God's love and mercy is genuine; all that speaks of His anger and wrath is apparent. The Word is written according to the relation between natural and spiritual things. The natural or literal sense is the basis of the spiritual. These two senses are united by a system or "science of correspondences" like the soul and body of man. Light and heat express certain conditions in the natural or material sense. They express by a correspondence the condition of knowledge and love in the spiritual sense. The notions conveyed to our minds, for example, by the distinguishing titles of lamb, fox, bear, wolf, as applied to human beings, "correspond" with the characters of the persons so described. They imply innocence, cunning, surliness, or ferocity. The Bible is thus a collection of pictures, some of which are copies of events in this world, others of events in the spiritual world. The number of the canonical Books of the Old and New Testament is by this new rule much reduced. Ten Books of the Old Testament Scriptures, and the Acts of Apostles and all the Epistles in the New, are excluded as "not having the internal sense."

These are the chief "articles of faith" as taught in the New Church, and in the writings of Swedenborg. Although he was nominally a member of the Lutheran communion, he could not subscribe to that doctrine

which was almost made the crucial test of a standing or falling Church—I mean the Lutheran (which is certainly not the Pauline,) doctrine of "justification by faith," "generally regarded as the pillar of Protestantism." In like manner the doctrine of the atonement and of imputed righteousness, which are called the "impossible" doctrines of the Old Church, are plainly those which Swedenborg learnt from Lutheranism, and do not fairly represent the teaching on these subjects of the Catholic Church.

The New Church lays great stress on the duty of love to the Lord and obedience to His commandments, and teaches that a good life is the essence of Christianity here, as it will be the test to each one when summoned to his place in the spiritual world.

It is difficult to recognize in these statements any special mission of the New Church—"to make all things new"—because, with the exception of its theories concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation, its teaching is very far from being new to all well-instructed members of the Old Church.

The New Church claims to be a universal Church by virtue of being itself constituted of universal principles. It claims also to be essentially and pre-eminently evangelical, since it believes more fully, more implicitly, more profoundly in the divine truth contained in the Gospels than any other Church. It claims also to be liberal and rationalistic, in the sense of advocating the principles of humanity and of encouraging the largest and freest use of the reason. But these are claims which are surely not at all "new."

II. 1. The "Irvingites," or "The Catholic Apostolic Church," as the members of this communion prefer to be called, claims, next in order, our attention.

Edward Irving, from whom the former of these designations is derived, was for some years the pastor of a Presbyterian congregation in London. Irving believed and taught that the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit were not limited in their communication to the days of the apostles, but were destined to continue through each succeeding age of the Christian Church. Especially was this the case, he believed, with the "gift of tongues." The result was that the Church in Regent Square, to which he had removed from Hatton Garden, became the scene of much "prophesying," and "speaking in tongues," or, at least, in unintelligible sounds.

But in addition to these "manifestations," Irving was said by his opponents to have taught certain heretical doctrines respecting the human nature of our Lord. He held, they said, His human nature to have been capable of sin (*peccable*) although not sinful (*peccant*). In other words, that He *could* have sinned, although "He did no sin." Our Lord's temptations, he held truly, were as *real* as ours, which he thought they could not have been if the commonly accepted doctrine of our Lord's humanity were true. But "the sinlessness of Christ is the historical expression of the absolute harmony which existed from the first moment of the Incarnation between His human will and His divine will. He was man in soul and man in body, but He was man unfallen." It was because of this perfect union between the divine and the human in Christ that the temptations which

were presented to Him, were at once put behind Him. It is said that Irving interpreted the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 28), "He shall appear the second time without sin," to mean, that at our Lord's first advent He was not free from the possibility of sin, but that at His second advent even the bare possibility would be absent. The preposition in Greek, which the writer of the Epistle uses, means "apart from," *i.e.* having nothing to do with sin, inasmuch as it will be as Victor and Judge, and not as a Saviour bearing the sins of others, that our Lord will come again.

Irving was condemned and deposed from his ministry with the sanction of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. After his deposition, he gathered some members of his former congregation into a room, which is said to have been an old studio belonging to Benjamin West, the artist, in Newman Street. It was here that the first steps were taken to organize and develop the Catholic Apostolic Church.

The order of "prophets" was declared to have been revived, and soon afterwards one of the "prophets" pointed out some one else as an "apostle," and that sacred office was also declared to have been restored. The orders of the Christian ministry were stated to be fourfold—"apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors." The first "ordination" took place on Christmas-day, 1832, when an "angel" or bishop was appointed to preside over the Church at Albury, near Guildford.

Albury Park, now the property of the Duke of Northumberland, was at that time the residence of Mr. Henry Drummond, M.P., who has been called "the

financial backbone" of this communion. He built the church at Albury, which was for a long time its head-quarters, and he was the chief contributor to the magnificent "cathedral" in Gordon Square. It was at Albury Park that clerical conferences, attended also by laymen and Nonconformist ministers, had, in Irving's early days, assembled for the study of prophecy.

Irving was ordained in 1833 as "angel" of the Church in Newman Street. The voices of the prophets now called for the appointment of "elders" to exercise the priestly office, and of deacons to manage financial matters. In 1835 the number of the apostles, which had been hitherto limited to six, was increased so as to imitate the original number of "the twelve." A council was established "by the word of prophecy," and a system of correspondence, on the model of the Jewish tabernacle in the wilderness, and a "testimony" was addressed to King William IV. and the Privy Council, to the Pope, and to Prince Metternich. In consequence of disputes which arose respecting the relative authority of the apostles and the "council," its meetings were suspended in 1840, and they have not been since renewed. The number of the apostles has now been reduced by a secession and by death to one, but "the voices of the prophets" may probably be invoked at any time to supply a succession.

2. The only standard of faith which the members of this communion recognize are the creeds of the Catholic Church. They admit the continued succession from the Apostles of the three orders of the Christian ministry, as they exist in the Churches of the East and

West. They justify themselves from the charge of schism on the ground that it is permitted to them by an ordinance of paramount authority, which they believe has been restored for the benefit of the universal Church, to form a communion in and through which the scattered members of the Church, or body of Christ, may be reunited in visible communion.

One of their chief works, undertaken to further this object, has been the compilation of a liturgy, which is designed to combine the excellences of all the chief liturgies which have been in use in the Christian Church. "The Holy Eucharist" is offered, and the Communion administered every Lord's Day, and the daily service is said at the appointed hours. The eucharistic vestments; the two altar lights, symbolical, as some affirm, of the two Natures in our Lord; the seven lamps burning before the altar, a symbol of the "seven spirits before the throne"; and incense, symbolical of the ascent of the supplications of the faithful as a sweet-smelling sacrifice before God, are to be seen in constant use in the churches of this communion. A portion of the elements which have been (as is assumed) consecrated at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist is kept in "reservation" in a tabernacle at the back of the altar, as a symbol of the perpetual presence of our Lord in His Church, and partly for the more reverent and convenient mode of administering the Blessed Sacrament to the sick and the infirm. On entering and leaving the church the worshippers bow reverently towards the altar as to "the throne of the royal presence of the King of kings."

This description, given partly in the words of a member of this communion, of the worship and ritual in their churches, forces upon our minds two reflections. The first is one of marvel that out of the dry light of Scotch Presbyterianism, with its aversion to sacerdotalism, and even a moderate ritual, there should have sprung, by a process of spiritual evolution, a system which assumes to be sacramental, sacerdotal, and ritualistic. The second reflection is more sad. It is that from a Churchman's point of view this is all imitation. This communion or "Church" has no historical basis, though it aims at being catholic or universal, and claims to be apostolic and primitive. It rests its whole being on supernatural gifts, supernatural voices, and supernatural signs. Doubtless there was, in the early days of Irving's ministry, a reaction in his mind, which by his marvellous power of exciting sympathy he created in the minds of others, against the cold, hard, dry dogma that the "gifts" of the Spirit had ceased to be administered; that "after the day of Pentecost and the gradual departure of the apostles, the ladder set up between earth and heaven was taken away." But there were still, it might have been known, all the necessary gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit to be received through the ordinary means of grace in the Church in the midst of His people, which God had mercifully preserved, in spite of corruption within and attacks from without, to be the witness and the consecrated administrator of these gifts.

Both the so-called "New Church" and the "Catholic Apostolic Church" seem to aim, with kindly charity, at

embracing, through their respective communions or the acceptance of their opinions, all other Christian communions. They have both had their spiritual seer and their prophetic utterances. But the historical evidence, such as is vouchsafed in the original form and constitution of the Christian Church, and in every case in which a Church has been founded in any locality on an apostolic basis, is wholly wanting. The process of comprehension would, in fact, be more properly reversed.

III. 1. The "Brethren," as the members of the third of the communions which I have mentioned prefer to be called, existed as a society first at Dublin, and then at Plymouth, between the years 1820 and 1830. They were known for a long time, from the fact of their meetings at Providence Chapel in this latter town, as "Plymouth Brethren." The person who is said to have first given a form to the opinions of the Brethren was a student at Trinity College, Dublin, named Groves, who was preparing for admission to holy orders. During this time, however, he had come to nearly the same conclusion as that of George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, namely, that episcopal ordination was not necessary to constitute a minister of the gospel, and that every Christian who felt he had received a divine call had a right to preach the gospel without human appointment.

But the principal founder of the "Brethren," as a select sect, was a clergyman who had been a barrister, by name Darby. He first organized a congregation in a large auction-room in Dublin, under the name of "Separatists." He afterwards came to England, and

went about as an independent preacher, organizing small societies on the strictest Calvinistic principles for the promotion of personal holiness of life. These societies soon developed into congregations, which claim to be independent of all other religious communions, and maintain that true Christianity is only to be found amongst themselves.

As their object is to form a stricter community, separated from the world, they protest alike against all the sects. They consider the Church of England too lax and latitudinarian, as designed in theory to embrace within its pale the entire population of the country. This they hold is an unholy commingling of believers and unbelievers, an endeavour to join Christ with Belial. They consider all the dissenting communions too sectarian and limited, because, by reason of their various tests of doctrine and discipline, they exclude from their communion many who are clearly and undoubtedly true members of the universal Church of Christ.

2. The Brethren hold, (1) that all who are sanctified are so perfect that there is no room for confession of sin; (2) that because we (*i.e.* the Brethren) are saved, it is wrong to ask God to "make speed to save us;" (3) that because God "hath made us" (*i.e.* the Brethren) "meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light," it is wrong to pray in the words of the *Te Deum*, "make them to be numbered with Thy saints." This latter objection, as grounded on the words of the Ambrosian hymn, is the result of a mistake (so it is said) in some of the copies. The word in the Latin version

is "*munerari*" ("to be rewarded"). This was altered, carelessly, it is supposed, into "*numerari*" ("to be numbered"). The Brethren hold further, (4) that as God "hath granted unto the Gentiles repentance unto life," it is wrong to pray for repentance; and (5) that it is superfluous to pray for the gift of the Holy Spirit, since He has been already given.

All these peculiar tenets spring from the confusion of thought which mingles, in the work of man's salvation, the objective (that which is done for and outside of us) with the subjective (that which is done by and within us). We may say briefly that the received doctrine of the Church supplies us with the answers to these objections. The Church teaches that all will not be saved *although* Christ died for all, and yet that all may be saved *because* Christ died for all. It should be noticed that in nearly all disputes in which the terms "saved" and "salvation" form the central point, they are used in two different senses. Sometimes they are merely used to mean "the being put into a state of or for salvation," and sometimes they are used of a salvation which extends beyond this life. The Church, again, teaches that God gives sufficient grace to each one who is placed by baptism in "a state of salvation," but that grace does not destroy the free-will of each. "Sanctification, moreover, is not a perfected but a progressive act, day by day through God's grace increasing; and the more we are sanctified the more humble we become, and the more ready to pray for an increase of grace." It is the error of the Brethren that the state of grace, being perfected in them, cannot increase.

The Brethren are strong Predestinarians (that is, that God foreknows and foreordains those who are to inherit everlasting life and those who are to go away into everlasting death). They are also Millenarians in the unorthodox sense of that term (that is, they hold the doctrine of a Millenium or reign of Christ for a thousand years of earthly enjoyment). They believe themselves to be "the assembly of God," not meeting together by human will, but "gathered to Jesus by the Holy Ghost." They profess to take the New Testament as their rule of life and discipline, just as every other sect does, but interpreted in accordance with pre-conceived theories. The main points of positive doctrine held by the Brethren are that "the Lord is at hand," and that "the Holy Ghost is the present sole and sufficient Sovereign in the Church during our Lord's absence."

They hold that every "brother" and "sister" has a full right to "prophesy" or preach whenever moved by the Spirit. This the Brethren call the "many-men ministry" in distinction from the "one-man ministry." They are a widely spread and, they say, an increasing sect; but they have not been free from their little schisms and secessions, not unalloyed with bitterness of feeling and words of reproach. They have even proceeded to the extreme course of excommunicating one another, and they are now divided into three sections: (1) the heretics (*i.e.* the followers of Mr. Newton at Plymouth, who was held to have taught objectionable opinions, resembling those of Mr. Irving, on the human nature of our Lord); (2) those who hold no communion either with the heretics or their

friends, lest they should contract "a taint;" (3) those who hold communion with the friends, but not with the heretics. The originators of the Evangelical Alliance evidently regarded the Brethren as a dangerous sect, and one not to be invited to join a Protestant union, for they classed them with Infidels, Papists, and Puseyites.

"The rise of Plymouthism," says Bishop Forbes, "may be traced (1) to the worldly lives of those who profess the doctrines of the Church, and (2) to the neglect of preaching the counsels of perfection. God scourges His elect by those exaggerations of suppressed truth and neglected practices which constitute the peculiarity of the Brethren."

IV. The system which is known as Positivism owes its origin to the writings of Auguste Comte (1797–1857). The name by which this philosophical and religious system is known was derived from the classification by Comte of all moral and intellectual development under the three divisions of Theological or Supernatural, Metaphysical and Positive. Comte professed to evolve no new principle. He applied Bacon's Inductive method to the entire group of sciences. From Hume he derived his repudiation of any necessary relation between cause and effect, and his substitution of the theory of antecedents and consequents. From Kant he derived his theory of our ignorance of real substances and real causes. Positive philosophy includes science in all its relations, since the same method applies to all investigations. All science passes through three stages, (1) The Theological or Supernatural, in which the mind seeks for causes, aspires to know the essence of things,

and investigates the Why. In its less developed state it is the Fetichism (the lowest form of superstition—*fetisso*, a wooden idol) of the untutored savage, thence it passes into the Polytheism of the refined and civilized Pagan, and the Monotheism of Judaism, Mohammedanism and Christianity. (2) The Metaphysical, in which supernatural agencies give place to abstract forces, which are supposed to be capable of producing all phenomena. (3) The Positive, in which the mind restricts itself to the discovery of the laws of phenomena; that is, their invariable relations of succession and resemblance, and investigates the How. Each of the three systems is radically opposed to, and exclusive of the others. "The Positive Philosophy is avowedly founded on the objective or external sources of knowledge arising from the world outside of us, to the practical exclusion of the subjective, or that which arises from the reflex contemplation by the human mind of its own nature and operations."

It asserts that nothing is to be accepted as truth which can merely be proved to be the highest probability, but only that which can be positively demonstrated. "The primary object of Positivism," says Comte, "is twofold; to generalize our scientific conceptions, and to systematize the art of social life. These are but two aspects of one and the same problem." The term itself, Positivism, implies that which is certain, precise, useful, and real. But it possesses another attribute. It is relative as opposed to that which is absolute. It condenses into one single expressive form the highest attributes of human wisdom.

But it is as Positivism professes to be a religion with its supreme object of worship, its priesthood, and its creed, that it engages our attention on the present occasion. Religion, as defined by Comte, is not this or that form of Creed, but the harmony proper to human existence. The Positive religion claims superiority over all other forms as a religion of demonstration, and as the only system which is reconcilable with high intellectual development. The subjective or moral side of its religion is Sociology, the science of society. Its objective or intellectual side is the great collective life of Humanity. This is the Supreme Being (*le Grand Être*) who manifests to the fullest extent all the highest attributes of life. This Supreme Being, who is the object of worship in the Present, is not immutable any more than it is absolute. Its nature is relative, and as such it is eminently capable of growth. It is the most vital of all living beings known to us. It is the only one we can know and worship. It differs in this respect from the Supreme Being (God) of the Past, whose existence was passive, except when interrupted by acts of arbitrary and unintelligible volition. This Religion of Humanity has its order of worship in what it calls "The New Church." Its festivals are of two kinds, corresponding to the two essential aspects of Humanity; the first illustrating her Existence, the second her Action. In the static festivals, social Order and the feeling of Solidarity, or union with the Present, are illustrated. They represent Morality. In the dynamic festivals, social Progress and Continuity, or union with the Past, are illustrated. They represent History. The object of the Positive worship is to bring

the personal under the control of the social instincts. The most universal and the most solemn of these Festivals is held at the beginning of the new year, thus consecrating the only custom which still remains in general use to relieve the prosaic dulness of modern life. It is called the Feast of Humanity, and it celebrates the most comprehensive of all unions. The last day of the year is devoted to the worship of the dead, and the commemoration of their active service in life. In every week of the year, in the "Positivist Kalendar," some new aspect of Order or Progress is held up to public veneration, and in each the link connecting public and private worship will be found in the adoration of Woman. For the object of Positive worship cannot be the unseen abstract idea of Humanity. It must be something well known to the intellect, and must have a warm life in the affections.

The wife, the mother, the daughter, representing in a concrete form the abstract ideas of present, past, and future, are the only fitting objects of Positive adoration. They are our guardian angels. If these are denied to any one, or if they are unworthy objects, any other type of womanhood may be substituted. The Positive religion has its hierarchy or priesthood. There is the supreme Pontiff, and there is the speculative class, or philosophers. To the Positive priesthood is assigned the duty of convincing and persuading the rich capitalists who are the temporal chiefs of modern society, in case they neglect their duty. Should this course fail, the priesthood may pronounce a formal condemnation of their conduct, which is to be ratified by the working classes and the

women, and many even proceed to the extreme length of social excommunication.

Widely different as are their circumstances and the means they employ, the adherents of the Positive religion desire to regard themselves as the successors of the great men who conducted the progressive movement of Catholicism (Christianity). But they do not omit to recognize how largely Positivism gains by comparison with Christianity. For the whole effect of the Positivist worship and its moral law is to make men feel clearly how far superior in every respect is the Love of Humanity to the Love of God. To love Humanity may be truly said to constitute the whole duty of man. To live for others (*altruism—vive pour altrui*) is the highest happiness. To "love our neighbours as ourselves," is Egotism. Self-love, in the Positive system, is regarded as the great infirmity of our nature. We must not love ourselves at all, but aim at the highest perfection by bestowing all our love upon others. To live in others is, in the true sense of the word, life. "Love is our principle; Order our basis; Progress our end."

I have been able only to give a brief sketch of this new religion, and I have, for the most part, let Comte inform us in his own words respecting its chief features. It may occur to us to ask, What is the Humanity which we are invited to worship? If it is an abstract unsubstantial idea, the experience of mankind does not warrant the probability of a widely-spread enthusiasm on behalf of such an object of worship. If it is man in his collective capacity, as embracing all human beings, many of these will scarcely commend

themselves to ordinary devout minds as supreme objects of worship and adoration. It would be an insult to the moral sense to propose it. Perhaps Comte felt this difficulty when he offered, for the adoration of his followers, Woman as the idolized ideal. He refers to the acceptance of the worship of Woman as the first step towards the worship of Humanity, in the adoration which has been offered to the Virgin mother of our Lord in the Roman communion, since the twelfth century—the Virgin becoming gradually regarded as a personification of Humanity. It may not be admitted by the adherents of the Positive religion, but to those who continue to worship "the sublime Deity of Monotheism," it certainly seems that the worship of Humanity, in its practical issue, is nothing else than a form of sensuous idolatry. An apostle has bidden us Christians "*Honour* all men" (*i.e.* the human race), and if we obey that royal law we shall do well. The honour of humanity will not lose any of its distinctive claims upon our regard because it is irrevocably joined in holy bonds with the injunction to "fear (*i.e.* reverence) God." Nor should we forget that, long before the writings of Comte were given to the world, it was enlightened by the doctrine of the Apostle of Love, who, in the sweetest simplicity of easy language, has taught us a profound truth of social and religious life. "This commandment have we from God, that he who loveth God love his brother also."

LECTURE VIII.

THE ROMANISTS.

IN asking your attention to what I may have to say respecting the relative position of the Roman communion in this country towards the Church of England, I shall adhere to the historical method which I have adopted in the previous lectures, when treating of the various Protestant religious communions. After the accession of Queen Elizabeth (1558), about two per cent. only of the clergy of the Church of England refused to conform to the Book of Common Prayer issued (with a few verbal alterations from the first Prayer-Book, and in a spirit of comprehension), in her reign, and resigned their cures. The Pope (Pius IV., 1560–65) had agreed to accept and authorize this book without any change as "authentic and not repugnant to truth," on condition that the queen would receive it as from himself and acknowledge his supremacy. The queen, however, declined to acquiesce in this proposal, and the succeeding Pope (Pius V., 1566–1572) exercised the right which had been assumed by some of his predecessors, and resisted by the English people, of excommunicating the sovereign, and absolving those of her subjects

who thought fit to avail themselves of the plea, from their lawful allegiance. From the time of the issue of this papal bull or decree may be dated the formation of the Romanists as a separate religious communion in England. Once more the crucial question of the supremacy of the Pope in this realm was raised by the Roman Pontiff himself. Once more the bull of excommunication was issued.

In the reigns of former sovereigns, the nation had been content silently to suffer, because it was not strong enough to resist the power, more temporal than spiritual, of the popes. The fear of foreign invasion or civil strife was more intense than the fear of spiritual penalties. But as the nation became more at unity in itself, and more reliant on the stability of its own resources to resist invasion, or on the absolute power of its sovereign head, the threats of excommunication were treated with a lighter heart. What Elizabeth feared was not any loss to herself or her people, by the bull of excommunication, of the spiritual consolations of religion, for the ordinances of the Church continued to be duly administered; she feared lest a section of her subjects, in obedience to the commands of one who claimed not only to be Bishop of Rome, but a temporal sovereign also, should plot against her life, and make England the appanage of a foreign crown. The question of the papal supremacy is, in fact, the key to the entire historical position as between the Roman communion in England and the English Church. Has the Bishop of Rome any [constitutional] jurisdiction in this realm? Just as in the case of the original Independents and Baptists, so

in the case of the Romanists; there was in their separation from the Church of England a political as well as a religious element. The question of the supremacy and jurisdiction of the Pope was by no means new to the England of the days of Elizabeth. It was a question which had aroused the antipathy of the nation in much earlier times. It was a question which Henry VIII. and his Parliament had practically settled in the Act of Supremacy and in other Acts passed in his reign. It is a favourite commonplace with Roman controversialists that Henry, not having been able to obtain the sanction of the Pope to his determination to be divorced from his wife, Queen Katharine, because she stood in the way of his intended union with Anne Boleyn, said, in effect, "I will be the successor of Peter. I will be pope as well as king in this realm of England." And so he threw off his allegiance and the allegiance of his kingdom to the Pope. As to the question of the divorce of the king, which is said to have been the cause of the overthrow of the papal supremacy in England, it should be borne in mind (1) that the dispensation to allow the king, for political reasons, to intermarry with his deceased brother's wife had been granted by one Pope (Julius II.), and that the grant of a dispensation implied that the marriage, on other grounds, was held to be irregular; and (2) that another Pope (Clement VII.) had gone so far as to send Cardinal Campeggio to open, in company with Cardinal Wolsey, a commission of inquiry into the legality of the king's marriage. Wolsey, too, used every effort, again for political reasons, to promote and encourage the divorce, and he seems to

have pledged his word to the king that it should be decreed. But the Pope was at this time a prisoner at Avignon, and the Emperor Ferdinand supported the cause of his aunt, Queen Katharine. So the cause was indefinitely postponed. It is clear that one of the popes was as ready, if even he was unable, to disannul the marriage as another had been to allow it. It was doubtless in consequence of the vacillation of the Pope and the inability of Wolsey to fulfil his pledged word that Henry, in his own absolute manner, took advantage of what he had ascertained to be the feeling of the nation on the question of papal supremacy. He merely carried out, not certainly without reference to his own purposes, what was already in preparation in the course of events. Even Henry, arbitrary as he was in the sway of his sovereignty, although discreetly exercised through the constitutional enactments of his Parliament, would not have ventured to break with the Pope on a mere personal question if, to use the phrase of Napoleon respecting a different event, "the pear had not been ripe enough for the plucking." There were some good and true men, such as Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and the Carthusian monks, who, without ignoring the evils of which the papal supremacy had been aforetime the cause, could not conscientiously accept the Tudor view of the royal supremacy. On the other hand, the Convocation of the clergy, the Houses of Parliament, the ancient Universities, and even many of the monastic houses, all in visible communion with the Roman Church, concurred in taking advantage of the present fitting oppor-

tunity to renounce and repudiate the supremacy and jurisdiction of the Pope. Englishmen knew full well, from unimpeachable records, the struggles of their forefathers against the thraldom now of a foreign potentate, now of their own sovereign at foreign dictation. One Pope (Alexander III.) had annulled the Constitutions of Clarendon. Another (Innocent III.) had put the kingdom under an interdict, so that "the church bells were silent and the dead lay unburied on the ground." He had also annulled the provisions of the Great Charter. Other popes demanded a tithe of the whole kingdom, and filled English benefices with Italian priests who seldom or never resided, and even with Italian boys. This despotic exercise of a supremacy, which had never been really acknowledged by the nation, led to the passing of such Acts as (1) "The Statute of Provisors" (Edward III., 1351), which barred the claim of the Pope to dispose of English benefices, and abolished the payments of firstfruits (the first year's income of all vacated benefices) to the Pope, and (2) "The Statutes of Præmunire" (Richard II., 1393) which prohibited the issue of papal bulls in England. The abolition of the papal supremacy, which was practically effected by the passing of the statutes (of which mention has been made) in the reign of Henry VIII., was the historical result of the passing of these prior statutes. They were only in an indirect manner connected with the king's divorce. There was no desire, however, on the part of the nation to break with the continuity of Church order in spiritual matters. There was no attempt made to draw an ineffaceable line between an old Church and

a new. A few alterations were proposed, chiefly in the direction of the curtailment of mediæval corruptions and legends, and the adoption of the English tongue in the saying of divine service; but, beyond this, no important change in doctrine or ritual was introduced. There is no record, which has seen or is likely ever to see the daylight, of the creation of a new Church of England forced on the people of England by Act of Parliament.

The breach which was effected in the reign of Henry VIII. was not with the Church of Rome, but with the Roman Court (*Curia*). It was like a suspension of diplomatic relations between the courts of two sovereigns. And it should be added, in proof of the statement, that this breaking off of the political connection, involved in ceasing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, was assented to by the Convocation of the provinces of Canterbury and York, under the guidance, and with the consent of such bishops as Gardiner, Bonner, and Warham, men who were daily using the Sarum Missal, and held firmly to what some would call Roman and others Catholic doctrine.

I have dealt thus briefly, as the occasion only admits, with the historical aspect of this question of the papal supremacy in England, since it is important to our position to show that the Church of England continues to be the same Church in the succession of the episcopate and priesthood, and in its spiritual government, its discipline, doctrine, and ritual. Although some alterations were made in the liturgy and in certain doctrinal standards in the reign of Edward VI., and even such a phrase was inserted in the Litany as "From the Bishop

of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us," the first Prayer-book in English was very widely accepted. On the accession of Queen Mary, England was "reconciled," as it was called, "to the Roman see;" but the persecutions during her short reign, and the foreign influence of Spain in supporting the Roman as opposed to the national party, once more alienated the people. During the first two years of Elizabeth's reign, this foreign influence gradually diminished, and the queen's policy of "comprehension" might have been successful had it not been for the animosity of the Puritans on the one hand, and the action of the Pope on the other. Before the bull was issued by the Pope (Pius V.) to excommunicate and depose the queen, and curse those of her subjects who should obey her, it is recorded in the State Papers, and in the Lord Chief Justice Coke's charge at Norwich, that there were no Recusants (*i.e.* Romanists who refused to conform) in England. During the first ten years of the queen's reign, all came to church to the same divine service we now use; but after the issue of the papal decree, "the Romish English Catholics," as Coke calls them, "refused to assemble in our churches or join with us in public service, not for conscience of anything there done, but because the Pope had excommunicated the queen." But although the Romanizing party had separated themselves from communion with the Church of England, they were not organized into a sect until about the year 1581, when the Jesuits under Campion and Persons came "from beyond the seas," and laid the foundation of a new Church in England, in communion

with, and in absolute dependence upon the Bishop of Rome. From this time a foreign element of ecclesiastical polity derived from Rome, just as a foreign element derived from Geneva and Holland, hindered the spiritual progress of the Church of England.

The old Marian party, which had come out from within the Church, was nearly extinguished, and a foreign religious and now partly organized communion, which never had any connection with the Church of England, was taking its place. The Marian episcopate, too, was rapidly dying out, and in the year 1563, there were only eight survivors. The last survivor was Watson, ex-Bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1584. No attempt seems to have been made, or, if made, it was soon abandoned, to establish in England a separate episcopate for this foreign communion. Its priesthood came from the "seminaries" or colleges which William Allen, formerly Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and afterwards Archbishop of Mechlin, founded on the Continent.

The first of these seminaries was founded at Douay, in 1568; thence it was transferred to Rheims, and at the first French Revolution to Ware, in Hertfordshire. The college was originally dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, but is now known as St. Edmund's College. Other seminaries were established at Rome, Paris, and other towns on the Continent, and dispensations from spiritual censures were granted by the Pope to those laymen who held abbey lands, upon their contributing to the support of these "English" colleges. This new foreign "English Mission" made no attempt to represent the old Church of England, which a modern writer

thinks fit to call the "Anglican schism." Its professed object at first, as it is still its professed object, was to labour for the reconversion of England to the (Roman) Catholic faith, and to effect what is called "a reconciliation of the Church and nation with the holy see." The young men who were educated at the foreign seminaries for mission-work in England were taught that the light of Christianity was extinguished, and that they were to go forth, under the benediction of the successor of Peter and the banner of the Cross, to reconquer for Christ and His apostolic vicar, in the spirit and power of the great Augustin and his band of monks, the not "almost Christian" but almost heathen English. "Scarcely anything else," it was said, "was talked of in Italy but this combat of England."

For many years this "mission" was presided over by arch-priests, and subsequently by four vicars-apostolic, or deputy-bishops, of whom each received in the reign of James II. £1000 a year from the Exchequer. In 1688, the Pope (Innocent XI.) divided England into four districts. In 1840, these districts were subdivided by Pope Gregory XVI. into eight. The vicars-apostolic who were appointed to these districts were consecrated as bishops *in partibus infidelium* (in the countries of the heathen), and did not derive their titles from English centres. But in 1850 Pope Pius IX., with a view to "provide for the prosperity and increase of the Catholic religion in the kingdom of England," by letters apostolic divided England into thirteen dioceses. By the provisions of the "Roman Catholic Emancipation or Relief Bill" the bishops nominated by the Pope were

forbidden to assume the ecclesiastical title of any already existing see. So the names of cities or towns, as Westminster, Beverley, Birmingham, and others, were adopted to evade the law and secure the position.

Cardinal Wiseman was the first titular Archbishop of Westminster. He had been an active promoter of the scheme, and on its receiving the assent of the Pope, he sent his first pastoral to England from "the Flaminian Gate," in which he spoke of "Catholic England as restored to its orbit around the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction and of light." But the establishment of this Anglo-Roman episcopate is what Cardinal Manning called it, when he was Archdeacon of Chichester, "an act of schism." For there is no proof that the Church of England has apostatized from the faith, or embodied in its formularies any tenets which have been adjudged heretical by the voice of the undivided Church. Nor has the English episcopate died out so as to require revival or renewal. If the Roman communion in England, like that of the Greek Church and the Church of England in continental towns, offered its ministrations to those foreigners who had been brought up within its pale, or to those English people who have what they consider an hereditary claim upon them, the plea for religious toleration would be as strong and as unanswerable in its case as in that of every other religious communion. But the professed object of the Roman Church is to reconvert England to the (Roman) Catholic faith. To do this it must be aggressive in its every movement. It must attack the validity of the orders conferred by the Anglican episcopate, a question I shall hope to

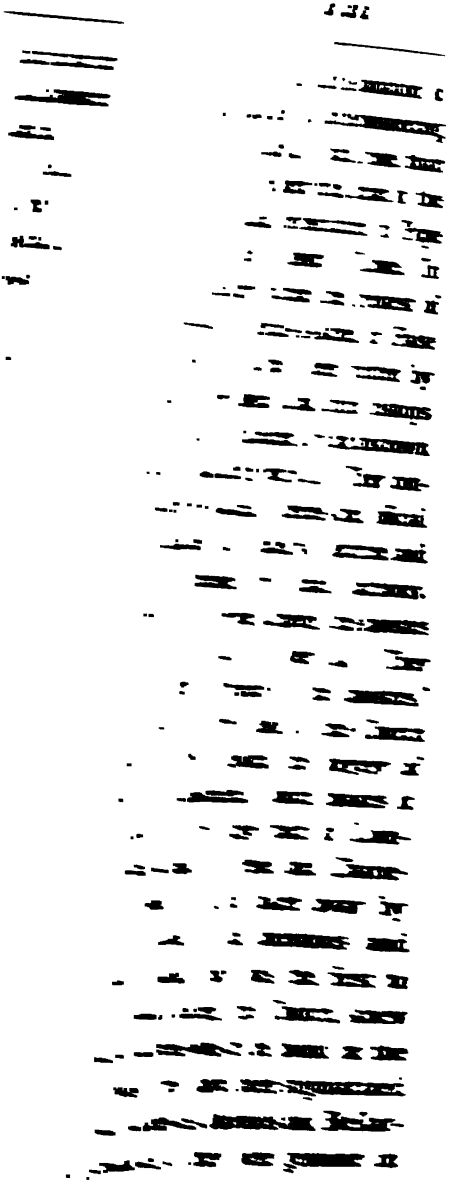
consider in a future lecture. It must deny or disparage the jurisdiction of this episcopate in order to defend the jurisdiction of its own of foreign growth. It must disown the grace of the orders, and the efficacy of the Sacraments as administered in the Anglican Church. It must, above all, claim to be the one true Church out of which there is no being in a state of salvation here, or being sure of salvation hereafter. It must insist that one mark of a true Church is communion with Rome, the centre of unity, where, it is said, is the chair of Peter, the vicar of Christ. This is, once more, the doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope. Only, for the present, the spiritual supremacy of the successor of Peter is alone relied upon as establishing a claim to our allegiance.

II. Let us now, in the next place, investigate this claim by the light which history sheds upon it, unless an appeal to history be still held to be "a treason." The tenet or doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope, which, as we have seen, is the key to the whole position, is one of very gradual growth. It grew out of the fact that Rome was the splendid capital of a vast empire, and the seat of the most numerous and wealthy community of Christians. The bishop of such a city would be sure, from the advantages of his position, to exercise a powerful spiritual influence in Christendom, more especially in the West; and when the empire was rapidly declining, and the seat of the empire was removed to New Rome (Constantinople, the city of Constantine), he would gradually acquire the additional influence which the assumption of the temporal power would confer. But this is far too prosaic and commonplace,

not to say historical, an origin for the defenders of the papal assumptions. One of the essential conditions of salvation is held by Romanists to be communion with the Pope, not because he is assumed to be the successor of bishops of the imperial city, but because he and they are spiritually the lineal descendants in an unbroken succession (so it is maintained) of the Apostle Peter, the first Pope, vicar of Christ, and supreme head of the Church on earth. There is only one difficulty in accepting the truth of this imposing position. It is the difficulty of producing trustworthy evidence. It cannot be proved that St. Peter resided at Rome for twenty-five years, although it is fairly probable that he may have visited it shortly before his death. It cannot be proved that he was ever Bishop of Rome, or that he appointed or consecrated any presbyter to succeed himself as bishop. The legend of which St. Peter has been constituted the apostolic centre is to be traced to the "Clementine Homilies," and the "Recognitions," which are practically a *replica* reproduction of the homilies. But these are both fictitious works, "heretical religious novels," the production of Ebionite heretics at the end of the second century, and written with the scarcely disguised purpose of elevating St. Peter, the apostle of the Circumcision (the Jews), above St. Paul, the apostle of the Uncircumcision (the Gentiles). But this imposing claim of what is called the Petrine succession is not only derived from fictitious sources; it is based upon forgeries, and interpolations into the text of the writings of the fathers. A few instances must suffice. (1) Irenæus, in the second century, is quoted as saying,

"It is necessary that all depend on the Church of Rome as on a well-spring or head." No such words are to be found in any authentic copy of the writings of this Father. (2) Cyprian, in the third century, one of the chief authorities *against* the assumptions of the Bishop of Rome, has been made to say in his treatise on "The unity of the Church," "Upon Peter Christ builds His Church, and the primacy is given to Peter that it might be shown that the Church is one. He who forsakes the chair of Peter, upon whom the Church is built, can he trust that he is in the Church?" This passage, which first appears in a letter from Pope Pelagius II. (590) to the Bishops of Istria, is not to be found in any copy of Cyprian's works before 1563, when it was inserted by order of the papal censors. (3) Augustine, in the fourth century, is incessantly quoted as having said, "Rome has spoken; the cause is at an end" (*Roma locuta est, causa finita est*). Augustine was writing on the Pelagian question concerning man's free will, and what he said was this: "The results of two councils on this matter have been sent to the apostolic see, and letters were received in reply. The cause is at an end; would that the error may one day end" (Sermon cxxxi.).

The decrees of councils have also undergone a similar process of revision. It was stated at a council of the African Church, held at Carthage (419), that a canon of the first general council held at Nicæa (325) had decreed that all appeals from the bishop should be carried to Rome. The council of Nicæa had decreed nothing of the kind. A canon of the local



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... the most unimpeachable evidence to have

synod of Sardica (347), which laid the foundation of Roman supremacy, was palmed off on the unsuspecting African Church. Even that canon, which more than one succeeding pope used to support the claim of the papacy, only permitted appellate jurisdiction to Pope Julius by *name*, and not to the Bishop of Rome. In the middle of the ninth century came the greatest of all the papal forgeries—the Pseudo-Isidore, or False Decretals. They were said to have been written by Clement and Anacletus, the second and third bishops of Rome. They were really fabricated by an unknown forger in Western Gaul, about the year 845. They contain a collection of many so-called decrees and official letters of popes and councils on points of doctrine and discipline intended to increase the papal authority. They make St. Peter say, "not even among the apostles was there equality, but one was set over all." They make Clement call St. Peter "prince of the apostles." They make Calixtus say that "the head of the Church is the Roman Church." They contain the forgery of the famous "donation of Constantine," which makes it appear that the donation of the large tract of Lombardy to the papal states, made by Pepin and Charlemagne, was only the return of a gift taken away by the Lombards. Pope Nicolas I., an ambitious and thoroughly unscrupulous pontiff, who was the first to use these forgeries in revolutionizing the Church, knew that not one of the alleged decrees was to be found in the Roman archives. Although they have been stigmatized as forgeries even by such writers as Baronius and Bellarmine, they are still quoted as if they were genuine in

Liguori's "Moral Theology," the chief text-book on papal infallibility, which is in the hands of every Roman priest

The Greek Catena is second only to the False Decretals in the extent and audacity of its untruthfulness. It is the forgery of a mendicant friar of about 1261. The two chief tenets which are laid down in this forgery are—(1) That the pope is the infallible teacher of the whole world; and (2) that he is the absolute monarch of the Church.

I have dwelt at some length on the modes which have been adopted to establish the doctrine of the "papal supremacy," because, as I have said, it is at the root of the whole question, as between the Church of Rome and the Church of England. It would not be impossible, if it were ever desired, to offer mutual explanations on points of doctrine, and there are necessarily many essential articles of faith and religion which are held in common. But such fictions or forgeries, as I have mentioned, stand in the way of explanations. Two blacks will not make one white. The Church of Rome, however, knows nothing of compromise. She cannot entertain proposals for union. Her demand is, in no equivocal terms, for submission, on the ground that that Church is alone the one true Church of Christ on earth, and that she derives the authority of her supremacy from Peter, as Peter received his authority from our Lord. Certainly, if the supremacy of the Pope over the whole world (eventually) as its civil and ecclesiastical ruler, as the vicegerent and vicar of Christ on earth, and successor of Peter—for this is what it comes to—can be proved on the most unimpeachable evidence to have

been held always and everywhere from the first foundation of the Christian Church, and if can be shown that the credentials for this world-wide supremacy are scrupulously genuine, it would become a serious question, notwithstanding our present contention that the intrusion of a Roman episcopate into England is an act of schism, whether we ought not, for the sake of that outward as well as inner unity for which our Saviour so earnestly prayed, to reconsider our position. But if it can be shown, as a matter of fact, irrespective of sentiment, that this stupendous claim to our allegiance is based on a series of forgeries and fictions and guesses, we may rest content with our lot, certain that we should lose much more than we could possibly gain. It is a powerful writer of the Roman communion, a French priest (Perè Gratry), who said, concerning the papal supremacy, "It is a question utterly gangrened with fraud." It is true that he afterwards wished to "efface" what he had said, but his testimony is true nevertheless.

Romanists rest the whole of their case on the Pope singly in his double character of heir of St. Peter and first Patriarch of Christendom. But it is certain, by Roman canon law that the descent from St. Peter has been entirely broken no fewer than four times over, during the long gaps in the succession of the tenth, eleventh, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. And it is also certain, by the same canon law, that the papal chair has been legally and ecclesiastically vacant ever since 1492, so that, even leaving the failure of the heirship to St. Peter's divine privilege out of account, there has been no pope at all since that time as Bishop of

Rome. This is the Roman situation at the present time. It is difficult to conceive a more serious complication. The Roman Church has insisted on having a visible and human head of the Church, instead of being contented with the Holy Spirit as the divine "Vicar of Christ," and Romanists have suffered accordingly by losing the substitute set up in this wise by themselves, even while still thinking that they are in full possession of it. The proverb says that "Catholicism is the strength of Romanism, but that Romanism is the weakness of Catholicism."

We have already heard attributed to St. Augustine what he did not say; let us now hear what he did say: "We who are Christians do not put our faith in Peter, but in Him in whom Peter himself believed—in the Christ, Peter's Master and Lord."

LECTURE IX.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—ITS SPIRITUAL CONTINUITY.

I PROPOSE, in the remaining lectures of this series, to put before you some facts respecting the history and constitution of the Church of England. In endeavouring to carry out this proposal, I am conscious of opening not merely one large volume, but many volumes of a large work, and I feel how difficult it will be to condense these volumes without doing an injustice to the subject, or to fully open them without producing a sense of "much weariness" in the mind, if not "of the flesh."

The history of the Church of England is in truth co-extensive with the history of the English people. "The Church of England is the oldest institution in the realm. It had a history before the English crown was settled, before the English constitution was formulated, and before the English parliament had an existence. 'If you take the Church of England,' it has been said, 'out of the history of England, the history of England becomes a chaos, a condition without order, without life, and without meaning.' The Church of England was, for successive centuries, the only organized representa-

tive of the Christian religion in this land. It was the only existing institution through which the people of this realm expressed their religious life, and it may therefore be correctly called the historic Church of this country."

The points, however, in the history of the Church of England which are of chief interest and importance to us in these days are—(1) the spiritual continuity of the Church, from the time of its foundation to the present day; and (2) the historical continuity of the Church throughout the entire period before the Reformation with the Church after the Reformation. When we speak of the spiritual continuity of the Church of England, we speak of that which constitutes and perpetuates the inner life of a society which is engaged in promoting the highest spiritual interests of mankind, and which, in its original form, lays claim to a spiritual origin. When we speak of the historical continuity of the Church of England, we speak of that outward framework which protects and enshrines the inner spiritual life, and is on that account, and so long as it fulfils that function, important to preserve.

I. The spiritual continuity of the Church of England, as of every other part of Christ's Church, is maintained in the regular and orderly succession of the ministry. For practical purposes this succession is referred to the episcopate, since it contains within itself all the orders and offices of the ministry, and is entrusted with the chief part in perpetuating them. The landing of Augustin (A.D. 597) at Ebbsfleet, near Minster, in the Isle of Thanet (at a spot on which Lord Granville has recently

erected a memorial cross), subsequent to his consecration as "Bishop of the English by Vigilius, Metropolitan of Arles, and Ætherius, Bishop of Lyons, in Gaul," is commonly considered as fixing a date from which to reckon the foundation of the Church of England with its episcopate and other orders of the ministry. At the same time we should remember that there is well-authenticated evidence of the existence of a Christian Church in Britain during the later years of the Roman occupation, and before the country was invaded by the Jutes and the Saxons and the Angles, from the latter of whom it received its new name of England. The members of this British Church were almost wholly destroyed by the sword of the invaders, or buried beneath the ruins of their churches or their homes. Those who escaped from the fire or the sword fled into the west, to Cambria or to Cornwall, which the victorious English called Welsh-land, or the "Land of the Foreigner." The Bishops of London and York remained in their sees until they saw the country relapse into paganism, and they were forced by persecution to join their brethren in Wales. And we should also remember that missionaries from Ireland had been active in propagating the doctrines of the Christian religion amongst the north-men, the Picts and the Scots, of whom the latter had emigrated from Ireland. In doing this they were but repaying the debt which their country owed in the century before to St. Patrick, who, although a native of North Britain, went on a mission to the Irish, or as they were then called the Scots, and has since been known as the "Apostle of Ireland." Through the exertions of

the missionaries from Ireland, Northumbria was partly converted to Christianity before the arrival of Paulinus, who had joined Augustin in 601, and was consecrated a bishop by Justus, a successor of Augustin. In 565 Columba crossed over from Ireland and founded the famous monastery of Iona. The see of Lindisfarne, or Holy Isle, on the coast of Northumberland (the mother Church of Durham), was founded by Aidan, a brother in the monastery of Iona, in 634, and was ruled by Irish or Scottish prelates until the middle of the seventh century. These missionaries from Ireland laboured also among the fugitive Britons of the West, where they have left numerous memorials of their labours in the names of villages, and on sculptured crosses.

We can, up to this time, trace the order of spiritual succession in the episcopate of the Church in Britain through the Irish or Scottish Church, which seems to have been an independent sister Church to the British, and, like it, to have derived its orders from the Church in Gaul. This Church is said, in some of its sees, to have received its episcopate from the Church of Ephesus, of which the Apostle St. John is known to have been, in the later years of his life, the chief pastor or bishop, and the Apostle St. Paul to have been one of the founders. The direct succession, too, through the Gallican Church, becomes more distinct by the consecration of Augustin, as we have seen, by the Archbishop of Arles. So that while Augustin derived his mission from Gregory, Bishop of Rome, he derived his episcopal orders from the Church in Gaul, and his jurisdiction from the Kings of Kent and Essex.

The kingdom of Kent was the first to receive the good tidings of the Christian faith from the lips of Augustin and his companions, through the influence of Bercta, the daughter of Charibert, King of the Franks, and the first wife of Æthelbert. From Æthelbert Augustin received the gift of his own palace for a residence, and the Church of St. Martin, together with two other British churches, which, having been used for pagan rites, he reconsecrated. He made Canterbury, the capital of Kent, the archiepiscopal see instead of London, as Pope Gregory had proposed. He consecrated Justus as Bishop of Rochester, Mellitus as Bishop of London, and Laurentius as his successor at Canterbury. Thus only two kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy, Kent and Essex, were reached by the teaching of Augustin, and these subsequently relapsed for a while into paganism. "The firstfruits of Saxon Christianity were undoubtedly due to him, but they were firstfruits very slightly connected with the subsequent harvest. The technical transmission of one line of our apostolical succession in the Church of England may come to us through Augustin. The living stream of gospel truth mainly passed to us through British and Irish channels. Of one thing there can be no doubt, that, had it not been for British missionaries, and for the independent mission of Birinus in Wessex, there would not have been one Christian Saxon outside the boundaries of the Kentish kingdom fifty years after the mission from Rome had been planted. The record of the sixty years' labours of the entire Italian Kentish mission is summed up, after the Kentish success, in three failures

to extend their limits, and in a simple abstinence from any effort at all to convert the little county of Sussex, which remained pagan even after the last Italian prelate had been laid to rest in St. Augustin's porch. But the indirect results of the Italian mission were of very different proportions. Had it not been for the link thus riveted between Canterbury and Rome, the Celtic Church in this island would have speedily swept back with a returning wave, and severed the whole land effectually from southern, or from Continental influences." "The mission of Augustin and the victory which the genius of Wilfrid gained over the Celtic Church at the Synod of Whitby, saved England from the clannish quarrels of the Irish Church, and caused her to reap some of the ultimate advantages of being made part of the European system."

But if Augustin, the Italian, is commonly reckoned as the nominal founder of the Church in England and its episcopate, its real founder was Theodore the Greek, a native, like the Apostle St. Paul, of Tarsus in Cilicia. The episcopal succession through the Church of Rome came in with him. He was the one archbishop who was consecrated by the Pope of Rome. Till his time the Church in England had been a mere collection of missions, unconnected and disunited. "The pastoral system thoroughly supervised by bishops, with sees of manageable dimensions, and worked by an educated clergy, and the whole regulated by an annual Synod were the four points on which Theodore's whole work was concentrated. New sees were created and placed by him in subordination to the see of Canterbury, which from that

time became the centre of Church authority in England. It was he who originated the movement which, in course of time, has developed into our present network of parish churches, each with its appointed priest in settled pastoral relations to a definite flock. "A church with its proper presbyter, weekly mass, and a sermon was in all cases to be provided." He persuaded the landowners to build and endow churches on their estates, and to assign to their chaplains the independent position of incumbents, in return for which he conceded to them and to their heirs-at-law the right of presenting to these livings, provided the Church had a sufficient income for the maintenance of the minister. Archbishop Theodore also held the first recorded provincial Synod of the Church of England, at Hertford, in 673, and a second Synod at Hatfield, in 680, at which the decrees of the first five General Councils were accepted, as well as those of the Lateran Council held in 649. In this council Pope Honorius was condemned as a supporter of the Monothelite heresy (which maintained that, although there were two Natures in our Lord, there was but one divine Will, thereby detracting from His perfect humanity). Thus Theodore established the orthodoxy of the Church in England. Nor was his ecclesiastical work without its political effect. It prepared the ground for the growth of national unity, and the subsequent close alliance between the Church and the State. "The organization of the Church preceded and initiated the organization of the kingdom. The single throne of the primate at Canterbury accustomed men's minds to the thought of a single throne for their temporal sovereign. The

regular subordination of priest to bishop and of bishop to archbishop in the administration of the Church, supplied a mould in which the civil organization of the State quickly shaped itself." The provincial Synods, convened and presided over by the archbishop, were the first of all national gatherings for general legislation. These ecclesiastical synods led the way to our national parliaments, as it was the canons enacted in such synods which led the way to a national system of law, embodied in civil statutes, or Acts of Parliament. That the organization of the Church under Theodore must have been systematically effected is shown by the fact that, notwithstanding the terrible ravages of the Danes in the next century, and the destruction of the monasteries, where the chief wealth of the Church was collected, these Northern conquerors were brought within the fold of the Church, and the later period before the Norman conquest was remarkable for activity in the Christian life all over England. Twenty bishops were consecrated during the occupancy of the see of Canterbury by Theodore. He was succeeded by Berthwald, from whose succession all the Archbishops of Canterbury and York descended for about five hundred years. Berthwald had been consecrated by Godwyn, Bishop of Lyons in Gaul, and as some of the bishops who had been consecrated by Archbishop Theodore were associated with Berthwald in the consecration of succeeding bishops, the spiritual succession which had come partly through Roman and partly through Gallican channels was thus united.

The spiritual continuity of the Church of England in the succession of the episcopate from Archbishops Theo-

dore and Berthwald to that of Archbishop Cranmer in 1533, is sufficiently acknowledged. Cranmer was succeeded in the primacy in 1556, by Cardinal Reginald Pole, who died only a few hours after Queen Mary, in 1558. At the accession of Queen Elizabeth the see of Canterbury was vacant, and it is at this point of time that the spiritual continuity of the Church of England is said by some to have been irreparably severed. But is it so? There were at this time only fourteen bishops in possession of their respective sees. All of them, with the exception of Kitchin, Bishop of Llandaff, refused compliance with the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and were deprived of their sees. But there were living three bishops who had been deprived in the reign of Mary, Coverdale of Exeter, Scory of Hereford, and Barlow of Bath and Wells. The two former had been consecrated under the ordinal in use from the second year of King Edward VI. (1548–1549) to the time of Charles II. It is this ordinal of which the thirty-sixth Article of Religion says, "it contains nothing superstitious or ungodly." The latter was consecrated under the old pontifical in use up to the second year of King Edward VI. These three bishops were associated in the consecration of Dr. Matthew Parker to the see of Canterbury. And since a statute, passed in the reign of Henry VIII., required that for the consecration of an archbishop there should be a metropolitan and two bishops, or, in the absence of a metropolitan (as in this case), four bishops, Hodgkins, Bishop-Suffragan of Bedford, who had been also consecrated under the old pontifical, was added to complete the number. Consecration by one bishop is

not canonically invalid, for in fact there need be but one consecrator to speak the words which give the authority, but the number has been increased to three by certain ecclesiastical canons, in order to prevent clandestine or irregular consecrations. In the consecration of Parker to the vacant see of Canterbury, every care was taken to comply with the ecclesiastical canons and with the laws of the realm. It is important for us to know, with all the certainty that can be obtained from public records, that the consecration of Parker as archbishop was both canonical and lawful, inasmuch as chiefly from him all the subsequent Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and by consequence all the bishops of the other sees in these two provinces, and the clergy ordained by them, claim their spiritual succession to the present day.

II. There are certain objections which have been raised against the spiritual continuity of the episcopate, and therefore against the continuity of the holy orders of the ministry in the Church of England, since the death of Cardinal Pole in 1558. The first of these objections has reference to the validity of the consecration of Archbishop Parker; the second to the validity of the consecration of Bishop Barlow, who is regarded as the chief consecrator of Parker; the third turns upon the validity of the ordinal in use at the consecration of Archbishop Parker, the fourth upon the doctrine of sufficient intention to consecrate him a bishop, and the fifth upon the question whether all episcopal jurisdiction and mission must not be derived from the Bishop of Rome.

1. In connection with the consecration of the archbishop there was once a current story which was to be

found in all Romish books which had anything to say about Holy Orders in the Church of England. It was called "The Nag's Head Fable." There are five or six somewhat inconsistent versions of this story, but the substance is that Dr. Matthew Parker having been nominated, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, to succeed Cardinal Pole in the see of Canterbury, went, with various other ecclesiastics, to the "Nag's Head" tavern in Cheapside, where, on a day unspecified, Scory, who had been consecrated Bishop of Hereford in 1551, consecrated by a mock ceremony Parker, and the other bishops-elect, and that they, in the like mock way, consecrated Scory. This marvellous performance, so little likely to have remained unknown at a time when the fiercest light was beating on the throne and on the Church, was not made known until 1604, forty-five years after the consecration of Parker. The story was traced to the inventive imagination of Christopher Holywood (or *a Sacro Bosco*), an exiled Anglo-Roman Jesuit, who recorded it as hearsay from a Mr. Neale, in a controversial book published at Antwerp. As this story has now been so fully shown to rest upon no credible evidence, and to be in itself so absurdly improbable, it has been given up by every Roman controversialist of any note. It will be a more interesting pursuit to look at the evidence on the other side. The public records prove (1) that Parker was elected by the dean and canons of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, on September 6, 1559; (2) that the confirmation of his election took place at St. Mary-le-Bow Church, December 9; (3) that his consecration was performed in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, December 17.

A narrative of his consecration, together with a copy of the register, still exists in the archives of Lambeth, and a duplicate in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which gives a detailed account of what took place, and of the dresses and ceremonies, noting specially the fact that each of the four consecrating bishops on this particular occasion, used the Form or Words of Consecration. In addition to the evidence afforded by the public records, both civil and ecclesiastical, of the valid consecration of Archbishop Parker, there is also the evidence to be gathered from (1) *The Zurich Letters*, that is, letters from English Reformers, chiefly of the early part of Elizabeth's reign, giving to their friends abroad an account of the religious settlement which was at that time being made in the Church of England. These letters agree in their statements respecting the consecration of Parker and other bishops with the ecclesiastical registers and the State Papers. (2) An entry in a diary kept by Machyn, an undertaker, and a citizen of London, who notes the fact of Archbishop Parker's consecration on the correct day (December 17) without the faintest idea of any controversy that might afterwards arise on the subject. (3) An entry in the archbishop's private diary, expressed in words most natural, but evidently not intended for any eyes but his own to see. Here, too, we may add what Dr. Döllinger has said on the question of Parker's consecration: "The fact that Parker was rightly consecrated by four rightly consecrated bishops is as well established a fact as any fact can be. Bossuet has acknowledged the validity of Parker's consecration, and no critical historian can dis-

pute it. The orders of the Roman Church could be disputed with more reason."

2. The consecration of Bishop Barlow becomes of importance chiefly in connection with that of Archbishop Parker. It is said that the record of his consecration is missing, probably owing to the carelessness of the registrar during the primacy of Cranmer. This is an objection which applies equally to certain other bishops. The record of the consecration of Goldwell, for instance, who sat at the Council of Trent, as Bishop of St. Asaph, is missing. But it is an objection which had no weight with persons living at the time; for Bishop Barlow's consecration was not doubted until eighty years after the date commonly assigned to it. Bishop Barlow is known to have been elected in 1536 to the see of St. Asaph, and in the same year to have been translated to the see of St. David's; and it is known, from the duly entered records, that his election to each of these sees was confirmed. In 1548 he was translated to the see of Bath and Wells, and 1559 to that of Chichester. It is known that he sat in the House of Lords, and in the Upper House of Convocation in June, 1536, and we may be sure that both these assemblies would have raised a fatal objection to the admission of a prelate concerning whose lawful consecration there was any doubt. Further, the *congé' d'élire* issued by Queen Mary, naming Gilbert Bourne Bishop of Bath and Wells, recites "the cession of William Barlow, the last bishop thereof," as the cause of the vacancy. On this subject Dr. Lingard, the Roman Catholic historian, writes, in the *Catholic Magazine*, as follows: "For ten years Barlow performed all the sacred

duties, and exercised all the civil rights of a consecrated bishop. He was one of the officiating bishops at the consecration of Bulkley, yet we are now called upon to believe that he was no bishop, and yet that no one at the time objected to his orders, although in that case they must have known them to be illegal, or to his ordinations, although they must have known them to be irregular, or to his performance of episcopal functions, although they must have known that each such function, if he were not a lawful bishop, was a gross and wilful sacrilege." But the importance of the fact of Bishop Barlow's consecration, of which there can be no reasonable doubt, is limited by the circumstance that he was only one of four bishops who joined in the consecration of Archbishop Parker, and that the consecration of the other three has never been called in question. Each of the four consecrating bishops too joined, as we have seen, in using the same form of words in laying their hands on the head of the archbishop-elect.

3. A third objection which has been raised against the validity of holy orders in the Church of England, asserts that the form of conferring the order of a bishop on Parker according to the revised ordinal of the second year of Edward VI. was imperfect and invalid, inasmuch as the office of a bishop, which it was supposed to confer, was not specified at the time of the laying on of hands, as it is, for instance, in our present Ordinal. Of the full form now in use, "Receive (or take) the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God," only the former part, "Receive the Holy Ghost," was used, and it is urged that this form might be equally

adapted for any of the minor orders in the Church. The answer to this objection is very obvious.

In none of the old English pontificals (except that of Exeter) is there any determining word used at the time of the imposition of hands. So that Archbishop Parker was in no worse case in this respect than any of his predecessors in the see of Canterbury. The same defect, if it be one, is observable in the Roman pontifical. "If there are true bishops in the Church of Rome although they were not called bishops in the very act of consecrating them,—if there are true bishops in the Eastern Churches, although neither their heads nor their hands are anointed with oil,—then, so far as the form of consecration goes, there are, and always have been, true bishops also in the Church of England; true priests first of all, because truly ordained to the priesthood, and then, by as true a consecration, true bishops also. And upon grounds which the Church of Rome is bound in fairness to admit, if ever there should be a reconciliation between that Church and ours, and if other stumbling-blocks on either side should be removed out of the path, the bishops and priests of the Church of England must be received not as laymen, but as in Holy Orders."

4. Another objection has been raised to the validity of our orders on the ground of the absence of sufficient intention. To this objection it may be replied that "the words and act of ordination are not a charm which imprint a character on the recipient by the use of a number of syllables taken in a certain order. They are the outward expression by which the body of the Christian Church, through its appointed ministers, and

in the way sanctioned by divine authority, transmits and intends to transmit the promised grace of the Holy Spirit for the special office of the ministry. Provided the persons concerned are seriously engaged as in a religious rite, and so far intend to do what the Church appoints them to do, other necessary conditions being fulfilled, it is obvious that the ordinary plain rules of human life and actions would pronounce the act to be rightly and duly performed."

5. A fifth objection, when all the others have in turn been answered, has been raised, on the question of jurisdiction and mission. It is said that all authority to exercise any spiritual office in the Catholic Church must be derived from the see of Rome, since the Pope is universal bishop, and supreme over all other bishops in Christendom. But this is a proposition which was never heard of before the twelfth century, and is merely an invention of Italian theologians for the purpose of exalting the Roman see. It is simply, so far as the Church of England is concerned, a branch of those usurpations on the part of the Pope, which stand or fall with the question of papal supremacy. The jurisdiction of one chief bishop, *e.g.* that of Rome over all other bishops, is not of divine but of *human* right, and therefore in its nature liable to alteration. It is a jurisdiction which, if confined within rightful limits, might be granted if it were thought expedient. But it was never wholly acquiesced in by the English Church and nation, and when pushed to an exorbitant degree, and made the source of intolerable oppression and evil, it was finally rejected. "The present Ultramontane supporters of the

papacy claim to convert what is really a matter of ecclesiastical, and partially also of State arrangement, into a fundamental dogma of a divinely appointed centre of all valid authority for the exercise of spiritual functions, of all true faith, and of all grace and truth to the whole Church." Moreover, it has been shown that the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction, appertaining to or derived from the see of Rome, has failed wholly throughout the entire Latin communion. "All acts done by the Popes themselves, or requiring papal sanction for their validity since 1492 (the date of the simoniacal election of the infamous Roderic Borgia under the name of Alexander VI.), have been inherently null and void, because emanating from usurping and illicit Pontiffs, every one of whom has been uncanonically intruded into the papal chair, by mere titular electors, viz. cardinals, having no claim to vote in consequence of their own irregular appointment. The whole body of the cardinals nominated by Alexander VI. and his immediate successors, Julius II. and Leo X., were illicitly appointed by reason of simony, that is, by purchase of their rank, and therefore were not true cardinals. As a matter of course these illicitly appointed cardinals, being the electoral body, can only have elected illicit popes, who in their turn being themselves illicitly elected, could only have appointed more illicit cardinals." There has thus been no valid Pope for nearly four hundred years, and, accordingly, on Roman principles, the Anglican bishops in the reign of Elizabeth would have turned in vain to Rome for their mission, or for authority to exercise their lawful jurisdiction.

III. As the holy orders conferred by the episcopate, and the episcopate itself of the Church of England have been discredited, with what show of reason we have seen, because the bishops have not received mission and jurisdiction from the see of Rome, so, on the other hand, to leave no weapon untried in the armoury of controversy, it has been urged against the ministers of the Church of England that they derive their jurisdiction from the State. Hitherto, the objections which have been considered and answered have proceeded from the Ultramontane defenders of papal supremacy. The objections have been urged by those who, like ourselves, hold the necessity of an apostolic ministry derived through the episcopate to the constitution and continuance of the Christian Church, but who, unlike ourselves, supplement this ancient doctrine with the more modern theory of papal jurisdiction.

The last objection comes both from the Roman Church and from English Nonconformists who, while they lay no stress on the necessity for an apostolic ministry, shrink from the incongruity of a State tribunal dealing with religious belief. In replying to the objection as it is urged by the Roman Church, we may point out, first, that the extreme State claims of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were provoked, if they are not to be justified, by previous usurpation, equally indefensible, of the court of Rome upon the State; secondly, that these extreme claims were qualified by restrictions and admissions; and thirdly, that every one of these claims has been long since renounced and abolished, so that neither the Church nor the nation can be held perma-

nently responsible. As this is a question which will meet us again when we have to consider the history of papal supremacy, and the relations between the Church and the State in connection with establishment, we may now let it rest, especially too as it would take us away too far from the main subject now before us—the spiritual continuity of the Church of England, as evidenced in the regular succession of the ministry. The evidence we have already put forward shows that the spiritual succession of Archbishop Parker is derived ultimately from Berthwald and Theodore and Augustin, and if from these bishops, then—if they were rightly consecrated, of which there is no doubt on either side—from bishops who were more easily able, by reason of a less distance of time, to trace their spiritual descent from one or other of the apostles. And in addition to the evidence from public and private sources in favour of Archbishop Parker's valid consecration, and the consequent validity of all consecrations performed by him, and of holy orders generally in the Church of England, a collateral proof is to be found in the brief of Pope Julius III., March 8, 1554. This Pope, without any distinction of the ordinations conferred during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., or any allusions to the difference of the ordinals or pontificals in use, left it to the judgment of Cardinal Pole to "rehabilitate"—that is to reconcile and reinstate in their cathedral churches, not to reconsecrate—those of the bishops whom he should judge worthy, to allow them the consecration they had received under the revised ordinal of Edward VI., and to permit them to consecrate and

ordain others. One of these bishops whose episcopal orders were thus recognized and allowed by the Pope, was Scory, of Hereford, one of the consecrators of Archbishop Parker. Further, at the Council of Trent, a discussion took place during which it was shown that the English bishops who had been ordained by the pontifical in use in the reign of Edward VI. were acknowledged to have every element of the episcopal character, and that English orders were admitted as valid on every ground except that of their receiving confirmation from the Pope. And that this confirmation or recognition is not essential is proved by the fact that the independent validity and regularity of holy orders in the Eastern Church is admitted by the Church of Rome without demur, and that bishops of the Eastern Church were invited by Pope Pius IX. to the council held in the Vatican in 1869.

I have dwelt at some length, and yet in as brief a manner as the voluminous nature of the question admits, on the validity and regularity of holy orders in the Church of England, because if their validity can be firmly established on a historical basis, as we have seen it can be, it affords a sufficient proof of the assertion that there has been no breach of spiritual continuity. It is readily admitted that this spiritual continuity was unbroken from (let us say) the time of the consecration of Augustin in 597, to that of Parker in 1559, through whom and through some of those bishops who were his consecrators, the present succession in the episcopate and the priesthood in the Church of England has been derived. If the consecration of those bishops was in

all essential points valid and regular, the spiritual continuity of the Church of England remains unbroken, and whatever schism has been made, it has not been made by English Churchmen withdrawing from the old Church, and setting up a new one after their own invention, but by the supporters of the papal supremacy, who withdrew from communion with the Church as it had been resettled, after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, by the representative Convocations of the bishops and clergy, and the representative Houses of Parliament.

The episcopate which was intruded in the reign of Queen Mary into the English sees, of which the Edwardian bishops were the lawful possessors, died out without any steps being taken to perpetuate the succession; so that the introduction in 1850, by Pope Pius IX., of a new and foreign episcopate, which pretends to exercise local jurisdiction within the limits of existing sees in England, is both uncanonical and uncatholic. This was the line of argument which Cardinal Manning took when, as a priest of the English Church, he condemned the action of the Supreme Pontiff in attempting to impose an uncanonical jurisdiction over the English Church. It may be pointed out, in conclusion, how singularly strong a recognition it was of the principle of apostolic succession, and of its importance, that Queen Elizabeth and her advisers strove so hard as they did to secure a valid transmission of the episcopate by episcopal consecration, and, if possible (had not the unhappy prejudices of the Marian bishops kept them aloof), by a united episcopal consecration, that should have left no pretence for a schism under the authority of the Roman curia.

LECTURE X.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—ITS HISTORICAL CONTINUITY.

IN the previous lecture I endeavoured to show that the spiritual continuity of holy orders, residing as it does chiefly in the episcopate, has not been broken in the Church of England from the earliest time of its organization to the present day. The existing incumbent of the see of Canterbury can, in fact, be shown to be more truly a lineal spiritual descendant of Berthwald, and Theodore, and Augustin, than the Bishop of Rome, to the exclusion of all other bishops, of the Apostle St. Peter. I also pointed out that the episcopate, which was intruded into England during the reign of Queen Mary, and acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Pope, had entirely died out by the year 1584, so that it was a wholly new and foreign episcopate which was introduced into England in 1850 by Pope Pius IX. I propose in the present lecture to endeavour to show the truth of the second important fact which I enunciated—the historical continuity of the Church of England throughout the entire period before the Reformation with the Church after the Reformation.

"The time of the Reformation" is so constantly used as an indefinite expression in books and speeches, both Roman and anti-Roman or Protestant, to cover any length of time which may be convenient to the writer or speaker, that it is necessary, in the first place, to define what is here meant by the phrase. If in the place of the word "Reformation" I use either of the phrases, "The abolition of the papal supremacy," or "The establishment of the royal supremacy," I shall limit the extent of the expression to the date of the Act of Submission and the Act of Supremacy, which were passed in the years 1533, 1534, in the reign of Henry VIII. As a matter of State policy Henry, by securing the passing of these and certain other Acts, put a final limit to an old grievance—the supremacy of the Pope, or "the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome in this realm of England."

The Church of England owes, as we have seen, its primary organization and the main lines of its constitution to the labours and genius of Archbishop Theodore, 669–690. Theodore had been consecrated and sent to England by Pope Vitalian, but that he did not acknowledge the supremacy or jurisdiction of the Pope in England is manifest from his conduct towards Wilfrid. This bishop had appealed to the Pope (Agatho) to be reinstated in the see of York. He returned to England with a letter from the Pope, to which was attached the papal "bull," or leaden seal (*bulla*). This letter summoned Theodore to attend a Council at Constantinople, and hurled an anathema against any one who should resist the decree for reinstating Wilfrid. But the archbishop

successfully resisted both the order and the anathema. He did not, until close upon his death, reinstate Wilfrid, and he did not attend the Council. The Church of England, while recognizing the primacy of the see of Rome, as would be natural from its imperial associations, seems, during all the time of the Saxon and Danish rule, to have aimed at preserving the independence of a national Church. For instance, in 747, at the council at Cloveshoo, in the kingdom of Mercia, when Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, proposed to refer difficult questions—that is, to make *appeals*—to the Bishop of Rome, the members refused to compromise the dignity of their Church, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was declared to be its supreme head. And again, in order to show at how late a date, and as it were by accident, the papal supremacy gained a footing in England, Pope Adrian yielded, not without the acceptance of a bribe, to the selfish motives of the licentious King Offa of Mercia, who wished to secure an archbishop at Lichfield for his kingdom, as Northumbria had secured one for York, and Kent for Canterbury. The Pope took advantage of the opportunity to require that two papal legates should be admitted into the kingdom and allowed to hold a Council; and thus a precedent for sending legates to England was established, and the first public acknowledgment of papal assumption in one division of the country was secured. It was this same Offa who increased the endowment of the school for the education of English children, which had been founded at Rome by Ina, King of Wessex, by imposing a tax upon every family in his kingdom, which

was then known by the name of Rome-scot, or Rome-penny, and afterwards Peter's-pence.

It seemed as if, on the conquest of England by the Normans, and the accession of William I., who claimed the English crown not as a conqueror, but as the legitimate sovereign nominated by Edward the Confessor, the supremacy of the Pope would be fully secured. William was the champion of the Pope with whose full concurrence and benediction his enterprise had been undertaken. As he had taken possession of English lands and houses in order to reward his Norman followers, so he was bent on introducing Norman bishops into the English sees, and Norman priests into English parishes. The clergy opposed him, and Stigand the archbishop, according to one account, refused to consecrate him. William felt it would be regarded as a further proof of tyranny if he were to deprive the archisbhop by his own personal will, so he applied to Hildebrand (at that time Archdeacon of Rome, afterwards Gregory VII.), who took advantage of the opportunity to put forward a claim, previously unheard of, on behalf of the see of Rome, that it "has the right to superintend all Christians." Accordingly, two legates were sent to England, with whom William held a Synod, when the archbishop was deposed on the ground that he had not received from Rome the pall (*pallium*—the insignia of a metropolitan or patriarch, which is to be seen in the heraldic arms of the see of Canterbury). All the other bishops, except Wulfstan of Worcester, were also deposed, ostensibly on account of their ignorance of the French language, and refusal to do homage to the king.

Till the time of the Norman conquest there had been no distinction between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. All matters, spiritual as well as temporal, had been determined in the same court, in which the bishop had presided together with the earl (Eorl-alderman). The separation of the ecclesiastical from the civil courts was the act of William. "No bishop or archdeacon was any longer to hold pleas of the laws episcopal in the hundred, or to draw a cause which belongs to the government of souls to the judgment of secular men." Spiritual causes were to be tried only in spiritual courts. This was the reward for his support of the Pope, but William could not foresee the troubles which this change was soon to introduce into the relations between the Church and Crown. Although for the establishment of his personal rule he made use of the spiritual powers which the Pope assumed, in the name of the see of Rome, to wield over all Christians, he had no intention of yielding up his own independence. He would not allow the bishops to obey citations to Rome. He would not allow legates to be sent from the Pope to this country without his royal licence. He would not allow ecclesiastical decrees or papal letters (*briefs*) to be received or promulgated without his consent. He would not allow any Pope (and at this time there were frequently Popes and anti-Popes) to be acknowledged in England without his approval. He would not allow any of his soldiers to be excommunicated without his leave. He nominated to all vacant ecclesiastical offices, and insisted upon giving to his bishops investiture—that is, the pastoral staff, to signify

the bishop's authority as the shepherd (pastor) of his flock, and the ring, to signify his spiritual marriage to the Church, the Bride of Christ.

He opposed the Pope and Lanfranc the archbishop, when they endeavoured to enforce compulsory celibacy on the secular or parish priests. When Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) demanded that he should pay Peter's pence, and declare himself the Pope's man, he replied, "the money he would pay, not as a tribute but as an alms, as his predecessors had paid it, but the homage he would refuse as his predecessors had refused it."

William Rufus inherited from his father his exalted notions of regal power, and of his supreme right over all persons and causes as well ecclesiastical as civil. In his reign it was openly asserted that it was a privilege of the King of England to acknowledge the Pope or not, as he pleased. The struggle between the spiritual and temporal power, which was convulsing the Continental nations, was imported into England. The Pope claimed to himself the title of Head of the Church and Vicar of Christ, while the Emperor claimed to be the successor of the Cæsars, of Constantine, and of Charlemagne. "Each acknowledged in a certain degree the supremacy of the other, but it was a subjection of jealousy, for whilst each accorded to the other the minimum, he claimed to himself the maximum of supremacy." At this time also another schism had broken out in the Papacy. There were two infallible Popes, one reigning in the Lateran Palace as Urban II., the other reigning in the Castle of St. Angelo as Clement III., and each excommunicating the other. William took advantage of this

schism to leave the abbeys and bishoprics vacant, and to seize their revenues, which were held to have lapsed to the king during a vacancy.

The quarrel between Henry I. and Archbishop Anselm on the question of investiture, whether it should be given by the Pope or the king, led still further to the subjection of the English Church. Investiture conferred on a bishop the spiritualities, as homage conferred the temporalities of his see. Anselm, an Italian and a monk, supported the cause of the papacy, even when he distrusted the reigning Pope. He was willing to do homage to the king (William Rufus) for his temporalities, and to accept investiture from him, but refused to receive the pall from a secular person. When Henry I., William's younger brother, required him to be reinvested in the archbishopric, Anselm persistently refused; for although, as we have seen, William I. had exercised this royal prerogative, and Anselm had already consented to acknowledge it, the Pope had recently declared against the practice. The question of investiture was, however, at length settled in England, as it was settled, after fifty-six years of conflict and sixty battles, on the Continent, by a compromise. The right of homage for the temporalities was conceded to the king, and the right of investiture, which conferred the spiritual authority, was granted to the Pope.

A successor of Anselm, William of Corboil, or as he was commonly styled "Old Turmoil," a French priest, acknowledged the Pope's jurisdiction and supremacy in England, and considered himself, contrary to the former recognized independence of the see of

Canterbury, to be merely the Pope's vicar. He, more even than any of his predecessors, furthered the papal dominion in England. During his primacy the Pope appointed in 1125 a legate extraordinary (*legatus a latere*) in England, who, although he might be a suffragan of Canterbury, or even in deacon's orders, claimed authority over the primate, held synods, passed laws for the English Church, and extorted enormous sums for his foreign master. The appointment of a papal legate became from this time established in England. Thus by one archbishop, and himself a foreigner, the independence of the English Church was forfeited. The struggle between Henry II. and Archbishop Becket, chiefly on the question of the authority of the civil courts over ecclesiastics; the murder of the primate, which was received with horror throughout Christendom, no less than by the king himself; and the subsequent humiliation and submission of the king to the penance imposed on him by the Pope, so that it was said "a Plantagenet surrendered England to the Pope, and the Pope gave him authority to subdue Ireland," still further advanced the cause of papal supremacy.

It was, however, in the reign of King John, that the papal power reached its height in this country. The king complained that the Pope had usurped the rights of the Church and Crown in appointing to the primacy Cardinal Stephen Langton, an Englishman, a biblical scholar, a poet, and a statesman. The king received this appointment with defiance, and declared that he would rather die than suffer such an infringement of his prerogative. He threatened to cut off all communication with Rome.

He swore "by God's teeth" that if the Pope sent legates to put his kingdom under an interdict, as was threatened in the event of the exclusion of Langton, he would pluck out their eyes, split their noses, and so send them back to Rome. But Innocent III. was not a man to be moved by the passionate threats of a weak and vacillating monarch. He did put the kingdom under an interdict, which was equivalent to throwing it back into a condition of heathendom—an unjustifiable course of action for one who claimed to be the vicar of Christ—and he excommunicated the king. John held out for six years and threatened to become a Mahommedan. Then the Pope proceeded to depose him, and proclaimed a crusade against him, promising to the King of France remission of all his sins, and succession to the English crown. But although John was able to raise a force of sixty thousand men, and was supported by a large fleet, at the last moment he made the most humiliating submission to the Pope. He was informed by Pandulf, the Pope's legate, that he must resign the kingdoms of England and Ireland to St. Peter, and hold them hereafter as a fief of the Pope, and in vassalage to the see of Rome, under the annual payment of one thousand marks. From this time John was regarded at Rome as a pious and persecuted monarch. The Pope threw his ægis over a murderer and a tyrant, and espoused his cause against Archbishop Langton, against the barons, and against the clergy.

Langton, although he had been appointed to his see by the Pope, was an Englishman, the upholder of the liberties of his country against both Pope and

king, and the originator of Magna Charta. He had obtained from John an oath which bound him to observe the laws of his country, first made by Edward the Confessor, and afterwards confirmed by Henry I. The barons had refused to follow John in an expedition against the King of France, so indignant were they at his conduct in humbling the kingdom before a foreign power, as they esteemed that of the Pope. They had hitherto acted separately in the defence of their individual interests. Langton persuaded them to act together as an order or estate of the realm. A council was held at St. Alban's, 1213, composed of the barons and of chosen representatives throughout the country. The barons, the people, and the clergy were in opposition to the king and the papal legate. Their army was the army, not only of the barons against the king, but of the Church against the Pope. We know the result of this national movement. In spite of his usual oaths and protests John signed the Charter in 1215. By that charter Langton secured for his country the fundamental principles of English liberty, and at the same time faithfully served the Church of which he was primate, for the first article of the Charter declares that "the Church of England shall be free, and have her rights and her liberties uninjured."

As soon as Pope Innocent III. heard of these events he issued a bull, in which, after declaring England to be a fief of the holy see, that the king had no power to act without consent of the Pope, and that the conduct of the barons was an act of audacious wickedness, he annulled Magna Charta, and forbade the king to observe

it. But the bull was treated with contempt, and although Langton was summoned to Rome and suspended from the exercise of his episcopal functions, he returned to England at the death of the Pope and the king, and set his seal to a slightly revised form of the Great Charter. Thus while Archbishop Langton was willing to render obedience to the Pope when he was exercising his acknowledged powers within his rights, he did not hesitate to oppose him when he saw that he was acting unjustly or with a tyrannous hand. As a people we are indebted for this early vindication of our rights and liberties to the consistent and courageous conduct of the chief pastor of the English Church. And yet in the face of this evident fact, it can be gravely asserted that the Church has always been the steady opponent of liberty.

From the death of John, throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the history of the Church of England is an almost uninterrupted record of papal encroachments and abuses; and as the Church had grown very rich, and was regarded by the Popes as an "inexhaustible well," no country in Europe suffered so much from papal avarice. But the English people did not willingly acquiesce in their subjection to Rome. When, in 1365, Pope Urban V. demanded of the king (Edward III.) the tribute of one thousand marks promised by King John, but unpaid for thirty-three years, the three estates of the realm—clergy, peers, and commons, aided by the pen of Wiclif—came to the unanimous decision that neither John nor any other king had power to impose such a tax without the consent of

the nation, and the king at the same time prohibited the payment of Peter's pence. And even as early as the reign of Edward I., when, in 1295, the king called together a Parliament which was to represent all classes and estates of the realm, an important series of legislative enactments was passed which show that long before the period of the Reformation it was found necessary to secure the independence of the Church and nation against the exactions of the Court (*curia*) of Rome.

By the system of "*Provisions*" the Pope provided by previous nomination for the appointment to benefices before they became vacant. In 1307 the Parliament forced this subject on the king's attention, and the first statute against "Provisions" was passed at Carlisle. In 1351, in the reign of Edward III., Parliament passed the "Statute of Provisors," by which the appointment to any benefice or ecclesiastical dignity by the Pope should revert to the Crown. In 1393, in the reign of Richard II., the "Statute of Præmunire" was passed, which enacted forfeiture of goods and banishment from the kingdom in the case of any one procuring a benefice from the Pope. This statute, which was eventually used in an unjust manner against the clergy under Henry VIII., was directed not against them, but against the Pope. "For nothing is clearer than that in these earlier centuries the clergy as well as the laity of the Church of England were anti-papal, and that both Church and State were united in resisting any encroachment made by the Pope on the rights, the liberties, or the persons of the Church or nation." The Parliament of 1399 declared that the Crown and Realm of England had been in all time past

so free, that neither Pope nor any one outside the realm had a right to meddle therewith.

Meanwhile, the removal of the papacy first to Lyons and then to Avignon, weakened the authority of the Pope, and the independence of the Roman Church; while the great schism destroyed its unity. The schism in the papacy did more for the Reformation, from an ecclesiastical point of view, than later writers have always recognized. "As early as the beginning of the sixteenth, or even the latter part of the fifteenth century," says Ranke, "throughout all Christendom a general struggle was made to curtail the encroachments of the Pope." From the period of the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses, the papal power began sensibly to decline in England. The time had arrived when the independence of the country was to be re-asserted, and a change effected in the relations of the Church with the see of Rome. So that when Henry VII., the first of the Tudors, became king, it was felt that a Reformation in the discipline of the Church, and with regard to the exactions of the Pope could not be much longer deferred. The people at that time troubled themselves but little about a reform in doctrine. It was the papal supremacy in England that was called in question. The nation was asking why it should be impoverished to support a foreign jurisdiction. It was asking why large sums of money, whether under the name of Peter's pence, or the first fruits (that is the first year's income of benefices), or payments for dispensations and privileges, or procurations, should be drawn out of the country to enrich the Pope.

I have found it necessary to enter somewhat fully into the history of the papal supremacy in England, because it supplies the only proper key to the subsequent action of Henry VIII. and his Parliaments towards the Pope and towards the Church.

The first official proposal to repudiate the jurisdiction of the Pope over the English Church proceeded from the Church itself, in the form of a petition against payments to Rome, through its representative body, the Convocations of the clergy. A Bill was introduced into the House of Lords for the purpose of carrying this petition into effect; and having been passed in the House of Commons received the royal assent. Thus by the last Act of the Session of 1531, the principal tribute which Rome had exacted from the Church of England was abolished. At the same time it was admitted that the Church of England was henceforth independent of the Court of Rome, though it was not separated from visible communion with the see of Rome, except by some future act of the Pope himself.

But the crisis of the separation between the Anglican Church and the Court of Rome formally occurred in 1534, when the Bishop of Rome (Clement VII.) threatened to excommunicate Henry and to absolve his subjects from their allegiance to their lawful sovereign. The following question was solemnly proposed to the bishops and clergy assembled in the provincial Synods of Canterbury and York: "Hath the Bishop of Rome any more authority in England by the laws of God than any other foreign bishop?" The answer was prompt and, except that from Bishop Fisher, unanimous—"No."

Now, so prompt and nearly unanimous an answer could never have been extracted from the consentient lips of the elected members of these synods unless they had felt that they were truly representing the opinions of the majority of the clergy by whom they had been elected. Further, so prompt and nearly unanimous an answer could never have been extracted from such representative assemblies if this same question had not been for a long time waiting for an opportunity to be definitely asked, and if the answer had not been already very generally agreed upon. Men who have been for the greater part of their lives accustomed to a certain mode of action or process of thought, do not very easily change their opinions, or consent to act upon a sudden impulse of feeling. Henry VIII., it is true, possessed or assumed to possess certain royal powers, the like of which no sovereign of England could now attempt to exercise without endangering his crown and his head. But I do not think that even the arbitrary will of the Tudors could have enforced so marked a revolution in the opinions and habits of the people, unless they had been already prepared to welcome the change, as soon as the fitting time and occasion should arrive. And if the history of the Church of England in respect to this one point of papal supremacy, which we have traced from its origin to its practical abolition, has taught us anything, it has taught us that the people of this country have never entirely acquiesced in submitting to the jurisdiction of the Pope, even when the Church by consent of our Roman brethren was "Catholic." Under the more powerful kings of England, this jurisdiction

was kept under control, but under the weaker monarchs abuses multiplied, and the yoke was made heavier. Sometimes it was the clergy, sometimes it was the king, sometimes it was the nation which raised a protest, or offered a temporary resistance, but it was not until the reign of Henry VIII. that all three were united in one determinate effort to withstand all further encroachments on their rights and liberties.

The first encroachments on these liberties were without doubt due, more than to any other cause, to the vices and oppressive conduct of some of the Norman kings. They seized the property of the Church. They kept bishops' sees vacant, and let the revenues to the highest bidder. They sold the endowments for religion to procure the means to pander to their own vicious pleasures or ambition, or to gratify the vices of others. And what could the Church do to resist the spoliation of its goods? Persecuted and robbed by the State in the representative person of the king and his courtiers, the clergy must look for help to some powerful quarter, and they put themselves, at the bidding of the bishops, under the protection of the Pope. Thus the papal power extended itself over Church and State by playing off one against the other, and so making both its submissive subjects. But as the vices and oppression of kings built up the power of the papacy, so the vices and arrogance of the popes destroyed it. The "Reformation of the Church in its head and members" was demanded on all sides, and yet it was felt that Rome would never reform itself, because it still believed that the whole of Europe continued to acknowledge the

temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Pope, which, as Fuller quaintly says, was "the epidemical disease" in those days. We have been able to trace the historic continuity of the Church of England (*Ecclesia Anglicana*, as it is described in Magna Charta) from its organization under Archbishop Theodore, and its completer organization under Lanfranc in the reign of William I., when England itself became consolidated under one king, and under Anselm in the reigns of William II. and Henry I., to the time of the passing of the Act of Supremacy in the reign of Henry VIII., when it is sometimes said that the old Church disappeared, and a new Church, the present Church of England, was founded. The most sufficient answer that can probably be made to this romantic assertion is to say that neither the king nor either of the three estates of the realm (the clergy, the peers, or the commons), at that time were aware that they were doing anything so marvellous as founding a new Church. In fact, they took special pains to show that nothing was further from their thoughts than any intention to found a new Church. We may not be careful to defend the morals of the monarch, or the avarice of his courtiers, or the methods which were subsequently adopted in carrying out the reformation which was so urgently demanded. The character, the acts, even the motives of Henry VIII., except that he confiscated property which ought to have gone to the Church, do not affect us at all; the reformation under him was only a turning-point in the history of our Church, and Henry the sign-post between the old and the new paths. The Act of Submission and the Act

of Supremacy merely retransferred the temporal headship of the Church from the Pope, who was regarded as a foreign potentate, to the sovereign of England, and the spiritual headship of the Church from the Pope and his legate to the Archbishop of Canterbury as Primate of all England. And the transference in each case was only a return to what had been the acknowledged position of both king and primate in earlier times. The Clergy in their Convocations acknowledged the chief power of the king's majesty in all causes ecclesiastical and civil in the person of Henry, as the clergy, after the Norman conquest, had acknowledged it in the person of William. And if it be said that the clergy were forced or bribed into submission in the former case, there is sufficient evidence to show that neither the offer of rewards nor the fear of punishment was wanting in the latter. But the clergy insisted on adding the necessary qualification "so far as is permitted by the law of Christ" (*quantum per Christi legem licet*), lest they should seem to have yielded too much to any claims the king might hereafter advance to intermeddle in purely spiritual matters. This important saving clause was dishonestly omitted in the Act of Supremacy, but the Act itself was repealed in the reign of Mary, and was not revived by Elizabeth.

When the royal supremacy had been secured, and the revenues of the monasteries had been transferred to the crown, Henry's interest in the Reformation waxed cold. He had fed his ambition and gratified his avarice, but it is said that his courtiers and nobles derived more benefit from the spoliation than himself. The Church,

having regained some of its ancient liberties, remained the same as before. It preserved all the essentials of a true Church, the orderly succession of a canonically ordained ministry, the valid administration of the Sacraments, and the public confession of the Christian faith. Questions of doctrine had not yet come with any distinctness to the front. Henry had declared again and again that it was not his intention to make any change in doctrine, or to deviate in any way from the Catholic faith of Christendom. Even Archbishop Cranmer, who had at first sworn allegiance to both the Pope and the king, and was afterwards regarded as the leader of the Reformers, is said to have aimed at nothing more earnestly than to preserve the historical and spiritual continuity of the Church. And so, in later years, Elizabeth declared, in her reply to the emperor, that "there was no new faith propagated in England, and no religion set up but that which was commanded by our Saviour, practised by the primitive Church, and unanimously approved by the fathers of the best antiquity." And on another occasion "my aim is to bind myself and my people to Christ, and not to the Roman See."

From what has been said in this and the previous lecture we may gather up these facts:—

(1) That the spiritual origin of the Church of England—that is, the succession of the episcopate from which is derived, and in which is included, the priesthood, or presbyterate, and the diaconate—may be traced (*a*) through the Irish or Scottish Church, and perhaps through the British Church, to the Gallican Church,

and through this again to the Church of Ephesus and the apostolate of St. Paul and St. John; and (*b*) through the Church of Rome to the apostolate of St. Paul and, as some affirm, of St. Peter. (2) That the continuity of this spiritual succession through the episcopate has come down unbroken through Archbishop Parker to the present time. (3) That the first attempts at an outward organization of the Church were effected by Archbishop Theodore, who introduced a form of the parochial system, and secured the constitution of new episcopal sees, placed in subordination to the See of Canterbury, which from that time became the centre of Church authority and unity in England. (4) That the organization and unity of the Church preceded and prepared the way for the organization and unity of the kingdom. (5) That of this kingdom and Church of England the crown was held to be the supreme head in all causes ecclesiastical and civil. (6) That this Church of England, even when in visible communion with the See of Rome, was a national Church claiming to exercise an independent jurisdiction under the primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury. (7) That although the rights of the crown, the liberties of the people, and the independence of the Church were subject to encroachments on the part of the popes and their legates during those ages in which the Roman pontiffs were able to carry into practice those theories of their jurisdiction which had been formulized by Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), yet the constitutional struggles which began in England in the reign of Henry II. and culminated in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, brought about the entire restitution of

the rightful supremacy of the crown, and the independence of the Church. (8) That the Church of England was not for the first time constituted or founded at the time of the Reformation, or by the arbitrary will of Henry VIII., but that this Church, already in existence, and acknowledged in all state documents, as well in Magna Charta as in the Act of Supremacy, as the English or Anglican Church, although for some time partly in subjection to the See and Court of Rome, has preserved its historical continuity and its outward organization. (9) That the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome is no more an essential mark of a true Church than the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Bishop of Antioch or of Jerusalem. (10) That the abolition of the papal supremacy over the Church and realm of England was not effected by the sole despotic will of Henry and the Acts of his Parliament, but that the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, endorsed the Acts of the State. And as at that time both the king, the Peers, the Commons, and the clergy were in visible communion with the See of Rome, it may be said that the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome in England was abolished by the Romanists themselves. (11) That the abolition of the papal supremacy did not immediately involve any important change in the doctrine, but only, in some respects, in the discipline of the Church.

It is sufficient for my present purpose to have shown that the link of historical continuity in the Church of England was not broken by the Acts of Submission and Supremacy in the reign of Henry VIII., because it is at

this point that we are assailed from two opposite quarters. We are told, on the one side, that the present Church of England is a new Church, having no connection with the old Church; that it originated at and dates from the time of the Reformation; that it was founded by Henry in defiance of one pope, because he annulled the decree of his divorce from Katharine, his brother Arthur's widow, whom a former pope had granted him a dispensation to marry, notwithstanding a protest from Archbishop Warham that it was contrary to the Word of God. And we are told, on the other side, that the present Church of England was established at the time of the Reformation by Henry as a State Church, of which the sovereign, layman though he be, is the supreme head; that it is an Act-of-Parliament Church, and that it is a State-paid Church, and, by consequence, that as (it is said) it was established and endowed by the State (when every member of the legislature was required to be a member of the Church of England), so it may and ought to be disestablished and disendowed by the State (when now it is not required that any member of the legislature, except the Lord Chancellor, shall be a member of that Church). I propose to consider and endeavour to answer these latter assertions in the lectures which are to follow. As to the former class of assertions, I have only to add to what has been already said, that, in order to show there was no intention on the part of Henry, much less on the part of the clergy or the Parliament, to found in any sense a new Church, it was expressly declared in an Act passed in the year 1533, that "it is not intended to force

the Church of England into an uncatholic position, or to change its character as a sound branch of Christ's Holy Church." It is on this, as on other accounts, that we maintain the spiritual and historical continuity of the Church of England at the present day with the Church of England both after, and at, and before what is commonly called the Reformation.

LECTURE XI.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

IT is constantly asserted that the present Church of England is a State Church, or an Act-of-Parliament Church. When we inquire at what period in our national history the foundation of this State Church was laid, we are told that it was founded at the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII. When we inquire further for the public records or State Papers which set forth the foundation of this Church, we are perhaps referred to the Act of Submission, and the Act of Supremacy, and the Act of Restraint of Appeals, or perhaps chiefly to the second of these. Did not Henry, it is said, require himself to be described as "Supreme Head of the Church, *i.e.* of the clergy of England"? We have seen with what an important qualification—so far as is allowed by the law of Christ—the clergy, in conceding this title, guarded against its misuse. And this title, while accepted by Queen Mary, was repudiated by Elizabeth as "absurd," and exchanged by her in her Act of Supremacy for the title of "Supreme Governor." So that it is not a legal title of the sovereign at the present day. Henry's own gloss upon his own phrase was

that the headship was only over "all the people of England, ecclesiastical as well as temporal." As, however, the Act of Supremacy was repealed by Mary, and was not revived by Elizabeth, it in no way affects us now, whatever its provisions may have been. In the primary Reformation Statute of Henry, which "restrained appeals to the Pope," and which still remains in force, since it has not been repealed, the claim on the part of Henry to possess "plenary, whole, and entire power and jurisdiction within this realm in all causes," etc., was directed to the exclusion not of the English Church, but of the Pope, and was in part suggested by the appeal of Queen Katharine in the divorce case. The statute, too, declares that England is an independent empire, composed of a "spiritualty" and a "temporalty," or "Church and State;" and that that part of the body politic called the "spiritualty," being usually called the English Church, is sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person, to administer all spiritual offices and duties." From an examination of these State Papers two legitimate conclusions may be drawn. (1) That by acknowledging its title, the existence of the Church of England at the time when these Acts were drawn up and passed, is taken for granted; and (2) that as this same Church of England is described as that which "hath been and is also at this hour sufficient," etc., the spiritual and historic continuity of that Church is assured. There is, therefore, no evidence to show that a new institution, called the Church of England, was founded at the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII. But the Reformation is, as we have

seen, a term or phrase which cannot fairly be limited to so short a period as that of even one reign. The Reformation of the Church may be considered under two aspects—(1) that which has reference to discipline or government, and (2) that which has reference to doctrine. It is commonly believed that the question of change of doctrine was the first object of the Reformation. Historically, the case was exactly reversed. The first object of the English Reformation was to throw off the gross abuses of the Roman Court, which had grown up in such rank luxuriance from the days of the later and weaker Norman kings, and had called forth protests, loud and vigorous, from reformers before the Reformation. Such were Archbishops Rich and Bradwardine of Canterbury, Sewell and Thursby of York, and Fitz Ralph of Armagh, Bishop Grostête (Greathead) of Lincoln, all in communion with the See of Rome; the author of "Piers Ploughman's Vision," a work of the fourteenth century, ascribed to Langland, which exposes in severe terms the corruptions of the Church; and Wiclif, who, perhaps with pardonable exaggeration, has been called "The Morning Star of the Reformation."

The same cry for reformation in the discipline and government of the Church was again raised in the reign of Henry VII. by the founders of the new learning, *e.g.* Erasmus, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; Colet, Dean of St. Paul's and founder of St. Paul's School; and Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor, author of "The Utopia" (Nowhere). The aim of the new learning may be summed up under two heads—(1) a reform of life rather than a reform of doctrine; (2) a sound

Biblical criticism, and freedom of inquiry. Nor must we forget Wolsey, the notable cardinal and statesman in the reign of Henry VIII., who saw the necessity for reforming the government of the Church, and matured his great plans for this the chief object of his life, but, dying before he could accomplish them, left the inheritance of his master-mind to be curtailed and dissipated by the vulgar meanness of a monarch who sacrificed his truest friend and adviser for not ridding him of his first wife, as he afterwards sacrificed Thomas Cromwell, his vicegerent, for getting him an ugly wife. But if the Church of England was not founded at this epoch in the period of the Reformation, was it founded at any other epoch? For the period of the Reformation may be reckoned, so far as actual changes in the constitution and doctrine and ritual of the Church are concerned, from the passing of the various Acts affecting the relations between the English Church and the Court of Rome in the reign of Henry VIII., that is, let us say, from 1531 to the settlement which was effected in the reign of Charles II. by the last Act of Uniformity in 1661, which practically remains in force at the present day. We may, in some respects, except the few years of Mary's reign, in which a return was made to the old service-books, and most of the Acts affecting the Church, which had been passed in the reigns of her father Henry and her brother Edward, were repealed. But this period was of too short a duration to effect much change in the constitution of the Church, and the reformed position of the Church was resumed under Elizabeth. And to show how this reformed position was accepted by the Church,

it may be mentioned that, according to an ecclesiastical visitation in the reign of Elizabeth in 1559, out of a body of clergy to the number of nearly ten thousand, only one-hundred and eighty-nine—less than two per cent.—refused to accept the revised Prayer-book, which the Pope (Pius IV.) also declared himself willing to allow if the queen would acknowledge his supremacy. We may also except that period in English history when Puritanism was triumphant, *i.e.* from the Long Parliament in the reign of Charles I. to the restoration of Charles II., during which time "England was virtually governed by the sword, and the republic under the protectorate of Cromwell was in reality a despotism;" when the use of the Book of Common Prayer was regarded as a penal offence, and the "Directory for Public Worship" replaced it; when benefices were filled with men who, being either Presbyterians or Independents or Baptists, had not received ordination at the hands of a bishop, but from twenty-eight commissioners called "triers;" and when the Church, if it be only an institution for religious purposes established by Act of Parliament, must have altogether ceased to exist. Yet at neither of these periods was the spiritual or historical continuity of the Church broken so as to necessitate the founding of a new Church. "The only time in the history of England when there was the nearest approach to such an Act as re-establishment of the Church was at the restoration of Charles II. But the form which that Act then took, the revival of something old, something which was held to have been illegally abolished, gives the Act a wholly different character." The Book of Common Prayer was, under

the Act of Uniformity, ordered to be again used in churches. The bishops were restored to their sees, the incomes of which had been temporarily sequestrated; and the incumbents of benefices, on the restoration of the monarchy, had the option of retaining them, on accepting episcopal ordination, and conforming to the revised Liturgy. Those who, from conscientious scruples, as it is supposed, refused to comply with those conditions, were ejected from their benefices. The number of these, according to the most trustworthy accounts, was not two thousand, but about eight hundred. When the Church of England was restored, together with the king and peers of England, by a House of Commons "more zealous for royalty than the king, and more zealous for episcopacy than the bishop," episcopacy and the Prayer-book were necessarily restored with it. Thus there was no new Church and no new system, but only the old one revived. If we cannot fix upon any time in the history of England when the parliamentary records or State Papers can be appealed to in evidence to show that the Church of England was founded by an Act of Parliament, that is, by the State, or even by the sole despotic will of any Sovereign; if we have good reason for maintaining, from the evidence already produced, that the present Church of England has preserved a continuity of life from the earliest period of England's authentic history; if the history of the Church of England is co-extensive with the history of the people of England, through all the phases of its development and progress; if the Church of England is the oldest institution in the realm, having had a history before the English crown

was settled, before the basis of the English constitution was formulated, and before the English Parliament came into existence ;—then we may say with truth that the Church is older than the State, is prior in time as an organized institution, and cannot owe its origin to the state. And yet it is rightly felt and acknowledged that there is in England some kind of union or alliance between Church and State ; and that there is a sense in which the Church may be regarded as established by law—that is, by Acts of Parliament. What, we may ask, is the origin of this opinion? How did the religious communion which represents the Church of Christ in this country come to be eventually the recognized Church of the nation—the national Church? The answer to this question is, that it became so simply because the people of this land having, in the days of our Saxon and pagan ancestors, received its teaching respecting the one faith, adopted its mode of divine worship, and submitted to its discipline, gradually, notwithstanding occasional relapses into paganism, admitted its claims to their allegiance, and accepted its spiritual authority. Then the rulers of the various kingdoms or lordships into which England was divided by conquest, when they had become Christians through reception into the Church by baptism, recognized by their public and official acts the claims of the Church to whose spiritual government and ordinances they had submitted. Thus the union of the Church and the State in each kingdom was a union of gradual growth and strength. It arose out of the historical circumstances and mutual necessities of the Church and nation as they developed in the different

periods and phases of their respective histories. This union of Church and State was still further cemented at the accession of William I., when the whole kingdom came more completely under the rule of one monarch, and the Church of England took its position in this country as the national Church, under the primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury. We have seen by what means it came to pass that the idea of a national Church, in communion with the See of Rome, but, acting at first independently of Rome, and in accordance with the canons of its own provincial synods, became weakened during the reigns of the early Norman kings, until its freedom was once more secured by the Great Charter, and its independence asserted again and again during succeeding dynasties. And what was meant by a national Church was simply this, that the Church of England was to be regarded as the authorized representation of the Catholic Church to the people of this nation. The development and extension of England's empire have, to a considerable extent, modified the application of this principle. They have rendered it as difficult to say what is a national Church as it is difficult to say in what nationality consists. Perhaps "the only definition of a nation which will satisfy the rigorous demands of modern scientific criticism is 'a polity organized under one supreme head, and constituted of individual persons, who, by conquest, or marriage or treaty, or by the combination of either of these methods, have become socially and politically united.' From the terms of this definition, it will be seen that unity of religion can no longer enter into the essence

of a nation." Are we, then, entitled now to call the Church of England a national Church? In a certain sense we are entitled. For the *principal* statutes which have been passed affecting the position of the Church of England or her ministers have been enacted with the consent of the clergy in their Convocations, by the representatives of the laity in their House of Commons, and by the lords spiritual and temporal—that is, by the three estates of the realm, and they have received the ratifying signature of the sovereign as supreme governor in all causes ecclesiastical and civil.

But the statutes or Acts of Parliament to which I have referred affect, it must be observed, only the temporal position of the Church of England. They in no way affect the foundations of the faith, for it is not within the province of any particular or national Church to alter or tamper with these. "The authority of any national Church is expressly limited, by the terms of the thirty-fourth Article of Religion, to variation of practice in things non-essential, *i.e.* to rites and ceremonies of the Church." To any one who will compare the structure of the Book of Common Prayer at present in use in the Church of England with the ancient forms, or even with the older English uses, it will be evident that the principle of variations in form has been widely, and some may think too widely, admitted. At the same time there was a wise adherence to "ancient customs." The old forms in spirit remained the same, except where they were actually and advisedly altered, and thus the continuity of the Church before and after the Reformation, as well in the main features of its mode of divine

worship, and in all essential doctrines, as in the spiritual succession of the ministry and its outward historical constitution, was clearly and vigorously maintained. The Church before and after the Reformation differs only, as Archbishop Bramwell has said, as "a garden weeded from a garden unweeded."

The action which was taken in the reign of Henry VIII., not by the arbitrary will of the king himself, as is so often asserted, but by the three estates of the realm, was the endeavour to restore to the Church its national character and its spiritual independence — to secure to it the exercise of its rightful liberties; to free it and the whole realm from the usurpation of a foreign jurisdiction; and to bring it into certain relations with the State in which it had not stood before.

This was the first work of the English Reformation. This was the intention of the Convocations of the clergy. This was the intention of the laity in their Parliament. That their intention would be subsequently, in great part, marred and maimed by the despotism and avarice and cruelty of the king and his advisers could not have been foreseen. It is only, then, in the form which I have described it that the Church can be said, in a modern sense, to have been established by law or by Act of Parliament. I say in "a modern sense," because the phrases "establishment," the "Established Church," or "the Church by law established," never once occur in any of the Acts passed during any part of the period of the Reformation. These terms were applied at a later period, when the controversies of the time had brought out into greater prominence the legal status of the

national Church as opposed to what were then held to be the illegal assemblies of Roman and Protestant separatists. The use of these phrases dates from after the restoration of Charles II., and the phrase "established by law," as applied to the Church of England, became confirmed in its use after the passing of the Toleration Act, 1689, and by more recent Acts. But as before the year 1568 there were no organized communities of Nonconformists—that is, persons who declined, or were forbidden by an authority which they held it a matter of conscience to obey, to *conform* to the worship and discipline of the Church of England—the question of the toleration of differing religious communions was not a practical one. There was no necessity to draw the distinction between a religious communion, which might be conveniently described as "established" and those which were unestablished.

And even in the sixteenth century, when the consequences of difference in religious worship, and in articles of religion, and in the principles of Church government became the great question of the day, it was held that the Church and the nation ought to be one, and that dissent in religion ought to be put down by law as much as sedition in politics. "It no more occurred to the men of that day that there could be any other religious communion alongside the Church established by law than that there could be any other government alongside the monarchy established by law. So it was recognized as the duty of the magistrates to enforce the law in ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters." It was their duty to "exercise justice as

well as to maintain truth." And to the men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to "maintain truth" meant, at different times, to burn Unitarians, to flay Papists alive, to imprison Independents and Presbyterians and, when the turn of the wheel came, to proscribe and ruin Episcopalians under the pretence of their being "scandalous and malignant clergy."

"It cannot, then, be said, with due regard to historical truth, that the Church of England was founded at the time of the Reformation, or even at the time of the restoration of the monarchy. Nor can it be said that either Henry or Elizabeth, having disestablished an older Church, proceeded to establish a new Church; that having chosen that form of religion which they thought best, they established it, endowed it, granted certain privileges to it, and clothed it with a certain dignity, but by way of compensation or balance subjected it also to a strict control on the part of the State and the Sovereign; that when they might have established the Roman Church, or the Church of Luther, or the Church of Calvin, they devised, as became the monarchs of an island realm, some institution differing from the Churches of all other countries, and called into being the Church of England."

"It may suit the Roman controversialist to assert that the bishops and priests of the Church of England are no bishops and priests, and that the sacraments administered by them are no sacraments, because they have been parted from that centre of spiritual unity which alone can give their acts any spiritual force. It may suit those Protestant Nonconformists who regard

the continuity of a Church as depending rather on the profession of certain doctrines than on an historical and spiritual succession, to say that everything was so entirely changed in the sixteenth century that what was done was really to destroy an old Church and to set up a new one, and that this new institution is the Church of England established by law, the State Church created by Act of Parliament, endowed by the State, and controlled by the State. Both these assertions may be considered as theological views of the matter. It is certain that they are not supported by reference to any legal or historical documentary evidence. At the root of these and the like assertions lies the delusion that there were, or are up to the present time, two distinct bodies in this country, called respectively "Church and State," which are capable of entering into a covenant with one another, or making a kind of bargain. For the State must mean the nation in the person of its hereditary and elected legislative assemblies, and the Church must mean either the whole nation, when the nation is of one mind on religious matters, or else part of the nation when there are several religious bodies in the same nation. The common way of talking about Church and State comes from days when people used to talk of the government of a nation as if it were the nation itself, and of the clergy as if they constituted the Church. According to the terms of this supposed bargain, the Church, it is thought, receives some special protection and a large measure of patronage from the State; while, on the other hand, it has to submit to a large measure of control from the State. The Church, in return for

the protection and favour of the State, undertakes, it is thought, for its part to supply religious instruction and public forms of divine worship for the entire nation; and the State enables the Church to do this by means of large endowments and special privileges." But all this is, as we have seen, a delusion, for there never was a time, of which there is any record, when the nation or its rulers made up their minds that it would be a good thing to set up an established Church of England any more than there was a time when they made up their minds that it would be a good thing to set up government by a Parliament. There never was a time when Parliament said to the Church of England, "We will set up a hierarchy; we will appoint a clergy; we will provide churches; we will vote funds for their maintenance." But it may be said, Does not the State legislate for the Church as for an institution established by Act of Parliament? To this question it may be replied that, according to the ancient theory of the constitution, as in some sense settled by the acknowledgment in the reign of Henry VIII. of the supremacy of the Crown *de facto*, as it had been previously acknowledged *de jure*, the clergy, as one of the estates of the realm were summoned to meet in their Convocations in order to tax themselves for their share in the support of the government. And this right of meeting involved the right of petitioning and, within certain limits, of legislating for themselves. The exercise of these rights continued until 1664, when the taxation of the clergy was included in that prepared by the House of Commons, and as a compensation they obtained the privilege of voting for members of Parliament.

When questions of doctrine and ritual, such as those which were connected with the first English Prayer-book in the reign of Edward VI., and with those revisions which took place under Elizabeth and Charles II., had been submitted to and discussed by the clergy in their Convocations, the resolutions which they passed, or the recommendations they proposed, were brought before the Houses of Parliament, and upon the joint agreement of these three estates, the royal assent was added to the resolutions embodied in an Act of Parliament, and this became the law of the land. These proceedings were in full accordance with the terms of the constitution. Here were representative clergy and the representative Church laity legislating as the nation in its religious aspect for the nation. I am ready to admit that the legislation by the Houses of Parliament, as constituted at the present day, upon matters affecting the doctrine, or discipline, or ritual of the Church of England is, in some respects, an anomaly. I say in some respects, because if the Church through its spiritual courts were to enforce doctrine or discipline on its ministers or members by subjecting them to penal consequences, the consent of the civil court, as representing for the time being the supremacy of the Crown, to inflict the punishment, whether it be loss of goods or loss of personal liberty, fine or imprisonment, must in some form be inevitably obtained. And this would happen whether the Church was, as it is now, in some sense established by law, or whether it were disestablished.

The legislation in Parliament which has taken place respecting the Church of England, from the time of the

suppression of Convocation in 1717 to its revival in 1857, has affected chiefly the temporalities of the Church, as, for instance, the various Church Building Acts, the division of large Parishes Acts, the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Commission for rearranging and redistributing the revenues of the Church, the Pluralites and Cathedral Acts, and the Tithe Commutation Act. But there have been other Acts passed by Parliament which, it is thought by wise and good men, are calculated to interfere with the spiritual authority of the Church, and to undermine the influence of its teaching, *e.g.* the Divorce Act of 1857. There are also other Acts, passed by Parliament alone, upon which there may be a reasonable difference of opinion as to their ultimate effect in weakening the influence of the Church. They are admitted to have been originally introduced more to soothe "the backbone of a political party" than in the interest of members of the Church. Such are the Compulsory Church Rates Abolition Bill, the University Tests Acts, the Education Acts, and the Burial Laws Amendment Acts.

And there is another Act which specially affects the clergy in their ministration of divine worship—the Public Worship Regulation (or, as I think I have seen it called, "Degradation") Act. This Act, unlike several of the others which have been mentioned, was submitted to the consideration of the Convocations of the clergy. But it was passed in Parliament in opposition to the voice of the Convocations. The Prime Minister of the day (Mr. Disraeli) described it as "an Act for putting down Ritualism," which he characterized as the

"Mass in Masquerade;" and it is not unlikely that he was sufficiently foreseeing to be aware that while it might serve for the nonce to soothe the "backbone of another political party," it would not for long retain the powers with which it was so amply endowed. From the time of the passing of that Act, the cause which it was sent forth to overthrow rapidly increased in strength and favour.

The late Bishop of London, in his recent charge, said that "a painful experience of ten years had convinced him that this Act was a mistake." Ten years before this, the Bishop was one of the supporters of this measure, the motive of which was never plain even to the framers of it, beyond the fact that it was prepared as a bill "to put down Ritualism." Ten years later he tells his clergy that the cure for excessive ritual is rather to be sought in the "supply of defects from which excesses are the natural and certain reaction than in persecution." Ten years ago this Act was defended and passed on the ground that it would be a protection against a conspiracy on the part of some of the clergy, who were resolved to drive unwilling Englishmen into the fold of Rome. Ten years later it is admitted by all reasonable persons, who have not allowed their judgment to be warped by fanaticism, that the unremitting exertions of the clergy for the best part of a life in the most unpromising and unsavoury localities were the surest proof they could offer of their faithfulness and loyalty to the spiritual mother whose arms had borne them, and to whose service they had devoted all their energies, and in many cases all their worldly substance.

I am not prepared to defend, and I am not required to defend, the entire course of parliamentary action with reference to the Church. There is no object in denying that the Church has been often hindered in her spiritual work by the opposition or by the indifference of Parliament, even when Parliament might still have been entitled to be considered as the representative assembly of the laity of the Church. But since the union with Scotland, and the union with Ireland, and the admission of persons belonging to any kind of religious persuasion, or to none, this aspect of the English Parliament has been wholly destroyed. In fact, as we have already seen, unity in religion, or in the outward forms of religion, no longer enters into the essence of the nation. It has consequently become a question of practical politics, how far a Parliament so diversely composed ought to be asked to legislate on ecclesiastical subjects. And it would seem to be one of the most pressing questions for the future, and one which should command the most patient attention of our rulers in the Church, whether the time has not arrived when a House of Representative Lay Communicants might be elected to consult with the Houses of Convocation in both provinces on all matters affecting the discipline, and the organization, and the financial administration of the Church of England. The Imperial Parliament, as we are often reminded, is generally loth to discuss questions of ecclesiastical polity, and yet there are ecclesiastical questions affecting the temporal position of the subjects of this realm which can only be authoritatively determined by the will of Parliament and the Sovereign

acting through the civil courts. The adoption of some such method as has been suggested would be only a mode of returning to the ancient theory of the constitution, and would obviate many present difficulties in the relation between the Church and the Parliament.

I will now gather up the chief conclusions at which we have so far arrived.

1. That there was no one act, restricted within the limits of a short period, which can be historically called "The Reformation," but that the Reformation was the gradual development of a long series of acts.

2. That there was no moment during the Reformation when, and no Act of Parliament by which, the Church of England was ever established as the State Church. Still less was there any Act by which one Church was disestablished and another, and that a new Church, established in its stead.

3. That the only sense in which the Church can be properly said to have been established was by the acknowledgment of the royal supremacy on the part of the clergy and the people together, constituting the Church. In the same sense it may be said that Parliament or the peerage was established.

4. That it is not historically correct to speak of Church and State as if they were two distinct institutions capable of making terms or a bargain with one another, or that any such bargain or covenant has been made.

5. That the expression "Established Church" first arose as the result of differences in religion, when there were several religious communions in the land. It then

began to mean a religious body which stands in a special relation to the State or to Parliament, in distinction from those religious bodies which have been protected and allowed by the Act of Toleration.

6. That the Church of England as a national Church has grown up with the people of England like every other institution—like Parliament itself. It has come to be what it is through the circumstances of our national history.

7. That the discussion and legislation on questions affecting the Church of England by the House of Parliament is a remnant of the ancient theory of the English constitution, which regarded Parliament as the Church of England in its lay capacity; but that since the union of England with Scotland and Ireland, and the abolition of all religious tests of communion, this theory is no longer consonant with actual facts.

8. That since the laity of the Church of England have been in this way deprived of their only constitutional assembly, it is a question for our rulers to determine whether some other form of representative assembly should not be provided, through which the opinions of the laity on matters of discipline and organization and finance could be given and published. The rights of Parliament and the crown to interfere, through the civil courts, in cases affecting the temporal position or property of all subjects of the realm—whether members of the Church of England or Nonconformists of any description—must still remain supreme.

LECTURE XII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—ITS ENDOWMENTS.

THE next subject in connection with the Church of England to which I ask your attention is the history of its endowments and property. We have seen that there is an erroneous popular notion that the Church was at some time or other—date unknown, and likely to remain so—founded by the State, that is, by Act of Parliament. And there is also an erroneous popular notion that the Church was at some time or other—date equally unknown —endowed by the State. Here I may observe that the common, and it may be for certain purposes convenient, expression, "Church and State," is very apt to convey a wrong impression. If the "Church" be taken to represent the nation in its religious aspect, and the "State" be taken to represent the nation in its political aspect, the distinction between the use of the two terms becomes sufficiently clear. Upon this theory, however, the State could not well be said to establish or to endow the Church, for that would be, in effect, to say that it established or endowed itself, since the two terms connote the same thing under different aspects, and for different purposes. All members of the State are, in this sense,

members of the Church. Must we, then, limit the one expression, "the Church," to the clergy of the three, or perhaps the two, chief orders of the ministry, and call them the "Spiritualty," as the title runs in the Acts of Parliament passed in the reign of Henry VIII., and limit the other expression, "the State," to the laity, and call them the "Temporalty"? But historically, even this limitation must be still further limited. For the "Spiritualty" as used in the Acts referred to clearly means the clergy in the Houses of Convocation, as well as the Bishops in the House of Lords, and the "Temporalty" the laity in their Houses of Parliament. So the term "Church" becomes in meaning limited not only to the clergy, but to the episcopate, and to the official and elected representatives of the clergy in their Convocations; and the term "State" becomes in meaning limited not only to the laity, but to the hereditary peerage, and to the elected representatives of the laity in the House of Commons.

Again, if we agree to use the term "State" as equivalent to the two Houses of Parliament, we shall have more difficulty in coming to an agreement with the popular opinion in respect to the question of endowment, as to the meaning of the term "Church." For, as we have been often reminded, there is no such institution, as a body corporate, known in English law, as the Church of England, though it may be used as a convenient expression. The clergy, though for brevity sometimes called a corporation, are rather an order in the State, or an estate of the realm, composed of many corporations. The incumbent of each episcopal see, or

deanery, or benefice, is regarded as a corporation sole, and is capable of acquiring and holding and enjoying, under certain limitations as to their use, and in return for certain services, the revenues of his benefice or see. The dean and canons (the "chapter," as it is called,—*capitulars*) of a cathedral are regarded as a corporation aggregate. We shall see presently how very much this historical and legal fact has to do with the great diversities in the endowments of the various benefices in England. At present I draw attention to it, to show how unlikely it is that Parliament, acting as the State, endowed from what sources is unknown, in a most unequal fashion every benefice of ancient date in this country; for this is what it must come to if it be true, as is asserted, that the Church has been endowed by the State. It is not, I think, pretended that Parliament has endowed any benefices of more modern date, if we except the grant of £1,650,000 which was voted, in 1818, to assist the Church Building Society in erecting some capacious and inartistic churches in popular places, and the eleven Parliamentary grants of £100,000 each between 1809 and 1820, for the augmenting clerical incomes.

And once more, if the Church, in any form of its outward organization, is, as we have seen, older than the State—that is, than Parliament; if it was the State that copied the Church, not the Church the State; if it was the national Synods of the English Church which first suggested the idea of a national parliament; if the canons passed in those synods were the origin of our statute law; if the property of the Church is incompar-

ably the most ancient form of property which exists, it is not merely unlikely, but impossible that the Church can have been originally endowed by the State.

When, therefore, we refer to the endowments of the Church of England, we must be understood to mean the property, derived from whatever source—rent-charges, glebe-lands, or the interest of money invested in public or other authorized securities—which belongs to the incumbent, for the time being, of each separate benefice in England and Wales. And when we have occasion to speak of the "State" in reference to any contemplated action respecting this property, we must be understood to mean the Parliament—that is, the Houses of Lords and Commons, in the former of which the clergy are in some sense represented by the episcopate and in the latter of which the beneficed clergy are more or less represented as holders of property by the member for the district in which they reside. Having disposed of this preliminary question with a view to avoid confusion of thought in our arguments, I will now enter into the further question, Whence are the ecclesiastical endowments and property derived? Under this main question may be included the origin of 1, churches; 2, glebe lands; 3, tithe; 4, other forms of endowment.

1. Many of the churches which had been built during the occupation of Britain by the Romans must have been destroyed by the invading Saxons, or allowed to fall into ruins. On the conversion of Æthelbert, two or three of those remaining at Canterbury were granted to the use of Augustin and his monks. And as the kingdoms of Kent and Essex became converted to Christi-

anity by the labours of the Italian mission, and other kingdoms in the north-west became converted by the labours of the Irish missionaries, this or that king and this or that lord founded churches or encouraged their foundation, within the limits of his kingdom or lordship. The building of churches increased with the advent of the Normans, and there is not a diocese in England which does not contain churches, the whole or part of which presents the well-known and distinctive features of Norman architecture. The period of the Plantagenets is known in architecture as the Early English period, when churches became very numerous. The Wars of the Roses put a stop to ecclesiastical as to nearly all domestic building; but with the rest secured to the land at the accession of Henry VII., architecture in all its branches revived in England. From the Restoration to the reign of George III., church building made but slow progress. It was in the reign of the latter king that, owing to the increasing population and the influx of wealth in our large manufacturing towns, it was found necessary to provide an increased number of churches, and the first of the Church-building Acts was passed in 1818, as the result of the founding of the Incorporated Church Building Society. Since that time the Church has been left to its own resources, and the liberality of its members. It is stated that the number of churches, either newly built, or rebuilt, or restored during the present century amounts to over 9000, the most rapid increase having taken place since 1835. Between 1800 and 1835, it is computed that about five hundred churches were newly built, and between 1835 and 1885 over three thousand. Between

1840 and 1884 the amount spent on the building and restoration of churches is estimated at not less than £50,000,000. Mr. Miall, who was throughout his life the foremost advocate of the Liberationist cause, did not overstep the modesty of truth when he pointed to the marvellous increase of church building as a testimony to "the powers and the fruitfulness of religious life in the Established Church." "All the beneficence," he said, "put forth in achieving these splendid results was put forth by private persons, not by Parliament."

2. Glebe lands were originally attached to every church, so that no church could be consecrated without some land being conveyed to it for the support of the priest serving it. They varied in amount from three to twenty-five acres.

3. Tithe was at first the voluntary dedication by all lay persons of a tenth of their annual income or profits to the service of God. Then it became a tenth of such income as was derived from things which "yield a yearly increase by the act of God," such as grain, fruit, cattle, and underwood. In the earliest period of the introduction of Christianity among the Saxons, the Church was strictly missionary. Augustin and his forty companions were monks of the Benedictine Order, which had only recently been established in Italy. With the exception of Augustin and a few others, these monks were not priests, but laymen. They bound themselves by vows of religion, and lived, as it is called, in community, and in accordance with a definite rule (*regula*). So the clergy who lived in the monasteries with these laymen came to be called "Regulars," to distinguish

them from the clergy who might be married, and who, from living among the people in the world outside the monasteries, were called "Seculars" (*Sæculum*). The "Regulars" earned their living by manual labour. The "Seculars" were supported by the tithe and offerings of the faithful. At first the bishop was the superior of both the Regulars and the Seculars, until the former came to be ruled by an abbot or prior of their own election. Then the bishop became the ruler of the diocese, which was at first co-extensive with the old divisions of the several kingdoms. There was one bishop for the chief town or capital (*caput*), the church of which was the cathedral—so called because it contained the chief seat (*cathedra*), or throne, for the chief pastor—and the mother church of the diocese. At the altar of this church all the tithe and offerings of the faithful were made, and they were sometimes divided into four parts. One part was reserved for the bishop, another for the clergy, a third for the poor, and a fourth for the repair of the churches. In other cases the bishop of the chief church received the tithe and apportioned it as he thought fit. From the cathedral or mother church, clergy were sent as missionaries to minister to the spiritual wants of the people. But as the Church grew and multiplied, more clergy would be required, and the old method of one large parish (*parochia*) co-extensive with the diocese or the kingdom, with one chief pastor and ruler, was found to be no longer sufficient. So, not being obstinately adverse to all necessary progress, the Saxon churchmen divided the diocese, or large *parochia*, into subordinate parishes,

and resident clergy were settled in them. The distinction between the Regulars and the Seculars now became more marked. "The Regulars were men for the most part of noble race and gentle manners. They were the exclusive possessors of art, of science, and of literature. But they could dig, and ditch, and hedge, and plough as if they had been born for no other purpose. The Seculars were chiefly selected from the Anglo-Saxon natives. They were uncouth and unlearned. King's sons became monks and abbots, but no noble became a parochial clergyman or parish priest." So the monasteries, as they rose in favour, profited by the abundance of the richest offerings, while the parishes remained in obscurity and poverty. When the Danes invaded this country their fury was chiefly directed against the monasteries, where the wealth and treasure of the nation had been gathered. The monasteries were pillaged and destroyed, and the monks were either killed or dispersed. The care of maintaining the profession of the Christian faith then passed exclusively into the hands of the bishops and Seculars, who thus gained an influence which they had not possessed before.

In the year 855, Æthelwulf, overlord of Wessex (son of Ægbert, and father of Alfred), granted not, as is commonly said, the tithe of his whole kingdom, but the tenth acre of his crown lands, or a tithe of their produce, free of tribute to the Church; but as the Danes were at that time pillaging on all sides, it is questionable whether the grant was of much value. From that date there are many injunctions as to the payment of tithe as a religious duty. But Selden is of opinion

that, owing to the vast increase of the landed property of the Anglo-Saxon Church, tithe had almost entirely ceased to be paid at the time of the Norman conquest. And Sir H. Ellis, a most careful student of the Domesday Book—a survey of landed taxable property made after the Norman conquest,—says that tithe is mentioned very rarely, except in Lincolnshire, where it was almost universal. Neither the charter of William I., nor of Henry I., nor of Stephen, nor the Constitutions of Clarendon in the reign of Henry II., nor the oath of Richard I. to preserve the rights of the Church, nor the charter of John, contains any mention of tithe. The patent rolls mention a great number of taxes or tenths (*decima*) for the king's use, but none for the use of the Church. And as the Norman kings, in the matter of all Church property on which they could lay their hands, were no less notorious robbers than Henry VIII. or Elizabeth, it is not likely that they, any more than the supporters of a modern Liberation Society, would neglect so favourable and ready a source of revenue as a *universal* tithe or rent-charge. It is more probable that, after the Church had recovered from the effect of the disendowment which had been carried out on a vast scale in the times immediately following the Norman conquest, and had gained increased power, especially during the feeble reigns of John and Henry III., the Norman prelates were enabled to persuade, and it may be to enforce, the punctual payment of tithe, which had, by that time, become a universal custom on the Continent. But even when the tithe began to be customarily paid, instead of being given entirely to the support of the parish

church, which had been built by the lay lords within the limits of their manor or estate, portions of them were alienated (*i.e.* paid away) to monasteries. Everywhere abbeys and priories rose with greater splendour and magnificence, and once more eclipsed the parish churches. Then the great lay lords bestowed the churches, with the tithe and endowments of which they were possessed (*i.e.* all the rights of advowson), upon the monasteries. This was a mistaken policy, as the events of history show; but it is clear that they disposed of what was their own, and of the rights which they or their ancestors had acquired. At all events, it was not, and never had been, *national* property. They were, in fact, doing the same thing as if some wealthy merchant should in these days build a chapel and endow it, and then make it over to a set of trustees to be used by members of some Nonconformist community. It would be just as reasonable and true to call one act a gift of the property of the nation as the other.

If the monks had merely taken the place of the lay patron, and continued to enjoy no more than his *original* rights, little harm would have been done. At first, they left the parish priest in full possession of his endowments. Afterwards they began to appoint those of their own order who were priests, as non-resident rectors, and these rectors left the ministrations of the church and parish to be performed, for a small and inadequate stipend, by deputies who were called vicars (*vicarius*), and were removable at pleasure. These practices were a return to all the old abuses of lay patronage, when pensions were reserved out of the parochial benefices

for the lay patrons. They became at length so flagrant that the bishops obtained a constitution, ordaining that in all cases of *appropriated* churches (*i.e.* of churches assigned to the monasteries) a perpetual curate or vicar should be appointed, who should be instituted to the cure of souls by the bishop, with a competent maintenance, and, except for just causes, be irremovable. This is the origin of the ancient vicarages in the Church of England. But whilst this reform secured a more liberal and permanent maintenance for the vicars, it encouraged the lay patrons to further appropriate to the monasteries the advowsons of their churches, and to alienate the parochial endowments from their original purpose. When Henry VIII. ascended the throne, nearly one-half of the richest benefices had been transferred to the monasteries, and at their dissolution these benefices, with the pensions, tithe, and glebe lands, fell into the hands of the king and his courtiers. Strictly speaking, the property of the monasteries, with the exception of the tithe, was not Church property, that is, property devoted to the maintenance of diocesan and parochial ministrations. The monks were, as we have said, chiefly laymen. The original lay patrons or owners of the advowsons of benefices had alienated this form of property, by appropriating it to the monasteries, long before the reign of Henry VIII. When the original lay patrons were no longer living, the monasteries, with their estates, became vested in the crown. If we take the penny of Henry to represent the shilling of Queen Victoria, the capitalized value of the monastic estates may be estimated at £50,000,000 of our money. It may be asked,

What became of the monastic property? Some of it was used for the foundation of six additional bishoprics, and some of the monasteries were converted into collegiate churches. A portion of the spoil was given to the hospitals of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas in London, and a few grammar schools were founded. But the condition of the parochial clergy was not improved, for in a report presented by Archbishop Parker to Queen Elizabeth, it is stated that there were in England 4500 benefices with cure of souls, which were not above £10 a year in the king's book (*i.e.* the record of the valuation made in the reign of Henry VIII.). And in the reign of Queen Anne there were nearly 7000 benefices, out of a total of 9000, which did not provide £100 a year for the incumbent; and many of these benefices were without a parsonage house. The rest of the monastic property was reserved by the king for his own use, or squandered on the objects of his changeful passion, or sold at inadequate prices to grasping and fawning courtiers. The estates of several of our nobility have come into their possession from this source.

Then there arose another abuse. As formerly the tithe, originally designed chiefly for the maintenance of the parochial clergy, had been *appropriated* to the use of the monasteries, some of the members of which were duly qualified to serve the churches, now, the tithe was *impropriated—i.e.* improperly applied—to the use of laymen, who were not so qualified. And this impropriation of tithe is the origin of lay rectors, who again provided vicars at small stipends, and used the greater part of the tithe as their own personal income.

It also led to the distinction between the great tithe and the small tithe.

In looking back at what has been said, there does not appear to be any indication of the tithe, or of any other ecclesiastical endowment, having been originally *national* property. In the reign of Edward I., when the English nation first makes its appearance in very much the constitutional form which we see now, tithe had acquired a prescriptive right, and it was settled, as other property was settled, on its owners, lay and clerical, by Act of Parliament. The statute of Edward VI., which is held by some to enforce the payment of tithe by Act of Parliament, was really intended principally for the advancement of agriculture, and merely regulates the method of the payment of tithe. In consequence of the inconveniences attending the assessment and collection of tithe, a voluntary system of agreement was made, by which, under the name of *modus*, a fixed annual payment was received, in some cases, in lieu of a tithe in kind. These various payments and commutations, in their origin as voluntary as the tithe itself, were from time to time regulated by Acts of Parliament, until, in 1836, the Tithe Commutation Act substituted for payment in kind, a rent-charge payable in money, based on the average price of corn for the past seven years. The average value of each £100 of tithe rent-charge for the past forty-seven years has been £103. This Act was passed chiefly in the interest of the tithe-payer, and, as Mr. Chamberlain once justly said, "the tithe-owners have more reason to complain of the arrangement of 1836 than the tithe-payers." "Up to

the passing of the Commutation Act," says Mr. Caird, "the income of the Church increased with the increased value yielded by the land,—the original object, that the Church should progress in material resources in equal proportion with the land, being thus maintained. From 1836 that increment was stopped. Since that time the rental of England has increased fifty per cent., and all that portion of the increase which, previous to that date, would have come to increase the resources of the clergy, has come to enlarge the incomes of the landowners." He considers that the tithe-owners (many of whom, however, are laymen receiving over £1,000,000 a year), would now have been richer by £2,000,000 a year; so that, in other words, so far from the present burthen of tithe having become more oppressive, it has been lightened by a third part of its whole weight, as a consequence of the Commutation Act.

With respect to the tithe as a form of ecclesiastical endowment, we may rightly regard it as in its origin a voluntary payment; then resting on custom; then obtaining a prescriptive right, as a human institution, and surrounded with the protection of a divine sanction: then regulated and enforced by the authority of legal enactments, or Acts of Parliament, made with the express consent of those who were interested in its settlement. There is nothing in this history of tithe which can be honestly made to look like the endowment of the Church by an act of the State. If legislation by the imperial Parliament respecting tithe as a form of property be held to constitute it national property, then legislation respecting any kind of pro-

perty must have the same effect. Then the property of any charitable institution, the property of any trust for Nonconformist purposes, the property even of Irish landlords must be also national property. Tithe is, in fact, of the nature of a reserved rent, which never belonged, when once granted, to either landlord or tenant. Every one who acquires by inheritance or purchase, or who undertakes to rent tithed land knows, or ought to know, that he acquires or bargains for not the whole, or ten-tenths, but only for nine-tenths of the land. If the land is tithe-free, by redemption of payment, or otherwise, a larger rent is paid to the landlord; but if the land is not tithe-free, the payment of the tithe by the tenant, instead of by the landlord, is considered in the rent, and if he could avoid paying it, he would be reserving to himself what does not belong and never could have belonged to him.

4. The sources from which other endowments than those derived from tithe and the rent of glebe lands are drawn, are chiefly the voluntary contributions in land or money of members of the Church of England. There are two corporations which have been authorized to deal with the revenues of the Church, and to assist in their redistribution. These are the Queen Anne's Bounty Board, and the Ecclesiastical Commission.

The former of these was founded in the reign of Queen Anne, for the purpose of receiving the first-fruits charged on 4700 benefices, and the tenths charged on 5000 benefices formerly paid to the Pope as a feudal lord, and afterwards appropriated to his own use by Henry VIII., who thought that in transferring the

supremacy of the Pope to the crown, all that went with that supremacy ought to revert to himself. These first-fruits and tenths were, so far as practicable, restored by Queen Anne, for the benefit of the Church. The first-fruits (*annates*) were a charge payable by the incumbent, whether bishop or priest, on taking possession of his benefice; and the tenths were an annual charge upon the net profits of the benefice. Their total annual value, which is calculated on the value in the king's book, and has remained unaltered, is £14,000 a year. This fund is appropriated to the augmentation of small livings, and the erection or enlargement of parsonage houses by means of loans spread over a number of years, and chargeable on the annual income of the benefice. The Governors of the Bounty Board were empowered by a charter of incorporation to invite funds from private sources to assist them in their augmentation. Since 1831 the sums thus acquired by voluntary gifts of lands, houses, tithe restored by lay owners, and money is said to have amounted to more than £2,000,000. During the years 1864–1880 the amount distributed from the funds granted by Queen Anne was £285,600.

The Ecclesiastical Commission was constituted in 1836, on the recommendation of two commissions which had been previously issued to consider the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales with reference to the amount and more equal distribution of their revenues; and also of the cathedral and collegiate churches; and to make better provision for the cure of souls, with special reference to the residence of the

clergy in their respective benefices. The commissioners between 1840 and 1881 have been able, by a better management of episcopal and capitular estates, and by the receipt of £3,750,000 from private sources—raised, that is, on the "voluntary system"—to augment and endow four thousand seven hundred benefices, and to provide parsonages.

Thus the modern endowments of the Church have come partly from the improved management and distribution of property already belonging to its several corporations, and partly, like its ancient endowments, from the voluntary zeal and piety of its members.

Three-eights or more of the original endowments of the Church were indisputably given on the "voluntary system;" and it is only in regard to the remaining five-eights—and probably not much more than four-eighths, or one-half—that any shadow of a question can possibly arise. All that can be claimed as State aid is (1) the grant made in 1711 by Parliament, acting on the advice of Convocation, of £350,000, raised by the duty of one or two shillings on every chaldron of coals unloaded in the port of London for three years, for the purpose of erecting fifty new churches in the cities of London and Westminster and their suburbs, of which only eleven or twelve were built; and (2) the parliamentary grants made between 1809 and 1820, for the same purpose. And even if these several grants can be claimed as national, in having been made by Parliament, yet property, once given by the nation, ceases to be national. A gift becomes as much the property of the person to whom it is given, as that which he has inherited, or

acquired. To deprive him of it by force is as much an act of robbery in one case as it is in the other.

I have referred only to the endowments or invested property of the Church, because it is that on which an attack is so confidently being made. Yet the contributions to such societies as the Additional Curates, the Church Pastoral Aid, the Tithe Redemption Trust, and the various diocesan societies, which are all gathered in on this "voluntary system," should not be overlooked, as they all, in their several ways, help to maintain the efficiency of the parochial organization of the Church at home. Since its establishment in 1837, the Additional Curates' Society has been enabled to make grants for the maintenance of assistant clergy in populous parishes, to the extent of £1,598,624; and the Church Pastoral Aid Society, for the same object, since 1836, to the extent of £1,173,943. Then there is the noteworthy fact of the foundation, within a very few years, of four additional bishoprics, representing in their respective endowments a capital sum of £500,000, derived in small part from the voluntary cession of a portion of their incomes by the bishops of existing Sees, out of which the new Sees have been taken, but chiefly from the "voluntary system" of contributions by private persons. Nor must we forget the large annual contributions on the "voluntary system," of churchmen to the support of Church Schools for the poor, in addition, in many cases, to their payment of the School Board Rate; the contributions, on the "voluntary system," to such societies as that for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and to the National Society, for the promotion of the

education of the poor in the principles of the Church of England; as well as to the societies for the support of Foreign Missions, and the Colonial Episcopate. "Would that the Church of England," it has been said with an air of compassion, "would dispense with the puny aid of the State, and she would see how the giant voluntaryism would draw her car along." The aid of the State is truly "puny," if indeed it can be said now to be of any account at all; but if the "aid" in question refers to the settled endowments of the Church, which are protected, as any other form of property is protected, by the State, but are not derived from it, then the Church's car has the inestimable benefit of a pair of giants.

That the "voluntary system," apart from large endowments, does not appear able to stimulate extraordinary liberality, may be seen from the accounts recently published of the collections for the Hospital Sunday Fund for 1884, which amount to £32,784, of which the Church of England contributed £25,021, and all the other Nonconformist communions together, including those which are apparently indescribable, £7,763, or less than one-quarter of the whole amount.

So far, then, as the churches and endowments, which belong to the Church of England, are concerned, whether bestowed upon it before the reign of Henry VIII. or subsequently, the Church, with the exception of some comparatively small grants which have been mentioned, owes no more to the State than the Nonconformists do. "It owes the right of building its own churches and supporting its own ministry,—that and nothing more. It owes the privilege of receiving the offerings of those

who contributed to them on the 'voluntary system,'—that and nothing more. It owes its right to receive the tithe or rent-charge on lands granted many generations ago to its parish churches,—that and nothing more. And it owes to the State, in its legislative and in its executive capacity, the protection of its property, just as every Nonconformist or other recognized society or corporation does,—that and nothing more."

LECTURE XIII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND—ITS DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT.

I HAVE entered, in the two previous lectures, into the question of the "establishment" and endowments of the Church of England. I have explained that the phrases "the Established Church," "the Church of England as by law established," and the like, did not come into general use until after the passing of the Toleration Act, and that these phrases expressed the result of the acknowledgment by Parliament of several religious communions, and at the same time the acknowledgment of one religious body which stands in a special relation to it and to the nation. The Toleration Act secured for all dissenters, except Romanists and Unitarians, freedom from certain penalties which previously attached to all those persons who attended religious worship according to forms other than those of the Established Church. But it did more. It assumed that the members of those religious communions who separated themselves from the Church of England on the various grounds of doctrine, or discipline, or ritual were still members of the national Church. It deprived them of

none of the legal privileges of a conforming parishioner. They could still, if otherwise properly qualified by residence and the payment of the poor-rate, attend the meetings of the parish in vestry, and vote for or against the election of a churchwarden, or the imposition of a rate for the maintenance of the fabric of the parish church, and for all other objects which could be legally defrayed out of the church rate. They had still the right of resorting to the parish church for the sacraments and other offices of religion. They could still be married, their children baptized, and themselves or their children buried with all the rites, and by the ordained ministers of the Church.

It was the possession of these privileges or opportunities which Nonconformists have so far resented as to agitate for the abolition of church rates, for the performance of marriage in dissenting chapels, and of burial in consecrated churchyards by their own ministers. In some cases they acquired the right to the possession of one or more pews in the parish church, and they could not seldom soften the susceptibilities of a scrupulous conscience which counselled resistance to the payment of a church-rate, by the sale or letting of the occupancy of these pews. So it appears that, in any sense in which the Church of England is established by law for the benefit of its attached members, it is equally established for the benefit of those who, of their own accord, dissent from its doctrine or its discipline. To speak of a nonconforming parishioner is, strictly speaking, to introduce a contradiction in terms. For a parishioner, in the sense in which the word is used in the Prayer-book and

in the various ancient statutes of the realm, meant a person who has been baptized, and who has been confirmed by the bishop; who receives the Holy Communion in the church three times a year at the least, of which Easter is to be one; who pays his accustomed dues and offerings; who steadfastly believes all the articles of the Christian faith as set forth in the Creed; and who endeavours to discharge his duty towards God and towards his neighbour. But while these qualifications of a parishioner, according to the theory of the Church, have one by one been suffered to fall into abeyance, the legislature has continued the use of the term in more modern statutes for civil purposes, and for the administration of local government. This practice has led to some more confusion in the use of the term; and to this source we may, in some measure, owe the invention and introduction of those eminently pious and pacific personages, the "three aggrieved parishioners." Still, the continued use of the term only serves to show that, in whatever sense the national Church may be said to have been by law established, it has been so established as to include the nation, and to extend whatever spiritual privileges it has to offer to the people of the nation. Every one in the nation may, unless he has by some act of his own become disqualified, make use of the services of the Church and the ministrations of the clergy. A Nonconformist chapel which has sittings for a thousand persons, is private property. A parish church, with only a congregation of three persons, is in a certain sense national, and cannot refuse admittance to any parishioner. A chapel may be sold

by the trustees, and converted into any purpose they may agree upon, and the civil court will not interfere to restrain them, unless a dispute arises. A parish church, although it is the incumbent's freehold, cannot be sold, or removed, or converted to any other use than that for which it was consecrated, without the consent of the nation expressed through its legislative assemblies. "It is still the church of the parish, though not half the parishioners may be present at the services which are held in it. Just as a bridge may become national, not because the whole nation passes over it, but because the nation has secured that right for all who are willing to use it. Nationality in this sense does not mean the exact counting of so many heads at one time. It is a modern notion to suppose that as the majority varies the Church ceases or continues to be the Church of the nation." If, then, the Church is the national Church, there must be a sense in which it is established by law. And it is established in this sense only, namely, that the State (that is, the three estates of the realm), by legislating on matters affecting the outward organization or constitution of the Church of England, has secured the services of its ministers for every individual person in the nation, and that at no cost to itself. And what possible disadvantage can it be, it may be asked, to Nonconformists, if the State has thus, at no cost to itself, secured for all the members of the nation their right to the services of the national Church, if they choose to avail themselves of their right? Is it an act of injustice that the opportunity should be offered? Would it not be a much more intolerable and oppressive

act, if every one else except registered Nonconformists could exercise this right? Or again, is it an act of injustice to them that others desire to avail themselves of the opportunity offered and secured to them? If the Nonconformist does not wish to avail himself of the right of taking his part in the services of the Church, or of obtaining the ministrations of the clergy at other times, what wrong is inflicted on him if Churchmen prefer to avail themselves of these services and ministrations? Why should he desire so ardently to restrict the Church, as an establishment, to the cramped dimensions of a sect, or to curtail its widespread influence for good by seeking to "cut off the supplies"? What possible good can he do to himself or to those who think and act with him? What possible harm may he not do to those who, as honest as he is, prefer the ministrations of the old Church to the exhortations at Little Bethel?

By establishment, then, in the sense in which I have admitted, the State controls, in some measure, the action of the clergy, and secures for the nation the religious and spiritual services of the Church, which it has done nothing to found, and little, it may be added, to encourage or advance. It secures the active co-operation of a large body of men devoted to the most important of all duties, and for this co-operation it pays nothing. Fierce denunciations of the Church, bitter reproofs of supposed transgressions on the side of a too zealous earnestness, trenchant exposures of imaginary grievances, and sometimes, it must in fairness be admitted, not undeserved invective, though in times now long past,

against the supineness of its rulers, for whose appointment it was not wholly responsible, and against the sloth and neglect of its pastors have been heard, at one time or another, in the House of Commons, but no Chancellor of the Exchequer includes in his annual budget a single item for the expenses of the national Church, or the payment of the stipends of its clergy. The expansion of commerce and manufactures increases the resources and extends the wealth of the nation, while it alters the proportions of the population, so that it becomes a task of advancing magnitude how to provide the institutions of religion for the people who are constantly gathering, and in some cases it may be rather called herding together, in our large cities and towns and their ever-extending suburbs. But the State, that is, the nation through its Parliament, has not touched this burden so much as with its little finger. It has left the Church alone and unaided to struggle with the rising flood of immorality of all kinds, and of discontent veiled as socialism. And yet it is acknowledged on all sides that if it were not for the efforts which the Church, through the clergy and lay workers, is daily making to stem the course of that flood, it might ere this have risen to its full and towering height, bringing with it impending ruin. If, then, a disestablishment of the Church, which involves merely the abolition of the existing form of the supremacy of the crown, and the control which the State or the nation through its Parliament thereby claims to exercise over the Church be all that is aimed at by the members of the Liberation Society, the clergy, if they merely regarded their own

interests, could scarcely be expected to raise any objection. But whether it would be for the benefit of the nation at large—that is, chiefly of the laity—is a much more important question, and one which would have to be ultimately determined by the nation. And that question would resolve itself into a form of this kind: Will it be for the good of the nation to make any change in its existing relations with the Church of England—that is, to alter the laws and institutions which bind the Church more closely than any other religious communion to the nation—or to alienate Church property to other uses than those for which it was originally given on the 'voluntary system,'—say, for instance, as was proposed in the case of the surplus funds of the Church of Ireland to the endowment of additional asylums for an increasing number of lunatics?

We have now arrived at the point where we are met by a procession of intrepid orators marching under a banner on which is inscribed the "blazing principles" of disestablishment and disendowment. Who are these? They are the paid agents and the active supporters of what was at first called the "Anti-State-Church Society," founded in 1844, by Mr. Edward Miall, formerly M.P. for Bradford. This society, finding that its name savoured too much of ecclesiastical pugilism, changed it to that of "The Society for the Separation or Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control." This high-sounding title suggests two things. It suggests that the Church of England is in worse than Egyptian bondage; and it suggests that this society has been mercifully raised up, like a second Moses, to deliver it

and set it free. This society professes to have an average income of over £16,000 a year, but in the report for 1878, six counties are stated to have each contributed, on an average, £60 from nearly 800 subscribers, or about 1*s.* 6*d.* each; and London £1521 from 621 subscribers, or an average of £2 9*s.* each. Two-thirds of the society's annual income is said to be derived from a special fund of £100,000, which was originated in 1874, but the subscriptions amounted to no more than £53,000. And of this latter amount a little less than one-half, or £20,000, was raised in the town and the immediate neighbourhood of Bradford, in Yorkshire,—three firms contributing £15,000 between them. Leeds, on the other hand, contributed only £240; Birmingham, £545; while London and Manchester sent over £6000 each. This society has mapped out the whole country into districts, in each of which it maintains a trained and paid agent. Its operations are carried on by means of lectures, public meetings, and addresses in local parliaments, working men's clubs, schoolroom and debating societies. It is diligent in the circulation of "millions of pamphlets and leaflets," in which the object and plans of the society are clearly and briefly set forth with all the sweetness of the candid friend. In 1879 the society circulated no less than 3,141,767 publications, and its agents delivered 794 lectures. A genuine sale of the society's publications for the *four* years ending May 1878, realized £284 14*s.* 1*d.* Local newspapers are judiciously utilized, and local influence is everywhere courted to ensure the success of the society's operations, and to secure the return of members to Parliament who

will record their vote consistently with the society's programme. And the programme is plainly this, to relieve the "establishment" of its "separable worldly incidents," under the plea of liberating the "Church."

The society is said to be composed chiefly of a few Romanists, Secularists, and some Protestant dissenters of various shades, and to be supported by a large following. But it has been remarked that it has not amongst its members and subscribers more than a very small minority of the ministers and members of the older Nonconformist communions, and that it is not fair to take for granted that a Nonconformist and a member of this society are synonymous terms. Further, if we carefully scrutinize the subscription lists and balance-sheets, we shall be justified in coming to the conclusion that, as this society is supported by the wealth of a few, and not by the smaller contributions of the many, it does not truly represent any earnest desire on the part of the majority of members of Parliament, or their constituents, for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church. Neither does this scrutiny give any proof that the majority of Nonconformists in England are in sympathy with the objects of the society, or that they are even interested in its proceedings. It rather shows that while this society contains only a very small minority of the members, and those not in any way eminent, of the various Nonconforming religious bodies, it is mainly composed of those who openly avow it as their aim, not only to try to get rid of the Church as an establishment, but of the Christian religion. I cannot but think that this society, designedly or not I am un-

willing to say, acts distinctly in the direction of widening the breach between the Church of England and the Nonconformists, by constantly fanning the flames of disaffection and dissension. I have referred at some length to the operations and plans of this society, because (1) they set out clearly the measures which the society proposes to apply to the Church; (2) they enable us to estimate some of the effects of these measures; (3) they suggest the propriety of using all the means at our disposal for the constitutional development of the Church, in accordance with the requirements of modern life, as the best way of resisting the spoliation of its revenues; (4) they stimulate the proper feeling of uniting, without any needless sense of alarm, in defence of the Church against the attacks which are being levelled on its historic position, but more especially on its revenues and property; (5) they remind us of our duty as Churchmen to make ourselves accurately acquainted with the history of the spiritual and temporal constitution of the Church of England, and of its ancient and modern endowments; (6) they act as a loud call to us, not to let dissensions on other matters prevent our united action against encroachments on our rights and liberties, or encourage the further advance of our opponents.

1. What are the measures which this society proposes to apply to the Church? (1) As to the churches. The cathedrals, abbeys, and other monumental buildings are to be regarded as national property, under national control, and they are to be maintained for such uses as Parliament may from time to time

determine. Ancient churches—*i.e.* all churches existing at the date (1818) of the passing of the first of the Church Building Acts—are to be vested in a parochial board elected by the ratepayers, and they may be sold or used as the board may think fit. Modern churches (*i.e.* those erected since that date) which have been built at the sole expense of some person, still living, may, on his application, be vested in him or in such persons as he may appoint. Modern churches which have been built by means of voluntary subscriptions entirely, are to become the property of the existing congregations, and to be held in trust for their use. Modern churches which have been built partly by subscriptions, and partly from Parliamentary grants, and other public sources, are to be offered to the existing congregations, subject to a charge upon the building in respect of the amount derived from public sources. Proprietary churches are to remain in the hands of the present proprietors.

(2) As to the endowments, and the parsonage houses. These are to follow, for the most part, the regulations respecting the churches; and only the existing incumbents are to be considered as having any vested interest, independently of services rendered, for life, or during the tenure of their incumbency. The distinction which is here introduced between the expediency of confiscating modern endowments which have been voluntarily given since 1818, and confiscating ancient endowments which have been voluntarily given prior to that date, is one of pure sentiment, and rests on no principle. For the nature of an endowment is the same whether it be fifty or five hundred years old. The

distinction can only be intended to envelop the entire proposal of confiscation with the halo of a generous liberality.

(3) As to the surplus of Church property. As it might be some years after the Act for Disestablishing and Disendowing the Church was passed, before there was any available surplus, it may be left to the nation of that time to decide on its appropriation with reference to the wants and feelings of the period. Still, various suggestions are now made lest the wisdom of the coming age may perchance prove unequal to the task. There is education always ready to absorb every available surplus. There is the maintenance of the poor, and the bait of a diminished poor-rate is temptingly dangled before the eyes of the unsuspecting ratepayer. There is the drainage question—a perpetual channel for absorption, and one which is never weary of enduring costly and fruitless experiments. And there is one always favourite candidate with every financial reformer—the reduction of the national debt. Happy is the Church which is able to make, if only in imagination, so many friends by means of the unrighteous mammon of its religious endowments!

2. What would be some of the effects of disestablishment and disendowment? By "disestablishment" must be understood, as Mr. Freeman has pointed out (1) the repeal of all laws which, whether for purposes of privilege or for purposes of control, make any difference between the Church of England and other religious communions. (2) The removal of the obligation on the part of the sovereign to be in communion with the Church of England—*i.e.* to take the Coronation Oath.

(3) The removal of the archbishops and bishops who sit and vote in the House of Peers, not in virtue of their baronies, as it is sometimes said, but as lords spiritual. (4) The dissolution of all existing ecclesiastical courts, since any matter in dispute respecting Church property or civil rights would have to be decided in the civil courts, and all questions affecting doctrine or ritual would come under the notice of Convocation, or such Church courts as might be newly constituted. (5) The surrender by the crown of its claim to make appointments to all and any ecclesiastical office. (6) The repeal of the Acts of Uniformity. (7) The abolition of all patronage, and especially all lay patronage. (8) The abolition of all privileges and exemptions, and also of all disabilities which now specially attach to the ministers and office-bearers of the Church. The incumbent would no longer be *ex officio* chairman of the parish vestry, or the churchwardens be *ex officio* overseers of the poor. On the other hand, as an archangel of the so-called "Catholic and Apostolic Church" has before now been M.P., so might an archdeacon be M.P.

By "disendowment" we understand the confiscation or taking away of the property of all ecclesiastical corporations. And one of the most evident of the effects of this confiscation of property would be the disendowment of the poor man's church, and that specially in the remote country parishes. Experience tells us that, as in America, as in Ireland, as among the Roman Catholics in England, a rich Church on the "voluntary system" will provide well enough for its

town parishes, where rich and poor are not far apart. In fact, in many towns the endowments of the Church of England are now very insignificant compared with what is and has been raised on the voluntary system. But experience tells a different tale in country parishes. The writer of an article on Disestablishment and Disendowment, or, as he prefers to call it, "Religious Equality," in the *Fortnightly Review*, asks, "Is it not the glory of the Nonconformist Churches in England, and of the Roman Churches here and in Ireland, that they have ministered to numbers apart from wealth?" The peasantry of Connaught, and the Irish in Liverpool, would tell him, whatever glory there may be in the fact, that their Churches and clergy are maintained by dues and offerings wrung from the earnings of the poorest. Those who know anything about the lives and homes of the poor in England, would tell him that the dissenting minister is seldom found in their cottages and small rooms, and that the "voluntary system" compels him to attend to those who pay him his stipend. The country parishes have now a church and a resident clergyman, whose office it is to minister at all times to the spiritual needs of the poorest of his people. And experience will avow that the real cases of negligent clergymen are happily now so few that the exceptions are notable; and that it is not only the spiritual, but the bodily needs of the poor which receive the most constant and exacting attention. The evils consequent on disendowment might be partly obviated by a wise and gracious policy among the richer members of the Church, but the experience of some of the outlying parishes in Ireland is

somewhat ominous. It is stated that writs have been issued against about one thousand Irish landlords for the non-payment of tithe rent-charge. If it be true, as is asserted, that the agricultural labourers hate the parsons, detest the Church, and desire earnestly its disendowment, there is little more to be said. But we may claim that the question should be fairly put before them, and that they should be enabled to understand that, in an attempt to provide an imaginary remedy for an imaginary grievance, they are asked to deprive themselves of advantages which have belonged to them or their forefathers for centuries.

3. What are the grounds on which the confiscation of Church property is urged, both on behalf of the interests of the Church and in the interests of those who dissent from the Church?

It is urged (1) that the Church would be set free from all State control. But this is impossible. "As long as any religious community holds no property, has no trust deeds, no formulated doctrine, no form of worship, no rules or regulations of any kind affecting the civil rights of its members, it will not be subject to State control, because in this chaotic condition there can be nothing to form a ground of dispute. But the moment any religious body acquires and holds property, no matter on what tenure or of what amount,—the moment it has trust deeds in which are inserted the conditions of the tenure of its property, the doctrines to be held and taught, the general mode or form of worship and the obligations to be observed by its ministers and office-bearers and members,—at that moment it places itself

under the protection of the State, and subjects itself to State control." There are numerous cases which could be cited to show that Nonconformist trusts have come under the consideration of the judges of the civil courts, and that Acts of Parliament have been passed having reference exclusively to Nonconformist communions. By Acts of Parliament the "Free Churches," as they are called, are legally recognized, protected, and controlled. To Acts of Parliament they must have recourse in making such changes in their trust deeds as affect the tenure of their property, or the civil rights of their ministers or their members. The only way in which the "Free Churches" can escape from the inconvenient pressure of the "Dead Hand," and the decisions of the civil courts which represent the control of the State, is by entirely ignoring the conditions of their trust deeds,—"driving a coach-and-four through them." And this is a way which is said to find favour in many of the Nonconformist Churches. "As a matter of fact," says Mr. Baldwin Brown, in an address before the Congregational Union, "trust deeds are constantly ignored, and that by our ablest and most successful men, chairmen of the Congregational Union. At this moment many of the most eminent of our ministers are preaching under trust deeds containing statements of doctrine which nothing could induce them to utter from their pulpits." And as to the "Free Churches" not being subject to Acts of Parliament, was not recourse had to Parliament, it may be asked, in 1844, to secure the property and endowments of certain meeting-houses to the use of religious bodies who had widely departed from

the doctrines and discipline of those who had first used the property? In this case an Act of Parliament was made to override the trust deeds, and the parties concerned obtained from the State a new title to their property.

The Primitive Methodists and the Presbyterians in Ireland have also had recourse to Parliament within recent years for an Act to enable them to regulate the trusts and constitution of their societies. And in the preamble of the Acts, it is stated in precise terms that "the purposes aforesaid cannot be effected without the aid and authority of Parliament." So, then, even if the scheme of the Liberation Society were ever carried into practice, the object which is professed, in so kindly a spirit, to be arrived at would not be attained. The Church would not be entirely freed from control by Parliament. "It is impossible," says Lord Selborne (Lord Chancellor), "that any property should be either acquired or retained by a disestablished Church, or that its minister should have any churches to officiate in, without a jurisdiction in the civil courts to determine questions of doctrine, discipline, or ritual. Nor could anything prevent Parliament from legislating at any time, if it thought fit, so as to authorize the civil courts to review on the whole merits, or disregard altogether any sentence whatever of any voluntary Church judicature." It is well for us to be assured on so high an authority, that no religious body, whether it be established or disestablished, within the limits of the jurisdiction of the English crown, if possessed of any kind of property, or any kind of trust deeds, can escape from

the control, in certain cases of Parliament. If the civil courts do not interfere to enforce the conditions of a trust deed where they are being violated, it is because no one sufficiently cares for the trust deed to move the court.

(2) Another advantage which is pressed upon Churchmen as a reason for disestablishment and its necessary practical consequence disendowment is, that it would give greater liberty both to the clergy and the laity in religious matters, and that it is on this account that some amongst the clergy are found to advocate this course. To offer liberty to any one is to assume that he is at present deprived of his liberty, and is more or less in bondage. But no one is forced to receive holy orders in the Church, and any one who has been ordained is at liberty to retire from the exercise of the gifts of the ministry. Is it, then, liberty to each priest to teach what he thinks most Catholic or most Protestant, or to conduct the public forms of divine worship in whatever way will be agreeable to his teaching? This would be the liberty not of communion but of a disunion, which would be fatal to the existence of any religious body. The liberty of the priest would be the bondage of the people. Why, it is already often a subject of complaint from the same quarter that the clergy have too much liberty, and that owing to their present independent position under the Establishment, they are too little answerable either to the bishop or to their parishioners! And if among the clergy there are some who think the bonds and fetters of State-control, as they describe them, have so injured the spiritual character of the Church, and weakened its spiritual

jurisdiction and discipline, that it were well to be taught even by an enemy, and to join in throwing off the yoke of bondage, is it not a fact that the spiritual life among the faithful members of the Church of England will, so far as it can be known by its good fruits, compare most favourably with that of the members of any other religious communion? It has not been always so. No, we sorrowfully admit it. But that it is so in these days, and has been so in days gone by, only the more conclusively proves that spirituality of life has not been hindered by any lawful control exercised by the State, but by the mischievous exercise of lawful powers on the part of the crown and its advisers to turn the Church into an engine for the advancement of political ends. Nor could the laity be in any appreciable degree more free than they are under the present condition. "No religious body in existence," it has been said, "would allow its members anything like the liberty and privileges possessed by the members of the Church of England, with so little recognition of obligation, and such a minimum of exacted discharge of duty in return." These two are the chief reasons, though there are several others, why it is urged that the Church in its own interests should be disestablished: (*a*) that it would be entirely, or much more free from State control; (*b*) that it would secure greater liberty to the clergy and laity. But there are also reasons put forward in the interests of the Nonconformists, and all others who prefer to consider themselves outside the Church, and these reasons take for the most part the shape of objections.

(1) There is the general assertion, as an abstract theory, that any assistance rendered by the State to religion is entirely wrong, and that its acceptance by the Church is sinful. This is a proposition which savours of absurdity. For both religion and the civil government aim at the enforcement of morality in all departments of life and society. As it is manifest that religion appeals to higher sanctions than human laws can appeal to, it is more likely to be successful in its efforts than a system which is necessarily dependent for obtaining the results it aims at by means of pains and penalties. Why, then, should not the civil government for its own purposes assist the Church as the embodiment of religion? Or why should a nation, which in the main holds the same belief in all the essential articles of the Christian faith, be called upon to renounce its belief whenever it has to act in a civil or political capacity?

(2) There is the theological assertion against the State recognizing any form of the Christian religion, founded on the remark of our Lord to Pilate, "My kingdom is not of this world." It cannot in seriousness be supposed that our Lord was on that occasion referring to the union of "Church and State." He was setting forth the spiritual origin of His kingdom, in reply to those who had urged that its establishment must necessarily be in direct opposition to the kingdom of Cæsar. His words referred, in fact, to the nature of His kingdom, and not to the mode of its existence among the nations.

(3) There are the particular assertions in reference to the Church of England.

(*a*) The establishment of the Church inflicts injustice

on a large section of the community. This "large section of the community" appears to consist of those who, for various reasons, do not conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church. They think it an injustice to themselves that the majority of their fellow-countrymen should be allowed to enjoy the privileges of communion in the national Church. This is an objection which surely breathes rather the petulant spirit of intolerance than the spirit of a sound mind. To those who have studied the history of the Church, and who remember that it has grown up with the nation, and that it has been accepted by the nation, and recognized by the laws of the realm as the Church of the nation for nearly a thousand years without any breach of spiritual or historical continuity; that its churches are open in every parish for all the inhabitants who are willing to take their part in divine worship; that the ministrations of the clergy are practically at the disposal of every parishioner who demands them; and that every person possesses in this country freedom to worship God according to his conscience, so long as he does not misuse this freedom to subvert social order; it must seem a most incomprehensible assertion that the existence of the Church of England in its present relations with the nation should be considered as an act of injustice. The remedy for this assumed injustice is "Religious Equality." But if by religious equality be meant that public opinion is to be compelled to regard with the same affection and respect the religious institution with its outward marks of unity which for so many years has been a part of the "body politick"—that is, of this realm

of England,—and a concourse of institutions designedly manifesting the "dissidence of dissent," it is plain to all persons of ordinary sense that "religious equality" could no more in this respect be brought about by Act of Parliament than commercial, political, or social equality could be brought about by the same legislative process. "An Act of Parliament may take away, by an act of sheer robbery, all or any of the endowments and other property of the Church, one by one in each parish, but no Act of Parliament can take away the history, the traditions, the influence, and the moral and spiritual power of the Church."

(*b*) The establishment of the Church of England is injurious to the political interests of the nation. It may be asked to what political interests? If under the cover of "political interests" be meant the revolution of the constitution, the destruction of all existing national institutions, the confiscation of all property, lay as well as ecclesiastical, in the interests of socialism and communism, then the influence of the Church might be reckoned on as helping, in no party sense, to conserve what has been proved to be good and useful, and to oppose to the apostles of violence and rapine the gospel of honesty and order. The latest "political interest" which has strongly affected the nation is the extension of the franchise to 2,000,000 additional voters. When this question came before the House of Peers, the Lords Spiritual—the bishops on their bench, headed by the primate, in no spirit of servile fear, at once, as the representatives of the clergy, recognized the political rights and interests of their fellow-countrymen, and,

with few exceptions, recorded their votes in favour of the Bill, although, as the result proved, they were in a minority on the question. There is such a thing in the gospel code as Christian Socialism. It is to be found in the precepts "Honour all men;" "Love the brotherhood." But it has corresponding commands, "Fear God; honour the King," even when the king was Nero, an Anti-christ.

(*c*) The establishment of the Church of England is injurious to the religious interests of the nation. In other words, the existence of a Church which provides one or more buildings in every parish, to which all the parishioners may have access, if they will, for the administration of the Sacraments, and other divine offices, —which provides clergy in every parish to minister to the parishioners publicly in the church, and privately in case of sickness and need the means of grace and the consolations of religion, is, by the mere fact of its being recognized by the nation as the Church of the nation, injurious to the religious interests of the nation. This is just as true an assertion as it would be to say that the establishment of public dispensaries, medical officers of health, sanitary inspectors, schools and inspectors of schools, is injurious to the sanitary and educational interests of the nation. At no time, it may truly be said, during its long and chequered history, has the Church, in the person of her clergy and laity, been more earnest and anxious to meet the religious wants and advance the religious interests of the nation than at the present time. The efforts which have been recently made by means of the missions inaugurated in the north and east of London,

and extending to the west, to recall to a sense of their responsibilities before God and to each other, both the rich and the poor, is of itself a present and a practical answer to the unproven charge that the Church of England, as established by law, if you please, is injurious to the religious interests of this great city, which thus affords only one example of what is being done to forward the religious interests of the whole nation.

There are many other minor objections which have been urged against the continuance of the present relations existing between the Church of England and the nation, some of which have been already considered in former lectures, and the others would occupy too much space, or are not of sufficient importance to discuss. The whole question is, as I have already said, really one which concerns the laity of the Church far more deeply than it concerns the clergy, and it is a practical question, and one which cannot be dealt with on merely abstract or sentimental theories. The first question which must be presented eventually before the nation, when stripped of all sentiment as to "national property" on the one hand, or "sacrilege" on the other, would be, "Is there any good and sufficient reason for depriving the next incumbent of each episcopal see and of each cathedral and parish church in the kingdom of the endowments hitherto enjoyed, in return for religious services rendered to the nation, by his predecessors?" The second question would be, "Would a change of so radical a nature, so important in its immediate and ultimate effects, a change which would touch so many interests and associations, be really for the good of the nation or not?"

The third question would be, "To what better purposes could the existing endowments be applied?" And the fourth question would be, "On what grounds is it proposed that any kind of endowments possessed by any of the Nonconformist—including in this sense the Romanists—communions should be retained?" It remains for the advocates of disendowment to make out their case. They must show, in a practical and conclusive manner, that the Church of England, or "the Establishment," if they prefer the title, is the cause of evils to this country so great as not only to outweigh any advantages which it may confer; but also to outweigh the evils necessarily inherent in such a vast change as they propose. They are in this free country entitled to a fair hearing, and those who think it would be wiser to retain the present position of the Church are entitled to a fair hearing also.

The advocates of disestablishment and disendowment are at liberty to produce all the strongest arguments they can marshal in defence of their policy: but they must not raise objections if their arguments are thoroughly examined; if every weak point is immediately the object of attack, and every fallacy in their reasoning is mercilessly exposed. Nor need there be imported into the discussion any animosity of feeling or vindictiveness on either side, since each professes to be interested in advocating that course which is thought to be for the highest good of the nation.

In bringing to a conclusion this course of lectures, I will venture to quote the words of a distinguished lay-member of the Church (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), in his article in the *Contemporary Review* (July, 1875), "Is the

Church of England worth preserving?" His words are these: "Within this haven it has, especially of late years, been amply proved that every good work of the divine kingdom may be prosecuted with effect, and every quality that enlarges and ennobles human character may be abundantly reared."

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THE END

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