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ANNALS

OF THE

“LOW-CHURCH” PARTY

IN ENGLAND,

DOWN TO THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP TAIT.

BY THE

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AUTHOR OF “LETTERS ON CHRISTIAN RELIGION,” ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES,

VOL. I.

Ἐὐδὴν ἀπιστία ἑτέρακεν ἀγαθὰ [καὶ] πίστις κακά.

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P R E F A C E .

THIS work is intended to be a contribution to the modern history of the Church of England; and of the Church of England exclusively, and not of her Irish sister, or of any of her Colonial or other daughters. This will account for the omission of much matter which might otherwise have been inserted, such as the rise of the "Reformed Episcopal Church" (or "*Churches*," for the schism has already, like a hydra, become double).

An excuse is perhaps needed for my use of the badly shaped adjective "Low-Church." The term "Evangelical" is well known as that which the members of the party take to themselves. But I could not use it in reference to them without implying that I am myself *not* evangelical; which no minister of Christ could for a moment admit without denying his own principles.

My authorities will be found, for the most part, indicated in the notes. To several brethren, Low-Churchmen and others, with the greater number of whom I have no personal acquaintance, my acknowledgments are due for the kindness with which they have answered inquiries.

I foresee that much in this work will be very displeasing to my Low-Church brethren. I am sorry for it, but cannot help it. The greater part of the work is occupied with statements of fact; and facts, though they may be belied, yet cannot be altered, whoever may be displeased with them. The rest of the work is occupied with reflections suggested by, or with conclusions drawn from, the facts stated. These reflections were made, of course, from the author's standing-

point, and the conclusions are what commended themselves to his mind as reasonable. If any critics think either the reflections or the conclusions to be unreasonable, I have no objection in the world to be told on what grounds they think so; only they must not think that they have overthrown any position of mine if they have done no more than point it out for public reprobation or ridicule. Some Low-Church reviewers are rather apt to forget this.

Two popular ideas I have endeavoured to explode. One is, the idea that the *Book of Common Prayer* is to be regarded as in the main the work of the men commonly designated as Reformers. In regard of this I have shown that the Prayer-book as we now have it is in the main the work of *Reformers truly so called*, but marred by the Zuinglianism of *another set of men*, who numbered only three, if so many, in common with the company of original compilers, and who would have been very glad to do away with the Book altogether. The other idea is that these so-called "Reformers" were generally sound and Scriptural in their doctrine. Of course, those persons with whom "Protestantism" and "truth" are synonymous terms will not accept this conclusion; if, however, the test of truth is *What has been generally received in the Church*, the distinctive tenets of Calvinism and Zuinglianism must needs be deemed erroneous. I have not scrupled to use, in reference to them, the terms "heresy" and "heretical," believing Calvinism to be essentially a denial of God as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and who thus manifests Himself as Love,—and believing Zuinglianism to be essentially a denial of God as manifested in flesh. I can indeed truly say that in writing what follows, I have not sought to give pain to any one, whether individual or party. But in narrating history it is necessary to call a spade a spade, stigmatising false teaching as false teaching, and wrong conduct as wrong conduct. If any one feels aggrieved at this, his wise course will be to bring his opinions, or his practice, into conformity with the Supreme Rule; and if I fall foul of him then, he

must please to accept the assurance that the event is unintentional on my part.

One conclusion, indeed, will, I believe, grow upon my readers all the while that they are perusing the Annals of what I have called the Immoral Period, and probably from an earlier time still: and that is, that *the Low-Church party has no moral position in the Church of England at all*. And it is a conclusion to which I think every honest and unprejudiced person must come. The position of Low-Churchmen in the Church of England is analogous to the position, in an Anabaptist congregation, of one who believed the validity and duty of Infant Baptism. As baptized people living in England, Low-Church people have a right, at the hands of the Church of England, to all ordinances of the Catholic Church to which baptized people are entitled, as far as those ordinances are recognised in the Prayer-book. But they have no moral right to serve in any office of ministry. And it is the duty of those to whom belongs the responsibility of appointing to office to keep them out. Not indeed that when a Low-Churchman has found his way in, he is to be ejected on the first opportunity; that would be ignoring the truth that although the Low-Church party has not a *moral* position in the Church, yet it has an *historical* one. But we mean that if a man denies Baptismal Regeneration, the validity of priestly absolution, or the authority of the Church in controversies of faith, he ought not to be admitted to holy orders: that when a clergyman has preached against the doctrine of the Real Presence, or the doctrine that the Holy Ghost is ministered in ordination, he should not be advanced to any office of rule; and, finally, that when a clergyman, having got admission to a spiritual charge on a false pretence of assenting to the teaching of the Prayer-book, uses his position for the object of encouraging his hearers to disbelieve any part of that teaching, and still more when he subscribes his money for the persecution of brethren whose only offence is that of inculcating Prayer-book doctrines and practising Prayer-

book rules irrespectively of Privy Council falsehoods, he should be treated as being (what he really is) unfit for the society of gentlemen. A little wholesome discipline of this kind would soon stop the mouths of such designing scoundrels* as libel the English Church Union, or the Anglican members of the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom, as though they were conspiring to bring the English nation under the yoke of Rome.

Thus, then, I send forth these ANNALS. May God bless them to the promotion of His truth, and (if the wish is not too presumptuous) to the general spiritual welfare of the Anglican Communion.

* My respected Publisher suggests that I should alter this word for a milder one. I do not, however, think the term too strong for any person who wilfully bears false witness against his neighbour; and especially if he does so on the pretence of religion.

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CHAPTER I.

Introductory Remarks. Origin of the term “Low-Church.” Object of the present Work. Protestantism an Intellectual Movement, affecting Religion. Two Objections answered.

THE history of a religious sect, if faithfully studied, may always be made a means of profit: nor is less profit to be derived from the history of a religious party, even though, under the influence of outward circumstances, the party should not have become a strictly marked sect.

This will, we trust, be found true when we study the history of that party in the Church of England to which the term “Low-Church” has long been applied: a party which, we may safely prophesy, will have left abiding results upon the Church, even after it shall, as a party, have ceased to exist.

How the term “Low-Church” arose is not very certain; but the explanation will be found a very true one which was given, we do not know when.

and according to which a "Low-Churchman" is a Churchman who has a low opinion of the Church in comparison with himself; a "High Churchman," on the contrary, being one who has a high opinion of the Church in a like comparison. As we shall see hereafter, one of the characteristics of the party—in which it shares with other Protestant parties—is to lose sight of the Church in the supreme importance of the individual members severally to themselves.

If we contemplate the Church of England at the present time in the light of her present formularies, we find her holding certain doctrines which are vulgarly designated as Popish, Puseyite, Tractarian, or Ritualistic, and which we may comprise under the term *Doctrines of Sacramental Grace*, including the doctrine of the sacramental character of the Church itself, as the Body of Christ, indwelt by the Holy Ghost, and the doctrine of a true Priesthood, by which the One High Priest in heaven fulfils His priestly office on earth. But at the same time we find a party within her which either fails to maintain those doctrines, or denies them altogether. How did this party originate? and how came it to maintain its position, and with such force of aggression as to bring upon adherents of the other party—the Church's faithful and honest children—suspension, imprisonment, and heavy costs of legal proceedings?

To answer these questions, and to hold up the party as furnishing in some cases examples to be copied, and in other cases examples to be avoided, is the object of the present work. If we seek to

find out how it originated, we naturally look first to that religious teaching which had most vogue in our country in the times of the Reformation and next after. The party which was formed by Protestant teaching may be regarded as the material out of which (considered as existing in its descendants) the subsequent Low-Church party was formed.

Protestantism has often been considered as a religious movement. This we believe to be a mistake. Religion, no doubt, came to be mixed up with it; its beginning in Martin Luther may have been—nay, probably was—really religious; but Martin Luther was only one of the leaders in the movement; and, in our country, not the most popular either. And when the system is considered which was taught at Geneva, the system founded by the hard-headed and cold-hearted Calvin; and when the system is considered which was taught at Zurich, the system of the rationalizing and not always moral Zwingli; and when, moreover, it is remembered how great influence those systems have had in our country from the time that they were first declared by popular preachers and writers; we seem shut up to the conclusion that Protestantism in England—as indeed, we believe, Protestantism abroad—was an intellectual rather than a religious movement. What of religion appeared in it arose from the removal of those fetters by which the intellect had been hindered from exercising itself in a religious way. Religion, be it remembered, seeks to work in a man by all his powers and faculties, the intellect among the rest. But on the

other hand, the removal of an obstacle to the exercise of religion is not necessarily a religious act in itself: and thus the breaking of those theological bonds by which the intellects of men in the middle ages had been fettered was not in itself of necessity a really religious movement any more than was that bodily movement done of late by certain prison-warders in setting at liberty such priests as Sidney Faithhorn Green and Richard Emraght. And in the case of the first Protestant leaders themselves, the movement was not one of spiritual life rising up against a false theology, but merely the vigour of the intellect rebelling successfully against intellectual usurpation; intellectual, we say, although the usurpation was carried on in the name of theology, and by ecclesiastical authorities. The doctrine of Transubstantiation, for instance, is not, strictly speaking, a theological doctrine at all: it is a mere philosophical attempt to explain a theological truth by philosophical ideas. It is indeed true that when the fetters of the intellect had been broken, the spiritual life was enabled, in consequence, to develop itself in directions in which it had been unable to develop itself before; and thus the average amount of piety in the reformed Church of England is probably greater now than it has been at any other period since the country had become Christian; but this does not alter the character of that movement through which the liberation in question was effected. This is seen by the history of those communities on the Continent which have been formed on Protestant principles. Those new

societies (erroneously called churches) to which the Protestant movement gave birth have been merely intellectual societies, giving birth in their turn to schools of philosophy here and there, but in which religion has steadily declined. And the like may be observed in the history of English Dissent, which is the true representative of Protestantism in England. Every one of the old Dissenting congregations has become Unitarian; and in those which have been formed in modern times there has come to be a falling away in the same direction, by the path of Rationalism: the Unitarians being (as we must not omit to remark) one of the most intellectual of all the Protestant sects.

By way of objection to the view which we are taking, two questions may be asked. How is it that of the Puritan leaders at the Savoy Conference, in 1661, so few have left any name behind them?*

And how comes it that the Low-Church party in the Church of England not only has never been celebrated for its intellect or learning, but has produced the most striking instances of ignorance and stupidity?† To such questions the

* The twenty-one Puritan divines at the Savoy Conference were Edward Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, Anthony Tuckney, D.D., Master of St. John's, Cambridge, John Conant, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, William Spurstow, D.D., John Wallis, D.D., Sivilian Professor at Oxford, Thomas Manton, D.D., Edmund Calamy, Richard Baxter, Arthur Jackson, Thomas Case, Samuel Clarke, Matthew Newcomen, Thomas Horton, D.D., Thomas Jacomb, D.D., William Eate, John Rawlinson, William Cooper, John Lightfoot, D.D., John Collings, D.D., Benjamin Woodbridge, D.D., and William Drake.

† Mr. Townsend, the editor of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, gravely

answer is, that in the cases in question a sound common sense has been overborne by a false theology: and by a theology which, being mainly negative, had a proportionately small character for intellect.

We have used the term "Protestantism" rather than "Reformation," because, although in England the effect produced was a reformation of the Church, yet abroad the effect was not a reformation of the old, but a destruction of the old, and a formation of something entirely new. And not only so, but even in England, so far as Protestant principles prevailed, the tendency was in the same direction. In England, the true Reformation-lines were not Protestant, but Catholic: as soon as Protestantism prevailed, the Church of England was laid in ruins.

But, nevertheless, it is to Protestants rather than to Catholics that we must look for the original material out of which the Low-Church party in England was formed. And it must, therefore, be our first business to trace the history of English Protestantism so far as may be sufficient to show how the party arose. And this accordingly we shall endeavour to do, and thus see what kind of material it was which, when

argues that because "a Roman Catholic" originally signified a Catholic subject of the Roman Empire, therefore all members of the Episcopal Church of England are *still* entitled to be called Roman Catholics! (Life of Foxe, p. 115). The late Earl of Shaftesbury once visited a village in which, owing to the shifting of the population, it had been found necessary to build a new church. The old church, however, was not pulled down; and the clergyman, as his wife told the noble earl, was in the habit of going in periodically and offering a prayer for the parish. "I say," said his lordship, relating the matter, "that is idolatry—downright idolatry."

wrought upon (as we believe it to have been) by the special and supernatural action of God the Holy Ghost, became at first a means of so much good, and afterwards a means of so much evil.

CHAPTER II.

The English Reformation properly so called distinguished from the work of the Zuinglians. This latter Work really Destructive and Revolutionary. The Reformation properly so called represented in King Edward's First Prayer Book: the work of the Zuinglians in the Second. Cranmer, the Leader of the Zuinglians in England.

MOST persons who have treated of the Reformation in England have treated it as including the work of those Protestant divines whom Cranmer and other highly placed men brought over from the Continent for the purpose of teaching Zuinglian heresies. We believe this to be an utter mistake. We believe that at the times whereof we are now writing there were two works not only distinct from one another, but essentially antagonistic to one another: the one a work of reformation, the other a work tending to destruction and substitution: the one, a simple clearing away of abuses and errors both in doctrine and in practice, the other, an introduction of formal heresy: the one in origin English, the other foreign: the one led by that Convocation which though only of one province (that of Canterbury) may be regarded as practically representing the mind of the English clergy in general, the other initiated by King Edward the Sixth's Privy Council, in which the Zuinglian Cranmer was

a principal member, and by an obsequious Parliament.

The way had been prepared for both these works by William Tyndale in that translation of the Holy Scriptures for which his name will ever remain among the worthiest in English history, and for the latter work in some other publications of his which were largely read, and in which may be discerned somewhat of a leaning towards Zuinglianism, though not that pronounced heresy which so abounds in the writings of other so-called Reformers. The former work of the two just described—the Reformation properly so-called—may be considered as represented in its devotional aspect, and indirectly in its doctrinal aspect also, by the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. This book, as Mr. Blunt remarks, “may very fairly be called an expurgated and condensed English version of the ancient Missal, Breviary, and Manual.”* It was framed on the old Catholic lines; and thus we find Bishop Gardiner of Winchester writing to the Privy Council in these terms: that “he had deliberately considered of all the offices contained in the Common Prayer Book and all the several branches of it; that though he could not have made it in that manner had the matter been referred unto him, yet that he found such things therein as did very well satisfy his conscience; and, therefore, that he would not only execute it in his own person, but cause the same to be officiated by all those of his

* *The Reformation of the Church of England*, by the Rev. John Henry Blunt, vol. ii. p. 93.

diocese." In the preparation of this book, which was done by a Committee of Convocation, Archbishop Cranmer, as president of the Convocation, had naturally a share; but there is no evidence how far the influence of that shameless time-server extended: whether, when the book was being prepared, he still held the Catholic faith, or whether he had even then begun to Protestantise; and, in the latter case (which seems to us the more probable one), whether he was outvoted by the majority in debate, or whether he deemed it the most politic course to dissemble his real opinions and trim his sails according to the orthodox views of his brother-clergy.

We have said that from the Reformation properly so-called, as represented in King Edward's First Prayer Book, the work of Protestantism is to be carefully distinguished. The First Prayer Book was established by Act of Parliament in January, 1549, was published early in the following March, and came into use in some churches in April, though not enforced by the Act until Whitsun Day, July 9th. Scarcely, however, had the Church got accustomed to its use when it became the subject of attack at the hands of a party which both for its theology and its practical guidance looked up to Zuinglian heretics.

The teaching of Martin Luther that men are justified by faith apart from works prepared the way for the teaching of Ulrich Zwingli that men are justified by faith apart from sacraments. From this heresy there naturally followed the rest of what we may call the anti-sacramental

system; the practical issue whereof had been, from the very first, more or less disuse of the Sacraments, and an accompaniment whereof has been a depreciation of worship. Now, at the time whereof we speak, Zuinglian tenets were being diligently propagated by Peter Martyr, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Martin Bucer, Regius Professor at Cambridge, and after them by Latimer, Hooper, Bradford, and Becon; besides two men who had as members of the Committee of Convocation helped to bring out the First Prayer Book—the very book the principles of which they now sought to undermine—Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, and Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, the latter of whom had joined with the Duke of Somerset in 1548 in inviting Bucer to England. There was, indeed, some outward disagreement between Hooper on the one hand and Cranmer and Ridley on the other, when the former refused to wear the vestments then prescribed by law. It was not, however, a disagreement as to principles. So far as appears, the question of principles was never allowed to come up; but was always put aside by the consideration of authority. So far as appears, it was never urged against Hooper that a bishop, being of a higher order than a priest, ought to have the superiority of his order signified by distinctive vestments; nor that the order to which he himself was to be admitted was the same order as that which had subsisted in the Catholic Church under the name of the Episcopate ever since the first age of

Christianity, and had been handed down in its reality and validity by Popish prelates, and that thus the vestments distinctive of it should rather be the same as were worn by Popish prelates than be of a new fashion altogether. And when Hooper was imprisoned, it was not because he disagreed on any important principle with Cranmer and Ridley, but merely because he refused for the time to accept a law of which his conscience disapproved. And when at length he submitted, it was merely by unworthily allowing his conscience to be over-ridden by the same law to which Cranmer and Ridley were willing to submit without any conscientious scruples at all.

That Cranmer and Ridley were really one with Hooper in regard to the principle of vestments is evident from the line taken in an authorised formulary to which we must now call attention—King Edward the Sixth's Second Prayer Book; and in which it was prescribed "that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope" (as had been ordered in the First Prayer Book): "but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet: and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only."

As the work of reformation properly so called may be considered to have been represented by the First Prayer Book, so the work of Protestantising may be considered as represented, though but imperfectly, in this Second Prayer Book. In this Book there were a very few minor improvements

on the former, but the Eucharistic office was so altered that, while it did not necessarily invalidate the Eucharistic act, and while it still prescribed that the Communion should be received in a kneeling posture, it might in other respects be accepted and used by a Zuinglian no less than by a Catholic. There was no provision made for oblation of the bread and wine by the celebrant before consecration. The invocation in the First Book, “with Thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bl~~ⓧ~~ess and sanc~~ⓧ~~tify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ,” was changed into the following: “Grant that we receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour Jesu Christ’s holy institution, in remembrance of His death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood.” And in the administration, whereas in the First Book the form had been, “The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life,” now it was merely: “Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thine heart by faith with thanksgiving:” and the like change in the administration of the chalice. Other offices were altered with the same Zuinglian view. Zwingli had, it may be remembered, written thus:—“I believe, yea, I know, that so far are any Sacraments from conferring grace, that they do not even bring it or dispense it.”

This Book, we say, was the nearest authorised

representation of Protestantism in the Church of England in the time of Edward VI. Its enforcement by law was the work of the Government rather than of the Church; for that a strong pressure must have been brought to bear upon Convocation with a view to its acceptance—if indeed (which is not certain) Convocation ever did accept it at all—is evident from King Edward's having declared (as reported by Sir John Cheke to Peter Martyr) that if Convocation refused to make certain Zuinglian changes, he would make them himself, using his royal authority in Parliament for the purpose.* But even the Second Prayer Book did not go far enough for the Protestantising party. Cranmer was a correspondent of Henry Bullinger, who had succeeded Zwingli as "Minister of the Church in Zurich:" and Whittingham, afterwards the Presbyterian Dean of Durham, and who had married a sister of Calvin's wife, describes himself as having heard from Bullinger "that Cranmer, Bishop of Canterbury, had drawn up a book of prayer an hundred times more perfect than this we now have:" but that "the same could not take place, for that he was matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation, with other enemies."† This unpublished Prayer Book is not known to be extant; and the politic Cranmer knew well how to keep his opinions concealed

* Strype's *Cranmer*, ii. 663; *Eccles. Hist. Soc.*; cited in Blunt, ii. p. 102.

† *A brief discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfort in Germany Anno Domini 1554. About the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies, &c.*

until the most favourable time was come for making them known. Independently, however, of it, nothing can be more certain than that the Protestantising party aimed at forming the old Catholic Church of England into a new community, with a new religion according to Ulrich Zwingli. Not the purifying of the traditional ordinances from what seemed to them unscriptural accretions, but the rooting of the traditional ordinances altogether out, and the establishing of new ones framed according to the framers' own interpretations of Scripture. There was not to be the old Eucharistic sacrifice "commonly called the Mass," but a new use of bread and wine; that is to say, a distribution of them in sign of profession made by the communicant concerning what the Lord was then supposed to be doing to him by his own faith in the Lord; so preposterously was the Zuinglian doctrine expressed.* There was to be a new ministry; not the old threefold ministry of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons,† but a twofold order of Ministers and Deacons; or more accurately, a single order, the deaconship being a mere permanent lay office. There was to be a new style of prayer, in which, as long as the Prayer Book con-

* See Becon's *Comparison between the Lord's Supper and the Pope's Masses*; and especially the Latin lines at the commencement; which for blasphemy would probably far distance even Church-Associationist publications.

† "Tell me if your Masses be done anywhere else than in your hallowed sanctuaries, upon your sanctified altars, and in your holy ornaments and consecrated cups? Neither may any do them, unless they be anointed thereto by your bishops and sorcerers." Bale's *Select Works* (Parker Soc.), p. 208.

tinued in force, the daily offices were to be said with as much variation as possible, in point of ceremonial, from the older offices ; * but the Prayer Book was deemed to have still far too much of superstition about it ; and it was desired that for the old and brief collects and responses long forms should be substituted, and that the Magnificat and Benedictus might cease to be recited. It was quite in this spirit that after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, we find Archbishop Grindal enjoining the Archdeacon of York that not even an altar-cloth which had been used for the Mass, should be laid upon the Communion-table ; “ but that new be provided, where provision hath not so been made afore.” And after his translation to the see of Canterbury, we find him inquiring whether the Communion is ministered in any chalice heretofore used at Mass.” The only matter in which, as these Protestantizers would have it, the new was to be a real continuation of the old was the possession of material buildings, worldly endowments, and (perhaps) worldly titles.

* The Second Prayer Book ordered the minister so to turn himself that the people might the better hear. Accordingly Bishop Hooper, in his Visitation Book, enjoins “ that the minister in the use of the communion and prayers thereof turn his face towards the people.” (Article xliii. *Later Writings*, p. 128.) He also inquires “ whether the clergy sit at one part of their service, kneel at another, and stand at another . . . the which alterance of their gesture caused the people to think that the hearing of the service were sufficient.” (Interrogatories, xviii. *Later Writings*, p. 145.) How the minister’s change of gesture caused such a thought in the minds of the people remains a mystery unexplained unto this day. We should have thought that the reading of prayers towards the people was far more likely to have generated the superstition in question.

The leader of the Zuinglian party in England was really Cranmer. He it was who had brought Zuinglian divines into England to teach their pernicious opinions. Hooper made, perhaps, the most noise and stir, but the chief culprit was the Archbishop of Canterbury. How he and others taught Zuinglian doctrine we may now see.

CHAPTER III.

Cranmer on the Lord's Supper. Becon's Catechism. King Edward's Catechism, written by Poynt. Nowell's Edition of it. Ridley. Latimer. Bradford. Coverdale. Hooper. Bale. Philpot.

"Are ye not children of transgression, a seed of falsehood?"—
ISAIAH lvii. 4.

WE will now give some account of the principal divines by whose teaching the Church of England became to a great extent Zuinglianised.

In 1553 Archbishop Cranmer published, in Latin, a "Defence of the True Doctrine of the Sacrament," on the Protestant side. To this Bishop Gardiner, of Winchester, wrote an answer; and Cranmer rejoined, embodying in his rejoinder the whole of Gardiner's work. The title of Cranmer's rejoinder will give a fair idea of the spirit in which the work was conceived; it commences thus:—"An Answer by the Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and sophistical cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Bishop of Winchester," &c.

When we add, that in this work the most reverend disputant continually charges his right reverend opponent with sleight, craft, wiliness, and untruth, and in several places condescends to call him a *cuttle*, it will be readily perceived that the book is answerable to its title.

Gardiner's position (the position of all those who contend for transubstantiation) was one of false philosophy united to true theology. Cranmer sought to overthrow him by a union of false theology with true philosophy. Thus each prevails over the other in one respect or another. Gardiner makes a strong point whenever he attacks Cranmer's denial of the Real Presence; while Cranmer makes a strong point whenever he attacks the doctrine of a carnal presence. And, on the other hand, Gardiner has hard work to evade the testimonies of various holy fathers, to whom the idea of a carnal presence would have been abhorrent if it had ever occurred; and Cranmer can only escape the force of Gardiner's arguments for the Real Presence in the Sacrament, irrespective of the recipients, by abuse of his opponent, and the most palpable shifting of terms,* beggings of the point in question,† and misrepresentations of what Gardiner had said. And it may indeed, perhaps, be reasonable matter for question, how far the manner in which Protestants ordinarily carry on their

* See, *e.g.*, on p. 205, the paragraph beginning, "And when you say," &c., cf. p. 204, near the bottom.

† See, *e.g.*, the passage (in vol. I. p. 145) which begins, "But the epistle," &c. Also p. 147, "But it appeareth," &c.

controversy with Catholics of the present day (whether Roman or Anglican) is not capable of being traced indirectly to the overbearing unscrupulousness shown by Archbishop Cranmer in this treatise.

Cranmer's view of the Sacrament was, that Christ is present in *the ministration of it*, just as He is present wherever two or three are gathered in His Name; but that the consecrated elements are in themselves nothing but figures of His Body and Blood (p. 103 and *passim*). According to him, the only Real Presence is a presence in the hearts of the communicants; nor in all of them, but only in such as receive the Sacrament worthily, so that the term "consecration" is not in strictness a proper term to use,* and the "change of bread and wine in the Sacrament" is wrought "in us" (!). Thus the Sacrament of the altar, like that of the font, was meant, not so much "as a means whereby we" might receive "God's grace," but rather as a kind of sermon (p. 41), meant as help to weak faith (p. 42), and to provoke us not to neglect the duty of worshipping Christ (p. 253). And since faith alone feeds upon Christ, independently of Sacraments, Cranmer does not hesitate to affirm that people did feed upon Him thus before the Eucharist was instituted (p. 25), and that Jewish rites were such as Christian Sacraments (pp. 75, 76). And the practice of reserving the Sacrament was, by consequence, utterly useless; Christ being "not present in the

* "Consecration (*as they call it*)" (p. 45).

forms of bread and wine out of the ministration” (p. 272).

One caution should be given to those who, reading the controversial writings of these Protestant divines, might understand some of their language as tantamount to a denial of Zuinglian doctrine. Thus Cranmer protests over and over again against being understood to say that the bread in the holy Eucharist is a *bare* sign of the Lord's Body. And Ridley, in his last examination before the commissioners, grants “a Sacramental mutation to be in the bread and wine.” A little consideration, however, will show that even this language is perfectly consistent with Zuinglian heresy. “Bare” may be understood in two senses: it may be understood as signifying *without any quality specially connected* with the thing to which the adjective in question is applied. And in this case, we suppose, not even a Socinian would say that the bread in the Communion is a “bare” sign of Christ's Body, but would admit that to the right use of the said bread there was some spiritual benefit annexed, which is not annexed to any use of any other bread. Another signification, however, is, that the relation expressed by the following noun is the *only* relation which it has: *i.e.*, in the present case, that in declaring the consecrated bread to be a bare sign of Christ's Body, the relation denoted by the word “sign” is the only relation which the bread in question has to the Lord's Body: in other words, whatever good effects may follow from the use of the bread, it is itself a sign, and nothing more;

it is not a vehicle by which the presence of the Supernatural Body is conveyed to all alike. When the advocates of the old learning charged the Protestant divines with affirming the consecrated bread to be a *bare* sign, they used the term in the latter sense. When, on the other hand, the Protestant divines protested that the bread was *not* a bare sign, they used the term in the former sense. And that protestation of Ridley to which we have just alluded, is to be understood in like manner.

With unsoundness on the subject of the Sacraments, was naturally connected unsoundness on the subject of the Church. "The Holy Church," says Cranmer, "is so unknown to the world, that no man can discern it, but God alone, Who only searcheth the hearts of all men, and knoweth His true children from others that be but bastards. This Church," he continues, "is the pillar of truth;" and then immediately he proceeds, "because it resteth upon God's word, which is the true and sure foundation;" thus not only perverting the obvious meaning of the text cited,* even while referring to that text in the margin—treating it as if it meant that the Church is grounded upon God's truth as revealed in the Scriptures, instead of being a pillar to hold up that truth for all men to see who have eyes—but also denying in effect the assertion made by the Apostle in that very place, that the Church is the

* 1 Tim. iii. 15. "The house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."

ground or foundation whereon God's truth is appointed to rest.

Cranmer's schemes for ecclesiastical revolution were aided not a little, and furthered after his death, by his chaplain, Thomas Becon; whom, from this connection with the Zuinglian archbishop, we mention here. He survived the Marian persecution, and was popular both as a preacher and as an author.* The principal work of his to which we are now concerned to refer was his Catechism. This was written in 1560, two years after the accession of Queen Elizabeth,† when (or about the time when) the author was Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and Prebendary of Canterbury. It is a dialogue between father and son, in which the father asks questions, and is instructed by his son at great length; the instructions including extracts from the Fathers, which are supposed to make in favour of Protestantism. The doctrinal part treats of repentance, faith, law, prayer, and Sacraments; the practical part, of the duties of persons in various spheres of life. In this treatise we find a few expressions which, taken alone, might indicate soundness in the faith; but in other places (and, sometimes, very soon after) Becon takes care to guard against Catholic interpretations. Thus we read of baptism as delivering from sin (p. 204): that the children of Christians have faith and the Holy Ghost, and, therefore,

* See the Biographical notice in the Parker Society's edition of his works, pp. xiii. xv.

† *Ib.* p. 244.

may be baptized (p. 214): but we are also bidden not to interpret this as signifying that baptism gives grace (p. 217). In fact, so far from any sacrament giving grace (p. 218), it is a sign of grace given already (p. 220). (Of course, Becon knows nothing of Christ's resurrection-life communicated to us in baptism; nor of any distinction between a baptism ministered before the descent of the Holy Ghost, and that which initiates into the Christian Church now.) Crossing in baptism is not commended; in receiving the Holy Communion, sitting is deemed the best posture. In the ministry, there is no distinction in order between bishops and other ministers: deacons, however, are a distinct order: and men may deem themselves rightly and divinely called to the ministry of the word (as distinguished from deaconship) if they are called "of the magistrate and of the people" (!). The doctrine of the holy Eucharist is flat Zuinglianism; the elements being called by the names of those things which they represent. St. Augustine little thought, when writing a passage* to this effect, how his words would be perverted in the cause of a heresy whereof, in his time, no one had dreamt. The use of the surplice is spoken of by Becon as lawful, if enjoined by the magistrate; but it were better to follow the

* Non est dictum Petra significabat Christum; sed, Petra erat Christus. Nec dictum est, Bonum semen significabat filios regni, aut, zizania significabant filios maligni, sed dictum est, Bonum semen hi sunt filii regni; zizania autem filii maligni. Sicut ergo solet loqui Scriptura, res significantes tanquam illas quae significantur appellans, ita locutus est Dominus, etc. (*In Ev. Joann.* Tr. lxiii. 2. On John xiii. 31.)

example of the Lord, and to minister in one’s ordinary habiliments (p. 300, cf. 299).

While on the subject of catechisms, we should mention the “Short Catechism, or plain instruction, containing the sum of Christian learning, set forth by the King’s authority for all schoolmasters to teach.” This was published in Latin, in the year 1552. An English version was published with authority in the same year: the year, it will be remembered, in which the Second Prayer Book came out. Dr. Randolph remarks concerning this Catechism, that it “was the last work of the Reformers” (he means, the Protestant authorities) “in that reign” (King Edward’s); “whence it may be fairly understood to contain, as far as it goes, their ultimate decision, and to represent the sense of the Church of England as then established;” or rather, as we should say, the sense of what, in the way of teaching, the ruling powers in the Church of England wished to enforce. The Royal Injunction prefixed to it declares it to have been “written by a certain godly and learned man,” and to have been debated and diligently examined by “certain Bishops and other learned men whose judgment,” says the young King, “we have in great estimation.” But it does not appear to have been sanctioned by Convocation. The “godly and learned” author is asserted by Heylin* to have been John Poynet (otherwise spelt Poinet, Ponet, and Ponnet), intruding Bishop of Winchester, and adulterer.†

* *Historia Quinquarticularis*, part II. ch. xv. § 1. London, 1660.
Certamen Epistolare, pp. 160-1. London, 1659.

† The Privy Council had uncanonically deprived Gardiner, the true

This authorship is confirmed by a letter from Sir John Cheke to Bullinger, dated June 7th, 1553.

In taking a view of the doctrine taught in this Catechism, we shall find it convenient to notice another Catechism based upon it, and which may for all practical purposes be considered as a revised edition of it; we mean the one written or edited by Alexander Nowell. Nowell was one of those who went into exile for safety's sake, living, during the Marian persecution, first at Strasburg and afterwards at Frankfort, at which latter place "he at first adhered" (we are told) "to the party who advocated the 'new discipline' against Horn and the strictly episcopalian party. He was, however, afterwards found among those who enforced the importance of unity in essentials, and who expressed their willingness to submit to authority as regarded matters ceremonial. Yet when the question of rites and ceremonies came to be discussed in the Convocation of 1562, Nowell, with others, proposed some relaxation in the rubrics of King Edward the Sixth's Service Book, as regarded the wearing of the surplice, the cross in baptism, and other like matters, respecting which some ministers had scruples. Afterwards, also, we find him acting as a pacificator in the proceedings which were taken against Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, and Humphry, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, for refusing the prescribed ecclesiastical habits.

bishop of the see, and put Poynt in his place. Poynt had married the wife of a Nottingham butcher, but was divorced from her four months after his appointment to the bishopric.

“When, on the death of Queen Mary, the exiles returned to England, Nowell was among those who were employed to carry out Queen Elizabeth’s plans for the reformation of religion. One of the most efficacious of those plans was the appointing of visitors for different parts of the country, whose duty it should be to see that such injunctions and ordinances as were issued by authority respecting religion and ecclesiastical affairs were complied with. To Nowell and others were assigned, in 1559, the visitation of the dioceses of Lincoln, Peterborough, Oxford, and Lichfield. Early in the following year Bishop Grindal collated Nowell to the archdeaconry of Middlesex, to the rectory of Saltwood (which, however, he very soon resigned), and to a stall in the church at Canterbury. In the same year he was appointed to a stall in St. Peter’s, Westminster, which from being a monastery had been erected into a collegiate church; and at the close of the year Nowell was preferred to the deanery of St. Paul’s, which he held till his death.

* * * * *

“In the Convocation which revised the ‘Articles of Religion’ agreed upon in the reign of King Edward VI., Nowell was chosen prolocutor, and took an active part in the proceedings of that assembly. He was soon after employed to compose a Homily, to be added to the Form of Prayer, which was put forth in consequence of the plague which was raging.”*

* Biographical notice in the Parker Society’s edition, pp. 2, 3.

Nowell's Catechism, after being printed by appointment of the two Archbishops, and after undergoing alteration in certain places, was both "allowed," as Nowell himself writes to Sir William Cecil, by the Bishops, "and by the whole clergy of the Lower Convocation-house subscribed unto." We shall have occasion to refer to this hereafter. For the present it will suffice to notice the following passages in Nowell's Catechism, and in the earlier Catechism put forth by King Edward.

In King Edward's Catechism the Church is defined to be "a most beautiful kingdom and holy commonwealth," to the furnishing of which commonwealth belong all they, as many as do truly fear, honour, and call upon God, wholly applying their mind to holy and godly living; and all those that, putting all their hope and trust in Him, do assuredly look for the bliss of everlasting life.

Later on, it is defined as "a certain multitude of men . . . which in all points are governed and ruled by the laws and statutes of their King and High Bishop Christ, in the bond of charity: which use His holy mysteries, that are commonly called Sacraments, with such pureness and simplicity (as touching their nature and substance) as the Apostles of Christ used and left behind in writing. The marks therefore of this Church are: first, pure preaching of the gospel; then brotherly love, out of which, as members of all one body, springeth goodwill of each to other; thirdly, upright and uncorrupted use of the Lord's Sacraments

according to the ordinance of the gospel; last of all, brotherly correction, and excommunication, or banishing those out of the Church that will not amend their lives."

In the holy Eucharist, according to King Edward's Catechism, "the bread representeth" Christ's Body, "the wine standeth instead and place of His Blood." The bread spoken of in the sixth chapter of St. John is declared to be "the true knowledge and taste of Christ, That was born and died for us, wherewith the faithful soul is fed." In other words, it is *not* (what the Lord declared it to be) His *Flesh* (p. 521).

Nowell's view of the Sacraments (which he counts to be two in number) is thus stated: "Whereas . . . thou givest to the Sacraments the strength and efficacy to seal and confirm God's promises in our hearts, thou seemest to assign to them the proper offices of the Holy Ghost.—S. To lighten and give bright clearness to men's minds and souls, and to make their consciences quiet and in security, as they be indeed, so ought they to be accounted the proper work of the Holy Ghost alone, and to be imputed to Him, and this praise not to be transferred to any other. But this is no impediment but that God may give to His mysteries the second place in quieting and stablishing our minds and consciences, but yet so that nothing be abated from the virtue of His Spirit." ("Catechism," pp. 206, 207.) A Sacrament, in fact, is "an outward testifying of God's goodwill and bountifulness towards us, through Christ, by a visible sign

representing an invisible and spiritual grace, by which the promises of God touching forgiveness of sins and eternal salvation given through Christ are as it were sealed, and the truth of them is more certainly confirmed in our hearts" (p. 205). Thus God's promises are presented to our senses, that they may be confirmed to our minds without doubting: in other words, that a man who through reading the Bible or hearing a sermon comes to think himself in a state of salvation, may come to a more firm opinion of the same through partaking of a little common bread and wine; and that is all. Of course a person holding these views knows nothing of that work whereby the Holy Ghost sanctifies the outward part of a Sacrament.

Thus Nowell is found to explain the Sacraments metaphysically rather than theologically. He defines them merely as signs of grace and of God's promises; and leaves his readers to find out as best they may how Sacraments come to be this. And even when he seems to speak of them as means whereby grace is conveyed, he again recurs to the position, as unable to get beyond it, that in Baptism we have a seal and pledge of forgiveness. In other words, God gives His promises as in an unsealed deed; He also gives Sacraments as waxen seals, which the person may *by his own act of reception* tack on to the deed; and if a person does this, his faith in the promises is supposed to be strengthened, but even if he neglects to do it, his salvation will not be affected thereby. If Nowell had only realised the truth that Baptism

makes us one with Christ (as St. Paul speaks twice over* of our having been baptized *into* Him), so that Christ's righteousness becomes our righteousness, His death and burial our death and burial, and His new life our new life, Nowell might have saved himself much disquisition, which for the purposes of practical religion is useless, or nearly so. His fear, too, of formalism makes him imagine it necessary to say (what in one aspect is an obvious truism, and in another aspect is utterly false) that it is not the mere washing with water that profits; as though a man should take pains to explain to one sitting in a chair, that it is not the seat of the chair that supports him, but the legs.

It is in keeping with this, that although Nowell has spoken of Baptism as the means of our regeneration, and the Holy Communion as the means of our spiritual nourishment, yet, when describing specially the use of Baptism, he can only speak of it as an enforcement of responsibility as to faith and repentance.

Nowell's ignorance of the nature of the Christian dispensation appears in that he makes Circumcision and Baptism to be like one another, and to have one cause (*i. e.* apparently, *object*) and order, being alike sacraments of faith and repentance; and the Gospel differing from the Law, in that God's grace is more plentifully poured and more clearly declared under the one than under the other. His definition of the Church, the Body of Christ,

* Rom. vi. 3. Gal. iii. 27.

is "the body of the Christian commonweal; that is, the universal number and fellowship of all the faithful, whom God through Christ hath before all beginning of time appointed to everlasting life." "It containeth and compriseth the universal number of the faithful that have lived and shall live in all places and ages since the beginning of the world."

We ought not, in noticing these two Catechisms, to omit noticing what is said in the earlier of them about the Sabbath, and which apparently paved the way for Puritan doctrine on that matter. In summing up the duties of the First Table of the Decalogue, it is said, "Last of all this ought we to hold stedfastly and with devout conscience, that we keep holily and religiously the Sabbath day; which was appointed out from the other for rest and service of God."

And further on, "As for those things that are used to to (*qu. be*) done on the Sabbath day, as ceremonies, and exercises in the service of God, they are tokens and witnesses of this assured trust."

BISHOP RIDLEY was led to change his views on the holy Eucharist through reading Bertram's treatise thereupon, and conferring with Cranmer and Peter Martyr. As to the Church, he held that that Church which is Christ's Body, and of which Christ is the Head, "standeth only of living stones and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth." ("Works," p. 126.) How much he knew of the main difference between the Christian

dispensation and former dispensations, will appear from the following passage: "If any man will stiffly affirm, that universality doth so pertain unto the Church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the Church, it must needs be understood of that (*i.e.* of "the mingled and universal Church,") I would gladly know of the same man where that universal Church was, in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses (at such times as the people would have stoned him), of Elias, of Jeremy, in the time of Christ, and the dispersion of the Apostles," &c. (*Ib.* p. 127.)

BISHOP LATIMER, disputing at Oxford about the holy Eucharist, said, "I refer myself to my lord of Canterbury's book wholly herein" (*viz.*, in interpreting certain sayings of the fathers on the subject in question). ("Remains," p. 276.) He professed also to have been confirmed in his judgment by Cranmer's book especially. (*Ib.* p. 265.)

One of the most popular teachers of Zuinglianism in England was JOHN BRADFORD, who was put to death for heresy in the reign of Queen Mary. We might indeed have begun to think better things of him when reading his sermon on the Lord's Supper. Bradford begins that discourse by speaking of Baptism as a sacrament "wherewith we be enrolled, as it were, into the household and family of God." ("Sermons," &c., p. 82.) As to the bread in the Holy Communion, he prays all his hearers "heartily to beware of these and such like words, that it is but a sign or figure of His (Christ's) Body; except" they "will

discern betwixt signs which signify only, and signs which also do represent, confirm, and seal up, or (as a man may say) give with their signification" (pp. 93, 94). "As Baptism signifieth not only the cleansing of the conscience from sin by the merits of Christ's Blood, but is also a very cleansing from sin;" so, "in the Lord's Supper the bread is called the partaking of the Lord's Body, and not only a bare sign of the body of the Lord" (p. 94). And, therefore, he continues, "inasmuch as the Holy Ghost is wiser than man, and had foresight of the evils that might be, and yet notwithstanding doth call it Christ's Body, I think we should do evil if we should take upon us to reform His speech" (p. 95).

Even in that same discourse, however, Zuinglian doctrine peeps out here and there. In an early part of it there occurs this expression (the like to which we have marked above, when speaking of Cranmer's treatise), "After the words of consecration (*as they call them*) be spoken." Further on, our abiding in Christ is declared to be a metaphysical expression (p. 99). Two ends are specified as those for which the Sacrament was instituted: our having in memory Christ's death, and our being assured of communion with Him. (Not, it will be observed, our having a real communion with Him really strengthened, but merely our being subjectively assured of a communion which we have already independently of the Sacrament.) And when, in the fervour of his discourse, he tells his hearers that in the worthy receiving of the Sacrament they shall receive

remission of all their sins, he deems it necessary to correct himself by saying, "or rather certainty that they are remitted" (p. 107). And thus in his conference with Harpsfield, he refuses to acknowledge a Real Presence in the Sacrament. "If I should include Christ's real presence in the Sacrament, or tie Him to it, otherwise than to the faith of the receiver, then the wicked man should receive Him; which I do not, nor will not, believe, by God's grace" (p. 511). And when, he being in conference with Archbishop Heath, of York, the Archbishop spoke of Christ's lying on the altar, he replied, "Indeed I believe not such a presence" (p. 522). And to Dr. Weston he said, "A man may speak a thing figuratively, and lie not, as Christ did in His Last Supper" (p. 547).

Bradford gave considerable prominence to the Calvinistic doctrine of election; insomuch that in his "Defence of Election" he declares a belief of our own personal election (and this, for aught that appears to the contrary, independent of baptism), to be, "of all things which God requireth of us, not only most principal, but also the whole sum: so that 'without this faith' there is nothing we do that can please God." He denies that Christ died for the sins of the whole world literally; distinguishing the world which God has reconciled in Christ from the world for which Christ prayed not; referring to John xvii. 9.*

* "I pray for them; I pray not for the world, but for them which Thou hast given Me." Bradford did not notice that the Lord does pray for the world afterwards, when He says, "that the world may believe that Thou has sent Me" (v. 21), and again, "that the world

“For look,” he adds, “for whom He ‘prayed not,’ for them He died not.” This Calvinism Bradford had learnt, apparently, from Sampson, who survived the persecution, and became a non-conformist, though winked at by the authorities. He was one of those who objected to wearing the proper ecclesiastical vestments.

As to the observance of the Fourth Commandment, Bradford held it to consist in the observance of the Lord’s Day: “although the Jews’ seventh day be abrogated and taken away.” “The principal thing God, in this commandment, did respect was the ministry of his word and Sacraments.” (!)

MILES COVERDALE derived his first inclination to Protestantism through the education which he received from Dr. Barnes, Prior of the Augustinian monastery at Cambridge; who was arrested also for heresy, and induced to recant, in or about the year 1526. A sermon, preached by him on St. Anthony’s Day, convinced a brother friar, Topley, who also was a priest, that the bread in the holy Eucharist was but the remembrance of Christ’s Body. (Biographical Notice in “Remains,” p. ix. note.)

Cromwell, who had aided Coverdale, was beheaded in 1540, and Dr. Barnes was burnt two days afterwards. It was probably on account of these events that Coverdale betook himself to Germany; residing in the first instance at Tubingen,

may know that Thou hast sent Me” (v. 23); and that thus His words in verse 9 must mean merely that He was not praying for the world at that particular moment.

and afterwards at Bergzabern, in the Duchy of Deux-ponts, supporting himself at this place by keeping a school, and by his pastoral charge, to which he had been promoted in consequence of his knowledge of the German language. (*Ib.* p. xii.) Here he was "honourably esteemed by all the ministers of the word and other learned men" in those parts.* In 1548, he returned to England; was consecrated to the see of Exeter in 1551, but deprived and imprisoned by Queen Mary. He was released in 1555, at the intercession of the King of Denmark, and then retired to that country, and afterwards to Geneva.

In 1558 he returned to England; feeling "the scruples relating to the habits" (*Biographical Notice*, p. xv.), with reference to which it may be noted that when he was assisting at the consecration of Archbishop Parker, the only ecclesiastical vestment which he wore was a long woollen cassock.

Bale speaks of him as having taught Christ purely.† The character of Bale's own teaching we shall see by-and-by. Of Coverdale it may suffice to add that in his "Defence of a Certain Poor Christian Man," he says, "that the holy Catholic Church is nothing else but a fellowship of saints. And the same is also the bride of Christ, without spot or wrinkle, purified through the blood of the Bridegroom Himself; even the

* Letter from Richard Hilles to Bullinger, dated Strasburg, April 15, 1545. (*Original Letters*, p. 257.)

† *Scriptores illustres majoris Britanniae*, cited in Coverdale's *Remains*, p. xxii.

heavenly Hierusalem, into the which no unclean person cometh. . . . To this Church pertain all they, that since the beginning of the world have been saved, and that shall be saved unto the end thereof." ("Remains," p. 461.) And of the holy Eucharist he writes, "Why do they call it a sacrifice, seeing it is but a remembrance of a sacrifice? He saith not, 'Offer My Body and My Blood.'" (*Ib.* p. 471.) Where, by the way, the reader who knows his Greek Testament will remark that Coverdale here contradicts the express declarations of Scripture, seeing that it was of the already consecrated elements that the Lord said, "Offer * this for commemoration of Me."

JOHN HOOPER, to whom, rather than to Cranmer or Ridley, the Protestant party looked up as to a leader, having graduated at Oxford, became a member of a Cistercian monastery at Gloucester. While living the life of a courtier in the reign

* The connection in which the verb *ποιεῖτε*, rendered, in the Authorised Version, "do," in I Cor. xi. 25, shows that the meaning must be that which we have here preferred. In that verse, the verb has for its object the understood antecedent of a pronoun (*τοῦτο*) which has occurred in the clause before, and is understood after *πίνετε* in the clause after. Now, where three pronouns are either expressed or understood in three several clauses in this manner, they must refer to *one and the same* antecedent; for if a second antecedent is intended, it must be not merely understood, but expressed; in other words, if the second *τοῦτο* had meant this *rite or ceremony*, a word for "rite" or "ceremony" must have been inserted after it. The only antecedent, then, can be *ποτήριον*, "cup," and the meaning of the verb must be one which will suit with this: in other words, it must be, not "do" (because one cannot talk of doing a cup), but "offer," a meaning which the verb continually has, besides its representatives in Hebrew and Aramaic. See, for instance, Ex. xxix. 38.

of King Henry VIII., he read some of the writings of Zwingli and Bullinger, and soon came to embrace some, at least, of the doctrines contained therein. Being then in danger through the Six Articles Act, he went to France for a short time; but after his return had to fly again, and this time to Strasburg. After a second return to England, he fixed himself at Zurich, in March, 1547, having married Ann de Tserclas, apparently in the year before. During his two years' sojourn at Zurich, he enjoyed, we are told, the intimacy of Bullinger and other leading members of the Protestant community there. "For Bullinger he entertained the highest regard, and was a diligent attendant at his lectures; and his letters in after years abound with expressions of gratitude for past instruction, and with requests for copies of sermon-notes and other writings. We find him at this period corresponding with Bucer on the subject of the Sacraments: John a-Lasco also was amongst the number of his associates; and the friendship which was commenced between them here was continued subsequently in England."*

Soon after his arrival in London, in May, 1549, he was appointed chaplain to the Duke of Somerset. "He at once devoted himself to the work of teaching, lecturing generally twice every day;" in which work "he was," his opponent, Dr. Smith, tells us, "so admired by the people, that they held him for a prophet; nay, they looked upon him as some deity" (p. x.). Yet

* Biographical notice prefixed to Hooper's *Later Writings*, p. ix.

he was not much of a theologian ; for how could a theologian write this theological "bull" (as it may be called)? "I believe . . . all the works, merits, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthiness, nor merit before God, except God by mercy and grace account them worthy, for the worthiness and merit of Jesus Christ." In his "Brief and Clear Confession of the Christian Faith," the 24th article, concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, begins thus : "I believe also that while He was upon the said cross, dying and giving up His spirit unto God His Father, He descended into hell ; that is to say, He did verily taste and feel the great distress and heaviness of death, and likewise the pains and torments of hell, that is to say, the great wrath and severe judgment of God upon Him, even as if God had utterly forsaken Him." He refers, however, to "the text of St. Peter" (apparently, 1 Peter iii. 19, 20), which he confesses to be yet covered and hid from him. He uses the term "Sabbath day," as would seem, for "Sunday" ("Later Writings," p. 137); and speaks of the Holy Ghost as *regenerating* us, meaning, that He effects our progressive conversion. His dislike of the old vestments is well known. In the 28th article of his "Brief and Clear Confession" he says that the mass "ought to be abolished, and the Holy Supper of the Lord to be restored and set in His perfection again." This was published in 1550, while King Edward's First Prayer Book was still in use ; that book wherein

the Eucharistic office was thus headed: "The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass."

Hooper's views are set forth not only in this "Brief and Clear Confession of the Christian Faith," but also in another document, entitled, "A Godly Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith," and addressed to King Edward VI., the Privy Council, and the Parliament, under date December 20th, 1550. The publishing of this was after his refusal to be consecrated bishop according to King Edward's First Ordinal then in force, and while he was continuing to denounce that formulary, and after his being in consequence forbidden by the Privy Council to preach or lecture without further license, and "commanded to keep his house, unless it were to go to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishops of Ely, London, or Lincoln, for counsel and satisfaction of his conscience." In this latter document, speaking of the Church, he says, "These two marks, the true preaching of God's word and right use of the Sacraments, declare what and where the true Church is. . . . For in the blessed Virgin's time the Pharisees and bishops* were accounted to be the true Church; yet, by reason their doctrine was corrupt, the true Church rested not in them, but in Simeon, Zachary, Elisabeth, the shepherds, and others." ("Later Writings," p. 87.) He had said, in his "Brief and Clear Confession," "As touching the visible Church, which is the

* *i.e.* Chief Priests.

congregation of the good and the wicked, of the chosen and of the reprobate, and generally of all those which say they believe in Christ, I do not believe that to be the Church, because that Church is seen of the eye, and the faith thereof is in visible things.* I believe that this invisible Church is the field of the Lord God, wherein is neither darnel nor cockle. . . . The same Church is the body of Christ, wherein there is never a rotten, corrupt, or infected member." (*Ib.* p. 41.) As to Sacraments, of which Hooper admits only two, "in the law of Moses was Circumcision and the Paschal Lamb; and their places (*qu.* in their places) we have Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, diverse in external elements and ceremonies, but one in effect, mystery, and thing itself; saving that their Sacraments showed the graces of God to be given unto men in Christ to come, and ours declare the graces of God to be given in Christ that is already come" (p. 88). "And as verily as we eat and drink Christ in the Holy Supper, so did the fathers eat Christ in their Sacraments; no less Christ's body then to be born, than we now that He is born." ("Early Writings," p. 126.) "This is the definition of the Lord's Supper. It is a ceremony instituted by Christ to confirm and manifest our society and communion, His Body and Blood, until He come to judgment."

* According to this reasoning, Hooper should not have believed the Bible, because that is a visible thing. It will be noted, too, how alien Hooper's theology was from that which implies "the Catholic Church," to consist of "all who profess and call themselves Christians." The Prayer for all Conditions of Men, however, was not composed in Hooper's time.

By the written word (we are told in another place), we “are made clean, and thereby do receive the self-same thing as much as we do by the Sacraments:” and this Hooper explains, or rather obscures, saying immediately after, “That is to say, Jesus Christ by His word, which is the word of faith, giveth and communicateth Himself unto us, as well as by the Sacraments, albeit it be by another manner and fashion.” “Without the right use” (of the Lord’s Supper), “the bread and wine in nothing differ from other common bread and wine that is commonly used” (pp. 48, 49). “The words that Christ spoke to His disciples in giving them the bread, saying, ‘This is My Body,’ I understand and believe to be spoken by a figurative manner of speech, called metonymia” (p. 48).

“As concerning the ministers of the Church,” Hooper does not express himself with clearness, except where saying that none should be believed save when speaking the word of God. He is sorry with all his “heart to see the Church of Christ degenerated into a civil policy.” This, let it be noted, is the bishop who afterwards spoke of parishioners as committed to his care and faith from God *and the King’s Majesty*. (Visitation Book, 1551, 1552, printed in “Later Writings,” p. 119.)

Another Zuinglian who was appointed to the Episcopate by the Government of King Edward VI. was JOHN BALE. He is designated by the Rev. Henry Christmas, who edited a selection of his works for the Parker Society, as one of the most

distinguished among the lesser lights of the Reformation. He was born in 1495, and educated first at a Carmelite convent in Norwich, and afterwards at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he studied civil law and took holy orders. From Lord Wentworth he learned the doctrines of Protestantism, which he soon embraced with ardour, and in consequence deemed it prudent, in 1540, or soon after, to retire with his family to Germany. The accession, however, of Edward VI. revived Bale's hopes: he returned to England, and no long time elapsed before he became rector of Bishopstoke in Hampshire, to which benefice was added, in three or four years, the vicarage of Swaffham in Norfolk.

In 1553 he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin to the see of Ossory, and was the first prelate consecrated in Ireland according to King Edward's ordinal. This consecration was illegal; for King Edward's ordinal had not been accepted by the Irish Church and kingdom at the time. Bale soon gave offence in his diocese to clergy and laity alike, probably by the bitterness of his Protestantism; and on the accession of Queen Mary ran away from his diocese, intending to reach Holland; but was captured by pirates, and sold as a slave. Having, however, obtained his freedom, he came at length to Basle, and remained there until the accession of Queen Elizabeth; when he returned to England, but not to his diocese. He died at Canterbury, where he had been appointed to a prebend. His death took place in 1563.

“Bishop Bale,” says his editor, “occupied such a position in connection with the history of the Reformation, that it was in a manner necessary for the Parker Society, in pursuance of its plan, to republish some of his numerous works; but there are others of them, it must be acknowledged, which could not with propriety be presented to the public; and the reprinting of the present portion of them must not be considered as indicating an approval of all he either said or did.” * As a specimen of his controversial language, we may take his designation of the party of the Old Learning, with Stephen Gardiner at their head, and the priests ordained according to the ancient rite, who were on the same side: “The boisterous tyrants of Sodom, with their great Nimrod, Winchester, and the execrable citizens of Gomorrah, with their shorn smeared captains.” † Fleshly men, he says, soon after, “have always, for lucre’s sake, gloriously garnished their holy mother, the madam of mischief and proud synagogue of Satan, with gold, silver, pearl, precious stone, velvets, silks, mitres, copes, crosses, cruets, ceremonies, censings, blessings, babblings, brawlings, processions, puppets, and such other mad masteries ‡ (whereof the church that Christ left here behind Him knew not one jot), to provoke the carnal idiots to her whoredom in the spirit.” § The above are ex-

* Select Works of John Bale, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, p. xi.

† *Ib.* p. 259.

‡ Perhaps *masteries* is here a misprint for *mysteries*.

§ Select Works, pp. 259, 260.

tracts from the preface to the "Image of Both Churches," a commentary on the Revelation. It will be noticed how, in the latter of them, Bale enumerates mitres, copes, crosses, cruets, blessings (benedictions, we presume, of sundry things, as water, bells, &c.), and processions, as "mad mysteries" (if our reading be correct).

Other expressions used by this grave and reverend father in God with respect to those who thought differently from him are, "the bloody remnant of Antichrist;"* "the malignant synagogue of Satan;"† "the wicked school of Antichrist."‡ In one place he says that there is no mention made in the Bible of masses, private or public;§ in another that bread in a box is not Christ's Body;|| while in another we read "Christ forbade his bishops, under pain of damnation, to take any lordship upon them, Luke xii.¶ How is this followed by our prelates? He commanded them also to possess neither gold nor silver.** How is this commandment obeyed? If we looked so earnestly to Christ's instructions, as we look to the Pope's, to be observed, these would also be seen to by Act of Parliament."††

* Select Works, p. 133. † *Ib.* ‡ *Ib.* p. 141. § *Ib.* p. 152.

|| *Ib.* p. 168.

¶ Luke xii. 45, 46, "If that servant say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming, and shall begin to beat the man-servants and maidens, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken, the lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and at an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him in sunder, and will appoint him his portion with the unbelievers."

** Matt. x. 9, "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses."

†† Select Works, p. 175.

In publishing the opinion as held by Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, that the Church consists of the saved, he does so without a word of qualification.* In one passage he commends Anne Askew for denying the Sacrament to be Christ's Body and Blood:† and he speaks of the consecration of the elements, and of ordination according to the ancient ritual, in these terms: "As touching the priest's consecration, which is such a charm of enchantment which may not be done but by an oiled officer of the Pope's generation, she did godly to reject it in that clouting kind."‡

Mr. Christmas speaks of Bale as having renounced monastic vows, but does not give any evidence of Bale's having taken such vows. The celibate state of priests in mediæval times, as in the Roman communion to this day, was matter not of personal vow but of ecclesiastical discipline. We demur, therefore, to admitting that the many virtues—that is, what passed with the Government for virtues—by which Bale manifested his fitness for rule in the reformed and purified church were enhanced by the additional virtue of perjury, though that undoubtedly was the case with Bishop Coverdale.

Another divine with Zuinglian leanings (to say the best of him) was Archdeacon PHILPOT, who was burnt for heresy in Queen Mary's days. Mr. Blunt thinks that the differences between him and his opponents in theological matters were little more than verbal, and points out that his "Ex-

* Select Works, p. 33.

† *Ib.* p. 212.

‡ *Ib.* pp. 232, 233.

aminations," as we have them now, have been altered by Foxe, not without the assent of Grindal. But the charge against him appears to have been that of denying the Real Presence, irrespectively of Transubstantiation; and in his letter on Infant Baptism, nothing occurs to indicate that he recognised Baptism as a means of conveying Divine grace to those who had no special Divine grace at all.

It is to be observed, too, that Zuinglian doctrine as to the Eucharist was maintained, the "papistical doctrine of free-will" denied, and prayer for the dead rejected as useless, in a "declaration concerning religion" which was subscribed by Hooper, Ferrar, Coverdale, Bradford, Dr. Rowland Taylor, Archdeacon Philpot, Edward Crome, John Rogers, Laurence Sanders, Edmund Lawrence, and two other individuals who only gave their initials.

CHAPTER IV.

Zuinglian Divines continued. Parker. Sandys. Jewel. Pilkington. Grindal. Whitgift.

AMONG the lesser lights of Protestantism, and who carried on the Zuinglian tradition into the reign of Queen Elizabeth, may be mentioned Archbishops Parker, Sandys, Grindal, and Whitgift, and Bishops Jewel and Pilkington.

PARKER, the fact of whose consecration is not now denied by any honest historians, even of the Roman Obedience, and on whose consecration the present

Anglican Episcopate mainly depends, was named by Bucer as one of his executors.* He seems not to have been latterly as decided a Zuinglian as in former years; for, although in seeking to make Dr. Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, conform to the law or to ecclesiastical habit,† he had said, “I am persuaded that time and indifferent reading on your party [= part] will give cause to join again to our communion; *I mean not in doctrine*, but in this matter of this ecclesiastical policy;”‡ and although he wished the Protestant Dean Nowell, whose Zuinglian opinions we have already noticed, to preach before Queen Elizabeth in the Lent of 1565, yet in a letter supposed to have been written in 1566 he conveys a civil hint to Matthias Flacius Illyricus, John Wigand, and Matthias Judex, that he did not agree with their teaching altogether.¶ And he complains of the Puritans slandering both him and Lord Burghley “with infamous books and libels, lying they” cared “not how deep.” What, however, Parker’s theological opinions were does not appear very clearly from his correspondence. His leading idea seems to have been that of serving God, his sovereign, and her laws, and making everybody else do the same, and so long as there was an outward obedience to

* Correspondence of Archbishop Parker, pp. 46, 47.

† The Royal injunctions, which the Archbishop sought to enforce, were, that the square cap be worn rather than the round hat; that in the chapel the surplice and hood be worn; and that the Communion be received in wafer-bread (as in many Protestant communities even now), and by communicants kneeling.

‡ *Ib.* p. 245.

¶ *Ib.* p. 207.

the Queen's injunctions, which included conformity to the Book of Common Prayer and a refusal of the Pope's jurisdiction, the Archbishop does not seem to have troubled himself much about the doctrine which was taught or believed. He procured a prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral for Dr. Sampson, when that divine had been turned out of his deanery for nonconformity. It did not, seemingly, matter to him that Sampson should continue to teach Protestant heresy, provided only that he did so in a surplice, a hood, and a square cap.* It speaks also for Parker's indifference to Puritan tenets, that Grindal's elevation from the see of London to that of York was owing to his influence with the Queen. On February 6th, 1570-1, he writes, with reference to the teaching of the Church of England on the Holy Communion, and the form of the bread used therein: "We be in one uniform doctrine of the same, and so cut off much matter of variance which the Lutherans and Zuinglians do hatefully maintain." This would seem to indicate that the Church of England did not then hold any positive doctrine as to the Eucharist; that, in common with the Lutherans and Zuinglians, she rejected the theory of Transubstantiation, but allowed the question to remain an open

* A passage in one of the Zurich letters illustrates this: the writer, describing the state of the Church of England, says, "There is no great difficulty raised about other points of doctrine (other, that is, than the Royal Supremacy), provided the party is willing to obey the laws and statutes of the realm."—"Zurich Letters." 2nd Series, p. 358.

one, how the words, "This is My Body," were to be understood.*

EDWIN SANDYS was Master of St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge (now St. Catherine's College), and Vice-Chancellor of the University, at the time when Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed; on which occasion he preached, at a day's notice, a sermon which would seem to have been in favour of her pretensions. This, and his known inclination to Protestantism, occasioned him to be apprehended, and imprisoned, first in the Tower, and afterwards in the Marshalsea, for several months in all. He was then set at liberty; but again sought for, Bishop Gardiner repenting of not having advised Queen Mary to keep him in custody. He managed, however, to elude the Government, and escaped to Strasburg; whence he afterwards removed to Zurich, and was Peter Martyr's guest for the space of five weeks. Here he received tidings of Queen Mary's decease. "Master Bullinger and the ministers feasted him, and he took his leave and returned to Strasburg; and so Master Grindall" (afterwards Archbishop) "and he came towards England, and came to London the same day that Queen Elizabeth was crowned." (This is from Foxe.) He was soon made, first, Bishop of Worcester (December 21st, 1559), then Bishop of London (1570), and afterwards Archbishop of York.

Sandys' Zuinglianism is not as pronounced as the Zuinglianism of some other divines of the

* Correspondence, cclxxxvi. (p. 379).

period ; but the taint does appear here and there in his sermons. Witness this passage (“Sermons,” p. 303): “God’s gift, without sealing, is sure ; as He Himself is all one without changing : yet, to bear with our infirmity, and to make us more secure of His promise, to His writing and word He added these outward signs and seals, to establish our faith, and to certify us that His promise is most certain. He giveth us, therefore, these holy and visible signs of bread and wine, and saith, ‘Take and eat, this is My Body and Blood ;’ giving unto the signs the names which are proper to the things signified by them ; as we use to do even in common speech, when the sign is a lively representation and image of the thing.” He objected to the use of the ancient vestments, but did not refuse to wear them ; and even laboured to secure conformity by compulsion ; and when Dean Whittingham of Durham, whose only ordination was what he had received from “ministers” at Geneva, refused the Archbishop’s metropolitan visitation, the Archbishop excommunicated him.

That Sandys was not in advance of his time, as to the duty of toleration, appears from such passages as these : “The little foxes which destroy the vineyard must be taken, and nets must be spread by which the papal stragglers, the firebrands of seditions, and the pests of the Church, may be snared and fall. . . . The Almighty Lord will be present to us both as a leader and an avenger, if we only be fervent in zeal for the House of God, burning with desire, nor receive into any friendship those whom (we

know) to be of hostile mind towards our Lord and His Church; for those who are faithless toward God cannot be faithful to their prince." ("Sermons," p. 441.)

As Bishop of Worcester, he tried to get females forbidden to minister Baptism in any case, even of emergency; such prohibition being in accordance with a Puritan crotchet. He also tried to get a prohibition of the sign of the cross in public Baptism. These proposals he desired should be enacted by the Archbishop on behalf of the Church, and by the Queen on behalf of the State; and with this view brought them before Convocation; but without success.

JOHN JEWEL, an exile for his religious opinions in the time of Queen Mary, but who returned after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and was promoted by her to the see of Salisbury, was the celebrated author of the "Apology for the Church of England," which obtained a kind of recognition by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. That work was published originally in Latin in the year 1562; and was highly satisfactory to Peter Martyr, Bullinger, and others:* by which the reader will easily judge that it was not without its taint of Zuinglianism. As indeed is witnessed by the following passages: "We say that Eucharistia, the Supper of the Lord, is a Sacrament, that is to wit, an evident token†

* See Letter from P. Martyr prefixed, in the Parker Society's edition.

† Page 65, near bottom. *Symbolum conspicuum* is the expression in the Latin. In the *Defence of the Apology* the word used here is not "token," but "representation."

of the Body and Blood of Christ." "It is our faith that applieth the death and cross of Christ to our benefit, and not the act of the massing priest" (p. 64, near bottom). As indeed in the "Defence," p. 558: "It is neither the work of the priest, nor the nature of the Sacrament as of itself, that maketh us partakers of Christ's death, but only the faith of the receiver." He describes Zwingli as a most excellent man (p. 74), and as a teacher of the Gospel (*ib.*); and in that part of the "Defence" which refers to this passage, says, "Thus is Christ's body present, *not really* nor in substance, but only in mystery." Of the question as to the being of Christ's body in one only place, or in many, Jewel says that that question is "neither weighty nor great." In the "Defence" he says "that in respect either of salvation, or of other article, of God the Father, or of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost, or of any other the grounds and principles of the Christian faith, it is not weighty. In that respect we speak it truly: otherwise we say the error is weighty" (p. 623). Jewel did not see how the Sacramental system of the Catholic Church is bound up with the Incarnation, so that those who refuse the former come naturally to deny the latter.

In a letter dated May 22nd, 1558, Jewel thanks Bullinger for quickening the zeal and courage which the Puritan party had shown in striving to get the Church of England puritanized; and adds that he and his friends were doing what they could in the same line, and that all things were coming to what he deemed a better state. Writing

on the 16th of November in the same year, he complains of the crucifix and lights in the Queen's Chapel, and calls the Popish vestments relics of the Amorites, which ought (says he) to be extirpated to the deepest roots. (Neal, vol. i. p. 125.)

Jewel's *Puritanism* comes out in his "Apology," where he finds fault implicitly with the popes for consecrating oil, chalices, churches, and altars, as if there were anything wrong or inappropriate in so doing (p. 104). It is no wonder, then, that after Dr. Humphreys had been obliged to resign his headship of Magdalene College, and his Divinity professorship in the University of Oxford, for nonconformity, Jewel made Humphreys his chaplain.

BISHOP PILKINGTON is said by Bucer to have "acquitted himself" in his public lectures at Cambridge "learnedly and piously." He was one of the exiles under Queen Mary, and lived at Zurich, Basle, Geneva, and Frankfort. In 1558 he returned to England; and two years later he delivered a funeral oration at Cambridge in commemoration of Bucer and Fagius. He was consecrated to the see of Durham, March 2nd, 1560.

In one of his controversial writings there occurs this passage, savouring of Presbyterianism: "Yet remains one doubt unanswered in these few words, when he says that 'the government of the Church was committed to bishops,' as though they had received a larger and higher commission from God of doctrine and discipline than the lower priests or ministers have, and thereby might chal'enge a greater prerogative. But this is to be understood,

that the privileges and superiorities which bishops have above other ministers are rather granted by man for maintaining of better order and quietness in commonwealths, than commanded by God in His Word. Ministers have better knowledge and utterance some than other, but their ministry is of equal dignity. God's commission and commandment is like and indifferent to all, priest, bishop, archbishop, prelate, by what name soever he be called." (Works, p. 493.) Writing about the Sacrament of the Eucharist, he speaks of the strong solutions of Eucharistic questions (which solutions had been put forth by "that godly learned Bishop," Ridley, when he was visiting the University of Cambridge), as being "yet unconfuted" (p. 523). Elsewhere he implies that Cranmer's work against Gardiner "stands unconfuted." Neal attributes to him Puritan principles generally (vol. i. p. 350).

EDMUND GRINDAL was born about 1519, at Hensingham, near St. Bees. Educated, probably, first at Furness Abbey, he went in due time to Magdalene College, Cambridge; whence he migrated to Christ's, and afterwards to Pembroke, where he was under the mastership of Nicholas Ridley. He became B.A. in 1537-8; and M.A. in 1541; and on July 4th, 1544, was ordained Deacon by Bishop Bird, of Chester. On June 20th, 1549, he took part with Guest, Pilkington, and some others, in disputing publicly against Transubstantiation. This disputation was held before the Commissioners appointed to visit the University, of whom Bishop Ridley, of Rochester,

appears to have been what we should call the chairman. When Ridley was translated to London, he made Grindal one of his chaplains; he made him also precentor of St Paul's, August 24th, 1551. To these preferments was added, in the December of the same year, one of the royal chaplaincies, which involved then, as Dean Hook tells us, the being sent from time to time to preach in various parts of the kingdom.

Grindal was on terms of friendship with Peter Martyr. In 1551, or thereabouts, he formed an intimate acquaintance with Martin Bucer. He attended Bucer in his last illness, and took a prominent place among the mourners at his funeral. Shortly after the accession of Queen Mary he went abroad, visiting Geneva, and settling eventually at Strasburg; there he lived in one of those collegiate institutions which, says Dean Hook, the English exiles formed in many, and perhaps in most, of the towns where they sojourned. In the Frankfort troubles he took the part of a peace-maker, but apparently in vain. Foxe found in Grindal a kindred spirit: he received the narratives of the executions for heresy under Queen Mary, and transmitted them to Foxe. After Elizabeth came to the throne, he returned to England, arriving with Sandys and Nowell on the day of her coronation (January 15th, 1559); and was speedily employed, along with Parker, Sandys, Pilkington, Cox, and others, in revising the Prayer Book.

In his religion Grindal was a more pronounced Protestant than Parker, though, perhaps, not so

thorough a one as Sandys. In his Sacramental theology he appears to have been a Zuinglian. He, along with Bishop Horne, of Winchester, recorded, in a letter to Bullinger, an approval of the "Black Rubric," which, at that time, ran thus: "This ought not to be understood as if any adoration is or ought to be done . . . to any *real* and *essential* presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood there existing." In his "Dialogue between Custom and Verity" it is said that "Men of themselves be, and evermore were, forgetful of the benefits of God. And, therefore, it was behoveful, that they should be admonished and stirred up with some visible and outward tokens; as with the passover lamb, the brazen serpent, and the like. . . . So likewise Christ left us a memorial and remembrance of His death and passion in outward tokens, that when the child should demand of his father what the breaking of the bread and drinking of the cup meaneth, he might answer him, that like as the bread is broken, so Christ was broken and rent upon the cross, to redeem the soul of man. And likewise, as wine fostereth and comforteth the body, so doth the blood of Christ cherish and relieve the soul." ("Foxe," vi. p. 338.) In his inward spirit, indeed, Grindal may have held to the truth of the Real Presence; but his theological intellect saw no alternative between gross Capernaitism and nihilistic Zuinglianism, and embraced the latter rather than the former. As to the interrogations in Infant Baptism, he and Horne had said, "We publicly profess, and diligently teach, that

questions of this kind are not very suitable to be proposed to infants. . . . We do not defend the signing with the sign of the cross the forehead of the infant already baptised." He authorised his Vicar-General to license one John Morrison to celebrate Divine offices and minister the Sacraments throughout the province of Canterbury, in virtue of Morrison's Presbyterian ordination. The license was dated April 6th, 1582. (Neal, vol. i. p. 385-6.) Neal attributes to Grindal a high esteem for the name and doctrines of Calvin; with whom, as with the German divines, Grindal held, says he, a constant correspondence. (Vol. i. p. 395.) He disapproved of praying for the faithful departed, even when the "popish purgatory" was not maintained. In the examination of certain nonconforming Londoners before the Queen's Commissioners, he said, "all reformed Churches do differ in rites and ceremonies, and we agree with all reformed Churches in substance of doctrine." ("Remains," p. 308.) In the same examination he said, "You see me wear a cope or a surplice at Paul's. I had rather minister without these things, but for order's sake and obedience to the prince." (*Ib.* p. 211.) When, in Parker's time, he had been ordered, as Bishop of London, to draw up a form of prayer to be used during the continuance of the plague, he drew up a form after Puritan ideas, so that his Metropolitan had to revise it on Prayer Book lines before it could be issued. ("Hook," vol. iv. [N.S.] p. 430.) In his "Injunctions for the Laity" (5) he ordered the altar-stones to "be broken, defaced, and bestowed

to some common use ;” and that the perambulation of a parish should be done at Rogation-tide, and the Psalms and Litany said, without wearing any surplices or carrying of banners. (*Ib.* p. 18.) Also that Nowell’s “Catechism” should be taught in Latin by all engaged in tuition. (*Ib.* p. 20.) Grindal died, July 6th, 1583.

JOHN WHITGIFT, born at Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire, in the year 1530, was sent to St. Anthony’s School in London, where he boarded with an aunt, who was a staunch Romanist. Not being able to agree altogether with her in religion, he returned to his father, who in due time sent him to Queens’ College, Cambridge. From thence he soon migrated to Pembroke Hall (since Pembroke College), where his tutor was John Bradford,* afterwards burnt for heresy. By him and by Grindal (afterwards Archbishop) he was recommended to Ridley, then Master of Pembroke ; and he, when elevated to the see of London, made Whitgift one of his chaplains, according to Dr. Hook ; who, however, states afterwards that Whitgift did not take holy orders till 1560, when Queen Elizabeth was on the throne. In 1563 he became Margaret Professor of Divinity ; in 1567 Master of Pembroke ; in 1570, Master of Trinity ; and in 1573, Dean of Lincoln, from whence he was promoted in 1576 to the bishopric of Worcester, being consecrated to that see on the 21st of April, by Archbishop Grindal, whom he succeeded in the primacy.

* Bradford’s Writings, ed. Parker Society, p. 20.

What Catholic reputation Whitgift has arises from his having sought to enforce outward conformity to the laws of the Church, and pointed out in his writings the reasonableness of conformity to the usages established by law. He allowed Cartwright, the great leader, in his time, of the Puritan party, to preach at Warwick, on the sole condition of his promising to promote the peace of the Church, and not to impugn her laws, orders, and government. To him, and to certain divines, whom, for that purpose, he had associated with himself, the Church owed the Calvinistic "Lambeth Articles." Those articles, however, the Church never accepted; and, indeed, Whitgift himself, on learning the Queen's disapprobation of them, "enjoined the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge to use his own discretion with respect to their publication."*

Whitgift died on the last day of February, 1604. Of him, and of the Reformation-prelates generally of the Elizabethan period, the Puritans continually asserted that in doctrine they were one with them.

CHAPTER V.

Zuinglian Language disparaging the Old Religion. The Geneva Version of the Bible: its Characteristics. Its Popularity: Causes thereof. Foxe: his "Acts and Monuments." The Country flooded with Zuinglian Teaching. Large number of Zuinglian Clergy.

THUS, then, was Zuinglianism formally taught in the Church of England. Nor was it by direct declaration alone that the pernicious heresy was inculcated: it was a common plan with the

* Hook, v. [N.S.] p. 160.

Protestant preachers to speak of the old traditional ordinances not by their old names, but by new names implying some disparagement or other. Thus, a priest is with them a *massmonger* or a *shaveling*; ordination is an *oiling*. Sometimes, where the old names are retained, it is in cases where they are not found in those English versions of Scripture which were then commonly used, and were thus capable of being untruthfully set in contrast with the ordinances as professedly used by the Protestants. Thus "the Mass" will be spoken of in contrast with "the Lord's Supper;" the idea being thus insinuated that the rite commonly known as the Mass was not the rite instituted by the Lord on the night when He was betrayed. So Bishop Hooper directs parishioners to inquire "whether the Communion be used in such place, and after such sort, as most varieth and is distant from the Popish Mass." ("Later Writings," p. 143.) And Bishop Bale informs his readers that there is no mention in the Bible of masses, private *or public*. ("Select Works," p. 152.)

Our account, however, of the propagation of Zuinglianism would be very defective if we failed to take note of what might be called the one great work done by the Genevan exiles during the Marian persecution—we mean the bringing out that English translation of the Bible known as the Geneva Version. Among the authors of this version were Whittingham, Sampson, and Coverdale (three notorious Zuinglians, as we have seen), besides Goodman and Pullain. The translator of the New Testament was Whittingham.

The New Testament, thus translated, was printed abroad in 1557, and the whole Bible (except the Apocrypha,* which in this version had no place) in 1560. And “whatever may have been its faults” (we quote now from a competent writer on this subject) “the Geneva Bible was unquestionably, for sixty years, the most popular of all versions. Largely imported in the early years of Elizabeth (the writer probably means of Elizabeth’s reign), it was printed in England in 1561. . . . Not less than eighty editions, some of the whole Bible, were printed between 1558 and 1611. It kept its ground for some time, even against the A[uthorised] V[ersion], and gave way, as it were, slowly and under protest. The causes of this general acceptance are not difficult to ascertain. The volume was, in all its editions, cheaper and more portable—a small quarto, instead of the large folio of Cranmer’s ‘Great Bible.’ It was the first Bible which laid aside the obsolescent black letter, and appeared in Roman type. It was the first which, following the Hebrew example, recognised the division into verses, so dear to the preachers or hearers of sermons. . . . The notes were often really helpful in dealing with the difficulties of Scripture, and were looked on as spiritual and evangelical.”

“It was accordingly” (the same writer continues) “the version specially adopted by the great Puritan party, through the whole reign of Elizabeth, and far into that of James.” And (as

* This exception has itself an exception. “The Prayer of Manasseh, King of the Jewes” follows the Second Book of the Chronicles.

we might have expected, considering its authorship) we find unmistakable Puritan characteristics. "It presents, in a Calendar prefixed to the Bible, something like a declaration of war against the established order of the Church's lessons, commemorating Scripture facts, and the deaths of the great Reformers, but ignoring Saints' days altogether." The Apocrypha is entirely ignored, with the exception, noticed above, of the Prayer of Manasseh. And for the doctrine taught in the notes, let the following specimens suffice :

On Acts xiii. 48, ". . . . as many as were ordained unto eternal life believed." "Therefore either all were not appointed to everlasting life, or else all should have believed, but because that is not so, it followeth that some certain were ordained, and therefore God did not only foreknow, but also foreordain, that neither faith nor the effects of faith should be the cause of His ordaining or appointment, but His ordaining the cause of faith."

On Heb. vi. 4, ". . . . and have tasted," &c. "We must mark the force of this word, for it is one thing to believe as Lydia did, whose heart God * opened, Acts xvi. 13, and another thing to

* In the passage of the Acts to which reference is here made, the Genevan rendering is "The Lord." The Genevan note therefore on Heb. vi. 4 affords an illustration of the practice so much adopted by the Puritans, of using that appellation in reference, not to our Lord Jesus Christ (of Whom, when it has the definite article in the Greek, it is the ordinary New Testament designation), but to God the Father. This probably arose from Puritan preference of the phraseology of the Old Testament to that of the New. God the Father is scarcely ever termed "Lord" in the New Testament save when

have some taste." The words, "if they fall away" in the next verse have no explanation. Nor is any explanation given of the words in John xv. 6, "If a man abide not in Me."

On Heb. x. 26, "if we sin willingly," &c., the only note is, "Without any cause or occasion or show of occasion."

On Col. ii. 12, "in that ye are buried with Him through baptism," the note is "The taking away of an objection: we need not so much as the external sign which our fathers had, seeing that our Baptism is a most effectual pledge and witness, of that inward restoring and renewing."

On Rom. vi. 3, "Know ye not that all we which have been baptised into Jesus Christ have been baptised into His death;" the first note is, "There are three parts of this sanctification, to wit, the death of the old man or sin, his burial, and the resurrection of the new man, defending (*qu.* descending) into us from the virtue of the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ, of which benefit our baptism is the sign and pledge."

On Gal. iii. 27, "For all ye that are baptized into Christ, have put on Christ;" the first note is, "Using a general particle, lest the Jews at the least should not think themselves bound with the band of the Law, he pronounceth that Baptism is common to all believers, because it is a pledge of our delivery in Christ, as well to the Jews as to the Grecians, that by this means all may be truly

that word (being then ordinarily without the article) is intended to represent the most sacred name **JEHOVAH**, which a Jew would not pronounce.

one in Christ, that is to say, that promised seed to Abraham and inheritors of everlasting life." Evidently meant to explain the text away.

It should also be noted that the authors of the Genevan Version endeavoured to express by the use of italics such words as did not represent any particular words in the original: as did afterwards King James's translators; and Milton, in those metrical parodies of the Psalms which are printed among his poems. This probably helped to prepare the way for the modern Low-Church dogma of Verbal Inspiration.

The publication of this version must have been a master-stroke, and given an incalculable impetus to the spread of Zuinglianism in England. To the ordinary Englishman the lightness of the cost would outweigh, in his good opinions, all the doctrinal errors which might be found in the notes. Not being trained to discriminate between the true and the false in matters at issue between two parties, when both parties agreed in recommending the perusal of the Bible in some English version or other, the ordinary Englishman would take for granted that no notes to an English Bible could be very bad. And then the notes, being for the most part simply dogmatic in their tone, and not appealing to the reason for the truth of their theological statements, were read, and indolently believed. The readers deemed themselves to have been perusing Scripture-proofs of Zuinglian doctrine, whereas they had in reality been reading nothing more than certain Scripture-texts, coupled with the assertions made by Whittingham and his

friends that the texts in question were to be understood in such and such a way.

The popularity, however, which Zuinglian heresy had in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and which it has not altogether lost even now, however little deserved, must be ascribed in part to the circumstances of the Zuinglian party in the Church of England at the commencement of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It has been often observed that persecution generally eulists the feelings of the public at large on the side of the persecuted; and so it was in the case of that party (exclusively, or almost so, we believe, composed of Zuinglians) which was persecuted in the time of Queen Mary. The Marian persecution had, too, a peculiar unpopularity of its own; for it was mainly got up by foreigners; not by "wily Winchester" or even by "bloody Bonner," or by Mary herself in the early part of her reign; but by Philip of Spain, and by those Spanish ecclesiastics who swarmed about the English court after Mary had been married to him, and by Mary from that time only when she had come under his influence.* And the Marian prosecution of Zuinglians was set before Englishmen for perpetual generations by one who was himself a Zuinglian, and who, while a quasi-religious zeal was still hot in the breasts of the English public generally, stirred up the fire by the publication of the history. In 1563 John

* See Blunt, *Reformation of the Church of England*, part ii. pp. 226, &c.

Foxe published the first English edition of his *Acts and Monuments*.

Foxe was born at Boston, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1517; and was sent by friends to Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1533. Here Alexander Nowell was appointed to be his chamber-fellow, according to the custom which then prevailed with regard to the poorer students. He was elected fellow of Magdalene in 1543, but expelled that college in 1545 for heresy. Afterwards he appears to have been tutor in two families; in the family of the Earl of Surrey, after the earl had been attainted, and in that of Sir Thomas Lucy. After being in danger of his life on account of his theological opinions, he was, after King Edward's accession, ordained deacon by Bishop Ridley of London in 1550, and spent some time at Reigate, in Surrey, teaching his pupils, preaching, and writing. After the accession of Queen Mary he went first to Frankfort, and then to Basle. Before, however, he left England the first part of his *Acts and Monuments* was published in Latin at Strasburg. This was in 1554.

In the quarrel at Frankfort as to what form of service should be used by the English exiles in the church wherein they were allowed by the Protestant authorities to meet Foxe took a part. In their petition to the authorities the exiles had said nothing about the Book of Common Prayer, but had only asked permission to worship after their own manner; and the terms accorded to them by the authorities were that they should not dissent from the French Protestants, either in doctrines or

in ceremonies, but subscribe to the French confession of faith. To these terms the exiles agreed. In due time they elected for their minister John Knox, afterwards so celebrated, and who subsequently seceded from them. And "though the principal reason adduced by the Frankfort exiles against the use of the Liturgy was the disapprobation of the magistrates, Whittingham and his party, when those magistrates subsequently authorised the book, refused to accept it."* And not only so, but "they resolved to admit none of their brethren who might afterwards come to Frankfort to their communion unless they should subscribe and conform to the rules and discipline of this novel worship."† These were the circumstances under which Foxe arrived at Frankfort. Shortly after his arrival, he, along with Knox, Whittingham, and two others, was requested to prepare an order of worship, and did so. The form drawn up was not finally accepted by the congregation; but Foxe thus showed how much he cared even for the Second Prayer Book of King Edward, Zuinglianised as it was.

Soon after Queen Elizabeth's accession Foxe returned to England, and was employed by Bishop Parkhurst of Norwich in preaching; conforming to the Prayer Book, but eager to see it altered, and (as we must infer) in the Zuinglian direction. His deep poverty was relieved by his being appointed to a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral, and afterwards to a prebend or canonry at Durham:

* Life of Foxe, prefixed to *Acts and Monuments*, vol. i. p. 38.

† *Ib.*

but it does not appear that he ever proceeded in holy orders beyond the diaconate.

Besides showing his Zuinglianism in those passages of his life on the continent which we have already remarked, Foxe expresses his opinions plainly enough in his printed works. In one of what we may call the prolegomena to his *Acts and Monuments* he says that "albeit as no causes" of our salvation, "but either as sacraments or seals of faith, or as declarations thereof, or else as fruits and effects following the same, so baptism, and the supper of the Lord, are as testimonies and proofs, that by our faith only in Christ are we justified; that as our bodies are washed by water, and our life nourished by bread and wine, so, by the blood of Christ our sins are purged, and the hunger of our souls relieved by the death of His Body." (How any hunger can be relieved by any mere death Foxe does not explain: we should be curious, if it were worth while, to learn how he would explain the tenth verse of the fifth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: "If, when we were enemies, we *were* reconciled to God by the death of His Son, *much more*, being reconciled, we shall be saved *by His life*,"—of which text the Geneva Bible gives no explanation.)—So again, in Foxe's account of Roman corruptions and errors as to the Sacraments, with which account he commences his *Acts and Monuments*:

"First, they err falsely in the number; for where the institution of Christ ordaineth but two, they . . . have added to the prescription of the Lord's word, five other Sacraments.

“Secondly. In the cause final they err ; for where the word hath ordained those Sacraments to excite our faith, and to give us admonitions of spiritual things, they, contrariwise, do teach that the Sacraments do not only stir up faith, but also that they avail and are effectual without faith. . . .* ”

“Thirdly. In the operation and effect of the Sacraments they fail, where they, contrary to the Scriptures, do say that they give grace, and not only do signify, but also contain and exhibit that which they signify ; to wit, grace and salvation.

“Fourthly. They err also in application, applying their sacraments both to the quick and the dead ; to them also that be absent ; to remission of sins, and releasing from pain, &c.”

What is worse, Foxe allows himself to use expressions which he must have known that his readers would have understood (if they understood them at all) in a wrong sense ; thus, presently after the passage just cited, he charges the Romanists with applying the words of baptism to water ; by which he means merely that in blessing water they invoke the Holy Trinity. And if the old English rite of blessing bells was similar to that prescribed in the *Rituale Romanum*, then in describing it he has told a simple falsehood, saying, that “where the use of the old Church of

* It will be noticed how Foxe here asserts not only that faith is necessary for receiving a sacrament *aright*, and so as to be benefitted by means of it, but that it is faith in the receiver which makes the sacrament a means to him of Divine grace ; which last assertion is not only contrary to the Catholic Faith, but absurd in itself.

Rome was only to baptize men, they baptize also bells;" for it is clear that the mere sprinkling of a bell with holy water could not be compared with the ministration of baptism to a human being, unless the sacred formula were used, "I baptize thee," &c.

The work itself (the first English edition whereof appeared, after great expectation on the part of the English public, in one volume folio, March 20th, 1563) is itself a monument of literary diligence. Foxe took pains to give in it as many original documents as possible; and in many cases, where he has only verbal report for his authority, he says as much to his readers. But Foxe's partisanship was both vehement and bitter. In one case at least he allows himself to heighten a description by a circumstance which was physically impossible, narrating of Lambert, who was burnt for Zuinglian heresy by order of Henry VIII., that "he, lifting up such hands as he had, *and his fingers' ends flaming with fire*, cried unto the people, in these words, 'None but Christ; none but Christ.'"* Grindal writes of him that, with respect to the examinations of Archdeacon Philpot, Foxe had consulted him as to whether they should be doctored or not; and that by his counsel they were doctored accordingly. This disposes us to accept as true the charge brought against Foxe by a modern critic, and which, for the wickedness of it, we had hoped might prove erroneous; the charge of having in

one place actually interpolated his own words into a document which he professes to quote, and for the purpose of giving some ancient celebrity a blackness of character which the person in question would not otherwise have had.* Such interpolations might be made in Foxe's time, and never detected until long afterwards, owing to the lack of means; there having been such wholesale destruction of books, at first under Henry VIII., when the monasteries were dissolved and their property confiscated, and afterwards under the Protestant government of Edward VI. Moreover, Foxe's own personal estimates of character gave him a bias in interpreting facts which had a bearing on questions of character. Thus he can never see anything good either in "bloody Bonner" or in "wily Winchester." In narrating Bonner's declaration made by Chedsey at St. Paul's Cross, denying the imputation of cruelty, Foxe says that this was a mere pretence on Bonner's part; but in proof thereof cites no more than a commission issued by him to the Archdeacon of Essex and two other priests, authorising them to make inquiry for heretics, and proceed against them according to law. Nor is Foxe guiltless of wilful misrepresentation of afterwards admitted facts. In one part of his history † he announces "the martyrdom of a young lad of eight years old, *scourged to death* in

* I have not been able to find the charge in question, or the passage in Foxe to which it refers. The charge was brought, however, I believe, in the *Union Review*. I saw the passage from the ancient document quoted at length, and likewise Foxe's quotation of it, with the interpolations marked.

† Vol. viii. p. 510.

Bishop Bonner's house in London." It appears, however, by the narrative ensuing, that the child in question came to see his father, John Fetty, then in the Lollard's Tower* for heresy; that on asking for his father he was told by a chaplain that his father was a heretic; that in reply the urchin charged the chaplain with being a heretic himself, and having "Balaam's mark" (whatever that was); that he was thereupon taken into the Bishop's palace and severely flogged; that he was afterwards detained three days, but on the expiration of that time released with his father; and that he died within fourteen days after, "whether through this cruel scourging, or any other infirmity (says Foxe), *I know not.*"

In spite of all this, however, the upper house of the southern Convocation resolved, April 1571, that Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* should be placed in the churches, and in the houses of bishops, archdeacons and some others, for general reading. This resolution never acquired canonical authority, but it was nevertheless acted upon, until (probably) the time of Archbishop Laud.†

Foxe died in London, April 18th, 1587, and was buried under the chancel of Cripplegate Church. He affords but one example out of many, how, while the Government could not encourage nonconformity, and in fact, during the latter part

* Is this another instance of Foxe's veracity? Is there a "Lollard's Tower," or was there ever one, in the palace of the Bishop of London?

† *Life of Foxe*, p. 114, prefixed to Townsend's edition of *Acts and Monuments*.

of Queen Elizabeth's reign and onwards, persecuted Nonconformists with the most senseless persistency and cruelty, until, under Charles I., the tyranny of the Crown in this and other respects became no longer sufferable,—yet nevertheless the doctrine recognised by the rulers was Protestant. In the times indeed of King Edward and Queen Elizabeth, Zuinglianism and Calvinism were the forms of teaching ordinarily given all over the Church: Zuinglianism, when the preacher was occupied with the nature and use of Sacraments,—Calvinism when he would expound the principles of God's action towards men: until at length, as we shall see presently, Calvinism came to be in more repute than its sister-heresy Zuinglianism. Bishop Parkhurst of Norwich wished to God that all the English people would follow the Church of Zurich, as the most absolute pattern.* At Cambridge, the Divinity chairs were filled by men of Puritan principles, who might be turned out if they disobeyed the injunctions of the Crown, but who, if they had sufficient worldly prudence to conform as far as was ordinarily deemed necessary, might be allowed to continue teaching Protestantism as long as they lived. And the like may be said of most of the authorities in the several colleges; nor does Oxford seem to have been very far short of Cambridge in point of Protestantism, though Cambridge had herein the unenviable lead. Calvin's Institutes were read publicly in the Oxford Schools by appointment of

* Neal, i. p. 325-6.

the Convocation of the University, in 1596 or thereabouts;* and probably continued so; for Laud, after he became Archbishop, complained that at New College they were the chief subject in which candidates for fellowships were examined. Moreover the bishops themselves were all of them infected with the prevalent heresy; so that when a young Puritan presented himself for ordination, he was not likely to be rejected on account of his religious opinions.

In some cases those who occupied high positions in the Universities made use of those positions, as long as they kept them, for teaching the young men under them how to carry out Puritan principles into practice; as Sampson, Dean of Christchurch; Dr. Humphreys, President of Magdalene; and the authorities in Trinity and St. John's Colleges in the University of Cambridge, with whose allowance there was, in 1565, a general refusal, in those colleges, to come to chapel in surplices.† The natural fruit of all this was more and more abundant as time went on. Nothing but Protestantism being taught from the pulpit, nothing but Protestantism could be learnt in the pews; and the Protestantism, being more and more outspoken and uncompromising, must have made more and more way among the laity; for Puritanism was popular from its very commencement. The popularity of Protestant heresy in the time of Queen Elizabeth may be illustrated by Shakespeare's applying the title of

* Neal, i. p. 584.

† *Ibid.*, p. 221.

“martyr” to Sir John Oldcastle. The character which now appears under the name of Sir John Falstaff passed originally under the name of Sir John Oldcastle. The alteration was made in deference to popular opinion, and to it the following passage refers in the Epilogue to the Second Part of *King Henry IV.*: “For anything I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat, unless already he be killed with your hard opinions; for Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man.”

How great was the spread of the evil leaven we may judge by various statistics, given by Neal, of clergymen who were deprived, suspended, or otherwise punished, for nonconformity. For instance: Archbishop Whitgift is stated to have suspended, in 1583, about 233 clergymen in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, and Lincolnshire. Bishop Aylmer of London is said to have suspended about thirty-eight clergymen in 1584. In 1586 more than 500 Puritan clergy had signed assent to the Book of Discipline.* In 1595 the London prisons had eighty-nine persons in them on account of religion—some Popish Recusants, and the rest Protestant Nonconformists—of whom twenty-four had been committed by the Ecclesiastical Commission, and the rest by the Council and the Bishops’ Courts.† It appears also from a “survey” made in the beginning of the reign of James I. that the number of nonconforming clergy was then above 1,500. Bishop Rudd of St. David’s described them,

* Neal, i. p. 486. The Book of Discipline was a set of Puritan canons, which it was sought to establish by private association.

† *Ibid.*, p. 576.

in a speech delivered in Convocation in the year 1604, as being "divers hundreds in number."* In Archbishop Bancroft's time more than 300 Puritan clergy were silenced or deprived. According to Dr. John Burges, Rector of Sutton Coldfield, the number of Puritan clergy in twenty-four counties of England was 754. Neal informs us, moreover, that Lady Bowes, in the reign of James I., gave £1,000 per annum for maintaining Nonconformist preachers in the north.†

The history, however, of the Reformation times and of the post-Reformation times affords a striking illustration of the force of the *lex orandi* as against the *lex credendi* when the two are in opposition. It had been the aim of the Edwardian government to turn the Anglican Church into a Zuinglian commune. With this view they had appointed Zuinglian teachers wherever they could; and this policy was continued by Elizabeth. Moreover, the reforms of King Edward's days would have altered the order of prayer and sacramental ministration so as to cause Catholic worship to cease; but they found that such a course was for the time impracticable: and thus, while the country was flooded with heretical teaching from the pulpit, the form of worship still remained Catholic: definitely Catholic in some parts, and patient of a Catholic sense in most or all of the rest. And thus, through God's infinite mercy and grace, was preserved in the Church of England that element of true Catholicity which was destined to revive so wonderfully in the present century.

* Neal, ii. p. 33.

† *Ibid.*, p. 149.

CHAPTER VI.

Bancroft maintains the Divine Authority of Episcopacy. His Canons, Zuinglianism succeeded by Calvinism: probable Causes of this. Arminius: spread of his Opinions, arrested by Abbot. Laud. Overthrow of Monarchy and Episcopacy. The Restoration. Act of Uniformity: its Results. Continuance of Puritanism in the Church of England.

“From all false doctrine, heresy, and schism . . . Good Lord deliver us.”

RICHARD BANCROFT appears to have been the first of the Reformation prelates who enunciated any Catholic principles as opposed to Protestantism. The point for which he stood up was the Divine appointment of Episcopacy as opposed to Presbyterianism.

Bancroft was born at Farnworth in Lancashire, in the year 1544. He had his education first in the Grammar-School there, and afterwards at Christ's College, Cambridge; where, after taking his B.A. degree in 1556-7, he migrated to Jesus. He became chaplain to Bishop Cox of Ely in 1575; received various preferments, and preached at St. Paul's Cross, from 1 John iv. 1, his *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, in which he condemned the Puritan party for insubordination and avarice, and maintained the agreement of the Prayer Book with the traditions of the Catholic Church from the Apostles downwards, and the superiority of Episcopacy to Presbyterianism.

Bancroft became Bishop of London in 1597. To the Convocation which assembled under him as President the Church owes that canon (among

others) which enjoins subscription to the following three articles: (1) The Royal Supremacy,—(2) the agreement of the Prayer-Book with the Word of God, along with a promise to use it and no other book in conducting public prayer and ministering Sacraments,—and (3) the agreement of the Thirty-nine Articles with God's Word. On his elevation to the primacy, which took place in December, 1604, he lost no time in enforcing this canon; and those beneficed clergy who refused to subscribe were deprived; and in the case of those who would neither subscribe to the three articles of the canon, nor promise conformity to the Prayer Book, the deprivation took place at once.

It is now time to notice a change which had taken place in respect of the doctrine popularly taught and received in the Church of England. If Zuinglianism had had the upper hand in the Church under King Edward VI., Calvinism had the upper hand in the Church under Queen Elizabeth. Calvinism had indeed with Zuinglianism a great deal in common. In both systems the Church's sacramental system was denied; in both much account was professedly made of Divine grace, to the depreciation of human action. But the Calvinistic view of sacraments was more religious, and so, less opposed to the Catholic doctrine than was the Zuinglian view. And Calvin's doctrine of predestination had been anticipated to a certain extent by St. Augustine of Hippo: besides which, his doctrine of reprobation followed logically on that of predestination, as stated by him. And even Catholic divines do not seem to have been

aware of the proper ground for combating the Calvinistic dogma of reprobation; which ground is, as we take it, the truth that God elects some persons for the purpose, not of condemning the rest, but of blessing them. Thus it came to pass that some of Calvin's principles could find place in the theology of sundry eminent divines who knew better than to press those principles to their logical conclusion. Such divines were Hooker, Bishop Andrews, Bishop Davenant, and Fuller, the Church historian: and, in later times, Bishop Beveridge.

What, however, it may be asked, was the cause of that transition which took place in the doctrinal views of English divines at this early period of the reformed Church of England? The general history of Protestantism is one of decadence both spiritual and theological, and thus the natural course of things in the Church of England would have been (as indeed it afterwards was, through a great part of the Church of England) to Socinianism rather than to Calvinism. How comes it that we have Anglican theology rising from the lower level to the higher one? The only answer to be given, we believe, to these questions is, that although Zuinglianism was forced upon the Church of England by those in power, yet there was within her a strong element of Catholicism. The Church had retained a true episcopate, and the valid administration of those two Sacraments which are generally necessary to salvation; and thus her spiritual life was preserved; and the faithful ones among her children, in receiving the Sacraments thus

ministered to them, felt that those Sacraments must be more than what Zuinglian teachers gave them out to be. And thus those who otherwise would have been mere Zuinglians adopted Calvinistic theology to a certain extent as a kind of compromise; and their acceptance of one Calvinistic dogma prepared the way for their acceptance of another.

Calvinism, however, was not to have its way undisputed and unchecked. Shortly after James I. had come to the throne of England, James Van Harmin, commonly known as Arminius, became, in Holland, the leader of the party called after him; and the effect of his teaching was such that although, so far as doctrine was concerned, King James was inclined to Calvinism, yet Calvinism in the Church of England began to decline; nor did the proceedings at Dort operate at all towards checking the decline, although King James sent Bishop Carlton of Llandaff, Dr. Samuel Ward, Master of Sydney College, Cambridge, Dr. Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Goad, Prebendary of Canterbury,* to attend the Synod there, on pretence, apparently, of representing the Church of England, and although the decrees which were passed were accepted by those divines as well as by the foreign Calvinists, a better move in the interests of the decaying heresy was the ap-

* Dr. Hall, Dean of Worcester, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich, had been appointed to attend at Dort; but he not being able to bear the climate, Dr. Goad attended instead of him. Dr. Davenant, though he professed belief of Universal Redemption, yet finally accepted the decrees which were passed by the Dort divines.

pointment, in 1611, of George Abbot, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, to the primacy, in succession to Baneroff: for Abbot, while going in for the episcopal form of church government, yet preached, and both ably and popularly, some at least of the doctrines of Calvinism, and was, while at Oxford, the determined and persistent opponent of a young man whose lectures in the same University were already beginning, under God, to quicken the dormant Catholicity in the Church of England; we mean William Laud. Abbot had been consecrated, in December, 1609, to the see of Coventry and Lichfield, whence he was translated to London in the following January, and in about fourteen months after that, to Canterbury; having never been the incumbent of any parish. He died in 1633, having occupied the throne of St. Augustine twenty-two years; and was succeeded by his great theological opponent, Dr. William Laud, whom he had consecrated nearly twelve years before to the see of St. David's, and who had since been translated to that of London.

How Puritanism in religion, having made common cause with liberty in politics against Catholicism in the Church allied with illegal tyranny in the State, overthrew both Church and Crown, and made martyrs of both Primate and King, and prevailed until the happy restoration of the Monarchy and the Hierarchy in the year 1660, is well known to every school-boy. The restoration took place; the nation went mad with joy at having the King once more upon his throne and the old constitutional government in Church and

State once more in operation. And as liberty, since become rebellion, had identified itself with Puritanism, Puritanism was now regarded as identical with rebellion; and was, through the passing of the Act of Uniformity, exterminated from the Church of England as utterly as could be; at least, so far as regarded public profession. The Act of Uniformity established the Book of Common Prayer in its present form (save as regards the Lectionary) as the law of the land concerning divine worship and sacramental and ritual ministration. It ordered that every person holding any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion should, upon some Sunday before the feast of St. Bartholomew (August 24th) in the year 1662, read in his church or chapel the Morning and Evening Prayer according to the Prayer Book, and then declare his "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by" the same book: and that the like should be done by every person who should thereafter be put into any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, within two months after his admission; unless upon just cause or impediment, to be approved by the Ordinary; in which case the aforesaid regulations were to be complied with before the expiration of one month after the removal of such cause or impediment. It was also enacted that every person in holy orders, every fellow of a college, every master of a hospital, and every schoolmaster, should, before St. Bartholomew's Day, declare it unlawful to take up arms upon any pretence against the King, should deny the obligation of

the Solemn League and Covenant, and should promise conformity "to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by law established;" and further, that every holder of an ecclesiastical benefice or promotion, who had not already been ordained by a bishop, should be ordained priest or deacon before St. Bartholomew's Day; and that no person should be capable of institution to a benefice, or should presume to consecrate and administer the Lord's Supper, until he had been episcopally ordained to the priesthood.

With the provisions of this Act several hundred Puritans complied. The number of those who refused compliance is variously given: the highest estimate makes it 2,000; others make it 1,500. All these, how many or how few soever they were, were deprived; and thus was all public acknowledgment of Puritanism, whether that of Calvin or that of Zwingli, swept out of the Church of England at one stroke.

Under these circumstances it is no breach of charity to suppose that some of those who in 1662 professed assent and consent did so falsely. And these, with the successive generations of their disciples (if indeed those could be called disciples whose distinctive teaching, like the distinctive doctrine of their teachers, was mainly negative), made up the material out of which, in a future generation, the Low-Church party was to be formed, through the operation, as we believe, of GOD THE HOLY GHOST upon various individuals.

The old Puritan tradition, however, was not

entirely killed. There was still the same hatred to whatever its entertainers might deem to be Popery or popish. It was remembered that Zuinglians had held the highest offices in the Church, and had received what in the case of Archbishop Cranmer as well as that of Bishops Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, the public was pleased to account the crown of martyrdom. Nor was it forgotten that Hooper had made a stand against the use of certain vestments which he deemed antichristian; and while the ordinary Puritan objections to the surplice were generally voted the offspring of a pious narrow-mindedness, the public were quite ready to cry out against a cross over the altar, though it were only in the private chapel of a Joseph Butler. And as to doctrine, that which came from the lips of conforming Puritans will have been sufficiently free from positive Catholicism to make the ordinary Protestant layman continue satisfied with his Protestantism. It must be remarked, too, that that very Prayer Book, the general spirit of which was abhorrent to the thorough-going Zuinglian, was so worded in most of its details as to admit of being used by the Zuinglian laity without their receiving more than the slightest conceivable mental strain. The laity were not committed to it, as the clergy were, by any form of subscription. A Puritan squire or grocer, even if he went to his parish church every Sunday in the year, might never hear anything said, or see anything done, by seeing and hearing of which his Protestant principles could be of necessity com-

promised. True, he might think prayers half-an-hour long preferable to versicles, responses, and collects; he might prefer Sternhold and Hopkins's rhymes to the Magnificat or Cantate in "prose;" he might like to see a black gown better than a white surplice; but nobody compelled him to throw an objectionable garment over his own shoulders, to utter a single response with his own lips, or even to bow at the mention of that NAME in which all prayer and worship is to be offered. He might never hear the words, "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is by baptism regenerate"; he might never hear it said, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God. . . . Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven unto them." Even in the Eucharistic office itself he would hear only one word by which the real objective Presence is necessarily implied; * a word spelt with only two letters, and the significance of which is probably overlooked by ninety-nine persons out of a hundred, priests as well as people; and to that prayer in which the word in question has its proper significance no one would dream of compelling him to say Amen.

* The reference is to the word "so" occurring in the Prayer of Humble Access: "Grant us *so* to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood, and that we may evermore dwell in Him, and He in us." This language implies that there is a possibility of eating the FLESH and drinking the BLOOD in such a manner as shall *not* be followed by the effects specified: in other words, that the FLESH and the BLOOD are upon the altar to be eaten and drunk irrespectively of the faith of the communicants.

True, the Sacrament would not be administered to him unless he knelt upon his knees to receive it; but the same Book which required communicants to kneel contained (and still contains) a rubric framed, it might seem, to meet his case expressly, and prevent his committing himself to anything which might to his senses savour of Popery. For, while the wording of that rubric was now skilfully altered, so as not to exclude the truly Catholic doctrine, it could not but seem, to persons untrained in theological niceties, to exclude the Catholic doctrine altogether.* Thus the Puritan tradition continued to be kept up; and the Puritan spirit was ready to show itself, and did show itself at last, both in its aspect of piety and in its aspect of intolerant and unreasoning fanaticism.

* The "Black Rubric" as it is called, and which is found at the end of the Communion-Office, to explain the requirement about kneeling, originally ran thus, being printed on a fly-leaf, and inserted into some copies of the Prayer Book: ". . . . It is not meant thereby that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or to any *real and essential* presence there being of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood." In the present Prayer Book it runs thus: "It is hereby declared, that thereby no adoration is intended, or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental Bread or Wine there bodily received, or unto any *Corporal* Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood." It will be observed that while the devout Churchman is cautioned against thinking that in the Sacrament the Lord's Flesh and Blood are present *corporally, i.e.*, after the manner of a body, he is now equally cautioned against thinking that They are not present really and essentially. But in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred this distinction is overlooked.

CHAPTER VII.

State of the Church of England in the middle of the Eighteenth Century. Arrangement of Church Buildings. Church Furniture. Prayers. Psalmody. Celebrations of the Eucharist. Sermons. Occasional offices. Private Life of the Clergy. Of the Upper Classes. Of the Peasantry. Character of Religion.

“What if some did not believe? shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect? God forbid.”—ROM. iii. 3.

WHAT has been stated in the foregoing chapters will have prepared the reader for understanding the position which the Low-Church party of modern times has been more than once described as occupying; a position which was historical, though not on that account moral.* When we come hereafter to consider the religious sentiments of leading members of the party, we shall see in detail that the principles of modern Low-Church leaders were identical with those avowed by the Protestant party in the times of King Edward and Queen Elizabeth.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the Church of England reached, as it seems, the lowest depth in spiritual life to which God's Providence has ever as yet allowed it to sink. What Catholicism had remained in her from the Reformation had been, almost entirely as would seem,

* When we say that the Low-Church party has an *historical* position in the Church of England, we mean merely that from early times (comparatively speaking) the party has been in the Church; and that this fact has not been questioned. By a *moral* position we mean, it need hardly be said, a position which, in the cases of the several individuals composing the party, was or is morally justifiable.

taken out of her with the nonjuring secession in 1691. In order to shelter Bishop Hoadly, George I. had found it convenient to stop, in 1717, the action of the Convocations; so that henceforward those venerable bodies met only to go through the routine of proposing and passing a loyal address to the royal oppressor. The attempts of Du Pin and Archbishop Wake to bring about an intercommunion between the national Churches of England and France had come to nothing.

The character of any society may be known by the kind of buildings which it erects for its purposes. If we apply this test to the Church of England in the eighteenth century, we shall get a tolerably fair view of Anglican religion as it was then. The main object of a church architect in that period would seem to have been the accommodating a certain number of persons assembled to hear a service and a sermon. If he was to re-arrange an old church, he placed against the north or south wall what was in later times humorously called a "three-decker." This structure consisted of a desk for the clerk, and which was commonly raised one step above the level of the congregation; another desk, probably two or three feet higher, for the reading of the prayers and lessons; and a pulpit, towering high above all, for the sermon. All these were made so as to face the congregation: and if the architect had to build an altogether new church he commonly made the ground-plan a square or oblong, with a "three-decker" towards the upper end, blocking out the sight of the altar; which altar was placed,

not in a chancel, but in a space railed off from the body of the church, or at best in a little recess jutting out on the east. And the altar itself was commonly a deal table. No credence or piscina was ever provided, nor did it enter into any one's mind, so far as we can see, that in the reformed Church of England there was any use for any such things at all. In one instance which we could name, the necessity of a font for holy Baptism was an after-thought : the requirement was supplied, in this case, by a movable basin on a stand set near the reading-desk, and which, with the stand, looked like a little stove whitened over. As for the congregation, they were to be seated in pews ; and the pews were sometimes oblong, and containing one seat in each, and sometimes square, or nearly so, with seats all round. This last was the ordinary arrangement for families of " quality : " and if the family was the great one of the parish, it might have its little stove in the centre of the pew, with the stove-pipe passing through the window. Kneeling was the last thing which occurred to an ordinary church architect as of any importance.

Prayers were said in towns in the morning and afternoon of every Sunday, and very often in the mornings of Wednesdays, Fridays, and holy days. In the country it often happened that the church was open, on the Sunday, only once ; as in many cases one clergyman had to serve two churches, or even more. And in these latter cases the service was often recited so rapidly as to show that the main object with the clergyman was to get so much professional work done within such and such

a time. Reverence, of course, was at a discount ; though the story of that clergyman who while reading a lesson could wink at a member of the congregation in allusion to a profane jest,—and the story of that other clergyman, who while reading, “Dearly beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us,” &c., on the afternoon of the 31st of August, could go through the motion of aiming and firing a gun,—may belong (in the former case it certainly *does* belong) to the earlier part of the present century.

In psalmody, choral service was kept up in most cathedrals, and in some collegiate churches : and probably in some college chapels in each of the Universities. In ordinary parish churches chanting was unknown : sometimes, where there was a body of practised singers (among whom some might be females), a “service,” such as Jackson’s *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, might be performed, accompanied, in towns, by an organ, or, in villages, by violoncello, violin, flute, and clarionet ; but in the greater number of churches the singing was confined to the performance of a few stanzas in metre, from Sternhold and Hopkins, or, more recently, from Tate and Brady. The verses to be sung were given out sometimes by the chief singer, and sometimes by the clerk, who, when (as was frequently the case) the singers occupied a gallery at the west end of the church, might, if he deemed convenient, leave the place which he had previously occupied and walk down the church while the Prayer of St. Chrysostom was being recited, so as to be found among the singers at the

time when the Psalm had to be announced. And the labour of going through the service was divided between the clergyman, the clerk, and the singers: the clergyman read the prayers and preached the sermon, the clerk read the responses, the *Amens*, and the alternate verses of the Psalms and Canticles, and the singers performed the psalmody. If any of the congregation liked to join in the responses or singing they might, though even then the clerk might deem it an invasion of his prerogative, or the singers an invasion of theirs: but for the most part the performance was as just described.* And although the common formula used in giving out the Psalm was, "Let us sing to the praise and glory of God such and such verses of such and such a Psalm," yet psalmody, responses, and prayers were regarded as being done, equally with the sermon, towards the people. It was not an uncommon practice for the congregation to sit during the recitation of the Psalms just as during the Lessons. And the practice which prevailed in the year 1855 or thereabouts in one village church which we could name was probably only the perpetuation of an earlier tradition: the whole congregation used to turn round when the metrical Psalms were sung, and to face the singers, who occupied places at the western end of the church.

* Cowper, in *Stanzas subjoined to the Yearly Bill of Mortality of the Parish of All Saints, Northampton, Anno Domini 1787* :

"So prays your clerk with all his heart,
And ere he quits the pen,
Begs you for once to take *his* part,
And answer all—Amen!"

In towns, the holy Eucharist was celebrated, usually, once in a calendar month; except, perhaps, when a chief festival had fallen late in the previous month, or was falling early in the month then current; in which cases the monthly celebration might be omitted. In villages, the rule was to celebrate four times a year, viz., at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, or Trinity Sunday, and about Michaelmas: but in some cases the celebration was not even as frequent as this. The service was commonly called "The Sacrament," and was regarded as commencing with the offertory; the non-communicants having been previously dismissed with the interpolation of a collect and the Benedictory Prayer. The elements were commonly placed upon the altar by the clerk or sexton before the commencement of mattins; the wine, not unfrequently, in a black bottle. The Sacrament of the Lord's Body was commonly received between the fingers; and as common bread was universally employed, it is probable that crumbs of the consecrated element were continually dropped. The rinsing of the holy vessels was left to be done by the clerk or sexton after the congregation had departed.

The term "Communion Service" was commonly applied exclusively to that part of the Divine Office which ended with the Nicene Creed.* On

* As late as 1852 the notice posted on the doors of one of the College Chapels in Cambridge previously to the terminal celebration of the Eucharist, was in this form:

Sundays, when there was to be no celebration, this part was sometimes, to save trouble, gone through in the reading-desk; after which, if there was no vestry, the clergyman might throw off his surplice in the sight of all, and appear before them in a black gown, which he had previously worn underneath. He then mounted the pulpit, delivered the sermon, and dismissed the people with a collect and the Blessing, as if the rubric had never prescribed that one at least of the offertory sentences should be read, and the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church offered.

The pulpit had lost almost all its force. Some sermons were long :

“ Sweet sleep ” enjoyed “ the curate in the desk,
The tedious rector drawing o'er his head.”

Of another kind of preachers Cowper could write—

“ The things that mount the rostrum with a skip,
And then skip down again; pronounce a text;
Cry—hem; and reading what they never wrote,
Just fifteen minutes, huddle up their work,
And with a well-bred whisper close the scene.”

Task, Book ii.

A little farther on he writes :

“ Some, decent in demeanour when they preach,
That task perform'd, relapse into themselves

“ ——— College Chapel.

Sunday, Feb. 29.

Morning Prayer 8.0.

The Communion Service } 11.0.
and Sacrament }

Evening Prayer 6.15.”

And having spoken wisely, at the close
 Grow wanton, and give proof to every eye,
 Whoe'er was edified, themselves were not
 Forth comes the pocket mirror.—First we stroke
 An eyebrow ; next compare a straggling lock ;
 Then with an air most gracefully perform'd
 Fall back into our seat, extend an arm
 And lay it at its ease with gentle care,
 With handkerchief in hand depending low ;
 The better hand more busy gives the nose
 Its bergamot, or aids th' indebted eye
 With opera-glass to watch the moving scene,
 And recognise the slow-retiring fair."

Task, Book ii.

As Robert Hall observed, the idea commonly entertained in England of a perfect sermon was that of " a discourse upon some moral topic, clear, correct, and argumentative ; in the delivery of which the preacher must be free from all suspicion of being moved himself, or of intending to produce emotion in his hearers."

If the preacher's manner was lifeless, so was his doctrine. What morality might be taught did not always rise to the morality of Plato or of Cicero ; at least that was Blackstone's experience when in his youth he came up to London. And Blackstone tells us further, that for aught of religion those sermons inculcated which he heard, it would have been hard to tell whether the preacher believed in the Koran, in Confucius, or in the Bible. Indeed, if theological doctrine was touched upon in the pulpit of that time, it was even chances if positive heresy were not enounced. Thomas Scott, the Low-Church commentator, when he took orders was a Socinian ; and for some time he never read the Athanasian Creed

in the public service, because he did not believe it: though how he got over the Nicene Creed with its "one substance with the Father," he has not told us. The atoning work of Christ and the sanctifying work of the Holy Ghost were for all practical purposes ignored.

The manner in which the Occasional Offices were performed, was in keeping with the manner of rendering the more public ones. Baptism, we believe, was seldom or never administered in the face of the congregation. Sterne's fictitious description of a private baptism was evidently such as that keen observer of human nature believed capable of having its counterpart in real life; nay, such as what he might have administered himself; and in describing which he evidently never dreamt that he was describing any particular manifestation of irreverence or impropriety.

" 'Bless me, sir,' said Susannah, 'the child's in a fit.'—'And where's Mr. Yorick?'—'Never where he should be,' said Susannah, 'but his curate's in the dressing-room, with the child upon his arm, waiting for the name; and my mistress bid me run as fast as I could to know, as Captain Shandy is the godfather, whether it should not be called after him.' . . .

" '*Trismegistus*,' said my father. 'But stay—thou art a leaky vessel, Susannah,' added my father 'Canst thou carry *Trismegistus* in thy head, the length of the gallery, without scattering?'—'Can I?' cried Susannah, shutting the door in a huff.—'If she can, I'll be shot,' said my father. . . .

" "'Tis *Tris*—something,' said Susannah.—'There

is no Christian name in the world,' said the curate, 'beginning with *Tris*, but *Tristram*.'—'Then 'tis *Tristram—gistus*,' quoth Susannah.—'There is no *gistus* to it, noodle! 'tis my own name,' replied the curate, dipping his hand, as he spoke, into the basin. '*Tristram!*' said he, &c., &c., &c., &c. So *Tristram* I was called, and *Tristram* shall I be to the day of my death.'*"

Confirmation was ministered, at most, once in three years, unless in London, though we have not heard of its having been ministered more frequently even there. In the country it was only ministered in the market-towns, never in the villages.

Visitation of the sick was recognised as a duty, when the parish priest was aware of the requirement; but systematic pastoral visitation of parishioners in general was unknown, or almost so. When a sick person desired Communion, common vessels were used, unless the clergyman had at hand those which were employed in the church. We have only heard of one church which possessed a set of vessels for private ministration exclusively. Such vessels did not come into general use until the present century.

As for the burial of the dead, we remember to have read in some work of fiction of the period, how at some poor person's funeral the well-fed priest scarcely moved from the church door, so that his voice could scarcely be heard at the grave. Such a description must have had, in the manners and customs of the time, a foundation of truth.

* *Tristram Shandy*, vol. iv. ch. xiv.

Nor was the practice of the clergy in their private life other than was to be expected. Cowper's account of it is :

“Except a few with Eli's spirit blest,
Hophni and Phinehas may describe the rest.”

Expostulation.

Some exemplification of this may be seen in the fact that *Tristram Shandy*, so full of filthy suggestions, and the *Tale of a Tub*, with its ribald profanity, were written, the one by a prebendary, the other by a future dean.* So that we do not wonder at the story told of a certain priest, himself a fox-hunter, that when he heard one of the early Low-Church divines abused, he made this reply: “Hush! I feel a great respect for such men as Mr. Venn, and wish there were more of the kind. They are the salt of our order, and keep it from putrefaction. If the whole body of the clergy were like ourselves, the world would see that we were of no use, and take away our tithes; but a few of these pious ones redeem our credit and save for us our livings.”† Those indeed were times in which a royal chaplain paid the penalty of crime by suffering on the gallows.‡

If such was the character of the shepherds, what was the character of the flock? We transcribe a passage from a modern magazine, which does not seem to draw the picture untruly :

“The habits of high life were bad habits, and the

* Laurence Sterne became a prebendary of York in 1741, or thereabouts, and Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in 1713.

† Life of the Rev. H. Venn, Vicar of Huddersfield, p. 17.

‡ Dr. Dodd, one of King George III.'s chaplains, was executed in 1777 for forgery. He had once been a very popular preacher.

opinions of clever men were bad opinions. Men and women played high, fortunes were squandered at Faro and Quinze. Sunday and Saturday were alike for gamblers. Fox contracted huge debts, and taught the Prince of Wales to do the same. When Count Adhemar was struck down by apoplexy, a large party assembled, in spite of his illness, at his house in Grosvenor Square on the Sunday evening, and the Faro bank in the drawing-room went on briskly, separated by a thin partition from the bed on which he lay dying. The Clubs were the resorts of politicians; at these it was the fashion for every one, from the prince to the *parvenu*, to play high. In Brookes' and White's, Almack's and the Goose Tree Clubs, estates were staked and lost; and there were other orgies even more scandalous, which were talked of with a smile. Horace Walpole tells us, with a broad grin, of the ways and doings of Charles Fox. Lord Sandwich, Lord Temple, Selwyn, and Lord March were all fashionable leaders; and the repute of statesmen was not affected by proceedings which would now make society turn its back on them. Lord Temple's vices did not prevent the first Pitt from demanding the Garter for him. Lord Bute chose Sir Francis Dashwood as his Chancellor of Exchequer. George III. made Lord Sandwich his First Lord of the Admiralty: Yet both had been actors in the scandals of Medmenham Abbey. And Lord Sandwich published verses, in which it was hard to say whether vice or blasphemy exceeded. The Duke of Grafton was the friend of

Lord Chatham, the Premier of George III.; yet he paraded his mistress at Newmarket, and led her to the theatre in presence of his queen.* Lord Weymouth, Lord Barrington, and Lord Rochford were all ministers of state, and all notorious for vice. Lord Thurlow, keeper of the royal conscience and the king's favourite chancellor, Warren Hastings, his favourite governor of India, were alike notorious. Lord Thurlow put a worthless woman at the head of his household; Warren Hastings lived for years in adultery, and then publicly celebrated his marriage with the woman along with whom he had braved decency.†

If such was the state of the fashionable world, what was the state of the peasantry? We fear that the most correct account would describe them as baptized heathens. We do not know why the peasantry among whom Hannah More began to labour in 1789 or thereabouts should be accounted as having been more rough than English peasantry in general; and Hannah More described them thus: "More vicious and ignorant than I could have conceived possible in a country which calls itself Christian." "The land is almost pagan." "While we are sending missionaries to India, our own villages are in pagan darkness, and upon many of them scarcely a ray of Christianity has shone. I speak from the most minute and diligent examination." The character of rural populations could not change much before railways were introduced; and therefore we may

* The writer meant, we suppose, "in presence of *the* Queen."

† *William Wilberforce, his Friends and his Times*, pp. 108-9.

assume that the peasantry of 1789 were only about the same in character and habits as had been the peasantry of the previous half-century.

Nor was there much religion anywhere, even in mere outward profession. "By the most decorous persons Sunday was treated as a day of pleasure. Ladies of the most correct life, like Mrs. Montagu, had their regular Sunday parties and Sunday concerts, to which Hannah More was invited. The Court had their Sunday drawing-room; the Speaker and the Cabinet on that day gave their public dinners."* In church, before the service commenced, bowing, smiling, and kissing hands to one another was the regular thing among the congregation, with persons whose position in life might have led one to expect at least outward decorum.† This was as late as 1821. And Mr. Cecil describes how, when he came to Chobham in 1800, and was sitting in the church vestry before divine service, he was affected even to tears "on hearing the noise and uproar of the boys, and the people in the gallery talking aloud to each other."‡ Disturbance, too, was not con-

* *William Wilberforce, his Friends and his Times*. p. 110.

† *Christian Observer* for 1821, p. 484. Swift's *Argument to prove that the Abolition of Christianity in England may, as things now tend, be Attended with some Inconvenience, and perhaps not Produce those Many Good Effects proposed thereby* was written in 1708. In this satire, in order to show that the church-buildings are not misapplied, he asks, "Where are more appointments and rendezvouses of gallantry? Where more care to appear in the foremost box, with greater advantage of dress? Where more meetings for business? Where more bargains driven of all sorts? And where more conveniences or incitements to sleep?"

‡ *Works of the Rev. Richard Cecil*, vol. i. p. 31.

fined to the time before the service in church actually commenced; it was often kept up all through the prayers by persons who deemed the service a mere unavoidable preliminary to the sermon, and who therefore did not care how late they came into the sacred building, or how much noise they made by opening and shutting their seat-doors.* Even religious people did not deem frequent communion desirable. Paley, in a sermon on dangers to the clerical character, thus expresses himself: "Every attentive Christian will have observed how much more powerfully he is affected by any form of worship which is uncommon, than with the familiar returns of his own religious offices." And then, in citing several examples to illustrate his meaning, he adds, "He will be sensible of the difference when he approaches, *a few times in the year*, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

CHAPTER VIII.

Methodism: its two Branches, under Wesley and Whitfield. Romaine, the first Low-Church Leader in point of Time.

THE state of the Church of England was as described in the preceding chapter, when that movement took its rise which is known as Methodism, and which ran in two channels, the Arminian under the Wesleys, and the Calvinistic, under Whitfield and Lady Huntingdon. Charles Wesley was ordained deacon in 1735. George Whitfield was ordained deacon, and preached his

* See a letter in the *Christian Observer* for March, 1804, p. 142.

first sermon, in 1734 or 1735, being then under twenty-one years of age. In the year 1738, John Wesley, who had been ordained deacon as far back as 1725, experienced what he termed conversion. In 1744 the first London conference of Wesleyan preachers was held.* Meanwhile William Law's *Serious Call* was being read; † of which work we shall have to speak hereafter.

The efforts of the Wesleys probably prepared many for becoming members of the Low-Church party, independently of the work done by the Wesleys in founding and extending the society named after them. And various preachers who may be called Methodists (though the societies formed by them were independent of Wesley's) must have done somewhat with the same result, after the Low-Church movement commenced: such preachers were Thomas Adam of Wintringham, Samuel Walker of Truro, John Fletcher of Madeley, and Thomas Charles of Bala.‡ Whitfield's preaching must have done still more than that of the Wesleys for bringing people into the Low-Church party, partly because he formed no society, save the congregation which met in his "Tabernacle," and thus by far the greater number of those members of the Established Church who were converted through his preaching must have remained, for a time at least, in the Church's

* An earlier conference seems to have been held in the country in 1743.

† The first edition was published in 1729.

‡ Mr. Adam preached from 1724 to 1784. Mr. Walker, from 1746 to 1761. Mr. Fletcher, from 1760 to 1785. Mr. Charles, from 1778 to 1814.

outward communion,—and partly because, while his teaching on the subject of Divine grace was Calvinistic, as had been the teaching of the Reformers, Calvin and Zwingli, their masters, having agreed herein,—that of the Wesleys and their preachers was distinctly and avowedly Arminian.

The first Low-Church leader in point of time would seem to have been the Rev. William Romaine. He was born at Hartlepool, in the county of Durham, September 25th, 1714. His father was one of those French Protestants who had fled to England on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and followed in England the business of a corn dealer. He was upright, charitable, and pious, conformed to the Church of England, and was so strict a Sabbatarian as never to allow any of his family to go out on a Sunday, except to church. Young William was sent to the grammar school founded by the Rev. Bernard Gilpin at Houghton-le-Spring, and thence to Oxford, entering first at Hertford College and afterwards at Christ Church. He was ordained deacon, probably after the September Ember-week, in the year 1737, at Hereford, by Bishop Egerton; and then served as curate of Loe Trenchard, near Lydford, in Devonshire, and afterwards, apparently, at Epsom, in the diocese of Winchester. He received priest's orders from Bishop Hoadly, and then served the curacy of Banstead, in the same diocese. While in this last charge, he became acquainted with Sir Daniel Lambert, who in the year 1741, when he was Lord Mayor of London, made Mr. Romaine his chaplain.

Mr. Romaine had thus the opportunity of preaching in St. Paul's Cathedral.

On the 4th of March, 1739, he preached before the University of Oxford. The title of his sermon was "The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated, from his having made express mention of, and insisted so much on, the Doctrine of a Future State: whereby Mr. Warburton's attempt to prove the Divine Legation of Moses from the Omission of a Future State is proved to be absurd and destructive of all revelation." In the end of the year 1741 he preached again before the University, on "Future Rewards and Punishments proved to be the Sanctions of the Mosaic Dispensation."

In 1747 he became known to English students of Hebrew as the editor of Marius de Calasio's Hebrew Concordance and Lexicon (the first volume of which being published in that year), though it must be added that a translation of Psalm lxxxvii. in a sermon on the seventh verse of that Psalm does not set his Hebrew scholarship in a very favourable light: and, being then in London, was in the act of going to take his passage by sea to his native county, his trunk having been already sent on board the vessel, when a gentleman, who had known his father, but was a total stranger to Mr. Romaine himself, offered him his interest for the lectureship, then vacant, of the united parishes of St. George's, Botolph Lane, and St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. Mr. Romaine consented to become a candidate, on the understanding that he was not to feel obliged to canvass in person, and was elected in 1748. In the year following he was

elected to two other lectureships, both at St. Dunstan's in the West; the one endowed with £18 a year, the other supported by voluntary contributions only. After some years, however, the rector of the parish disputed Mr. Romaine's right to the pulpit, and occupied it himself during the prayers, to prevent Mr. Romaine's entrance. The end of this opposition was that Mr. Romaine's right to the endowed lectureship alone was established by a decision of Lord Mansfield, in the Court of King's Bench, before which the matter had been brought. It was, however, ruled also by the same authority that 7 p.m. was a convenient time for Mr. Romaine's fulfilment of his duties accordingly; and thereupon the church was open to him at that hour; but the churchwardens would neither open it a minute before, nor light it in winter when it was open; so that Mr. Romaine had often to say prayers and preach his lecture by the light of a single candle, held by himself; and his hearers used to congregate outside the church till the door was opened for them. And this continued until the Bishop of London (Dr. Terrick, who had himself held the same two lectureships at once) prevailed with the rector and churchwardens to change the hour from 7 to 6, to open the church at a convenient time beforehand, and to light it in winter.

On the 1st of April, 1750, Mr. Romaine undertook the duty of assistant morning preacher at St. George's, Hanover Square, and continued to discharge it until September 20th, 1755, when, owing (as we are told by his biographer, Mr.

Cadogan) to the popularity and plainness of his ministry, he was required by the rector to leave. Soon afterwards, however, he became curate and morning preacher at St. Olave's, Southwark. "Here" (we are told) "he received his friends, particularly serious candidates for orders, admitting them to his early breakfast." On leaving this curacy he became morning preacher for nearly two years at St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield; and then at a chapel which afterwards came into the hands of Dissenters: and finally became rector of Blackfriars in 1766.

His feelings on entering upon this new charge are thus described by himself: "My friends are rejoicing all around me, and wishing me that joy which I cannot take. It is my Master's will, and I submit. He knows what is best both for His own glory and His people's good, and I am certain He makes no mistakes in either of these points; but my head hangs down upon the occasion, through the awful apprehensions which I ever had of the care of souls. I am frightened to think of watching over two or three thousand when it is work enough to watch over one. The plague of my own heart almost wearies me to death; what can I do with so vast a number?"*

"Nor was he less attentive to the temporal than to the spiritual concerns of his situation. He found the parsonage-house wholly unfit for the residence of a pastor, it having been turned into warehouses, and being wholly out of repair. He

* *Life of the Rev. W. Romaine*, prefixed to his works, p. 20.

took down the old premises, and built a handsome rectory-house close to the church for himself and his posterity. The church also, when he took possession of the living, was surrounded with a dead wall, and the avenues leading to it very narrow. His parishioners, with whom he lived from the first in peace and harmony, were prevailed upon to repair the church, and to erect a gallery at the west end of it for the accommodation of his numerous hearers, to pull down the high wall that inclosed it, so as to give it light and air, and to make all the avenues to it wide and commodious; by which means" (the biographer adds) "it is become one of the best places of worship in London. Mr. Romaine, who never asked any favour for himself, but always acknowledged the smallest, solicited his friends that attended the church to present the united parishes with a token of their gratitude. This request was cheerfully complied with, and the sum collected towards defraying the expenses of erecting the gallery and other improvements amounted to five hundred pounds."*

An extract from a letter of his may here be given, affording as it does some insight into his inner life:

"*My dear brother in our precious Jesus*—In the year 1756 a weekly hour of prayer was agreed upon by several religious clergy and laity, in order to humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, till He should be pleased to put a stop to the calamities of that time. He did hear

* Life, p. 22.

us, glory to a prayer-hearing God, and He turned our supplications into praises. About that period it began to be laid very near my heart to pray earnestly and often for the prosperity of our Zion, for which I never fail to make intercession in all my addresses to the throne of grace. But once a week, on Friday, I have what is called the clergy's litany, in which, after general petitions for the outpouring of the Spirit upon all the ministers of our Church, I make mention by name of those of my fellow-labourers whom God has highly honoured in making them faithful and useful in the ministry. As I go over their names, recommending them to the care, and their people to the blessing, of our glorious Head, it is my custom to ask particularly for them such things as I know or hear they want."*

It does not appear that Mr. Romaine had any ideas of the ministerial work as extending beyond preaching and teaching in public and private. But he seems to have been very diligent in his office as far as he understood it. When at home, his hour of breakfast was 6; he prayed with his family at 9; from 10 till 1 he usually visited the sick or his friends; at 1.30 he dined, and then retired to his study, or took a walk; he supped at 7, conducted family worship again at 9, and went to bed at 10.

After seven weeks' illness he departed to his rest July 26th, 1795, and was buried in the rectory vault of Blackfriars Church.

* Life, p. 15.

As to Mr. Romaine's opinions,* they were what were called Evangelical; and truly so, as distinguished from the legal formalism then generally prevalent among professedly religious people: his gospel being the gospel of forgiveness through Christ's blood, and of forgiveness unto holiness and righteousness—but little or nothing more. What part Baptism had in his scheme of religion may be inferred from the fact that in a sermon on the words, "And Jesus said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," and having, in the course of it to quote the first clause of the next verse, he quotes it thus: "He that believeth shall be saved;" the words "and is baptized" being altogether omitted. On the other great Sacrament his Zuinglianism comes out very strongly in a little tract entitled *The Scripture doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper briefly stated*. Here, having said, after the manner of the Protestant Reformers, "The bread and wine, thus instituted, are signs to set before our senses what Christ's body and blood are to do to the soul" [one does not see why common bread and wine should not do this as well as those which have been consecrated]; "from whence arose the necessity of giving the same name to the sign as to the thing signified; because, what the sign does to the body, the thing signified does to the

* Mr. Romaine's views on the mode of a sinner's acceptance with God, as those views were understood and adopted by Mr. Grimshawe, will be noticed farther on. Wilberforce, in his private Diary, notices Mr. Newton as having "owned that Romaine had made many anti-nomians."—*Life of Wilberforce*, vol. ii. p. 136.

soul" [how the *necessity* follows hereon is not clear]; and having said, further, "The bread and wine are not only signs that there is spiritual life in Christ, but also as under a seal they convey it" (which last passage, taken by itself, would bear an orthodox sense); he proceeds thus: "The bread and wine are not signs to all receivers, but signs only to the faithful."

We should not omit to mention that as in the early part of his ministry Mr. Romaine received much opposition, as indeed we have seen; so opposition seems to have been the rule in his experience generally. At one time he had the unhappy Dr. Dodd for one of his friends and admirers; but after that unhappy man had begun to follow evil courses, he intimated to Mr. Romaine that he should be glad to see him at his house, but hoped not to be acknowledged by him if they should happen to meet in public company.

If, however, we are asked who the chief progenitor of the Low-Church movement was, we can name no other than the Rev. HENRY VENN the elder.

CHAPTER IX.

Henry Venn the elder. Law's *Serious Call*. Venn's Ministerial Work. Huddersfield. *Complete Duty of Man*. Yelling. Venn's Religious System and Practice.

HENRY VENN, born on the 2nd of March, 1724, at Barnes, in Surrey, was grandson on the mother's side to Richard Ashton, Esq., who, with Lord Preston and a gentleman named Elliot, was apprehended in an attempt to convey certain treason

able correspondence to the ex-king James II.; the only one of the three associates, as Lord Macaulay tells us, who behaved on that occasion with manly firmness. He was brought to trial for high treason, found guilty, and executed. Henry Venn, his descendant, had in his early age strong feelings and great vehemence of character. He would not come to a gentleman who had called upon his father; and alleged as his reason that the gentleman was an Arian. He fought the son of a Nonconformist neighbour whenever he met him. On one occasion, hearing his elder brother very highly commended for some Latin exercises, his jealousy threw him into a fit. His school instruction was carried on first at Mortlake, then by Mr. Crofts of Fulham, then by the Rev. Mr. Catcott of Bristol, whose stern discipline was actually a recommendation in the eyes of young Venn; and lastly, by the Rev. Dr. Pitman of Market Street, Herts. At the age of seventeen he went to Jesus College, Cambridge. Here, in a large circle of friends, he was nevertheless very silent when in company; having laid down a rule for himself to be acquainted with those alone from whom he could gain some improvement. "In the year 1745 he took the degree of B.A. In 1747 he was appointed by Dr. Battie . . . to one of the University Scholarships," which the doctor had just founded, and the nomination to which, during his own life, he reserved to himself; and "in June, the same year, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Gibson, in the chapel of Fulham Palace, without a title, from the respect which the Bishop bore to

his father's memory. In 1749 he became M.A. ; previous[ly] to which he had been elected Fellow of Queens' College, chiefly through the recommendation of Mr. Owen Manning, the tutor of Queens' who had formed an intimate friendship with him."

"Hitherto," his son continues, "religion had made no particular impression on his mind. He was moral and decent in his conduct, regular in his attendance on public worship, and had accustomed himself chiefly to read books of divinity after he had taken his degree of B.A. ; but he was a stranger to that influence of religion which gives it a predominancy in the mind over everything besides, and to those views of the benefits and excellence of the Christian dispensation which render the Saviour the object of the highest affection and regard. He possessed, however, high ideas of clerical decorum, and scrupulous conscientiousness in doing faithfully whatever he was convinced to be right. . . .

"The first considerable religious impression made upon his mind arose from an expression in the form of prayer which he had been daily accustomed to use, like the world in general, without paying much attention to it : 'That I may live to the glory of Thy Name !' The thought powerfully struck his mind : 'What is it, to live to the glory of God ? Do I live as I pray ? What course of life ought I to pursue to glorify God ?' After much reflection on this subject, he came to this conclusion—That to live to the glory of God required that he should live a life of piety and religion, in a degree in which he was conscious he

had not yet lived ; that he ought to be more strict in prayer, more diligent in reading the Scripture and pious books, more generally holy in his conduct ; and, seeing the reasonableness of such a course of life, his uprightness again discovered itself in immediately and steadily pursuing it. He set apart stated seasons for meditation and prayer, turning his reading chiefly into a religious channel, and kept a strict account of the manner in which he spent his time and regulated his conduct. . . .

“In this frame of mind, Law’s *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, a book which has been the means of exciting many to a life of holiness, was particularly useful to him : he read it repeatedly, with peculiar interest and advantage ; and immediately began, with great sincerity, to frame his life according to the Christian model there delineated. He kept a diary of the state of his mind ; a practice from which he derived great benefit, though not exactly in the way he expected, for it chiefly made him better acquainted with his own deficiency. He also allotted the hours of the day, as far as was consistent with the necessary duties and employments of his station, to particular acts of meditation and devotion. He kept frequent fasts ; and was accustomed often to take solitary walks, in which his soul was engaged in prayer and communion with God. . . .

“For about six months after he was elected Fellow of Queens’, he served the curacy of Barton, near Cambridge ; where he distributed religious tracts, and conversed with the poor in a manner that several of them affectionately remembered

after an interval of above thirty years. . . . In July, 1750, he ceased to reside in college, and began to devote himself entirely to ministerial services; accepting the curacy of Mr. Langley, who held the livings of St. Matthew, Friday Street, in London, and West Horsley, near Guildford, in Surrey.* In serving one or other of these churches Mr. Venn continued until 1754.

At this time, his son tells us, Mr. Venn used often, when riding upon the downs, to chant the *Te Deum*; and sought to carry out the plan of life sketched out by Mr. Law in his work on "Christian Perfection." Mr. Law was indeed now, we are assured, Mr. Venn's favourite author. And this therefore seems the fittest place for giving some account of that work by which Mr. Law's name is best known, and which, as we have already seen, had a great influence upon Mr. Venn, as well as upon other people: the *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*.

In the early chapters of that work the author dwells on the conduct of many persons professing Christianity, but whose general practice was in the most palpable inconsistency with the principles of Christian religion as set forth in the New Testament. He shows also that true devotion consists in the sanctification of our whole life. Then comes an account of what this sanctification of the whole life is, in certain particular classes of people; with some considerations inciting to the practice thereof. Mr. Law next proposes certain rules for the

* Memoir, pp. 10, &c.

practice of religion; such as having stated times of prayer, early rising, the best kind of prayers to say, and the use of psalms, of which he recommends the chanting rather than the ordinary reading. Many of his rules are valuable, and all of them worth consideration. Some, however, are of a questionable character; as when we read, "If we would feel motions of joy and delight in God, we must practise all the outward acts of it, and make our voices call upon our hearts."* No doubt, as Mr. Law observes presently after, "outward actions are necessary to *support* inward tempers," but we should like to know how any amount of outward action can beget a joy and delight which has previously had no existence at all.

From inculcating devotion he proceeds to inculcate the virtues on which it rests; and first, humility. Hence he takes occasion to inveigh against worldliness, the chief nourisher of pride; showing how incompatible it is with a truthful profession of Christianity. He inveighs also against the kind of education which in his time was most general, and which tended to breed pride and envy rather than Christian graces. But it is to be observed that although he describes education as, according to his view, it ought to be, he ignores the baptismal grace of membership with Christ and participation in His life. He would take young people in hand, not as possessing within themselves a divine life already, which, being rightly and diligently cherished, will of itself produce the

* Chap. xv. (p. 185).

fruits of holy tempers and good works ; but merely as disciples of a philosophy, according to the rules whereof they are to force themselves to act.

The leaven of Protestant subjectivity, not to say selfishness, appears in that while recommending intercession, he dwells much on the tendency of such a practice to increase our own virtues.

In the last chapters Mr. Law enforces the necessity of daily self-examination, both as to abstinence from sin and as to performance of those special rules which he takes for granted every good man has proposed to himself for his own private observance.

In short, the *Serious Call* may be described as an exhortation to practical Christianity, but grounded on defective principles. A crucial test of soundness of principle we believe to be the system on which young baptized children are to be educated ; and the radical defect of Mr. Law's system of education we have already remarked. Several passages in his work indicate that certain Catholic doctrines and practices had not been entirely swept out of the Church of England, but had been continued both through the Reformation and through the Puritan ascendancy in the seventeenth century : thus he looks upon the Christian ministry as a company of priests* serving at the altar ; an altar, too, on which the Body of Christ is often placed. He looks upon the faithful departed as associated with us in prayer. These truths, however, do not appear to have with him any necessary connexion with one another ; nor indeed does it appear how

* Beginning of Chap. iv. (p. 32).

in his system they can have any connexion; for they depend upon the Incarnation, and upon our union with the Incarnate through having been baptized into Him: and where these two truths are not both of them held in their living force, if any other Catholic doctrines, or Catholic practices, are taken up, they will be liable to fall out; and probably will fall out sooner or later, not having any proper coherence with the rest of the doctrinal structure. Now, although in one place* Mr. Law speaks of baptism as introducing its recipients into a fellowship with the Son of God, and although he does speak of such as having been baptized into Christ's Resurrection,† yet he does not realise the truth of the new birth as taking place in baptism. To be born again of the Spirit (which word he spells with a small *s*), and to be in Christ a new creature, are, according to him, impossibilities, while the conduct is not according to Scripture rules.‡ So he says,§ “All the sons of Adam are to go through a painful, sickly life, denying and mortifying their natural appetites and crucifying the lust of the flesh, in order to have a share in the atonement of our Saviour's death.” It never occurs to him that God gave us shares therein in our baptism, and before we had done anything towards mortifying our appetites or crucifying the flesh at all.

And indeed he has very inadequate ideas of God's grace generally. “The Book of Life” he supposes to have men's works recorded in it! || The real objective Presence of the Lord in the

* Page 99. † Page 40. ‡ Page 38. § Page 315. || Pages 227-8.

Sacrament of the altar is with him barren of all practical results, save that of a general reverence : thus in one place* he speaks of prayer as the nearest approach to God, and the highest enjoyment of Him that we are capable of in this life. In one place† he seems to deny that Christ suffered in our stead. This however is more in appearance than in reality ; for in the same chapter he speaks of the necessity that Christ should suffer . . . for our salvation ; which clearly involves vicariousness in some sense or other. On the other hand he speaks of “atoning for” a certain way of life by a contrary behaviour. He concludes by adducing sundry reasons for devotion and general Christian practice.

Such was the religious system inculcated by the honest non-juring deacon ; who was, at the early point of Mr. Venn's clerical career, his favourite author. He was indeed induced to think the worse of Mr. Law's competency for religious guidance, by meeting one day, in a newly arrived and eagerly desired publication of Mr. Law's, with an expression “wherein Mr. Law seemed to represent the Blood of Christ as of no more avail, in procuring our salvation, than the excellence of His moral character.” But the *Serious Call* must have prepared him in no small degree for becoming the first of a party whose first motto might have been “Heart-religion rather than form-religion.”

At the time whereof we now speak the question (we are told) often occurred to Mr. Venn in the

* Chap. xiv. near the beginning.

† Chap. xvii.

pulpit, "Why do you impose upon others a standard to which you are conscious of not having attained yourself?" and a more attentive study of the Scriptures than he had hitherto used led him to appreciate more fully the office of Christ, and of Christ alone, as our Saviour; and that we are to rely for our justification before God, not upon anything which we may do, even though done by His grace; but upon His merits and His atonement. And there followed naturally a great change both in Mr. Venn's inward feelings and in his public preaching.

"In 1754," we read in Mr. Venn's biography, "he accepted the curacy of Clapham, in Surrey, where he resided five years; officiating at the same time, during the week, in three different churches in London, where he held lectureships. His regular duties consisted of a full service* at Clapham on the Sunday morning; a sermon in the afternoon at St. Alban's, Wood Street; and in the evening at St. Swithin's, London Stone. On Tuesday morning, a sermon at St. Swithin's; on Wednesday morning, at seven o'clock, at St. Antholin's; and on Thursday evening at Clapham." And in 1759 he accepted the vicarage of Huddersfield, in Yorkshire. He accepted this living from desire of usefulness, although the income was under £100 per annum, and the collection of it, consisting chiefly of the smallest sums, being made in a way the most dis-

* This was the common expression then to denote prayers followed by a sermon. We once heard a notice given in church that there would be "a *perfect* service" at such a time; the meaning having been the same.

agreeable to his feelings. And when consequently he felt his circumstances painfully straitened, he was sustained by the faith of his newly-married wife, who urged him not on any account to desert what was evidently his sphere of duty, but rather to cast himself upon Divine Providence, trusting to have all his wants supplied. And in doing this he was not disappointed.

His religious views at this time underwent a further change. "He had hitherto" (says his son) "been a zealous Arminian, hostile to the principles of Calvinism, which he thought equally repugnant to reason and to Scripture; but the experience he now had of the conception of his nature, of the frailty and weakness of man, of the insufficiency of his best endeavours, led him gradually to ascribe more to the grace of God, and less to the power and free-will of man." "This change of sentiment," it is added, "gave a tincture to his preaching; leading him to exalt, in higher strains, the grace and love of God in Christ Jesus, and to speak less of the power and excellence of man. But his Calvinism stopped here." To quote his own words, "Though the doctrines of grace are clear to me, I am still no friend to high Calvinism. A false, libertine Calvinism stops up every avenue; sin, the law, holiness, experience, are all nothing. Predestination cancels the necessity of any change, and dispenses at once with all duty."

Mr. Venn speaks of having 1,400 families under his care when he went to Huddersfield. This, at the average of five souls to each family, gives a population of 7,000. Yet we do not remember to

have found in any of his letters the expression of any idea to the effect that this was too large a charge for one priest. Still we must not be hard upon him on that account ; the duties of a parish priest were not recognised in his time to the same extent to which they are recognised now.

“ As soon as Mr. Venn began to preach at Huddersfield, the church became crowded to such an extent that many were not able to procure admission.” “ My audience this afternoon,” he writes, April 15, 1779, “ could not be less than upwards of 3,000.” It was, however, probably as an author no less than as a preacher that he attained his eminence in the English religious world. While at Clapham he had commenced *The Complete Duty of Man*, and in 1763 he published it. This work, intended to counteract the teaching of *The Whole Duty of Man*, was described by its author as “ a system of doctrinal and practical Christianity.” And in it appear the excellencies and some of the defects of Mr. Venn’s views. Thus in the second chapter the foundation of all real religion is declared to be, not (as we should have deemed) a conviction of the being of God, and of the duty incumbent upon us His creatures of worshipping and obeying Him, but a clear, strong, and abiding conviction of the excellence of the soul. Elsewhere, faith in Christ is thus described : Under the heart-felt conviction of a proud, rebellious spirit against the Most High God, and of the guilt consequent thereupon, and in abhorrence of the same, it is a dependence upon Christ’s Blood as the propitiation which God Himself hath set forth for

our sin;* and also a dependence upon Him as given by God to purify men for Himself.† These statements, it will be seen, are not guarded against the error of those whose dependence on Christ is merely intellectual and emotional, and does not lead them to seek Him in His sacraments and other ordinances. The foundation of our dependence on Christ for pardon is described as being certain properties or attributes in the Lord; but nothing is said about our having been put into Him through baptism. The foundation of our dependence on Him for victory over sin is described as being merely the truth that in the time of His mortal flesh He healed diseases and raised the dead, and is able to save men now: but not a syllable is breathed about our having His resurrection-life infused into us at our baptism. The practical chapters are very good as far as they go; but the acceptance of the book by the religious public as being “*a system of doctrinal and practical Christianity*” must have done a large amount of harm, through leading to the disparagement of those parts of the Christian system (as that system is held by the Church of England) on which Mr. Venn in this work is almost entirely silent—we mean especially the Sacraments.

In 1771, Mr. Venn's health having begun to decline, he left Huddersfield, and went to Yelling, near Huntingdon, having been presented to that living by Lord Chief Baron Smythe. In coming there, Mr. Venn entered upon a sphere of influence

* Chap. x.

† *Id.*

which, if it was contracted in some respects, was enlarged in others beyond what his sphere had been. Yelling is about twelve miles from Cambridge, and this proximity led to his acquaintance with numerous members of the University, and, among others, with the Rev. Charles Simeon, when the latter was commencing his clerical life. Towards the forming of the characters of these it cannot be doubted but Mr. Venn's influence contributed; and to this influence, therefore, under Divine grace, must be ascribed whatever these men did in the cause of practical Christianity. Mr. Venn continued to officiate at Yelling for about twenty years. His decease took place, June 24th, 1797, at Clapham, whither he had removed about six months previously, and of which parish his son was rector.

To what remarks we made just now, bearing upon Mr. Venn's religious system, we may now add a few more. Mr. Venn took, indeed, Mr. Law's system of ethics, but he enforced it, first in his own case and then in the case of those to whom he preached, by means more powerful than those adduced by Mr. Law. These means were, certain subjective impressions produced by certain particular considerations. These considerations were mainly two: That every individual is naturally in a state of perdition, and that every individual who believes in Christ is taken out of a state of perdition and put into a state of salvation. These considerations were, in the Low-Church system, connected with others—such as Christ's Death on the Cross; His twofold nature, that is,

Godhead and Manhood united ; Predestination and Election ; the truth that salvation is preceded by sanctification : and the allowing greater or less prominence to one or another of these considerations gave rise to those differences of opinion whereof the Low-Church party has ever had some amount : some Low-Churchmen teaching that the Lord died, in some sense or other, for *all* : some dwelling more on those secret counsels of God from whence result the predestination and election of individuals : some seeking to beget subjective religious impressions by forcible oratorical appeals, and so to effect personal holiness and righteousness indirectly, others enforcing the necessity of these by a teaching which was distinctly practical. With all this the sacramental system, and indeed the system of the Church of England in general, was quite inconsistent. But of the inconsistency Mr. Venn was totally unaware.

During the whole course of Mr. Venn's clerical life, his general practice exemplified those religious principles which he had embraced in his heart. His evident earnestness, both in the prayer-desk and in the pulpit, was on one occasion the means of impressing one Socinian and converting another. He describes a day at Yelling in these terms :—‘ I am up, one of the first in the house, soon after five o'clock, and when prayer and reading the blessed Word is done, my daughters make their appearance, and I teach them till Mrs. Venn comes down, at half-past eight. Then family prayer begins, which is often very sweet, as my mother's maid, and my own servants, are all, I believe, born

of God. The children begin to sing prettily, and our praises, I trust, are heard on High. From breakfast, we are all employed, till we ride out, in fine weather, two hours for health; and after dinner employed again. At six, I have always one hour for solemn meditation and *walking* in my house, till seven. We have then, sometimes, twenty, sometimes more or less, of the people, to whom I expound the Word of the Blessed God: Our devotions end at eight; we sup and go to rest at ten. On Sundays I am still enabled to speak six hours, at three different times." "On one occasion," we are told, "when he overheard a violent quarrel, in the kitchen, between Ruth and one of the other servants, he was as much shocked and distressed as if some great loss had befallen him. After speaking to the servants, in the most serious manner, on their sinful conduct, he told them, that family prayers, while such tempers were allowed, would be a mockery; and that they must all humble themselves before God in private, before he could allow them to meet together for social worship. Accordingly, family-prayers were discontinued for a week, during which time Mr. V.'s deportment bespoke the deepest concern and humiliation; and during two days of that week he remained in his study alone, engaged in fasting and prayer."* Whether this was exactly the best course to follow we will not pretend to judge; we cite it as an evidence of the reality of Mr. Venn's religion. His entire disin-

* *History of Ruth Clark*, cited in *Venn's Life*, p. 199.

terestedness is shown in a letter, thus: "I understand, by my wife, your most kind and generous intention towards us in your will. The legacy would be exceedingly acceptable; and I can assure you the person from whom it would come would greatly enhance the benefit But an *insurmountable* bar stands in the way, *the love of Him* to whom we are both indebted, not for a transient benefit, for silver or gold, but for an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven for us To be, therefore, a stumbling-block in the way of any that are seeking after Him—to give the least countenance to any that would be glad to bring his followers into contempt, and to call in question their sincere and disinterested attachment to him—would grieve me whilst in health, darken my mind in sickness, and load me with self-condemnation upon my bed of death. How it would also render all my exhortations feeble, and make them accounted only pulpit declamations if, when I was pressing that solemn truth upon my people, 'Love not the world, neither the things in the world,' they could say, 'Our minister, however, was careful to secure the favour of his rich proselyte, and at length to gain sufficiently by her!' After the most mature deliberation, therefore, it is our request, which we cannot permit you to refuse us, that you will not leave us any other token of your regard than something of little value more than it derives from the giver."*

* Life, pp. 110, 111.

The exemplary character, however, of Mr. Venn's practice could not make up, practically, for the defects of his theological system. And those defects were great. He does indeed write to a friend that he is one of God's people by baptism;* and he recognised the Incarnation (God manifest in the flesh) as "the centre of all the truths;" but he little thought what all this involves. "The means of Grace," according to him, were "Secret Prayer—Study of the Bible—Public Worship—Hearing faithful preachers—Christian society, and much Retirement:" not only Baptism, but Confirmation, Holy Communion, Absolution and priestly Benediction, being now entirely ignored. The child of Christian parents is, in his view, "incapable of being treated as spiritual;" our Lord's words "these little ones which believe in Me" being apparently forgotten. His grandson speaks of him as having been "ever the most firm and efficient friend" (!) of the Church of England. He conformed to the Liturgy (as conformity was understood in his time) outwardly, and to the Offices of Morning and Evening Prayer, and Holy Communion (as far as his conformity went) with joy; he strove (and successfully) to get his people to sing and respond; but no idea of the Church's *authority in religion* seems to have crossed his mind; the only authority to which he seems to have conceived that young converts should defer was the opinion of "old disciples and their own teachers, who have had so much more experience."† Thus

* Life, p. 183.

† *Ib.* p. 552.

it is not surprising that when he left Huddersfield, and a vicar of different views succeeded, “the people were all squandered (= dispersed) away from the church,”* and a meeting-house was built at Highfield, in which the Prayer Book was not used. Mr. Venn gave his sanction and assistance to the building of this schism-house, and advised the people to attend it. When, however, Mr. Venn’s successor was succeeded in his turn, and after no long time, by a vicar of Mr. Venn’s views, comparatively few returned to the parish church.†

In teaching these views Mr. Venn stood alone, or as good as alone, for many years. We do not know why he is called by Sir James Stephen the *last* of the Anglican Church’s four great “Evangelical” fathers. He died June 24th, 1797; while of the other three mentioned in this connection by Sir James, Joseph Milner died November 15th, 1797; John Newton, December 21st, 1807, and Thomas Scott, April 23rd, 1821. Venn was vicar of Huddersfield in 1759 *five* years before John Newton was ordained, *thirteen* before Thomas Robinson was ordained, *seventeen* before Richard Cecil was ordained, and *seventeen* before Thomas Scott accepted evangelical views. With no branches of Methodists had he ever any connection

* Life, p. 42.

† *Ib.*, pp. 162-3. Mr. Herford stated, at a discussion in the Macclesfield Ruridecanal Conference on the subject of Home Reunion, that Mr. Venn recommended to the people the Rev. W. Moorhouse, a dissenting preacher, and who continued so for fifty years.—*Church Times*, October 27th, 1882.

at all: so that he may be truly designated as having been, under God, the father of the Low-Church movement in the Church of England.

CHAPTER X.

The Pious Period. John Newton. William Cowper.

WE designate by the above title the period extending from the ordination of John Newton in 1764 till the formation of the "Church Missionary Society" in 1798, not for the purpose of implying that piety was not a characteristic of any other period in the history of the Low-Church party, but merely because piety in general was the chief characteristic of the period in question; piety in the midst of ungodliness and carelessness.

As we have observed before, the first motto of the party might have been "Heart-religion rather than form-religion." How this was exemplified in Mr. Venn the elder, we have already seen. We will now, in accordance with our proposed plan, give biographical notices of the other early leaders of the party, which will amply suffice to justify us in designating that period of time in which most of them lived as the *Pious* period. In speaking of the several individuals who will successively pass under our notice, we shall specify the chief events in their lives which have a bearing upon our present subject, and the sources to which, under God, they owed the reviving of their spiritual life; and shall give our readers data for forming opinions as to the influence exercised by the

several individuals of whom we speak, upon the Church of England.

The first name which claims our attention is that of JOHN NEWTON.

John Newton was born July 24th, 1725. His father, says he, was a man of remarkably good sense and great knowledge of the world; and took great care of his son's morals, though he could not supply to him the place of a mother, Mrs. Newton having died before young Newton was seven years of age. She was a Nonconformist of piety and religious experience.

By reading Lord Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* when not seventeen years old, he was prepared for that career of ungodliness and vice on which he soon entered. But about the same time a bridle was provided, in the form of an attachment which became with young Newton an overruling passion, and was the means, eventually, of working his escape from ruin both of body and of soul; and, at the time, of altering his course of life entirely from what had been planned; so that instead of going to Jamaica, to spend four or five years under a merchant of Liverpool, an intimate friend of his father's, he sailed with (as would seem) another of his father's friends to Venice, returned, and was (owing to imprudence on his part) pressed on board a man of war, the *Harwich*. Here, through bad companionship, he became an avowed infidel; and his conduct was answerable to his unbelief. He tells us himself that at this time his love to Mary Catlett was the only restraint from evil which he had remaining. At Madeira he was

exchanged into a ship bound for the West Coast of Africa; rejoicing that he could then be as abandoned as he pleased, without any control. In about six months he got his discharge, on condition of entering the service of a white settler; and in the hope that he might make his fortune in the same way in which white settlers of that class made theirs, viz., by purchasing slaves and other merchandise, and selling them again to the captains of ships. Thus he lived, until in about fifteen months from his landing in Africa he was fetched home in a vessel belonging to a friend of his father's.

While cruising in this vessel, and still in a state of spiritual hardness, he fell in with Stanhope's translation of St. Thomas à Kempis; and while he was reading it carelessly for the purpose of whiling away the time, the thought came of its own accord (so to say) into his mind, What if these things should be true? The next night he was awoke from a sound sleep by the breaking of a violent sea on board; the ship, being very much out of repair, was in great danger; his serious and anxious thoughts were rekindled; and when the ship was at last freed from water, hope revived, and he began to pray. After great dangers and privations, he landed in Ireland. At this time he had no friend to whom he could unburden his mind, or of whom he could ask advice on religious matters; and as to books, he had only a New Testament, Stanhope's translation of St. Thomas à Kempis, and a volume of Bishop Beveridge's Sermons. He was, however, no longer an infidel: he was

sorry for his past life, and purposed an immediate reformation ; and in particular, he gave up the habit of swearing, in which he had previously been so confirmed as to be an inventor of new oaths. He attended the church-service twice daily, and received the Holy Communion on the first opportunity ; engaging himself, as he tells us, to be the Lord's for ever, and only His. And "upon the whole" (he adds), "though my views of the Gospel salvation were very indistinct, I experienced a peace and satisfaction in the ordinance that day to which I had been hitherto a perfect stranger."*

He made another voyage, and "*to purchase slaves*:" so little had his newly-acquired religious principles, although unquestionably real, done towards loosening his conscience from the bonds of an unchristian public opinion then unquestioned. At Charlestown, in North Carolina, he had two or three opportunities of hearing a Dissenting preacher named Smith, whom he afterwards believed "to have been an excellent and powerful preacher of the Gospel," but did not then rightly understand. On February 1st, 1750, he married the object of his affections ; and in the following August made again another slave-trading voyage ; and that time as commander of the ship, in which he "established public worship, according to the Liturgy, twice every Lord's day," officiating himself in his crew of thirty persons. In the interval between this and his next voyage he became

* *Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton*, edited by the Rev. E. Bickersteth, p. 72.

acquainted (as he tells us) with books which gave him a farther view of Christian doctrine and experience, particularly Scougal's *Life of God in the Soul of Man*, Hervey's *Meditations*, and the *Life of Colonel Gardiner*.

Writing to Mrs. Newton in the course of one voyage, he says: "I now mean to give you some account how I pass a sea-Sunday, when I am favoured with a tolerable frame of mind, and am enabled, by the grace of God, to obtain some degree of mastery over the incumbrances of the flesh and the world, which, in my best hours, are too prevalent with me.

"My evening devotions, when opportunity permits, commence about six o'clock the week and month round, and I am sometimes engaged a full hour, or more, in prayer and praise, without any remarkable weariness or repetition. You furnish me with much subject for both. On a Saturday evening, in particular, I beg a blessing upon your Sunday, upon your public worship and retirement. And as I know that where you are, you are unavoidably exposed to trifling company, to whom all days are alike, I pray that you may be shielded from their evil influence. I have likewise to pray for others, for our friends, for many of them by name, and according to the knowledge that I have of their circumstances; and I extend my petitions to the general state of the world, that they who are strangers to that Gospel in which I have found so much peace, may be brought to the knowledge of it, and that they who neglect and despise it, as I once did, may, like me, obtain mercy. When these

and other points are gone over, and my praises offered for our temporal and spiritual blessings, and likewise my repeated confessions of the sins of my childhood, youth, and advanced years, as they occur to my remembrance, you will not wonder that an hour is elapsed. The remainder of the evening I pass in ruminating on the mercies of the preceding week, the subject of my reading, or whatever I can gain useful self-conference from.

"I usually rise at four on a Sunday morning. My first employ is to beg a blessing upon the day for us both; for all who, like you, are preparing to wait upon God in public, and for all who, like myself, are for a time excluded from that privilege. To this succeeds a serious walk upon deck. Then I read two or three select chapters. At breakfast I eat and drink more than I talk, for I have no one here to join in such conversation as I should then choose. At the hour of your going to church, I attend you in my mind with another prayer; and at eleven o'clock the ship's bell rings my own little congregation about me. To them I read the morning service, according to the Liturgy. Then I walk the deck, and attend my observation, as we call it, that is, to know by the sun (if it shines) at noon the latitude the ship is in. Then comes dinner. In the afternoon I frequently take a nap for half an hour; if not, I read or write in a book I keep for that purpose. I wait upon you again to church in the afternoon, and convene my ship's company, as in the morning. At four o'clock I drink tea, which recruits my spirits for the evening. Then another Scripture lesson, and a walk,

brings six o'clock, which, as I have told you, is my hour for stated prayer. I remember you then again, in the most particular manner, and in trust that you are still preserved in safety for me, I endeavour to praise the Lord for His goodness so long vouchsafed to us."

Newton was about to make another voyage, but was taken with a fit, probably apoplectic; owing to which he resigned the command of the vessel, and never went to sea again. This was in 1754. The greater part of the next year was spent in London and Kent. In London he made the acquaintance of Mr. Brewer, of Stepney (apparently an Independent preacher), through a Captain Clunie, a member of Mr. Brewer's congregation, and who had already given Mr. Newton "a general view of the state of religion, with the errors and controversies of the times." Soon after, upon Mr. Whitfield's return from America, he was introduced to him, and found his ministry exceedingly useful, according to his own account.

In August the same year he received the appointment of tide-waiter at Liverpool. Writing with reference to a period a few years later, he says, "I have conversed at large among all parties without joining any:"* and speaks of having acquired some knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac; and of having kept up a course of divinity reading, in the best authors that came to his hand, in English, Latin, and French, though who these authors were he does not tell us. About the same

* Memoir, p. 117.

time his mind was turned to the subject of the Christian ministry with reference to himself. He says, "My first thought was to join the dissenters, from a presumption that I could not honestly make the required subscriptions; but Mr. C—, in a conversation upon these points, moderated my scruples: and preferring the Established Church in some other respects, I accepted a title from him, some months afterwards, and solicited ordination from the late Archbishop of York: I need not tell you I met a refusal. . . ." * He attempted on two occasions to preach in Dissenters' meeting-houses. The first time he broke down in about ten minutes from commencing; all ideas having forsaken his mind. The second time he had written his sermon in full, but (apparently from nervousness) could not take his eyes off his MS., but read it through like a boy saying a lesson. Doubts however occurred to him "touching the Independent scheme"; and, Lord Dartmouth (the patron of Olney) using his influence in Mr. Newton's favour, he was ordained deacon, April 29th, 1764, to the curacy of Olney, by the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Green) at Buckden: and was advanced to the priesthood by the same prelate, June 17th, in the same year. The Vicar of Olney, the Rev. Moses Brown, was non-resident. The stipend of the curacy was £60 a year.

We transcribe here another passage, taken from

* Memoir, p. 120. The archbishop here mentioned must have been either Archbishop Gilbert, who entered upon the see in 1757, or his successor, the Hon. R. Hay Drummond, who succeeded him in 1761, and occupied the see till 1777.

a letter of Mr. Newton's, which was written while he was at Olney, and characteristic of the times : "I think the congregations have been as large within this month past as they were any time last summer, though the weather is cold, and the roads indifferent : there is a probability that, when the spring advances, more will come than we shall be able to seat. This put me upon planning a large gallery, to be erected the whole length of the north side of the church, from the door to the chancel. I communicated my wish to Lord Dartmouth, who was pleased to approve it, and to promise his assistance. A plan has been made—and the estimate is eighty-five pounds—to have four rows of handsome pews, and an open seat behind. As I intend to have the best front seat for the accommodation of my friends, and as I think it well to set a good example to the parish, that they may be stirred up to give freely, I have myself promised to subscribe five guineas." *

And to show the spirit in which he carried on his ministry—"I hope the Lord will lead and guide you to what is best. I only say, 'If you can believe you shall be established.'

"However, I should tell you, that long after He had given me some liberty of speech, at Olney, in the midst of my own people, and before a full congregation, my mouth was stopped again. That is, my mind was so confused that I only talked nonsense ; and I thought it my duty to tell the people I could not preach, because the Lord sus-

* Memoir, p. 141.

pended His assistance. I therefore stopped and told them so. When I had made this acknowledgment, I had liberty again, only I could not resume the subject I had been upon. But I spoke freely on what had happened, and perhaps it was one of our best opportunities. It was so to me. My pride was kept down, my mind perfectly composed, and I went home as easy as if the whole parish had admired my sermon.”*

Mr. Newton laboured at Olney for fifteen years ; and apparently without effecting much reform in the general morality of the place. In 1779 he was inducted to the rectory of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, on the presentation of John Thornton, Esq., who had bought the living expressly for the purpose of getting Mr. Newton into it.† In an address to his new parishioners, Mr. Newton speaks of having thought it his duty to take several steps which must have appeared to some of them, says he, “unnecessary and troublesome innovations.” What these were, however, does not appear.

Here may be transcribed Mr. Newton’s account of the state of Anglican religion as it was then in London, from his point of view. “There are in the establishment . . . but two gospel ministers who have churches of their own—Mr. Romaine and myself. I believe you need not my information concerning his abilities and success. He is an eminent preacher, and has crowded auditories. But we have about ten clergymen, who, either as

* Memoir, p. 143.

† *Christian Observer* for 1865, p. 333.

morning preachers or lecturers, preach either on the Lord's day, or at different times of the week, in perhaps fifteen or sixteen churches. The Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel are very large; they are in the hands of Mr. Whitfield's trustees, and the Gospel is dispensed in them to many thousands of people, by a diversity of ministers, clergy, dissenters, or lay-preachers, who are, in general, lively, faithful, and acceptable men. There is likewise the Lock, and another chapel in Westminster; the former served chiefly by Mr. De Coetlogon, the latter by Mr. Peckwell—both well attended; as is likewise Lady Huntingdon's chapel, which will hold about two thousand, and is supplied by able ministers. There is also another, not so large, in the same connexion. Mr. Wesley has one large chapel, and several smaller; and though they are Arminians, as we say, there are many excellent Christians, and some good preachers, among them. There are likewise several preachers whom I may call Independent Methodists, of the Methodist stock, and something in the dissenting form, but who stand singly, not being connected with any of the dissenting boards. I should suppose that the churches, chapels, &c., which are open on the Lord's day, for those whom the world calls Methodists, as distinct from dissenters, will contain thirty thousand people, and in general they are all crowded." *

Being himself "of the most friendly and communicative disposition, his house was open to

* Memoir, pp. 190-1.

Christians of all ranks and denominations. Here like a father among his children, he used to entertain, encourage, and instruct his friends; especially younger ministers, or candidates for the ministry. Here also the poor, the afflicted, and the tempted found an asylum and a sympathy which they could scarcely find, in an equal degree, anywhere besides." We do not find, indeed, that his own views of the nature of the Christian ministry extended much further than the regarding of it as an institution for preaching. In this part of his duty, however, he was very diligent; occupying the pulpit twice on Sunday and once in the week. And when, in his eighty-first year, it was suggested to him by Mr. Cecil, whether his increased infirmities were not a reason why he should stop preaching: "I cannot stop," said he, raising his voice. "What! shall the old African blasphemer stop while he can speak?"

As to his relations with Dissenters, we are told that "he considered the strong prejudices which often alienate Churchmen and Dissenters as arising more from education than from principle. But being himself both a clergyman and an incumbent in the Church of England, he wished to be consistent. In public, therefore, he felt he could not act with some ministers, whom he thought truly good men, and to whom he cordially wished success in their endeavours."* If this account is strictly accurate, it seems impossible to avoid ascribing Mr. Newton's conduct to a mere regard

* Memoir, p. 323.

for appearances. If he had cordially accepted the principles of the Church of England, then, though he might forbear to judge or forbid his dissenting brethren, yet he could not cordially wish them success : if, on the other hand, he believed that Dissenters were doing God's work in a way which God's Word allowed, he ought not to have shrunk from joining them in public, even though at the cost of his own credit for Churchmanship. We would not indeed judge the man, more especially on such a general count as that conveyed in the above sentence from his biography ; inconsistency is one of the commonest vices of fallen human nature in general. But we cannot avoid noticing the trait of character just remarked as indicating in Newton a certain amount of opposition between Low-Church principles and the principles of a thorough-going Churchman.

He faded gradually away, and finally departed, December 21st, 1807 ; and was buried in a vault under the church of which he had been rector.

Newton's influence, save in the circle of his personal friends, and those who came to him for special pastoral ministrations, was more that of a writer than that of a preacher. His own spiritual experiences admirably fitted him to guide those who had any share of the like experiences ; saving, of course, as far as his guidance might fail through unsoundness in his theology. His *Cardiphonia* deals with subjective feelings and emotions, and the value of the volume of letters so entitled consists, as it has consisted from the first, in the descriptions therein of such feelings and emotions which pious

Calvinists have, and in which they share more or less with pious Christians of every denomination and party. It is the like cause which has endeared to many that large part of the *Olney Hymns* which is from the pen of Newton, in spite of the prosiness of Newton's rhyming compositions in general, and the utter *bathos* of some, which occasionally becomes even ridiculous.

And now that we mention the *Olney Hymns*, we call to mind that "the most popular poet of his generation" (as COWPER was styled by Southey) must certainly have his name enrolled among the names of Low-Church leaders, inasmuch as he must have contributed, in no small degree, by his poems, to popularising the Low-Church movement among the educated classes. WILLIAM COWPER, born November 15th (old style), 1731, at Great Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, of which parish his father was rector, began, in 1776, his *Progress of Error*; which, with *Error, Hope, Charity, Conversation, Retirement*, and some smaller pieces, were published in one volume in 1782. In 1785 he published *The Task* and *Tirocinium*. In 1791 his translation of Homer came out. But it is to the original poems above-named, and to the small quota contributed by Cowper in or before 1776 to the *Olney Hymn-book*, that we go for a view of Cowper's sentiments in religion. Those poems and hymns were written in the interval between two attacks of a melancholy religious mania. The first of these attacks occurred in 1752; in consequence of it Cowper was placed under the medical care of Dr. Cotton, of St. Albans;

and then it was that he "first obtained a clear view of those sublime and animating doctrines which so distinguished and exalted his future strains." *

This acquaintance with the Gospel-system as understood by Low-Church people commenced in 1763. We may surmise that it was connected, directly or indirectly, with the preaching of George Whitfield, whom Cowper celebrates under the name *Leuconomus*. But however that may be, it was helped forward by the poet's intercourse with Newton, which began in 1767, and for the sake of which Cowper removed to Olney, Newton being then curate in charge of that parish. From the second attack of his malady, which occurred in 1773, he was only relieved, April 25th, 1800, by death.

Cowper's influence upon the Low-Church movement cannot have been in anywise inconsiderable. Between sixty and seventy of the Olney Hymns were written by him; in fact Newton would not have written as many for that collection as he did, had not Cowper's powers of mind failed him after he had commenced his part of the work. Nor was hymn-writing the only way in which Cowper benefited his party. The doctrines which he believed, and in which his afflicted mind had found some relief from its depression, he set forth, and satirised the opponents of them in poems which, though not of the highest order, have nevertheless a deservedly great reputation. The reader, how-

* Memoir of the Rev. John Newton, p. 157.

ever, will not find in any of Cowper's poems, so far as our memory serves us, any of those heresies which the Low-Church party held. Cowper was, it is true, a Calvinist, and some expressions in his poems may be interpreted in a Calvinistic sense; but we cannot recall any to which we cannot conceive of St. Paul as assenting; unless it be those which assume the Christian Sabbath to be Sunday, and those which speak of Christians as entering heavenly glory at death. The unwholesomeness of his subjectivity also comes up in the lines commencing :

"Sometimes a light surprises
The Christian while he sings;
It is the Lord who rises
With healing in His wings." *

It did not occur to Cowper that what he was describing was a realisation, purely subjective, of the Lord as risen already some eighteen hundred years ago for all mankind.

CHAPTER XI.

Pious Period continued. Samuel Walker of Truro.

ONE of those who probably prepared the way in their own neighbourhood in no small degree for the spread of Low-Church religion was the Rev. Samuel Walker. He was born at Exeter, December 16th, 1714. His father was Robert Walker, Esq.; his mother, Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Richard

* *Olney Hymns*, Book iii. Hymn 48.

Hall, Rector of St. Edmund and All Hallows in the aforesaid city. At eighteen years of age he went to Exeter College, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree in 1737 ; in which year also he was ordained deacon, to the curacy of Dodescombe Leigh, near Exeter. In 1740 he took the vicarage of Lanivery, in Cornwall, to hold until a nephew of the patron came of age ; this took place in the summer of 1746, and Mr. Walker then undertook the curacy of Truro. Of his incumbent he afterwards wrote : “ Whose natural defects and blameable timidity are such, that he has never done the least thing since I have been here ; ” * and again in another place : “ The most timid creature in the world, with whom I can only live on civil terms. He was vastly fearful he might incur some general reproach by having any hand in procuring me an assistant, as it is a main object with him that the world may know he does not patronise my proceedings. However, if it might be done so that he should be no otherwise concerned in it than to give his consent, he would make no objection.” † It may be well also to note the terms on which he had undertaken the curacy. “ Before I came hither,” he writes in the summer of 1759, “ it was agreed between Mr. — and me that I should serve the cure, and have one-half of the income for my maintenance. No sooner was I come hither, and saw the circumstances of the living, than I found our agreement would not go down with the people ; and as the income rises in a manner altogether from voluntary

* Sidney's *Life of the Rev. S. Walker*, p. 310. † *Ib.* p. 23.

donations, must be to our mutual detriment. I therefore proposed paying my principal a certain sum, instead of his half. This was consented to, but with reservation of liberty to return to the original agreement when he might see fit. This reserved right was insisted on at Christmas last ; by which means my income is not only considerably lessened, but rendered quite precarious." The incumbent, it appears, wished to make money out of the popularity of his curate.

Of this period of Mr. Walker's life his biographer writes thus: "He had been 'at least a year' in his curacy at Truro before he fell under 'any suspicion or uneasiness' about himself or his manner of preaching. The first impression that he was in error arose from reflection on a conversation between himself and a few of his parishioners, on the subject of *justifying and saving faith*, to which he was judiciously led by a pious and able individual. This was Mr. Conon, master of the grammar-school at Truro, who, he said, was 'verily the first person he had ever met with truly possessed of the mind of Christ, and by whose means he became sensible that all was wrong within and without.' It was a singular incident which led to this good man's intimacy with his minister. Mr. Walker received a letter containing a sum of money, which the writer requested him to pay at the custom-house, as justly due to the revenue, for duty on some French wines he had used for his health. He had been unsuccessful in his attempts, in that age of smuggling on the coast, to obtain any on which custom had been paid, but

the virtuous conscience of the spiritual Christian remembered his Master's divine command. The letter contained an apology for troubling Mr. Walker, but stated that his high character would prevent all suspicion of a want of straightforward honesty in the transaction. Curious to know whether the same happy conscientiousness was manifest in all his doings, Mr. Walker sought his acquaintance, and the result was a respect approaching to veneration for one who exhibited, in his daily habits, all the true influence of religion on a Christian's heart and actions. The attractions of his conversation and the purity of his life at length ripened intercourse into intimacy, and the result was the conversion of the minister, through the wise and prudent instrumentality of his pious friend." * His conversion, that is, from mere "historical notions" (as he calls them) of the leading doctrines of the Gospel, to the feeling and knowing those doctrines practically: "The corruption of man's nature, his misery and helplessness, the satisfaction and sufficiency of Christ, the necessity of a renewed mind, the need of the work of the Spirit."

Hitherto, he acknowledges, his heart had been in the world, and a desire of applause had been in a great measure his motive. Now, however, he preached the necessity of "repentance, faith, and the new birth," and against worldliness and formality; and in consequence he became the subject of vehement opposition, and was even insulted in

* *Life*, pp. 8, 9.

the pulpit. But at the same time his preaching was attended by large crowds; "so that it was remarked, 'you might fire a cannon down every street in Truro in church-time, without the chance of killing a single human being.'"* And at last the play-house and the cock-pit were forsaken and given up to other purposes, and similar reforms extended to places in the neighbourhood through his instrumentality.† And so many came to inquire of him privately on matters of religion that he was obliged, for the purpose of seeing them, to rent two extra rooms.‡

Soon after his arrival at Truro he was presented to the vicarage of Talland. Although, however, the Bishop had given him leave of absence, yet, being unable to fulfil the duties of his vicarage in person, he resigned the preferment; and this, when by so doing he brought himself into a state of comparative poverty. He had several other offers of preferment, but declined them all, believing that God had called him to labour at Truro. In the same spirit of disinterestedness he abstained from a marriage which he might probably have contracted, and which seemed on most grounds highly desirable; the consideration which moved him in this matter being, "What would the world say of me? Would they not imagine that the hope of obtaining such a prize influenced my profession of religion?"

"His holiness of life," says his biographer, "was the fruit of constant and deeply-spiritual communion with God. He was emphatically a man of

* Life, p. 17.

† *Ib.* p. 18.‡ *Ib.* p. 19.

prayer, and reaped the rich fruits of that prevailing exercise. He once mentioned to a friend who pressed the question earnestly, that he was sometimes favoured in prayer with such rapturous views of the excellency of divine things, that he almost enjoyed a foretaste of heaven. He added, however, with singular wisdom, 'I never mentioned this, for three reasons. *First*, it might have held out to my people a false standard of religion, causing them to substitute feeling for holiness; *secondly*, it might have discouraged some pious and humble persons, who from various causes are destitute of such enjoyments; and *thirdly*, it might have encouraged those presumptuous enthusiasts, whose arrogant pretensions I am always aiming to expose.' *"

In 1754 Mr. Walker formed the persons awakened under his ministry, and who were willing to be so formed, into two societies; one entirely of single men, the other of married couples and unmarried women. The objects of these societies were, the glorifying of God, the quickening and confirming the members in faith and holiness, and the making them useful to their neighbours. With these views Mr. Walker gave them advice and rules; among which last was this: "That . . . no person be admitted a member of this society, or allowed to continue such, who is a member of any other religious meeting, or follows any other preaching than that of the established ministry in this town.

* Life, pp. 54, 55.

That none be admitted members but such as are inhabitants here and communicants, and that no person at any time be introduced but at the request of the director,"* *i.e.*, of Mr. Walker himself.

The societies met weekly for devotion according to an office drawn up by Mr. Walker, and the reading of some instructive treatise; which reading was followed by an exhortation to humility, heard by all present standing. There were also other meetings, of not less than five nor more than eight; married with married, men with men, and women with women. This was for correction of faults, warning of dangers, relieving despondency, and stimulating to Christian progress. And at these meetings each member filled, in turn, the office of *inquirer* for the day, and had to elicit from the rest accounts of their experience and conduct. The rest of the time was filled up with religious conversation, and concluded with prayer by the "inquirer." At these lesser meetings the director was never present. He gave, however, written advice for the conduct of them; and by all these means he sought to keep his people "in the generality clear from the peculiarities of Methodism." †

Mr. Walker was regular in observing the days and seasons held sacred by the Church. Special courses of sermons were preached in Christmastide, Lent, Eastertide, and Whitsuntide. He also gave a course of lectures on the Daily and Occasional

* Life, pp. 63, 64.

† *Ib* p. 156.

Offices. He catechised publicly, dividing his catechumens into classes according to their ages, and preparing them for the public exercise by instruction given in a more private manner. But he does not seem to have realised the doctrine of the Presence in the Holy Eucharist, or the offering spiritually made to God in the celebration. He opposed the unscriptural peculiarities of Methodism, and wrote faithful brotherly counsel to John Wesley, with a view to keeping the main body of Wesley's disciples in the communion of the Church of England. But his theological system was Protestant rather than Catholic: and to this probably was owing, in part at least, the friendship which subsisted between him and some excellent Dissenters—Mr. Darracott, for instance, the Independent minister at Wellington. We must carefully avoid the mistake of judging such things after the same manner in which we should judge of the like happening in our own times: at a time when true religion of any kind is peculiarly small in amount, those who practise it will necessarily be more attracted to one another, and causes of separation will be less powerfully felt, than when it is more generally prevalent. But though we do not condemn the men, we yet consider the closeness of their friendship as indicating a similarity in their theology.

The unsatisfactoriness of this theology is evident from what is told us by Mr. Walker's biographer. One letter of Mr. Walker's to the Rev. Thomas Adam, dated October 11th, 1759, has in it this passage: "That I am a sinner, I certainly know;

that there is no hope for me but in the Redeemer, I am perfectly satisfied; but I want to have the grounds of His salvation as they lie in the Scriptures made plain to me, and its great truths confirmed more abundantly in my heart. When I stagger, it is because I am not sufficiently steadfast in my belief that these things are so, and experience shows me that as belief of their reality is established on my mind, I am set proportionably above fear and above the world." * No one, we think, could write thus who realised the truth of that standing in Christ to which he was admitted *in his Baptism*, and the nature of that Baptism which was the means of his admission. Mr. Walker, like his Low-Church brethren generally, was like a man who has climbed to a right position by means of a defective scaffolding, and whose security on that position depends partially upon that same defective scaffolding. The like must have been the case with Mr. Talbot, of Kington. Mr. Walker speaks of him as being only imperfectly delivered from the sense of sin.†

The principal trait in Mr. Walker's personal religion appears to have been self-scrutiny. If Methodism means the practice of systematically analysing and testing the motions, actions, and experiences of one's own mind and spirit, with a view to making those motions, actions, and experiences as far as possible what they ought to be, then was Mr. Walker a Methodist in the true sense of the word, though he never joined any society

* Sidney's Life of Walker, p. 486.

† *Ib.* p. 487.

which owned Wesley or Whitfield as its founder. In one of his last letters he writes thus: "I could say something to you also concerning the growing health of my soul, as I trust. Indeed I can say, with great truth, mercy embraceth me on every side. I have found of late a more happy concurrence of self-abasing and Christ-glorifying views than ever before in my life. Never before could I say such bad things of myself, or good ones of Him. I have been led to justify the Lord in taking me from my people, and in stopping my mouth; yea, even should He never allow me to open it more, and lay me quite aside as a vessel in which He has no pleasure. Views of this kind have, I believe, wrought more resignation in my spirit to God's way with me; but I desire to remember that if He hideth His face I shall be troubled. Yet why should I think He will? He could never see anything in me worthy of His least regard: yet He has never forsaken me from the day that He first caused me to know Him, and in the perilous time. Oh, blessed be God! How did He stand by and save me! All is free grace; even glory is the gift of God through Christ, and if we do not look on it as such, we shall never long after it; and pray remark that, and examine your heart closely upon it, the rather because the hope of glory in you can be your only security against the world." *

Mr. Walker was member of a clerical club, composed, apparently, of men like-minded with

* *Ib.* p. 525.

himself; and here the influence of his piety must have been great. He published, too, sundry sermons and other papers. Beyond his own immediate neighbourhood, however, his light does not seem to have shone, if we put out of sight those few friends at a distance whom he edified by his correspondence and occasional visits. Nor, indeed, could it well have been otherwise, considering that (save for a very short time only) Mr. Walker was nothing more than curate in sole charge of a small country town. He departed to his rest July 19th, 1761, at Blackheath, and was buried in Lewisham churchyard.

CHAPTER XII.

Pious Period continued. Thomas Robinson of Leicester. His *Christian System*.

THE Rev. THOMAS ROBINSON was born August 29th, 1749 (O.S.). He was the son of a respectable hosier of Wakefield in Yorkshire, and was sent to Wakefield Grammar-school, to which the master, the Rev. Mr. Atkinson, considered him a credit. This opinion was so far shared by the governors of the school that they gave him a double exhibition, and he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, as a sizar, in October, 1768. About that time he was much affected by a dream which he had of the Day of Judgment; and the impression, his biographer understood him to say, he never wholly lost. He had great pleasure in dancing and plays, but was withal very exemplary as a student. "On reading

Hervey's *Theron and Aspasio*" (Dr. Jobson says) "at the end of his first year, he was much affected; and began to view the things which concerned his salvation in a clearer light. He was persuaded that it is not by any imperfect works of man's own righteousness, but by God's mercy through Jesus Christ, that he must be saved. He now applied himself to the study of the Scriptures with diligence and prayer: and devoted the whole of the Lord's day to the more immediate worship of God, and to the storing of his capacious mind with divine knowledge. He became, from this period, a decided character, and rarely associated with any collegians but those who entertained sentiments similar to his own." *

We are also told that "he constantly attended the prayers read twice a day in the college chapel, and on Sundays went also twice to the university church; sometimes attending Dr. Ogden's church in preference to the morning sermon at St. Mary's, but more generally in conjunction with it. He was so fortunate as to hear some of the Doctor's excellent Sermons on Prayer, which were afterwards published; and he was much pleased with his peculiarly earnest manner of preaching. I have heard him say that the Doctor was very unequal in his discourses; some were careless and had but little in them. But they could generally depend upon having an excellent sermon once a month, on the Sacrament Sunday . . . His friend Dr. Jobson usually spent the Sunday evening with

* *Some Account of the Rev. Thos. Robinson*, by E. T. Vaughan, p. 15.

him, accompanied by one or two more of his pious friends. Mr. Robinson's garret was their chapel, in which he for the most part led their devotions himself; offering up fervent prayer to God, that He would be pleased to direct and bless them in their studies, and that these might be sanctified to the setting forth of His glory. They reviewed the sermons of the day: a portion of the Greek Testament was read and explained; and when their devotions were finished they indulged for a short time in easy conversation upon serious subjects. To prevent interruptions, the outer door of the little garret was locked."* (*Sported* would be the Cambridge expression now.)

In April, 1771, Thomas Robinson became a scholar of the college; in 1772 he took his B.A. degree as seventh wrangler, and was ordained deacon by Bishop Keene, of Ely, to the curacies of Witcham and Wickford, near Ely. In the same year he was elected fellow of his college; and was pressed by Bishop Hinchliffe, then Master of Trinity, to give up his curacy and reside in college. He preferred, however, the duties of a country clergyman; in which, we are told, "he laboured diligently; preaching twice on the Sunday, and once between the Sundays; visiting the people from house to house, that he might impress upon them the necessity of caring for their souls; and receiving a select company into his house on the Sunday evening, to whom he delivered a sort of enlarged family lecture."† But an opposition

* Life, pp. 20, 21.

† *Ib.* p. 60.

which was raised against him, apparently on the sole ground of his appointing hymns to be sung in church, other than those printed at the end of the metrical Psalms, led to his departure. He soon undertook the curacy of St. Martin's, Leicester.

At Leicester, we are told, "much of eating and drinking, of card-playing and of frivolous dissipation, prevailed amongst the richer people; much of low sensuality amongst the poorer. Religion was a feeble and sickly plant; it consisted for the most part in names and forms, and a sort of pharisaical attendance upon one service on the Sunday. Party-spirit, envy and strife, jealousy and railing, chiefly on the ground of petty divisions in provincial politics, with a high degree of bigotry and intolerance in religion, were found in most circles. What little of vital religion there was, appeared principally amongst the Dissenters; especially those of the Presbyterian and Baptist persuasion. But in this general dearth of evangelical spirit there was a small remnant of Churchmen, persons cordially attached to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, 'who waited for redemption in Israel.' Some of these had formed themselves into a religious society, on the plan detailed and recommended by Dr. Woodward; and, under the sanction of the Rev. Mr. Simmons, the vicar of St. Mary's (who himself also sometimes attended), were accustomed to meet every Tuesday evening at the vestry of St. Mary's Church. The society consisted of about twenty persons; all of the Established Church, and all zealously attached to her prin-

principles. Dr. Woodward's rules and even forms of prayer were their guide; and it was generally a part of the evening's service to make special prayer to God, who, as they believed, has all power in His hands, that He would be pleased to send into His churches, and particularly into this portion of His vineyard, faithful pastors; who might diligently, fervently, and fully preach the gospel of Jesus Christ. This society was founded in the year 1768; had continued nearly six years when Mr. Robinson came to Leicester; and did not cease till one of their number was enabled, through the Divine blessing, to found a weekly lecture in the same church, on the Tuesday evening, appointing Mr. Robinson his first lecturer in the year 1778.*

"Mr. Robinson's public duty consisted" now "of two full services on the Sunday, with prayers morning and afternoon, on the week-days, alternately with another curate, at St. Martin's. Usually he performed the whole service at St. Martin's on the Sunday morning, and in the afternoon at All Saints'. But sometimes his vicar, Mr. Haines, made an exchange with him by sending him to Aylstone, a village about two miles from Leicester, of which he held the curacy."† In the same year, however, that he was appointed to the lectureship, the vicarage fell vacant, and Mr. Robinson succeeded on the presentation of the Lord Chancellor.

Opposition now attended him. Two different

* Life, pp. 57, 58.

† *Ib.* p. 75.

psalms were given out and sung, one in the singers' gallery, the other in the clerk's desk: the more opulent parishioners were on the one side, the zealous non-parishioners on the other. The churchwardens shut the church-doors; the vicar was almost compelled to use force for opening them. All this, however, Mr. Robinson lived down. The church was crowded; and the congregation joined by many pious Dissenters. In 1798 a capacious gallery was erected, capable of holding nearly a thousand people. The rents arising from the appropriation of the pews in this gallery Mr. Robinson did not appropriate, but devoted to a fund for "beautifying" the gallery and preserving it in repair.

Meanwhile, in 1774, he had been appointed chaplain to the Infirmary, and had commenced a regular service there—how often we are not told—consisting of a selection of prayer from the church-service, a lesson and address, and a short extempore prayer. He catechised regularly in the parochial day-school; and gave much time to visiting the sick. In 1787, having a curate to assist him, he started a Sunday evening lecture in his church. In 1797 he was appointed chaplain to the town gaol; the duty then involved being one service with a sermon once in the month. Mr. Robinson did this duty at eight o'clock in the morning: the service was similar to that at the Infirmary, but the sermon a little longer.

Mr. Robinson's biographer gives the following notice of the manner in which he was regarded

at different times of his ministry: "The time had been, when it was enough to keep the richer and higher gentry of the county away from a charity-sermon, to have it known that he was to be the preacher: and when it would have been enough to put down any projected public measure, that he thought well of it and patronised it. But after twenty-five years of 'patient continuance in well-doing,' there was a change in the public mind towards him. The poor he had always with him; there was no need of change in *their* sentiments: the rich of town and country were not, as formerly, dismayed by his name or by the sound of his voice; the clergy no longer started or shrank at his approach, but began to seek his acquaintance; no public measure, in which morality, or religion, or even *general* politics were implicated, was set on foot without his advice and sanction. He might be said to have attained the zenith of his popularity about the year 1790, and to have preserved his ascendancy without interruption for the next ten years. About the year 1800 his reputation began to receive a slight wound, from which it afterwards recovered:" * this wound was owing to a withdrawal from his congregation of some who had taken up the views of William Huntington.

Mr. Robinson's chief literary works were his *Scripture Characters* and his *Christian System*. The latter was published in 1805. He submitted it to the public as the expression of his views,

* Life, pp. 187, 188.

on the ground that he had himself searched the Scriptures with diligence, and was persuaded that his views, as represented in his book, were scriptural. The system thus propounded was that commonly called by its adherents evangelical; and with all its important truths, it had all its defects. The writer expresses no idea of our sharing in the Lord's resurrection-life. Those words of St. Paul, "If when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by His life,"* Mr. Robinson understood thus: "St. Paul . . . exults in the confidence that as He has made peace for us by His Blood, He will not now desert us, but that He will ensure our perseverance by that power to which He is restored in heaven," &c.† In the Essay on the work of the Spirit in regeneration the text, "If ye then be risen with Christ,"‡ is made to refer to a resurrection in conversion; although a reference to the context, and in particular to the assertion, "Buried with Him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with Him," § would have pointed to a different conclusion. After interpreting such expressions as "regenerate," "begotten again," and "born of God" (Tit. iii. 5, 1 Pet. i. 3, 1 John i. 13) as signifying that Christians "remain not the same as other men are, as to the state of their minds, but that through a divine influence they receive a new nature, and enter on another sort of

* Rom. v. † Essay on the Resurrection and Intercession of Christ.

‡ Col. iii. 1.

§ *Ib.* ii. 12.

life" he adds: "From this point, then, which forms with them a critical era, commences their religious character, their spiritual existence." And this, without one syllable about baptism, although in one of the texts mentioned St. Paul says that God saved us [not by regeneration but] by the *laver* of regeneration, *i.e.* evidently the baptismal font. The only "ordinances" mentioned as those in which "we may expect the communications of" the Holy Spirit's "grace" are, the "written word," "the ministry of the Gospel" [*i.e.*, preaching], and prayer. Among the "means of sanctification," however, Mr. Robinson classes not only "the word of revelation," but also "the sacraments." Though, if the reader is inclined to ask how Baptism sanctifies us, we get no more than a quotation from the Thirty-nine Articles. Not "Baptism unites us to Christ the Perfectly Sanctified One," but "Hereby, as by an instrument, to them who receive it rightly, the promises of the forgiveness of sin, and of adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed and grace increased, by virtue of prayer unto God." And for an explanation of the manner in which the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper sanctifies us, we get no more than a quotation from the Twenty-eighth Article, and another from the Catechism: "To such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ." "The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the

Body and Blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine."

Of Baptism, indeed, he does say, "Through the baptismal ablution of sprinkling, we look for 'the washing of regeneration,' or 'the sprinkling' of that 'clean water,' which 'will cleanse us from all our filthiness;'" and refers to Titus iii. 5 and Ezekiel xxxvi. 25.* But elsewhere he says that "what circumcision was in the Jewish Church, Baptism is in the Christian." "It is a seal, or a solemn declaration, both on God's part and ours. It is a mark of His favourable kindness, of His readiness to bestow the grace of His Holy Spirit for the cleansing of our souls," &c. And from the use of the word "rightly" in the Twenty-seventh Article he infers that in some cases it may not be received rightly, or that the outward and visible sign may possibly be administered without the inward and spiritual grace. It is to be observed, too, that in neither of the essays on Baptism do we meet with the Scriptural expression "baptized *into Christ*," nor any reference to the text, "As many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ." † And the only allusion to St. Paul's argument in the sixth chapter of Romans is in reference to a supposed allusion to a particular mode of performing the ordinance as being a representation of Christ's death, burial, and resurrection; of which Mr. Robinson deems (and rightly, in our opinion) that there is no proof.

As to the other great Sacrament, we read, in

* Essay on the Christian Sacraments.

† Galatians iii. 27.

the essay on the Lord's Supper, "This is My Body, said Christ, and this is My Blood; which implied only that they were suitable representations of Himself." Mr. Robinson says indeed, "His real presence we acknowledge and rejoice in, but . . . it is only in a figurative and spiritual meaning that He says 'This is My Body, and this is My Blood:' but they are verily and indeed, that is, virtually and efficaciously, in all their saving benefits, communicated to the devout recipient."

Of the Church he says, "This society, in its highest sense and fullest extent, includes all those of every age and place, and none but those, who partake of the benefits of Christ's Redemption." "It may properly be denominated '*holy*,' because every member is so in truth and reality, being inwardly renewed, and in a measure sanctified by the Divine Spirit . . . It is *invisible*, inasmuch as we do not infallibly discern who certainly belong to it."* Nothing about its being *visible*. We are reminded of its being *Catholic*, but nothing is said about its being *Apostolic*. It is indeed said that Christians should be joined in external society, with a view to the administration of Divine ordinances: and therefore the baptized followers of Christ ought to *associate and bind themselves to each other* for His service. Mr. Robinson never dreamed that this association is a work which belongs to God, Who sets the members in the body as it pleases Him; and that man

* Essay on the Church of Christ.

cannot interfere with this work without sinning and doing mischief. And although an account is given of the Primitive Church as Christ's establishment, yet Mr. Robinson evidently did not see that that establishment was one and the same, neither more nor less, as the Church spoken of in the Creed. It is of a piece with this, that his only idea of public worship is an union "in celebrating the divine ordinances with those whose religious principles accord with our own:" though he goes out of his way to observe that "public worship seems indispensably requisite for the exercise of the Christian ministry, and the propagation of the Gospel, according to our Lord's command." *

As to the coming and kingdom of the Lord, he says, "It should seem, the earth as well as heaven will continually resound with this song of loud thanksgiving, 'Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.' Before that time arrive, though it be not very distant, *we* shall probably sleep in the dust: but the prospect of it, for the sake of others, and for the glory of God, should cheer and animate our hearts. . . . We should be waiting and diligently preparing for the coming of our Lord," &c.† But nothing about *watching*.

The charity schools in Leicester, and various other benevolent institutions, owe their existence to Mr. Robinson. In his private life "he was a man of great method and order . . . and what

* Essay on Public Worship.

† Essay on the Mediatorial Government and Second Advent of Christ.

he did was usually the result of previous thought and arrangement. In the last fifteen years of his life he rose soon after six; omitted many particulars of his dressing, and quickly retired into his study, where he performed his private devotions, and took an early breakfast between seven and eight o'clock. He continued in his retirement till the hour of family breakfast, after which he united with his household in domestic worship. This early part of the day was what he most valued, as affording him the only moments he could ensure for uninterrupted reflection. Letters of importance, thoughts for preaching, plans which required a calm judgment, had their place here. If he wished to converse privately with a friend upon interesting matters, he admitted him to his private breakfast Soon after his family worship he completed his dressing and went out; but not before he had received many visitors, rich and poor, who came to him upon business. His morning out-going was devoted to calls and visits: the more important and difficult cases of the sick he attended in the forenoon; his parishioners, friends, and various members of his congregation it was his practice to call upon with some regularity; and he would make many short visits of this kind, with his watch in his hand, that he might not exceed his five or ten minutes. . . . He generally contrived to drop some profitable remark; asked if they had anything particular to say; gave them reason to believe that he felt a real interest in their welfare, and convinced them that he was ready if at any time they might want

him for more urgent services. He returned home to his luncheon between twelve and one o'clock, and then, if the weather was favourable, took his exercise for an hour or two with Mrs. Robinson." He dined at three o'clock; and "about an hour after dinner he went out again to make a few more visits which required less stretch of mind than those of the morning; and spent the rest of the evening after tea, when he had no engagement with company either abroad or at home, in some light reading, letter-writing, accounts, and conversation with his family. After his last devotions, and before he went to bed, he had three little books to settle: his own money account, the account of his charity-purse, and a short diary, in which he noted all he had done in the day." *

Of Mr. Robinson's theology we have made some remarks already. In giving an account of it himself, he called himself a Calvinist; by which he meant to say that he ascribed the whole of man's salvation to God's grace, and believed that where justification has once been enjoyed, it is (through the same grace) never actually lost, but the subject of it is invariably saved at last. Mr. Robinson, however, insisted on being acknowledged as a *moderate* Calvinist; by which he meant to say that he did not press his Calvinistic views to their logical conclusion.†

The greater part of the influence which he had in his generation and indirectly over the one next following, was, we believe, that of a preacher: a

* Life, p. 226 &c.

† *Ib.* p. 300 &c.

practical preacher indeed, in the best sense of the term; *i.e.*, a preacher whose preaching was verified and commended by his practice; but still, a preacher. It was from the pulpit that he did most good; and his *Scripture Characters* and *Christian System* are for all practical purposes printed sermons, and they have been preached, probably, from scores of pulpits, so that hundreds of times, when people have fancied that they were hearing the rector, vicar, or curate of the parish, they were really hearing no one but the Rev. Thomas Robinson, some time Vicar of St. Martin's, Leicester.

Mr. Robinson lived to see much success in the spread of those religious principles, and that religious practice, which he sought to inculcate. On one occasion, near the end of his mortal life, he remarked, "I leave the world and this country better than I found it: I am astonished at the sight of evangelical advancement which my eyes behold." * He died March 24th, 1813.

CHAPTER XIII.

Pious Period continued. Hon. and Rev. Bromley Cadogan. Rev. Richard Cecil. Rev. T. S. Grimshawe.

THE HON. and Rev. BROMLEY CADOGAN, born in London January 22nd, 1751, was under religious impressions from early youth. Earl Bathurst, then Lord Chancellor, presented him, even before

* Life, p. 280.

he was in orders, to the vicarage of St. Giles's, Reading. This was in 1774. In the following year he was presented to the rectory of St. Luke's, Chelsea, and came into residence at the parsonage—the first resident rector there for ten years—in 1776. Here he set to work with zeal, and perhaps with more zeal than discretion; commencing with the dismissal of Mr. Hallward, the curate, on the ground of his being what was called a Methodist, a name which had been given to the late rector as well, but which, according to Mr. Cecil, Mr. Cadogan's biographer, meant no more than that both in principle and practice he was *strictly* and *only* a conscientious member of the Church of England.

Not long afterwards, however, Mr. Cadogan himself had become liable to the same charge; on which account, Mr. Cecil believes, a stall at Westminster which had been promised him was given to another.* In conversation with a nobleman who is not named, Mr. Cadogan said, "I am endeavouring, my Lord, to gain preferment in another world, where no one fails who attempts it. All worldly preferment is uncertain: we cannot hold it long, nor secure it one hour: I will, therefore, endeavour to secure a treasure where no moth corrupts, and where no thief can steal." In the course of the same conversation the nobleman said, "Well, you must enjoy your opinion, and pay for it." †

For several years Mr. Cadogan resided at

* Memoir, in Cecil's Works, vol. i. p. 161.

† *Ib.* p. 162.

Chelsea from January to June, dividing his time between his two livings. The first Sunday in every month he went to Reading; and when resident at Reading he came every last Sunday in the month to celebrate Holy Communion at Chelsea. He established a week-day lecture on Tuesdays at Chelsea, preaching it himself when resident there. His habit was to rise constantly "both in summer and winter at six in the morning; and excepting his attendance at breakfast and family prayer, continuing always in his study till twelve, then riding about two hours, and visiting that part of his flock which was at a distance. In the afternoon he visited the sick and distressed in the town, and on Sundays the Sunday schools, notwithstanding his three public services." *

We learn from Mrs. Cadogan that he used to go among the poor on Saturdays with his pocket full of silver for their relief; and before the Sunday schools were set up, he annually expended from twenty to thirty pounds in putting the children of the poor to school. Latterly, the Sunday schools were his great concern, which cost him at least thirty pounds a year: he used to visit them every Sunday, heard the scholars read, catechised them and the other children of the parish in the church, and gave them a dinner on Christmas-day. The poor of the parish had meat and broth every week for three months during the winter, for which purpose thirty pounds of beef were pur

* Memoir, in Cecil's Works, vol. i. p. 166.

chased weekly. He was scrupulously exact in the payment of his debts, and said frequently that we ought to owe no man anything but love.*

On one occasion, having undertaken to preach for Mr. Cecil when the latter was Sunday evening lecturer at Christ Church, Spitalfields, he so exerted himself (says Mr. Cecil) "as to burst a vein, which filled his mouth and throat with blood; but deeply impressed with his subject, and animated at seeing such a vast multitude hanging upon his lips, he determined, if possible, to sustain the continued inconvenience. Some of us, indeed" (Mr. Cecil continues), "perceived by his frequent interruptions, and his putting his handkerchief so often to his mouth, that something was amiss; but his zeal was so unrepressed by the accident that he reminded us, for near an hour, of the Basils and Chrysostoms of better days."†

Mr. Cadogan departed this life January 18th, 1797. His influence was, apparently, not as wide as that of some; though probably it would have been wider had he lived longer. As it was, it does not seem to have reached far beyond his parishes and the circle of his personal friends. He shone conspicuously, because the lights of his time were few and far between. From a passage, however, in the *Christian Observer*, it appears that he was the instrument of effecting that change in the religious sentiments and character of Mr. J. Haldane Stewart which led that gentleman to

* Memoir, in Cecil's Works, vol. i. pp. 180, 181.

† *Ib.* p. 184.

take holy orders. It was Mr. J. Haldane Stewart who laboured so much and so variously in persuading his fellow-Christians to seek an outpouring of God the Holy Ghost; and of whose publication on *the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit* the periodical just named said: "It may be confidently affirmed that few works have, in our own days, taken a wider and deeper hold of the public mind; or have done more to restore the allegiance due to a great fundamental, but grossly neglected, doctrine of Christianity." *

The Rev. RICHARD CECIL was born in London, November 8th, 1748; his father was a clergyman, and what Bishop Wilson of Calcutta calls a High Churchman; his mother, however, was a pious Dissenter. In his early life he imbibed infidel principles through reading infidel books; but was awakened through considering the example of his pious mother, which showed him that there was a spiritual power to which he was a stranger. His father hereupon offered to give him a university education, if he was willing to take orders in the Church of England, and, moreover, to buy him a living; but declared that he would do nothing for him if he connected himself with Dissenters or Sectaries. This brought young Cecil to Queen's College, Oxford; he was ordained deacon on the 22nd of September, 1776, on the title of the Rev. Mr. Pugh, Vicar of Rauceby, Lincolnshire, at whose request he went thence to serve the churches of Thornton, Bagworth,

* *Christian Observer* for 1854, p. 862.

and Markfield, in Leicestershire, till the son of the deceased vicar, Mr. Abbott, should be able to take charge of them. On the 23rd of February, 1777, he was admitted to the priesthood; and soon afterwards was presented to two small livings at Lewes, in Sussex, where he went to reside, and where he did reside until compelled by the state of his health to remove to London. Here he preached in various places; for some years at Lothbury at six o'clock on Sunday mornings; at St. John's, Bedford Row, from March, 1780; and at a chapel in Orange Street, Leicester Fields. This last he left for the chapel in Long Acre. In September, 1787, he began to preach at Christ Church, Spitalfields, as Sunday evening lecturer; doing the duty alternately with that at Long Acre Chapel for three years.

Of his work at St. John's, Bedford Row, we are told, "He was a great admirer of order, and particularly so in the church. There was, in consequence, much more attention paid at St. John's than at most other places that all the parts of the service should proceed in a regular succession, without any interruption, from the time when it commenced till it ended. The clerk constantly called on a Sunday morning, and took the time from a regulator in Mr. Cecil's study. He appointed that the bell should begin precisely at half-past ten o'clock, that the organist should begin instantly on the stopping of the bell, that the reader should be in the desk ready to begin the prayers on the organ ceasing, and that throughout the whole service the same uniform

punctuality should be preserved." "When Mr. Cecil entered on St. John's, the usual custom prevailed of playing a voluntary after the reading of the Psalms. As he considered this no part of the worship, but rather an intrusion into it, he appointed that an appropriate voluntary should precede the service, to allow for which the bell was ordered to cease five minutes before the hour for Divine worship; and, instead of the usual voluntary after the Psalms, he directed that a Psalm should be sung after the second lesson. Any inattention to the established economy of the chapel was grievous to him; and he strictly watched over all abuses, particularly that so frequently observed in various churches in London—imposition or misbehaviour on the part of the pew-openers." *

In 1800 he was offered the livings of Chobham and Bisley. He declined at first, but was afterwards induced, by the unanimous opinion of some friends to whom he had referred the question, to withdraw his refusal, and accept. "He went" (says his widow) "rather to labour than to rest. He forgot his broken state of constitution, when he set up in the church two extra lectures—one on the Sunday evening, and the other on a week-day." † Of the behaviour of the congregation when he first came to Chobham, we have already had occasion to make a remark.‡ Mr. Cecil lived long enough to see some improvement, but de-

* Memoir of the Rev. Richard Cecil, prefixed to his works, vol. i. pp. 17, 18.

† Memoir, p. 30.

‡ See above, p. 100.

parted to his rest August 15th, 1810, at Belle Vue, Hampstead.

Another Low-Church light, who lived somewhat later, was the Rev. T. S. GRIMSHAWE, Rector of Burton Latimer, in Northamptonshire, and Vicar of Biddenham, near Bedford. Of his life and ministry, however, we have not been able to learn anything, save what is here set down. He speaks of himself as having embraced Mr. Romaine's views of the mode of a sinner's acceptance with God, towards the close of the year 1808. Two years before that time, his religious views, he tells us, were of the following nature: that we were to fulfil every appointed duty to the best of our ability, and that all deficiencies would be supplied by the merits of our Redeemer; thus making the sinner's salvation, principally, the effect of his own merits, and considering those of the Saviour as merely supplementary to them. The corruption and entire alienation of the human heart from God, the necessity of the renewing influences of the Holy Spirit, and the manner of their operation, were very inadequately understood by him; and consequently very obscurely stated from the pulpit; and yet he was diligent in his parochial duties, zealous as a preacher of righteousness, and aimed at holiness in his life, without ever being able to attain what he so earnestly desired. After various attempts to satisfy his conscience, the suggestion gradually presented itself that it was *possible* he might hold erroneous views, however unconscious of their nature and extent; and those awful words of the Apostle, "Woe unto me if I

preach not the Gospel," began to fill his mind with trouble and dismay. Not to dwell on a series of minor circumstances, the idea which was first admitted as a *possibility* assumed the character of *probability*; and for a period of two years his mind was kept in a state of painful conflict, during which many a prayer was offered up to the Father of lights and the God of all mercy, and the promise was unceasingly pleaded, "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him" (James i. 5).

"At the expiration of this time, a dying friend sent him Romaine's 'Twelve Discourses on the Law and the Gospel,' earnestly expressing a hope that the perusal of them might be as useful to him as she had found it to be to herself. It was to this book" (Mr. Grimshawe continues) "that the writer owed the solution of all his difficulties, and the first clear and spiritual conviction of the mode of a sinner's acceptance before God."*

CHAPTER XIV.

Pious Period continued. Thomas Scott.

THOMAS SCOTT was born February 26th, 1747, at Braytoft, in Lincolnshire. He was the son of a respectable grazier, uneducated, but of remarkable energy and vigour of mind. His mother had probably Puritan blood in her veins. Her son tells

* Life of the Rev. Legh Richmond, pp. 119, 120.

us, "The signature, I believe, of one of the family is annexed to the warrant for the execution of King Charles I." He also says, "From her method of ruling and teaching her large family, when very young, I derived many of my best maxims concerning the education of my own children." *

He learned in his early years, at various schools, a little Latin; but his conduct was as bad "as want of money, pride, and fear of temporal consequences, and a natural bashfulness would allow it to be." He never, however (save when strongly provoked), either swore or took God's Name in vain. He adds that he regularly attended church on the Sunday.

His first situation—an apprenticeship in the house of a surgeon and apothecary—he lost through misconduct, and had to work at home under his father at the business of a grazier. Here the inevitable hardships of such work brought on frequent illnesses, and he had "many serious thoughts of God and of eternity." And though with convalescence his religion showed itself to be but temporary, he entertained thoughts of the university and the clerical profession! With this view, although his father considered his studies to be inconsistent with diligence in his business, and although he had only a few torn Latin books, a small imperfect dictionary, and an Eton Greek grammar, he read all he could; and in April, 1772, avowed his intention of throwing up his farm-work, and becoming a candidate for

* Life, by the Rev. John Scott, p. 2.

holy orders. He first opened his mind to a clergyman with whom he had some acquaintance; and on having shown himself able to translate the Greek Testament into Latin and English, and done the like in presence of the archdeacon, he received such encouragement that he spent on books all the money which he had to spend, went to live at Boston, and studied the Greek Testament and Latin composition; helping also the aforesaid clergyman in a school which he taught. Obstacles, however, arose to his being ordained yet; the Bishop required a letter from some beneficed clergyman known to him, and also the consent of Scott's father. After some delay these were obtained; and after passing his examination creditably he was ordained deacon at Buckden, September 20th, 1772, on the title of the curacy of Martin, near Horncastle, which curacy, however, he changed, almost immediately after his ordination, for that of Stoke and Weston Underwood, Buckinghamshire, then in the diocese of Lincoln. At this time, he tells us, he "was nearly a Socinian and Pelagian, and wholly an Arminian. . . . While" (says he) "I was preparing for the solemn office, I lived, as before, in known sin, and in utter neglect of prayer; my whole preparation consisting in nothing else than an attention to those studies which were more immediately requisite for reputably passing through the previous examination."*

He now set to work afresh with his studies;

* Life, p. 26.

so that about nine months after his ordination he had read Josephus through in the original; and the year following he had read a hundred and nineteen of the Psalms and twenty-three chapters of Genesis in Hebrew, comparing the Septuagint. His other studies were Herodotus in Greek, Latin, and English,—and logic: besides which, he wrote two sermons a week. One cannot help noticing now, by the way, how matters are changed. Mr. Scott's studies were carried on in order to be a foundation for his future advancement. At the present day, who would ever dream of getting advancement in the Church in consequence of being *more learned* than his brethren? who would ever dream of reading Josephus through in Greek, or of learning to read the Old Testament in Hebrew, in order to get a benefice?

Scott had received priest's orders on the 14th of March, 1773. At first he had lived at Stoke; but in rather more than a year afterwards he removed to Weston; and then began to read prayers in church on the festivals, so that the Roman Catholics in the neighbourhood might not have a monopoly of religion. While at Stoke, he for the first time heard Mr. Newton preach. He thought himself preached at, and laughed at the preacher's manner and doctrine. At the request of a friend he read the conclusion of Bishop Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, and was considerably impressed by it.

In 1774 he married; and says, "Neither my wife nor myself had been much in the way of religious people, according to my present in-

terpretation of that term : neither of us understood the grand outlines of the Gospel ; yet we were both impressed with a strong sense of the truth and importance of the Christian religion, in a general view of it ; but her impressions were the deeper, and had far less, both from false principles and evil habits, to counteract them. Even before we were fixed in a settled habitation, the thought seemed to occur to us both, almost at the same time, that we ought to pray together : and accordingly, I read some prayers from a book : and when, with a female servant, we entered on a temporary dwelling of our own, I immediately began family worship, though I had never lived in any family where it was practised, nor ever been present at such a service, except once, which was in the house of a Dissenting minister, the Rev. Mr. Bull.

“At first I only used a form of prayer from a manual belonging to my wife. After a little time I read a chapter of the Bible before the prayer : and as my views of religion gradually improved, I aimed at something more evangelical, and exchanged my manual for Jenks’s Devotions. But, had I duly considered the subject, the Common Prayer Book of our church, with a little arrangement, would have supplied me with far more suitable words than any book of the kind I had then seen I afterwards wrote, on particular occasions, such prayers as I thought proper to be added to the form, and at length I was gradually led to adopt the method of extemporary prayer By degrees also I proceeded to ex-

pound, as well as read, the Scriptures to my family." *

A few months after his marriage he exchanged his curacy of Stoke for that of Ravenstone. At this time began his correspondence with Mr. Newton; he striving to draw Mr. Newton into controversy on their religious differences, and Mr. Newton avoiding controversy as much as possible; till at length, on Mr. Scott's own instance, the correspondence was dropped. Immediately after its commencement, his attention was drawn to the subject of the Thirty-nine Articles, and clerical subscription thereto. He was then, it seems, expecting preferment; and (as he says) "one Sunday, during the time of divine service, when the psalm was named, I opened the Prayer Book to turn to it; † but (*accidentally* shall I say, or *providentially*?) I opened upon the Articles of Religion; and the eighth, respecting the authority and warrant of the Athanasian creed, immediately excited my attention. My disbelief of the doctrine of a trinity of *coequal* persons in the unity of the Godhead, and my pretensions to candour, both combined to excite my hatred to this creed: for which reasons I had been accustomed to speak of it with contempt, and to neglect reading it officially. No sooner, therefore, did I read the words, 'That it is to be thoroughly received

* Life, pp. 46, 47.

† It was the general practice in Mr. Scott's time, for the psalm or hymn to be given out by the clerk or one of the singers: although the Prayer-book orders that nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the church, in time of Divine Service, but by the minister.

and believed; for that it may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture;’ than my mind was greatly impressed and affected. The matter of subscription immediately occurred to my thoughts, and from that moment I conceived such scruples about it that, till my view of the whole system of Christianity was entirely changed, they remained insuperable At length, after a violent conflict between interest and conscience, I made known to my patron my scruples, and my determination not to subscribe. Thus my views of preferment were deliberately given up, and with an increasing family I was left, as far as mere human prudence could discern, with little other prospect than that of poverty and distress. My objections to the Articles were, as I now see, groundless; much self-sufficiency, undue warmth of temper, and obstinacy were betrayed in the management of this affair, for which I ought to be humbled; but my adherence to the dictates of my conscience, and holding fast my integrity in such trying circumstances, I never did, and, I trust, never shall repent.” *

Elsewhere he says, “I join in the whole Liturgy of the Church, some very few things excepted, with the highest satisfaction. As to my preaching, I neither preach for or against any human inventions. The word of God is my subject and my rule; and my preaching, I may venture to say, is more calculated to satisfy, than to raise, doubts and scruples. Without preferment I may

* Life, pp. 56, 57.

live, and live comfortably and happily: but without a clear conscience I cannot. I am a minister of the Church of England, and hope to continue so, as I prefer her Liturgy, her discipline, and her doctrine to that of any other society of Christians in the universe: and if, by subscribing her Articles, they will declare they mean no more than such a preference, I will subscribe: but if they mean by subscription an implicit belief of all their doctrines, it is a price I will not pay for preferment.”*

And, writing at a later time, he says, “I solemnly vowed before God never more to engage in any pursuit, study, or publication which should not be eminently subservient to my ministerial usefulness, or, generally, in the propagation of genuine Christianity.”†

In the course of 1777 “his views were cleared up, and his sentiments established, successively, upon the doctrines of the atonement, human depravity, the Trinity, justification, the work of the Holy Spirit, and, finally, on that of personal election. Now also he was enabled, after many conflicts with himself, to make his last and most trying sacrifice, that of reputation; and calmly, yea, cheerfully, to submit to ‘suffer reproach’ and to be accounted ‘a fool for Christ’s sake.’ From about the close of this year he began with profit to hear Mr. Newton preach.”‡

Soon afterwards he gave up card-playing, on the ground that if he played at cards, however

* Life, p. 61.

† *Ib.* p. 65.

‡ *Ib.* p. 77.

soberly and quietly, the people would be encouraged by his example to go further. He gave up also the practice of riding a stage, on Sunday evening, of any journey which he might have to make the next day; and for a like reason. In 1781 he left Ravenstone and undertook the curacy of Olney, residing in the vicarage, which Mr. Newton had left about a twelvemonth before. Shortly afterwards the question of infant baptism fell in his way. He was, he tells us, no less time than three quarters of a year engaged in this investigation, before he came to a conclusion: but he was then so fully satisfied that the infant children of believers, and of all who make a credible profession of faith, were the proper subjects of Baptism, that he was never afterwards troubled much about it.*

His conclusion (the orthodox one) was derived “from the identity of the covenant made with Abraham, and that still made with believers, and from circumcision being the sacrament of regeneration under the old dispensation, as Baptism is under the new” (!)—And if any one had drawn an argument from the fact that Scripture says nothing anywhere as to infancy being a disqualification from entering the covenant, the only *objection* to such an argument was, in his opinion, the idea “that circumcision was the sign, or sacrament, of regeneration, under the old dispensation, as Baptism is under the new”! †

Of Olney he writes, “There are above two

* Life, p. 111.

† *Ib.*

thousand inhabitants in this town, almost all Calvinists, even the most debauched of them; the Gospel having been preached among them for a number of years by a variety of preachers stately and occasionally, sound and unsound, in church and meeting. The inhabitants are become, like David, *wiser than their teachers*; that is, they think themselves so, and in an awful manner have learned to abuse gospel notions, to stupify their consciences, vindicate their sloth and wickedness, and shield off conviction.* And of his own manner of preaching to them, "I speak more fully than most do of the moral character of the Deity; of the excellency, glory, and loveliness of that character as described in the word of God. From this I deduce the reasonableness and excellency of the holy law of God: which I endeavour fully to open in its extensive requirements. Thence follows men's obligation to love God, both on account of His infinite loveliness, and of our natural relations and obligations to Him. Then I demonstrate the evil of sin, as apostacy from this lovely and glorious God and King, and transgression of His perfect laws. Thence I show the justice of God to the infinite, the eternal punishment of sinners; it being necessary that God should mark His hatred of this hateful thing, magnify His holy law, and show His justice, that He might appear glorious in the eyes of all for ever, but rebels. Thus I suppose I *dig deep* to lay the foundation for the gospel of free grace: the necessity, nature, and glory of the

* Life, p. 134.

vicarious obedience and sufferings of Emmanuel; the sufficiency of His one sacrifice; and His ability and willingness to save to the uttermost all that come. Thence I show that all who will *may* come, *ought* to come, and that all sin atrociously in *not* coming: that, however, it is in no natural man's heart to come; because each man is proud, selfish, worldly, and carnal: therefore all are without excuse. But a God of sovereign grace, having mercy on whom He will, according to His own purpose, makes some willing by regeneration. This changes the prevailing bent of the heart, and henceforth the man is not only humbly willing to be justified by faith, and saved by grace, but hates and repents of sin, loves God's law, loves holiness, and leads a holy life, sincerely, progressively, though imperfectly,—daily receiving from Christ grace so to do: and that all experience which has not this effect is false. *Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, &c.*"*

In 1785 he was invited by the governors of the Lock Hospital to preach in the hospital-chapel: and was subsequently elected, with an opposition of only three, to be morning preacher in the chapel, and visiting chaplain to the patients. On the 16th of February, 1790, he was chosen Sunday afternoon lecturer at St. Mildred's, Bread Street, and continued so till March, 1802, when he was chosen Chaplain to the Lock. And for some years he "preached at St. Margaret's, Lothbury, every alternate Sunday morning at six o'clock, to a small

* Life, pp. 135-6.

company of people,* and administered the sacrament." When he did not celebrate at St. Margaret's, he did so after Mattins at the Lock. "His sermons" (we are told) "were most ingeniously brought into an exact hour." At times there was a fourth sermon at Long Acre Chapel, or elsewhere, in the evening. Such was Mr. Scott's ordinary Sunday duty. "But his heart was in his work; and I never" (writes the friend just quoted) "saw a more devoted Christian. Indeed, he appeared to me to have hardly a word or a thought out of the precise line of his duty; which made him somewhat formidable to weaker and more sinful beings. His trials, I should think (as you would have one honest with you), were those of temper."† He tells us himself, "There was a weekly lecture at the Lock Chapel, on the Wednesday evening, which the evening preacher and I were to take alternately. All circumstances considered, I did not expect much usefulness from this service. I therefore entreated the acting governors to allow me, in addition to it, to preach a lecture on the Friday evenings; this service to be altogether my own. This, after some hesitation, was conceded. The congregation which might be expected to attend, I was aware, was decidedly Calvinistic: but I was fully determined to bring forward at this lecture (which indeed I had desired almost exclusively for that purpose) everything, in the most particular manner, relative to the Christian temper and

* "I think he had from two to three hundred auditors," writes a friend.

† Life, pp. 151-2.

conduct. With this view I formed, as I foolishly thought, a very sagacious plan. I gave notice that I would lecture, in an expository manner, on the Epistle to the Ephesians, in order. At first I was very well attended, my congregation generally consisting of more than three hundred persons. This continued while I was going through the more doctrinal part of the Epistle ; though I applied the doctrine very plainly to practical purposes, and often intimated my hope that I should be favoured with equal attention when I came to speak more particularly on Christian tempers and the relative duties. But *the Lord took the wise in his own craftiness*. When I arrived at the latter part of the fourth chapter the alarm was spread : though I stamped every exhortation strongly with the evangelical seal. But at length, when I preached from the fifth chapter on the words, *See that ye walk circumspectly, &c.*, the charge was everywhere circulated that I had changed my principles, and was become an Arminian ; and, at once, I irrecoverably lost much above half my audience. The Sunday morning congregation also greatly decreased ; dissatisfaction was manifested in the looks and language of all the acting governors, even such as had been most friendly : and I seemed to have no alternative but that of either receding voluntarily from my situation, or being disgracefully dismissed."

Under these circumstances, he prepared, preached, and published a sermon on Election and Final Perseverance. And while preparing it, he found, through an after-dinner discussion at

which he was present, that some who were loudest in their talk on the side of Calvinism knew scarcely anything of the outlines of the Calvinistic system, or of the grounds on which it was supposed to rest. "I had at this time" (he continued) "many instructors as to my style of preaching; and some at the Lock board assumed rather a high tone of authority: while others were disposed to counsel me as the messengers of Ahab did Micaiah (1 Kings xxii. 13, 14). But I disposed of the dictating instruction very shortly. 'Gentlemen,' I said, 'you possess authority sufficient to change me *for* another preacher, whenever you please; but you have no power to change me *into* another preacher. If you do not convince my understanding that I am in error, you cannot induce me to alter my method of preaching.' Everything, however, conduced to render me more and more unpopular, not only at the Lock, but in every part of London; and numbers, who never heard me preach, were fully possessed with the idea that there was something very wrong both in my preaching and in my spirit."

In the midst of all these difficulties and trials, Mr. Scott was the means of getting an asylum formed in connection with the Lock Hospital. The asylum was opened in 1787. He also kept up his intercourse with the Ravenstone people, for whom he had always a great regard; he sent them both money and books, and sought to promote their spiritual welfare in what was perhaps a more questionable kind of way, considering that his pastoral relation with them had

ceased, viz., in writing them pastoral letters; these were passed from hand to hand, and so worn out.

In 1788 he began writing and publishing his Commentary on the Bible, in weekly numbers, being in entire ignorance of the pecuniary risk which he thus ran. It is not necessary to narrate the troubles and difficulties which this speculation brought upon him; though when the matter had come up before the Court of Chancery, and the decision had been given, a friend, present in court, wrote to Mr. Scott thus:—"The Chancellor went into all the transactions very minutely indeed, in the course of which he spoke of your conduct as author, creditor, trustee, and, at one period, proprietor and publisher of the work, in the most honourable terms."* Writing to a correspondent while the work was in progress, he says, "I do not think any of you that make remarks on the different parts of the work can possibly conceive what it is to keep *the whole* in view, and to finish any chapter as *a part of the whole*. Had I known and felt this formerly as I now do, I should never have dared to engage in a work for which every day makes me more and more feel my incompetency."† The first edition was completed in 1792. On this his great work we shall have some more remarks to make hereafter.

Mr. Scott's troubles at the Lock continuing, and the living of Aston Sandford, in Buckinghamshire,

* Life, p. 186.

† *Ib.* p. 190.

falling vacant, he applied for it, and, after the settlement of some difficulties connected with the will of the late patron, was instituted July 22nd, 1801. In 1803 he gave up all other engagements, and began to reside at his rectory. From 1807 to 1814 he acted as tutor to the persons preparing to go out as missionaries under the Church Missionary Society. These persons "were several of them Englishmen," who were subsequently ordained, "but the majority were Germans, in general Lutheran clergymen."* The Rev. John Scott writes, "I remember to have visited Aston when four of them, who had come thither with scarcely any knowledge of language beyond their mother-tongue, were reading Cicero and Horace, the Greek tragedians, the Hebrew prophets, and the Koran (Arabic), all in the originals."† For in 1808, being desired by the Church Missionary Society's secretary to teach certain missionary candidates Susoo (an imperfect African dialect) and Arabic, he set to work to study both these languages. He departed to his rest April 16th, 1821.

In spite of the unpopularity which he had as a preacher, Mr. Scott must have taught many from the pulpit. A man preaching practical Christianity, and from a sincere and upright heart, from such a heart as gives birth to upright and consistent practice, must needs be profitable to his hearers. As an author Mr. Scott did not shine;‡

* Life, p. 247.

† *Ib.* p. 248.

‡ Even that work by which his name is best known did not prevent the editor of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* from noting,

but his *Force of Truth* was the means of converting Henry Kirke White from Deism to Christianity; and his Commentary has doubtless influenced thousands of sermons, having been studied by preachers for the sake of finding in it materials to be worked up in public discourses. In 1865 at least 50,000 copies had been sold in England, and twice that number in America.*

To his various virtues the Rev. John Mayor, vicar of Shawbury, near Shrewsbury, thus bears witness: "I always highly respected his humility in searching for, and readiness in receiving, truth from such as were far inferior to him in everything; his great sincerity, prudence, and uniform zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. He was cheerful, with gravity; and never seemed to lose sight of the great business of life, to glorify God and edify his brethren, and all about him."† Mr. Wilberforce writes of him, "I well remember it was stated to me that if, in the course of the day, he had been betrayed into what he deemed an improper degree of warmth, with a measure of humility rarely to be found in any man, much less in one who could not but be conscious of his own superior powers, he would mention the circumstance, and implore forgiveness of his infirmity in the evening devotions of the family. Were I required to specify the particular

in 1843, as a fact "alike disgraceful to the church and people, to the universities and to the government of England, that" there was "neither a commentary on the Bible, nor an ecclesiastical history, in their own language, worthy of the character, the opulence, the learning, or the religion of the nation." (Vol. i. p. 163.)

* *Christian Observer* for 1865, p. 372.

† *Life*, p. 118.

Christian principles which shone most conspicuously in his character, I should mention his simplicity of intention, his disinterestedness, and his generous contempt of this world's wealth in comparison with those heavenly treasures on which his heart was supremely set.*

Mr. Scott's "church principles" seem to have been not behind those of his Low-Church contemporaries in general. We have already remarked the honesty shown by him at an early period of his ministerial course, in his giving up hopes of preferment rather than subscribe articles which he did not believe. That he had afterwards some sincere appreciation of the prayers in the Prayer-book is evident from his use of them in his family-devotions, though at a still later period of his life he prayed extempore. His "church principles" are thus described by himself: "In my own judgment, after, I hope, much serious and impartial consideration, I am a moderate episcopalian and a paedobaptist; but am entirely willing my brethren should be, some Presbyterians and some Independents, and not extremely unwilling that some should be Baptists; rejoicing that Christ is preached, and the essentials of true religion upheld, among persons of different sentiments, and only grieved that each one will be what he is, *jure divino*, and judge and condemn others." His Calvinism, however moderate, and not pushed to its logical conclusions, was Calvinism still; he thus expresses himself in one place: "Mr. Hart, in

* Life, pp. 419, 20.

his hymns, often represents faith as consisting in a belief that Christ died *for me*, in particular; which being no proposition of Scripture, can only be directly known by a new revelation.* In March, 1817, he says, "I have undertaken to publish a translation of the 'Articles of the Synod of Dort,' and all that respects them. I scarcely ever read more sound divinity."† In one place he speaks of himself as having *little* objection to the Athanasian Creed.‡ On the formula, "Receive the Holy Ghost," in the ordination of priests and the consecration of bishops, he says, "How far the words . . . is (*sic*) *scriptural* or *warrantable* may be worthy the consideration of all persons more immediately concerned in the important transactions referred to."§ As to baptism, he speaks of himself as "really believing that every human being will exist to eternal ages, and that the children, at least of believers, dying before they are capable of committing actual sin, have the benefit of the new covenant."|| Whereas the Prayer-book, it will be remembered, speaks thus: "It is certain by God's Word that children [whether of believers or not, but] *which are baptized*, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." He had some idea of the Holy Communion as a real means of grace, for in his last illness, and shortly

* Of the text Heb. ii. 9, "that He by the grace of God should taste death for every man," Scott has no explanation at all, except so far as regards the meaning of the phrase, "taste death," which he considers to mean merely "to die."

† Life, p. 306.

‡ *Ib.* p. 337.

§ *Christian Observer* for 1868, p. 294.

|| Life, p. 267.

before his death, he sent to his family just as they had assembled for worship, saying that he wished them "to meet in his room, and join with him in the Lord's Supper, as a means of grace, through which he might receive that consolation which he was seeking."*

As might have been expected, the defective character of his theology appears in his Commentary. Thus, when the Lord tells Nicodemus that no one can see or enter into the kingdom of God unless, &c., Scott explains the Lord's words thus: "That is, no one can understand the nature of true religion, become Christ's true disciple, or inherit the happiness of heaven." He continues, "When a child is born into the world, though no new matter is brought into existence, yet 'a new creature' is produced; and all its capacities, senses, and limbs are new, and suited to that new life on which it has entered. Thus, when the grace of God changes the sinner's heart, the person indeed is the same; but he becomes a new man, possessed of new capacities, perceptions, affections, and dispositions, and is prepared to make a new use of all his organs, senses, and faculties: he enters, as 'a new creature,' into the spiritual world, and becomes capable of employments and satisfactions to which he was before an utter stranger."

The above extracts are from Scott's Commentary on John iii. His explanation of the fifth verse of that chapter is as follows:—" 'Except a man be

* Life, p. 349.

born of water and of the Spirit,' except his heart be purified by that inward working of the Holy Spirit, of which water has been the constant emblem, 'he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.'" And then he endeavours to supplement this by a note of Whitby's, in which it is remarked, "Water is really present in the sacrament of baptism, as an outward sign and seal of the spiritual and divine energy, which inwardly cleanses."

Ananias's words to Saul, Acts xxii. 16, are thus paraphrased: "Why should he doubt any longer, or hesitate to profess his faith by being baptized, as an outward sign of the washing away of his sins, and the seal, to him, and to all true believers, of that blessing, and of the righteousness of faith, as circumcision had been to Abraham?"

On 1 Peter iii. 21, Scott remarks, "Christ is the true Ark. His Church is within the ark, and it therefore is safe; but all without will be swept by the deluge of Divine vengeance into destruction. Into this ark men enter by faith; this faith Jews and Gentiles professed, when by baptism they were admitted into the Christian Church: and thus the baptismal water formed as it were the sign of their safety."

On 1 Corinthians xii. 13, we read, "All true Christians had been baptized into Christ's mystical body by the communication of His life-giving Spirit. . . ." though Scott afterwards remarks, on the latter part of the verse, "Here the Apostle doubtless alluded to the wine used in the Lord's Supper, as before to Baptism."

In Romans v. 10, "His life" is explained to mean "His intercession, authority, and omnipotent grace." . . . "The *living* Lord" (Scott continues) "would complete the purpose of his *dying* love by saving all believers to the uttermost," &c.

The passage in John v. 27, "because He is the Son of Man," Scott does not explain at all, save by quoting a note from Campbell, to this effect: "Because it suits the ends of Divine wisdom, that the Judge, as well as the Saviour of men, should Himself be a man."

John xx. 23, is thus explained: "He authorised them to declare the only method in which sin would be forgiven, and the character and experience of those who actually were pardoned, or the contrary. So that to the end of time, the rules and evidences of absolution or condemnation which they laid down, and which are contained in their writings, infallibly hold good; and all decisions concerning the state of any man or body of men, in respect of acceptance with God, whether by preaching* absolution, or excommunication, or in any other way, are valid and ratified in heaven, provided they accord with the doctrine and rules of the Apostles; but not otherwise."

The language in John vi. 52-58, he speaks of as figurative. "The human nature of the Word who was made flesh, was doubtless intended. . . . His 'flesh and blood' became 'meat and drink,' when He gave His Body to be wounded and His Blood to be shed on the cross for our sins, and

* In the edition which we have before us there is no comma here.

when His soul was made a sacrifice to the divine justice. 'The flesh and blood' of Christ, as separated by death, procured salvation for sinners; and the expressions here employed refer to the intention, efficacy, and benefits of the sufferings of Christ Our food does not sustain us by being *prepared*; but by being *received*, digested, and incorporated; so Christ does not give life to our souls merely by dying for us, or by being exhibited in the gospel; but as received through faith, digested as it were in humble meditation, and converted into nutriment to hope, love, and other holy affections." After remarking that "the Lord's Supper was not at this time instituted," he proceeds, "No doubt it is the general duty of all real Christians frequently to commemorate the death of Christ at His table; but this is merely the 'outward sign' of the blessing here intended." This shows how his subsequent words are to be understood, (or rather, how they are *not* to be understood,) "The flesh of Christ is meat indeed, or, *truly*, emphatically, and exclusively." He gives no other explanation of verse 55. Further on he says, "Our Lord, however, must be supposed to refer to that sacred ordinance, which He intended to appoint as the memorial of His body broken and His blood shed, for the life of our souls; and as the outward sign of the manner in which we 'feed on Him in our hearts by faith with thanksgiving;' as a public profession of our inwardly receiving His atonement, and as a pledge to all true believers of everlasting life."

1 Corinthians x. 16, is thus paraphrased :

“Would they not allow that the cup of wine, which was used in the Lord’s Supper to represent spiritual blessings, and as an act of praise and thanksgiving to God, after it had been blessed and set apart by prayer for that purpose, was a token and pledge of their ‘communion of the blood of Christ,’ as the atonement for sin, and of their being made joint partakers of it? And was not the bread which they broke a token of their participating of His Body?”

With no better theology than is indicated in the above extracts, it is no wonder that Mr. Scott should have entertained apprehensions as to the future of his parish. “Some of the inhabitants” (he writes) “appear more hopeful than they were, and the congregations, as well as several instances, I hope, of conversion, have been much more encouraging than for several years last past; but what will take place when I am removed or laid aside, I cannot say. Many will, I fear, turn Dissenters; and our Dissenters are not of the best sort.”* How far these apprehensions were or were not justified by the event, we have no means of ascertaining. The parish of Aston Sandford is but small, the population in 1882 having been under 100; so that we should not expect to find a meeting-house in it unless under peculiar circumstances. In the adjoining parish of Haddenham, however, a Wesleyan meeting-house was erected the year after Mr. Scott’s decease. The “Baptist” meeting was in existence already.†

* Memoir, p. 319.

† This I have from private information kindly given.

CHAPTER XV.

Pious Period continued. Isaac Milner. Joseph Milner's *History of the Church of Christ*.

ISAAC MILNER was born in Leeds, January 11th, 1750. That his father, a Quaker,* “was a man of strong sense and extraordinary industry and self-denial, there is,” says Miss Milner, Isaac’s niece and biographer, “abundant evidence.” His mother, too, “was remarkable for her sound and vigorous understanding, for the active turn of her mind, and for a vein of shrewd humour.” It was his father’s desire that Isaac and his brothers should have an education with which Providence had not blessed him; and Isaac was sent along with his elder brother Joseph to the Leeds Grammar School, then under the Rev. Mr. Moore. His father, however, dying before Isaac was eleven years old, his mother removed him, and set him to learn several branches of the woollen manufactory as an apprentice. At school, however, he had been well grounded both in Latin and in Greek, and the knowledge thus acquired he kept up, reading classical authors in his intervals of leisure. After a while his brother Joseph obtained his release from apprenticeship, and took him as usher into his school at Hull; where, with his brother’s assistance, he made progress not only in classics but also in mathematics. In 1770 his brother sent him as a sizar to Queens’ College, Cambridge. He took his B.A.

* *Christian Observer* for 1864, p. 742.

degree in 1774, as Senior Wrangler of that year, "with the honourable distinction of *incomparabilis*," and subsequently was first Smith's Prizeman. He was ordained deacon on the 17th December, 1775, in Trinity College Chapel, by the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Hinchliffe, then Master of that College. In 1776 he was elected Fellow of Queens'; and in 1777 he took the degree of M.A., and was appointed tutor. In this same year, March 22nd, he was ordained priest, in Trinity College Chapel, by Bishop Hinchliffe, acting for the Bishop of Ely. In 1778 he was presented to the rectory of St. Botolph's, Cambridge.

His acquaintance with Mr. Wilberforce had already begun, when a tour was arranged in which the two should be travelling companions on the continent. On a subsequent continental tour, made in 1785, they read the Greek Testament together, and thus by degrees Mr. Wilberforce imbibed (as he says) Mr. Milner's sentiments of religion.

How Mr. Milner's sentiments on matters of religion came to be what they were, does not appear. While in his undergraduate course, he had refused to sign a petition, got up by some Fellows of Queens', against subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles; standing, in this refusal, alone among his fellow-students. But we are told that about this time he studied both the Bible and the Fathers deeply and critically: and he himself in 1804 professes to have studied Jonathan Edwards's work with very great care.*

* Life, p. 295.

In 1788 Mr. Milner (who had taken the degree of B.D. two years before) was elected President of his college; which now became, under him, a regular nursery of young Low-Church preachers; for to it were sent every year some young men who were being educated by a private society called "The Elland Society" (and probably by other similar societies), with a view to serving in the Church as clergymen. And in December, 1791, he was, owing to the interest of Bishop Pretyman of Lincoln, nominated to the Deanery of Carlisle. He received his formal appointment January 30th, 1792; and was in due time installed by proxy. It does not seem to have ever occurred to him that the duties of this new office involved anything which he could not well perform along with his duties connected with the College and the University; not even when to these last were added, in 1798, those of the Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, and some years later those of Vice-Chancellor of the University. On being, however, appointed Dean of Carlisle, he resigned his Cambridge rectory of St. Botolph's. In the same year he took the degree of D.D.

Dr. Milner's chief theological work must be considered as having been the editing and continuing of his brother Joseph's *History of the Church of Christ*. And it may not be out of place to remark here that by using this term "Church of Christ" in the way in which it was used by Joseph Milner, and after him by his brother the Dean, both those authors implicitly denied an article of the faith. In their zeal for

subjective appropriation of theological verities, they lost sight of the nature of those verities themselves. In their zeal to beget a real faith they lost sight of those Sacraments wherein Christ is presented for our faith to lay hold of, and of the Church, that great Sacrament which includes all the rest: and thus making out, not *one* Church, holy, catholic, and apostolic, but two Churches, one visible and one invisible, one (apparently) delusive and one real. Dean Milner writes, in 1802, "If I had time and strength, I would obey your directions about writing in defence of the True Church, occasionally."*

The subject of Christian Baptism he declares to be "difficult and obscure."† By "regeneration" he understands "the inward change and conversion of the heart to God, by whatever means it might be effected;"‡ thus when any persons were "evidently without any spiritual life" (though of this it must ever be impossible to have any real proof), he would uniformly address them as unregenerate. Dr. Mant's sentiments (herein the opposite to his) he regarded as Popish. His plan for converting the heathen was to send them in the first place the pure Word of God in intelligible language, and, secondly, duly qualified teachers and expounders of the same.§ Of course, with this imperfect realisation of the chief realities of the Gospel, it is no matter for surprise that he should have written to Mr. Richardson in 1800, "I feel assured that, for a good while, my earnest desire has been to

* Life, p. 254. † *Ib.* p. 644. ‡ *Ib.* p. 642. § *Ib.* p. 607.

serve God according to my station, and to give myself wholly to Him ; and I hoped I was going on tolerably well ; but I find it no easy matter to look death and judgment in the face. . . . Though I should die without seeing any personal interests in the Redeemer's merits, I think—I hope—I should be found at His feet.”* Nor shall we be surprised to find that with no better appreciation of the system of the Church of England, Dean Milner should have “subscribed liberally not only to the Moravian Missionary Establishments, but also to certain missionary associations conducted by the body of Wesleyan Methodists.”†

On the whole, it seems fair to say that what Dr. Milner did for the Low-Church party was to commend Low-Church religion by his life and influence among the learned, the scientific, the intellectual ; just as Mr. Wilberforce (of whom we propose to speak hereafter) commended it by his life and influence among the upper classes in general.

Of his elder brother, Joseph, personally, there is not much to be said, save to remind the reader of what we have already remarked as to his generosity towards Isaac ; who, in a biographical notice of him, declared that he owed all that he had to the kindness of this same brother. Joseph Milner was elected vicar of Holy Trinity, Hull, by the Mayor and Corporation of that town in August, 1797 ; and thereupon resigned the mastership of the grammar-school. But a cold

* Life, p. 205.

† *Ib.* p. 610.

caught in a journey, the same journey which he had to take to York for institution, brought on the illness of which he died in the following November. What we have now to do is to make a few remarks on that work by which he is chiefly known, and which he termed a "History of the Church of Christ." This work consisted originally of four volumes, the first of which was published in 1794. In issuing his proposals for printing it, the author promised his readers, as he reminds them in his Introduction, "An Ecclesiastical History on a New Plan." The new plan was to embrace the biography of such men as had been real, and not merely nominal, Christians, and not to insert anything in his work save what belonged to Christ's kingdom and to general piety. By "the Church of Christ," he meant what he called "the real Church." "Certainly," said he, "the terms 'Church' and 'Christian' do in their most *natural* and primary sense respect only GOOD men." Thus it will be seen that he implicitly denied an Article of the Faith. He denied the existence of that Catholic Church whereof the Creed speaks, and he substituted for it a Church of his own imagining. And thus, no doubt, he contributed in no small degree to confirm the Low-Church party generally in this heresy, wherein he and they shared in common. His writing an Ecclesiastical History with this view was the great service which he rendered to his party in the religious world; and a great service it was.

The Rev. S. R. Maitland criticised both Joseph

Milner's History and Joseph Milner himself. He criticised the work as not answerable to the plan which the author professed to have formed, and as being in some respects misleading to the student, and he criticised the author as having written without sufficient reference to authorities, and so, as having been incompetent for the task which he had proposed to himself.* We do not ourselves profess to have read more than a few pages of Milner here and there, but as far as we have gone, Mr. Maitland's opinion appears to have been fully borne out. For instance: the account given by Milner of the opinions concerning the holy Eucharist which were entertained by Wickliffe does not give us a favourable idea of the manner in which the works of that remarkable man had been by him studied. "Wickliffe appears," says he, "to have opposed the papistical doctrine of transubstantiation with all his might; and at the same time to have maintained the true, ancient, and scriptural notion of the Lord's Supper." That Milner speaks of the scriptural notion of the Lord's Supper, *i.e.* of the holy Eucharist, as being ancient, does not lead us to believe that he had read the Fathers (we will not say studied them) to any better purpose than he had read Wickliffe; for the view which he deemed scriptural appears to have been what we venture to call the Zuinglian heresy; he quotes Wickliffe as saying, "The consecrated host which we see upon the altar

* *Facts and Documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and rites of the Albigenses and Waldenses.* London, 1832.

is neither Christ nor any part of Him, but an effectual sign of Him," and presently afterwards speaks of the following statement of Wickliffe's concerning his doctrine as less satisfactory to the intelligent reader than the former: "The Eucharist is the Body of Christ in the form of bread. The right faith of Christian men is this, that this worshipful Sacrament is bread and Christ's Body, as Jesus Christ is very God and very Man." But when we read in a note the following apology for not giving Wickliffe's exact words, even when inverted commas are used, "The originals are frequently in Latin, and often in such antiquated English as would be unintelligible to ordinary readers," we cannot help thinking not only that they were unintelligible to Mr. Milner himself, but that Mr. Milner had not read even those which were in Latin. And when Mr. Milner said in his Introduction: "I have all along, to the best of my opportunity, consulted original records," we take the liberty of entertaining the belief that his opportunities were hardly any at all, in comparison with what he needed.

Mr. Milner's work was reviewed in the *Christian Observer*. The reviewer was unduly severe in some respects, through forgetfulness of Milner's plainly avowed design, which was that of writing not a history of the Church, as that term has been commonly understood, but only a history of the Church as it was understood by himself: in other words, of that small minority of church-members who may be called true Christians, in

contradistinction from those whose lives are inconsistent with a true profession of Christian religion. He did not, however, dwell upon the insufficiency of Mr. Milner's information: but, without saying so in so many words, left his readers to infer that Mr. Milner had penetrated recesses of private history which had been unexplored by previous historians, and had perused with attention original writings which had been previously almost consigned to oblivion: whereas such an inference would have been in fact utterly erroneous.

On this account, probably, and being moreover the only history written from a Low-Church standpoint, Milner's work became, with Low-Churchmen, the great authority in matters of Church history, even (in some cases) to the exclusion of Mosheim's. Thus the Rev. Charles Bridges, in his work on the Christian Ministry, tells his readers, when on the subject of studying such subjects, that "Mosheim will furnish the requisite information respecting the visible Church, and Milner respecting the real Church."* And besides the work of Milner, continued by Scott, the only ecclesiastical histories which Mr. Bickersteth thought it necessary to specify for his "Curate's Library" were Burnet's *History of the Reformation* and Whiston's *Josephus*.†

* *Christian Ministry*, 6th edition, p. 37.

† *The Christian Student*, p. 415, as cited by Mr. Maitland; in the 4th edition (1829), after Mr. Bickersteth had seen Mr. Maitland's criticism, the list (in the Minister's Library) was enlarged.

CHAPTER XVI.

Pious Period continued. Charles Simeon.

OF all the men whose influence contributed to advance the Low-Church party, none, perhaps, have had larger or more lasting influence, direct or indirect, than the Rev. Charles Simeon, Senior Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Minister of Trinity Church, in the same town. He was born at Reading, September 24th, 1758; and after a school-course at Eton, came up to King's in January, 1779. Being informed that he would be required to receive the Holy Communion in the College Chapel, he bought (among other books) Bishop Wilson on the Sacrament, from which he learned for the first time the truth of the vicarious and propitiatory character of the Sacrifice consummated on Calvary; and the truth thus received became to him the main incentive to a consistent Christian practice, and a most zealous use of all the opportunities which he had of spreading that Divine knowledge which had been so great a comfort to himself. He was ordained deacon on Trinity Sunday, May 26th, 1782, by the Bishop of Ely (Dr. York), and commenced his public ministry by taking charge of St. Edward's Church during the Long Vacation, when Mr. Atkinson, the incumbent, was away. It should be observed that from the time that he became a fellow of King's he had attended St. Edward's Church, finding that Mr. Atkinson came nearer in his teaching to what Simeon

believed the truth of the Gospel than any other preacher.

In 1782, or thereabouts, he made the acquaintance of Mr. John Venn and of his father, the Rector of Yelling; and also of Mr. Cadogan and his friend Mrs. Talbot. In November the same year, he was appointed by his diocesan to the living of Trinity Church, then the largest church in the town, except Great St. Mary's; and was ordained priest on the 23rd of September, 1783, in Trinity College Chapel, by Bishop Hinchliffe of Peterborough. Having at this time only one sermon to preach in the week at his own church, he used often on the week-days to preach in the churches of clergymen whose views agreed with his own; in one church on Monday, in another on Tuesday, and in a third on Wednesday; and afterwards wrote concerning these preachings, that he had no doubt of their having been blessed to the conversion and salvation of many.* At this time, also, it was his custom to rise at four o'clock every morning, even in the winter; and after lighting his fire, to occupy the time till eight o'clock in private prayer and devotional study of the Scriptures. On Advent Sunday, December 3rd, 1786, he preached before the University for the first time. Towards the end of 1788, when there was a great scarcity of bread, he initiated a plan by which the poor of twenty-four villages round Cambridge might have bread at half-price. In July, 1790, with the consent of

* Carus's Life of Simeon, p. 61.

his churchwardens, he established a Lecture on Sunday evenings in his church. His Sermon-class commenced about the same time. In this his method at first was "to form a system of natural and revealed religion, and having condensed it," to read it to his class and let them write it from his dictation. By this means, and by his judicious rules for the composition and delivery of sermons, he must have influenced in no small degree the members of the then rising generation, and, through them, of innumerable congregations, to the increase of what the party termed Evangelical religion.

Before he died he had completed a set of sermon-outlines (or "skeletons," as he termed them) on every seemingly important text in the Bible. This work, which was comprised in twenty-one volumes octavo, was called "*Horæ Homiliticæ*." It was also his practice to receive at his rooms in college, once a week, those undergraduates who wished to ask questions bearing upon religion or the interpretation of Scripture. But that influence of his which has lasted longest, and will probably last as long as there are any Low-Church people in the Church at all, was that of Patronage. For some years before his death, Mr. Simeon had large sums of money given him by friends, to be disposed of by him for any good objects which he might have at heart; and these sums, with some part of his own private fortune, he devoted, on the advice of the Rev. John Hampden Gurney,* to the purchase

* *Christian Observer* for 1862, p. 314.

of advowsons, which he vested in the names of trustees, and thus made provision for the propagation of his religious views in some fifty parishes all over England. It must be remembered, too, that, as time went on, the incumbents of several of these parishes acquired, in virtue of their office, the patronage of other churches besides.

In 1796 he made a tour in Scotland, preaching in Presbyterian Kirks as readily as in buildings belonging to the Episcopal Church; which conduct he justified to himself thus: "Except when I preached in Episcopal chapels, I officiated precisely as they do in the Kirk of Scotland; and I did so upon this principle: Presbyterianism is as much the established religion in North Britain as Episcopacy is in the South; there being no difference between them except in church government. As an Episcopalian, therefore, I preached in Episcopal chapels; and as a member of the Established Church, I preached in the Presbyterian churches." He saw, in fact, no difference between the Kirk and the Church save in the matter of government. He had evidently not compared the language of the "Shorter Catechism" and "Confession of Faith" with that of the Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer, to say nothing of other Anglican formularies. Nor was this all; he communicated in the Scottish Establishment, and even officiated at some of the Presbyterian communions. It is curious to observe, by the way, that "the moderate party" in the Kirk raised an opposition to Mr. Simeon's preaching in Presbyterian pulpits, and complained against those Presbyterian ministers

who had admitted him, on the ground that they were offending against their ecclesiastical laws. This was in 1797.

In 1794 Mr. Simeon had been chosen Lecturer of Trinity Church without opposition, and he continued minister and lecturer to within a few days of his decease, which took place November 13th, 1836.

Mr. Simeon's churchmanship was rather a love for the words of prayer and praise put by the Church of England into the mouths of her children, than for that general system of devotion which the Prayer Book inculcates. He probably observed the rubrics as well as anybody did in his time; but we have looked in vain through Mr. Carus's memoir for any intimation that he looked on his ministry as anything more than an office of preaching. He speaks in one place of "turning at the Creed" in Trinity Church; but he did not hold the Objective Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar; and, of course, not the Eucharistic Oblation. One point, however, in his theology merits special approval—his views on the Calvinistic controversy. It must be remembered that for very many years high Calvinism had found a standing-place in more than one pulpit of the Church of England: insomuch that a clergyman who lived about this time opposed missionary societies, because, as he said, they interfered with God's election. According to him, men did not perish for lack of knowledge, but because they were doomed to perish.* Mr. Simeon among others

* *Christian Observer* for 1829, p. 172.

was styled a Calvinist by sundry of his brethren in the Church. In point of fact, however, his theology was, in respect of this controversy, thoroughly Scriptural. He professes to have made it an invariable rule to endeavour to give to every portion of the Word of God its full and proper force, without considering one moment what scheme it favours, or whose system it is likely to advance.* And by way of illustrating how he succeeded herein, we need do no more than cite a note to one of his published sermons (to which note he himself declares that he attached great importance), and compare it with a passage from the commentary on Hosea by the late Dr. Pusey. Mr. Simeon says: "All good is from God, dispensed by Him in a way of sovereignty according to the counsels of His own will, and to the praise of the glory of His grace. All evil, whether moral or penal, is from man: the moral, as resulting from his own free choice; the penal, as the just and necessary consequence of his sins. The author has no doubt but that there is in God's blessed Word a system, but it is a far broader system than either Calvinists or Arminians admit."† And Dr. Pusey says in effect the same thing, when, citing from ancient authors, and adopting their statements as his own, he writes thus: "The sum of the meaning is, all our destruction is from ourselves; all our salvation is from God. Perdition, reprobation, obduration, damnation, are not, properly and in themselves, from God, dooming to perdition, reprobating, obdurateing,

* *Life*, p. 529.† *Ib.* p. 566.

damning, but from man sinning, and obdurateing or hardening himself in sin to the end of life. Contrariwise, predestination, calling, grace, are not from the foreseen merits of the predestinate, but from God, predestinating, calling, and, by His grace, forecoming the predestinate. . . . 'Many good things doeth God in man, which man doeth not, but none doeth man, which God endueth not man to do.'"*

Simeon's views of Baptism also are worth noticing, as they may have prepared not a few young Low-Churchmen for receiving the true Scripture doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration as taught by the Church of England in her Prayer Book. It will be remarked that although in the latter part of the following extracts he falls into the Zuinglian form of expression, yet there was really a wide gulf between him and the Zuinglians. Speaking of some whom he had to treat as opponents, he says : "If by regeneration they meant an introduction into a new *state*, in which the baptized persons have a right and title to all the blessings of salvation, we should have no controversy with them." And further on : "We admit, and beg you to bear in mind our admission, that great, exceeding great, benefit accrues to the soul from baptism. . . . Even from the ordinance itself we may consider great good as arising to the soul ; since, as in the case of circumcision, the person is thereby brought

* *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, Hosea xii. 9. The former of the two citations is taken by Dr. Pusey from Cornelius a Lapide, he in his turn taking the matter from earlier theologians. The latter is taken from St. Augustine (c. 2 epp. Pet. ii. 21).

into covenant with God. The Israelites, as a nation in covenant with God, were highly privileged; for 'to them,' as the Apostle says, 'belonged the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises.' The same, I doubt not, may be justly said of all that are baptized. . . . By the very admission of persons into covenant with God, they are brought into a *new state*, have a *right and title* to all these privileges; and by the exercise of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ they come to the actual possession of them."* He afterwards proceeds to say: "Men do not distinguish between a change of *state* and a change of *nature*. Baptism is, as we have just shown, a change of *state*, for by it we become entitled to all the blessings of the new covenant; but it is not a change of *nature*."

The defect, then, in Simeon's baptismal theology would seem to have been partly an inadequate conception of what the blessings of the Christian covenant are, and what that state is into which baptism brings every one who receives it, and partly a forgetfulness of the truth that no one can be entitled to those blessings, or be in that state, without being really and truly *in Christ*. And thus, strange to say, the theology of this Evangelical divine brings to the conclusion that we are saved partly by Christ and partly by faith. True, he might reply that this faith is wrought in us by the Holy Ghost; but against this there would lie

* The above extracts are taken from a sermon entitled, *An Appeal to Men of Wisdom and Candour*, and are cited in Carus's *Life of Simeon*, pp. 545, &c.

two objections—one, that such an argument would invalidate the statement of St. Paul in Romans xi. 16 (if genuine), “If it be of works, then it is no more grace:” for an opponent might reply to the Apostle, “Nay; for the works which you allege to supplant grace are themselves wrought in us by grace;”—and the other, that we are not saved by anything in ourselves at all, no matter what, or by whom wrought.

With the above errors there were connected the denial of two truths concerning that change of heart which Simeon called “regeneration:” viz., that it is not generally effected all at once, but is gradual; and that when a new-born infant submits to be carried by those who are older than it, that submission is, in germ, the very faith (and, be it marked, a *non-intellectual* faith) which justifies before God, and was so exemplified in Abraham: so that new-born children are worthy recipients of baptism independently of their intellects, and because of a non-intellectual faith. If, however, a young disciple accepted Simeon’s views as to the fact of every baptized person being in a new state, and carried out those views to their logical consequences, he could not, we think, miss attaining to the full Catholic doctrine of Christian Baptism. In fact, in a note to a sermon in which, in reference to the Baptismal Service, he speaks of “thanking God for things which, if pressed to the utmost meaning of the words, might not be strictly true,” he says: “. . . . It appears that in the opinion of our Reformers, regeneration and remission of sins did accompany baptism. But in what sense did

they hold this sentiment? Did they mention that there was no need for *the seed, then sown in the heart of the baptized person*, to grow up, and to bring forth fruit," &c.? And again, after citing Galatians iii. 27, "As many of you as are baptized into Christ, *have put on Christ*;" Acts ii. 38, 39, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you. . . . for the remission of sins;" 1 Peter iii. 21, "Baptism doth now save us;" and 2 Peter i. 9, "He hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins," he asks, "Does not this very strongly countenance the idea which our Reformers entertained, that the remission of our sins, as well as the regeneration of our souls, is an attendant on the baptismal rite? Perhaps it will be said that the inspired writers spake of persons who had been baptized at an adult age. But if they did so in some places, they certainly did not in others; and where they did not, they must be understood as comprehending all, whether infants or adults."

Those who would study Mr. Simeon's character or conduct at length must be referred to the Rev. William Carus's memoir of him. We may notice, however, here his disinterestedness; content to serve Trinity Church for a mere pittance besides his college fellowship, and to continue serving it for more than fifty years, steadily refusing all other preferment. His disinterested regard for others, and joy in their success, was strikingly shown when, after returning from the Isle of Wight, whither he had gone for his health, he heard Mr. Thomason, his curate, preach, and marked the improvement which had resulted from

Mr. Thomason's fulfilment, during Mr. Simeon's absence, of duties which had previously been done by Mr. Simeon himself. Mr. Simeon turned thereupon to a friend, and said, "Now I know why I have been laid aside: I bless God for it."* Till 1793 he seems to have devoted a third part of his income to charitable purposes; nor have we any reason to believe that his charity ever decreased. On February 25, 1807, he writes: "*Fast-day.* I have always judged it inexpedient for a minister to fast, because he is thereby in danger of unfitting himself for his work: but my neglect of it on other occasions laid a tenfold obligation on me to consecrate this day to God in fasting as well as prayer."†

We must now, however, leave Mr. Simeon to lie in peace in his unmarked resting-place beneath the stately chapel of his college, that we may mark the character and influence of one more distinguished than he.

CHAPTER XVII.

Pious Period continued. William Wilberforce. Doddridge's *Rise and Progress*. Wilberforce's *Practical View of Christianity*.

ABOUT five years after Mr. Simeon had commenced preaching, there took place an event which has effected, indirectly, but not the less strikingly, the most important results to a large portion of our world's inhabitants; and yet was contained within the being of a single individual. We allude to

* Life, p. 243.

† *Ib.* p. 216.

William Wilberforce's conversion from spiritual carelessness to such a faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as involved both a thankful acceptance of His atonement, and a submission to the sanctifying influences of His Spirit. Wilberforce had been born of a good family, at Hull, August 24th, 1759, and had been sent to the grammar school of the same place, then taught by Joseph Milner and his brother Isaac, afterwards Dean of Carlisle. His mother, as we are told by his sons, "was a woman of real excellence, as well as of great and highly-cultivated talents, but not possessed at this time of those views of the spiritual nature of religion which she adopted in later life. She was what I should call an Archbishop Tillotson Christian. But in his uncle's house he was subjected to a new and powerful influence. His aunt was a great admirer of Whitefield's preaching, and kept up a friendly connection with the early Methodists." The lively affections of young Wilberforce's heart, warmed by the kindness of his friends, readily assumed their tone.*

Upon his father's death, which took place before young Wilberforce was ten years old, he came into the guardianship of the uncle aforesaid. And it appears to have been through fear of the probable result of his aunt's Low-Church influence that his mother at length removed him to Hull, then "as gay a place as could be found out of London." And "no pious parent," he says, "ever laboured more to impress a beloved child with

* Life, vol. i. p. 5.

sentiments of piety, than they did to give me a taste for the world and its diversions.”* In this they succeeded. At the same time he attended the grammar school at Pocklington, where he acquired some knowledge of polite literature, including the ancient classics. On leaving Pocklington he went to St. John’s College, Cambridge, in 1776, and was introduced, he says, on the very first night of his arrival, to as licentious a set of men as can well be conceived. They drank hard, and their conversation was even worse than their lives. “I lived amongst them,” he continues, “for some time, though I never relished their society and after the first year I shook off in great measure my connection with them.”† “‘I certainly did not then think and act as I do now,’ he declared long afterwards; ‘but I was so far from what the world calls licentious, that I was rather complimented on being better than young men in general.’”‡ Being unexpectedly required to declare his assent to the Thirty-nine Articles, he refused, not having considered the matter, and this refusal cost him his degree till 1781.

He had nearly completed his twenty-first year when, at the cost of more than £8,000, he became his native town’s representative in the House of Commons. To London then he forthwith repaired, and mixed in all its gaieties, from which gambling was not excluded. He attended, however, the House of Commons diligently, and was intimate with Mr. Pitt and other politicians and leading

* Life, vol. i. p. 8.

† *Id.* p. 10.‡ *Id.* p. 12.

men. In 1784 he was elected member for Yorkshire.

How would he demean himself? how would he use his influence in a sphere so varied and so important? The same year provided the answer. Wilberforce had determined to make a tour on the continent. He wanted a travelling companion. "Whilst at York, he proposed to his friend, W. Burgh, to become his companion on a continental tour. To his great surprise the offer was declined; and being thrown afterwards at Scarborough into the company of Isaac Milner, the invitation was transferred to him,"* accepted, and acted upon. Many years before, Wilberforce's grandfather had said, with reference to some such plan, "Billy shall travel with Milner, as soon as he is of age; but if Billy turns Methodist, he shall not have a sixpence of mine." Wilberforce himself was at this time opposed to those views of religion which were called Methodistical; but conversations with Mr. Milner in their tour, and especially conversations about Dr. Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, characterised by Mr. Milner as "one of the best books ever written," led in time to that very consummation which Wilberforce's grandfather had so strongly deprecated.

This will be the best place for making some notes regarding the book in question.

The author of the book was an Independent preacher, first at Kibworth, in Leicestershire, and Market Harborough, in the same county, and

* Life, vol. i. p. 66.

afterwards at Northampton. He was also head of a Dissenting academy, kept at the two last-named places successively; and exercised his ministry from 1722 till his death, which took place in 1751. His object in writing the *Rise and Progress* was to awaken the careless, to convict sinners, and then to set forth salvation through Christ's atonement appropriated by faith; and afterwards to help forward the spiritual life thus begotten or quickened, and the several tempers and acts by which it is to be manifested. Nor, we suppose, can any person rise up from a careful perusal of the work without experiencing benefit by means of it. It had, however, some defects, resulting naturally from the errors of that religious system in which Dr. Doddridge had been brought up. Thus, in reading it, we mark an ignorance of the difference between the work done by Christ once for all, and the work being done by Him now. God "*is*" (says Doddridge) "in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself." This is the less excusable, as the Doctor is avowedly citing a text of Scripture, which really runs "God *was* in Christ," &c.* "*Ready to be reconciled,*" is his equally erroneous expression in another place.† There is also manifested an ignorance of the object for which the Holy Ghost was sent. We read that Christ "sent down His Spirit . . . upon His apostles, to enable them in the most persuasive and authoritative manner to preach the Gospel."‡ We find, moreover, of course, an ignorance of

* 2 Cor. v. 19, cited in *Rise and Progress*, chap. viii.

† Chap. x. ‡ Chap. viii.

Christian Baptism as bringing us into a state of grace. "If thou this day sincerely believest in the Name of the Son of God, thou shalt *this* day be taken under His care, and be numbered among those of His sheep to whom He hath graciously declared that He will give eternal life, and that they shall never perish."* Our responsibility, too, is spoken of as if it depended upon our having at some definite time formally surrendered ourselves to God by a solemn act of our own, instead of depending on the fact that by God's act done upon us in His ordinance of Baptism, we are members of Christ the perfectly dedicated One.† Thus also he speaks of becoming one of God's covenant-people "by a most express consent" on the convert's part. The great end of the Lord's Supper is declared to be our renewing, by means of it, our covenant with the Lord.‡ And instead of being told that all baptized people are incorporated by God's act, in their baptism, into one body which is the Body of Christ, originally constituted by the coming down of the Spirit of Christ on the first believers, we are told that God has commanded His servants *to form themselves* into societies.§

Doddridge's views, too, concerning death and the Lord's Second Coming—in which views, as appears, he did but share with the pious people generally of his time—led him to such results as must seem curious enough to those who have learnt better. He speaks of death as a coming of the Lord; as though a courtier's going into his sovereign's ante-

* *Rise and Progress*, chap. viii. † Chap. xxii. See also chap. xvii.

‡ Chap. xviii.

§ Prayer at end of chap. xviii.

chamber were the same thing as the king's coming to visit the said courtier in his own house. And in contemplating the many and various evils in the world at large, he views them as so many reasons for desiring, not that the Lord may speedily come to reform them or remove them, but that he himself may be taken out of the world by death.

Such was the book to the teaching and exhortations in which, in God's Providence, Wilberforce owed his conversion. To come back now to Wilberforce himself. He writes, November 21, 1785 : "It was not so much the fear of punishment by which I was affected as a sense of my great sinfulness in having so long neglected the unspeakable mercies of my God and Saviour ; and such was the effect which this thought produced that for months I was in a state of the deepest depression from strong convictions of my guilt."* A week later, "True, Lord, I am wretched, and miserable, and blind, and naked. What infinite love, that Christ should die to save such a sinner, and how necessary is it He should save us altogether, that we may appear before God with nothing of our own ! God grant I may not deceive myself in thinking I feel the beginnings of gospel comfort."† On November 30th, "I thought seriously this evening of going to converse with Mr. Newton."‡ On December 2nd he wrote to Mr. Newton ; delivered the letter himself on Sunday, the 4th ; and called, by appointment, the following Wednesday ; and thus began a lasting friendship with the saintly old penitent.

* Life, vol. i. p. 89.

† *Ib.* p. 91.‡ *Ib.* p. 93.

He made his first communion on Good Friday, April 14th, 1786, probably in Newton's church, that of St. Mary Woolnoth. And on June 22nd, in the same year, he thus expresses his faith: "I believe that Christ died that all such (*i.e.*, ungrateful, stupid, guilty creatures) who would throw themselves on Him, renouncing every claim of their own, and relying on His assurance of free pardon, might be reconciled to God, and receive the free gift of His Holy Spirit to renew them after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness."* He continued to have a high opinion of Doddridge's *Rise and Progress*, calling it his favourite volume.† Of the collective works of Doddridge and Witherspoon on Regeneration, he speaks in high terms; ‡ and similarly of Edwards on the Affections.§ It should be observed, however, that he dislikes the term "Regeneration." Generally speaking, his religion was of a practical rather than of a contemplative character. The discussion of points in theology he left to divines; it was his to exemplify the effects of a sincere Christianity in his life, and, as an author, to labour for the inducement of others to do the same in their lives. His favourite writers, as we have just seen, were of the Puritan school; the only preachers worth hearing in his time were those called Evangelical; and thus we shall not be surprised when we find that his theology was defective in several points. Thus, he fails to realise his membership in Christ's Body. He gives the title of *Christian*

* Life, vol. i. p. 117.

† Letters, vol. ii. p. 193.

‡ *Ib.* p. 28.

§ Life, vol. iii. p. 66.

friend to a Quaker.* In his opinion, "God's people" are those, and those only, who can be called true Christians.† With him the great business of life is to acquire a new nature.‡ He prays for a more sure hope, if according to God's will!§ In his classification of spiritual blessings he makes them all subjective: the experience which he has had of God's grace and mercy; not the bestowal of that grace and mercy in the first instance.|| He expresses to one of his children his ardent longing to see proofs of her having received Divine grace.¶ He once thought it wrong to go to Mr. Jay's meeting-house at Bath,** but afterwards attended it.†† He heard Dr. Chalmers on one occasion, and communicated once in a Dissenters' meeting.‡‡ But, withal, he was a true disciple of the Church of England in some important points. He speaks in one place of the "unscriptural character of Calvinism;" §§ and disputed with Milner on Final Perseverance.|||| He was no Sabbatarian, though reverencing the Lord's Day. "I walked with him," said the Rev. Mr. Dykes, with respect to a Sunday in 1807, "for a considerable time. We called upon various friends, and I was much struck to see how totally he had dismissed from his mind all thoughts of the approaching contest. His conversation related entirely to subjects which suited the day." ¶¶ He

* Life, vol. v. p. 231. † Letters, vol. ii. p. 23. ‡ Life, vol. v. p. 156.
§ *Ib.* vol. iii. p. 356. || *Ib.* vol. iv. p. 346. ¶ Letters, vol. ii. p. 236.

** Life, vol. v. p. 258. †† *Ib.* vol. ii. pp. 189, 351.

‡‡ *Ib.* vol. iv. p. 318. §§ *Ib.* vol. v. p. 162. |||| *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 344.

¶¶ *Ib.* vol. iii. p. 323. The contest was an election for Yorkshire.

practised fasting from time to time,* and remarked one Ash Wednesday, “We attend too little to these days.”† In 1825 he wrote, “Miss W—— consulted me lately about the point of duty respecting her attending her parish church. I urged it on the ground of the prayers composing the chief purpose of social worship.”‡ Voluntary associations were, in his mind, but poor substitutes for the Church.§ He desired to “attain what is real in Christian experience without running into a sect or party set of opinions.|| “Let me look before me” (he wrote in his private journal at the commencement of one parliamentary session) “and solemnly implore the aid of God to guide, quicken, and preserve me. Let me endeavour to soar above the turmoil of this tempestuous world, and to experience joy and peace in believing. Let me consider what in former years have proved my chief occasions of falling, and provide against them. Let me remember the peculiar character of a Christian; gravity in the House, cheerfulness, kindness, and placability, with a secret guard and hidden seriousness. Let me preserve a sense of the vanity of earthly greatness and honour.”¶ Once when walking with one of his children in the Lake district, and on being asked why he would not buy a house there, and spend some time in it every year, his reply was, “I should enjoy it as much as any one, my dear, but we must remember we are not sent into the world merely to admire prospects and enjoy scenery. We have nobler objects of pursuit.

* Life, vol. ii. p. 56.

† *Ib.* vol. v. p. 324.

‡ *Ib.* p. 252.

§ *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 28.

|| *Ib.* p. 334.

¶ *Ib.* p. 115.

We are commanded to imitate Him who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. It doubles my own enjoyment to see my dear children enjoy these scenes with me; and now and then, when we need rest from severe labours, it may be permitted to us to luxuriate in such lovely spots, but it is to fit us for a return to duty; and we must bear in mind, too, that at present we are in a world which is in a measure under the wrath of God, and there is much mercy in every natural beauty that is left in it. We may be contented to wait for the full enjoyment till we get above to that blessed place, where the desire of our gracious God to bless us shall meet with no obstruction, and His love shall have no check upon its full exercise.”* His charities were as princely as they were unostentatious.

Of Mr. Wilberforce’s legislative work, and especially of that great work with which his name will ever be associated—the abolition of the slave trade—it does not fall within the scope of the present work to take more than this passing notice. But we may well note his zeal for the propagation of true religion as he understood it. As far back as 1787 he had succeeded in getting a society formed for the Reformation of Manners, like a former society which had a similar title. The society (we are told) “was soon in active and useful operation. The Duke of Montagu opened his house for its reception, and presided over its meetings—a post which was filled after his death

* Life, vol. iv. pp. 389, 390.

by the late Lord (Chancellor) Bathurst, who was followed by Bishop Porteus; and before its dissolution it had obtained many valuable Acts of Parliament, and greatly checked the spread of blasphemous and indecent publications. It afforded also a centre from which many other useful schemes proceeded, and was the first example of those various associations which soon succeeded to the apathy of former years."* And on the 12th of April, 1797 was published *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country contrasted with Real Christianity*, of which Mr. Newton wrote, "I deem it the most valuable and important publication of the present age." The title of the work we regard as unhappy, through lacking the modesty which an evangelist should ever manifest. But the work itself, while to a certain extent controversial, is as modest and charitable as could be desired. The first chapter combats prevailing inadequate conceptions of the importance of Christianity; the second treats of the corruption of human nature; the third exposes the chief defects of the prevailing religious system, as regards our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit; chapter IV. discusses prevailing inadequate conceptions concerning the nature and strictness of practical Christianity; chapter V. treats of the excellence of Christianity in certain important particulars, and deduces thence an argument for its Divine origin. Chapter VI. is

* Life, vol. i. p. 138.

occupied with a brief inquiry into the state of Christianity in England in Wilberforce's time; a statement of its importance to us as a political community, and some practical hints. And some more practical hints, addressed to various classes of persons, close the book.

“The effect of this work” (say Wilberforce's biographers) “can scarcely be overrated. Its circulation was at that time altogether without precedent. In 1826 fifteen editions (and some very large impressions) had issued from the press in England. ‘In India,’ says Henry Martyn in 1807, ‘Wilberforce is eagerly read.’ In America the work was immediately reprinted, and within the same period twenty-five editions had been sold. It has been translated into the French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, and German languages. Its influence was proportionate to its diffusion. It may be affirmed beyond all question that it gave the first general impulse to that warmer and more earnest spring of piety which, amongst all its many evils, has happily distinguished the last half-century.” *

The good, however, which was done by Wilberforce's book was probably not unmixed with positive harm. In one place † he points out (what doubtless is perfectly true) that some moral virtues may exist, and yet be totally unconnected with religion; for instance, that an amiable temper may be the natural result of agreeable circumstances, and that usefulness in any sphere of life may be

* Life, vol. ii. p. 205.

† Chap. iv. § 4.

owing merely to a love of activity. One consequence of this might well be the leading his readers to judge themselves; but another consequence, considering the inbred tendency of human nature to evil, would almost certainly be the leading such readers as were already "Evangelical" to judge others.

The system inculcated in the book is also, in some points, erroneous. The principle of practical Christianity is spoken of as if it were an *intellectual* thing. Mr. Wilberforce quotes approvingly the words of Hannah More, that Christianity is "a religion of motives." He does not see that thus Christianity would be a more difficult thing for children, and an impossible thing for infants; seeing that the intellects of such, which alone are affected by motives, are imperfectly formed: and thus there would be no ground for the high dignity which the Lord assigns to infants in God's kingdom. He does not see that Christianity is a religion of life, of life derived from God, and which leads him who has it to do the works of God instinctively. His mistake on this point is plainly seen when he describes certain particular *Doctrines* as the centre to which the true Christian gravitates: the fact being (and probably Mr. Wilberforce himself would have admitted it, had it been pointed out to him) that the true Christian gravitates, not to any set of doctrines, but to a Person: not to any doctrine about Christ, but to Christ Himself. The evil consequences of this fatal mistake appeared when the Low-Church party began to decay; when for belief in Christ

was practically substituted belief of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, or belief of one's own individual justification, irrespectively of anything objective.

The subjectivity of Mr. Wilberforce's religious system appeared in his speaking of the corruption of human nature as the basis and groundwork of Christianity.* (We should rather have said that the basis and groundwork of Christianity was God's love.) He takes for granted that the Scriptures speak of a thorough change, a renovation of our nature, as being necessary to our becoming true Christians. This is true, no doubt, in a certain sense; but it is not true that the Scriptures speak of such a change as entirely wrought in any individual previously to his becoming a true Christian. The Scriptures describe facts already done; and the change in question is not fully wrought in any individual until he attains to the resurrection from among the dead.† That state has been attained by Christ, and probably by some of the Old Testament saints;‡ it will not be attained by us until Christ comes again the second time: but we have been baptized into Christ, and so have been granted to share partially in His resurrection-life; and in proportion as we hold our baptismal position by that habit of the spirit which is called Faith, does the germ of His resurrection-life work within us, and change our characters and practice by little and little into

* Life, chap. ii. beginning.

† *την ἐξανάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν*, Phil. iii. 11. See also Luke xx. 35.

‡ See Matt. xxvii. 52, 53.

the likeness of His. A change, a thorough change, is necessary, as Wilberforce says; but it is no more than in progress even in the most advanced Christian.

It is the same misapprehension of Scripture truth which leads Mr. Wilberforce to say, "Were we but faithful in the use of the means of grace which we enjoy, the operations of the Holy Spirit, prompting and aiding our diligent endeavours, would infallibly crown our labours with success, and make us partakers of a Divine nature." If we had not been partakers of a Divine nature already through being baptized into the Only-begotten, we should not have been able to make a single step as Christians towards Christian perfection.*

Not having learnt to look upon the Lord as Head of a body whereof all baptized persons are now members, Mr. Wilberforce is found to speak of the relation in which the Lord stands to us as a *paternal* relation.† Now the sacred writers *never* speak of the Lord as standing in this relation with respect to us.‡ It is remarkable, too, how

* In case this should seem opposed to what St. Peter says, 2 Peter i. 4, where he may seem to speak of being made to partake in the Divine nature as a thing to be aimed at even by those who are Christians already, it may be well to remark that if in this passage "these" refers to "promises," the word "promises" must then be understood in the sense of "things promised," including, first of all, the promise of regeneration in Baptism. If, however, on the other hand, it refers to "life and godliness," the implication will be that Christians have already within them the germs of those things wherein that "Divine nature" whereof they are to be partakers consists.

† Chap. iii. § 2.

‡ In Isaiah ix. 6, the probable rendering is, not "Everlasting

an ignorance of kindred truths leads him into mis-statements of palpable fact. It is, he says, the influence of the Holy Spirit which is represented in the Scriptures "as . . . quickening us when dead," as "delivering us from the power of the Devil, as drawing us to God, as translating us into the kingdom of His dear Son." To illustrate his point, he refers, in notes, to certain texts; but it will be found on examination that not one of those texts justifies his statement in regard of the points in question. The Catholic reader will not need to be reminded that Mr. Wilberforce's statements are perfectly true when taken apart from his opinions: the Holy Ghost does all the things specified, but He does them by His action upon and with the water in the Sacrament of Christian Baptism. Curiously enough, Mr. Wilberforce concludes that section of his work by saying, "The Liturgy of the Church of England strictly agrees with the representation which has been here given of the instructions of the Word of God." And still more curious, to those who have not studied the workings of fallen human nature, is the fact of his calling our dependence on our blessed Saviour "the meritorious cause of our acceptance with God:" thus substituting our faith in Christ for Christ Himself and His work.*

In Mr. Wilberforce's private journal we continually meet with records of his speaking to

Father," but either "Father of an age" (*i.e.*, giving character to an age), or, "Father of eternity." And even where the Lord addresses His disciples as "children," it is never "*My* children."

* Chap. iii. § 4.

persons on the all-important subject. But it was by his "Practical View" that he did most for the cause of Low-Church religion. Christianity, taught as it was in that book, with all its errors and mistakes, and exemplified as it was in the author's practice, could not fail to have an influence for good in proportion as the author was known; and that was more or less all over the world.

Mr. Wilberforce departed this life July 29th, 1833, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Pious Period continued. The "Clapham Sect." Henry Thornton. Zachary Macaulay. John Venn. Hannah More.

OF those who formed the nucleus of the "Clapham Sect" (as it was afterwards termed by Sydney Smith) Wilberforce was the chief in almost every way. In one part of his life Wilberforce had fixed his abode at Clapham: having become the sharer of Henry Thornton's abode, in the house which the latter had purchased in 1792. In the following year the Rev. John Venn, son of the author of the *Complete Duty of Man*, and a Low-Churchman like his father, became Rector of Clapham. And under Mr. Venn's pastorship were gathered, besides Wilberforce and Henry Thornton, several other eminent men who were like-minded with them on the all-important subject. Lord Teignmouth, the late Governor-General, who had "ruled India, as he ruled himself, by principles of justice and

truth ;” Charles Grant, the East India Director ; John Bowdler, the talented barrister and essayist ; Granville Sharpe, that clerk in the Ordnance Office, who had corrected, under a name not his own, in an important point of law, the most learned judges, and who was known as the promoter of manifold philanthropic schemes ; James Stephen, the Master in Chancery, and the vehement parliamentary denouncer of whatever he deemed unprincipled ;—all these were included in Mr. Venn’s flock, and, with other kindred spirits, formed the “ Clapham Sect.”

Of that double star, around which the lesser Evangelical luminaries of Clapham revolved, HENRY THORNTON must be deemed to have been the second in brightness and attractive force, as Wilberforce was evidently the first. Henry Thornton’s father, John Thornton, maintained the Dissenting academy at Newport Pagnell for twenty-seven years ; and sent sums yearly to the Independent minister there to supply him with books, and with means of exercising charity. Young Henry became partner, and eventually a leading one, in a bank in Bartholomew Lane ; and entered the House of Commons in or soon after 1783 as member for Southwark. He had been tempted to deem all hypocrites who made any particular profession of religion. What, however, he saw of Wilberforce convinced him that the view which he had taken of the religious world was not universally correct. Wilberforce introduced him to other valuable acquaintances, and used to take him to hear the preaching of Newton

and Scott. When John Thornton died, in 1792, Henry Thornton purchased an estate at Battersea Rise; in the house already on this estate he took up his own abode, sharing it with Wilberforce; and he built two other houses, letting one to Mr. Eliot, brother-in-law to Pitt, and the other to Mr. Grant. Like Wilberforce, he was a liberal distributor of the wealth entrusted to him by Providence: in one of the years before his marriage (which took place in the spring of 1796) he gave away between nine and ten thousand pounds; and after he had become a husband and father, his charitable expenditure never fell, in any one year, below two thousand. He shared with Wilberforce in defraying the cost of those labours which were taken by Hannah More and her sister for the civilising and Christianising of their Somersetshire neighbours. Of his connection with the *Christian Observer*, when that periodical had been started, there will be more to remark hereafter; other results of his indefatigable pen were a volume of Family Prayers and a Commentary on the Bible, composed originally for use in his own household devotions; both which works were edited, after his decease, by Sir Robert Inglis. As an independent and high-principled member of the House of Commons, he took part in various important debates and divisions; helping Wilberforce again and again with his advice. To him mainly the colony of Sierra Leone, planned in the interests of native Africans in general, and of newly liberated slaves in particular, owes its existence. "He devised the plan; he formed the company; he collected the

capital; he arranged the constitution; he chose, equipped, and despatched the settlers; he selected and sent out the governor; he corresponded constantly with him; he summoned, when needful, the committee; in every difficulty the appeal was to him. He obtained grants of money from Parliament; each year, while the colony was independent, he supported the vote on the estimates; when the colony passed to the Crown, it was he who arranged the terms."* He died January 16, 1815.

ZACHARY MACAULAY, father of Lord Macaulay, of manifold fame—critic, historic, and poetic—was the son of the Presbyterian minister of Cardross, Dumbartonshire. Sent at an early age to superintend an estate in Jamaica, with its plantations and its slaves, he learnt enough of the details of slavery to determine him to come home and work for its abolition. The Sierra Leone Company, which had obtained a royal charter in 1791, and had Henry Thornton for its chairman, appointed him in 1792 second in council in Sierra Leone, where, soon after his landing, in the following year, he became first in council and governor; and by his wise and vigorous action, restored order from confusion, obedience from mutiny, and confidence from incipient despair. He remained in the colony until, in 1799, it was (so to say) well on its legs, and with good prospects. He then became secretary to the board of directors at home, and continued so till, in 1808, the colony was trans-

* *William Wilberforce, his Friends and his Times*, by J. C. Colquhoun, p. 286.

ferred to the Crown. A hard worker already, he worked now, probably, harder than ever, as a member of the committee for the abolition of slavery. When, after all which he had done for Africa and Sierra Leone, a wretched accusation had been trumped up in 1814 by the person who had succeeded him as governor, and the committee to whom the question of his conduct had been referred had examined into the charges, and exonerated him completely, he forbore to press (as he might have done) for a censure on the promoter of the accusation, in order that he might not cause a division in the Abolitionist party. And when Abolition was carried, and slavery had ceased and become unlawful within the British dominions, he wrote in French on the state of Hayti, on the West Indies, on the French Colonies, and on the English Colonies; and thus worked towards the abolition of slavery by other powers. A clear thinker, but an unready speaker; utterly unimaginative in mind, but great in his actions, he continued to toil in the interests of humanity, and especially of Africa, until he rested from his manifold and arduous labours in May, 1838.

JOHN VENN was born in 1758: the son, as we have already remarked, of Henry Venn the elder, author of *The Complete Duty of Man*. His father sent him to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree with mathematical honours in 1781. He was ordained deacon in 1782 on his father's title, and soon afterwards, with his father, supplied the duty at St. Neot's, Huntingdonshire, for ten weeks, the Vicar of St.

Neot's being absent. On the termination of this engagement, the churchwardens and all the principal inhabitants of the parish signed a memorial to the Vicar, requesting that Mr. John Venn might be appointed curate. In January, 1783, he was presented to the rectory of Little Dunham, near Swaffham, Norfolk. In 1793 he became Rector of Clapham, and remained so until his decease, which took place July 1, 1813.

When we took up his sermons (of which three octavo volumes were published after his death) for the purpose of learning his religious views, the first sermon which we opened was No. VIII. on the doctrine of the Trinity; the text being Matthew xxviii. 19. We were astonished to find it commencing thus: "If the Scriptures *merely* spoke of the Son of God and of the Spirit of God as *Beings* whom we ought to reverence and worship, we should surely, &c. . . . But when we are baptized into their *names*," &c. This inaccuracy of language, however, is obviated in what follows, which shows that the preacher did not hold the existence of two or more *Beings* in God, or our being baptized into more than one *Name*.

In other parts of these volumes we found evidence of ordinary Low-Church deficiency in regard of theological knowledge. In a sermon on the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian dispensations, Mr. John Venn mentions six circumstances in which is shown the superiority of the present dispensation to the former one; and of these the *fourth* is "the larger and more abundant communication of the Holy Spirit," implying that the pre-

vious dispensation, or even dispensations, were to a certain extent dispensations of the Spirit; thus contradicting the express words of St. John, "The Holy Ghost was not yet [given], because that Jesus was not yet glorified,"* and contradicting also the tenor of St. Paul's arguments in more than one or two instances. By "regeneration" he understands a change of heart; and baptism admits us, according to him, "into a solemn covenant with God, in which we promise this personal change."† A curious expression this last, by the way, and especially coming from one who professed to refer all things to God's grace: as if a change of heart were our own work; and as if God's words by the Prophet, "Make you a new heart and a new spirit,"‡ were anything more than an exhortation to allow our Maker to create the new heart and new spirit within us.§ This, however, is but another instance of the slipshod character of Low-Church theology.

Among those who helped forward the cause of Christian religion in general, and of the Low-Church party in particular, a principal place will have to be assigned to HANNAH MORE. Born in 1745, the daughter of a respectable schoolmaster in Stapleton, Gloucestershire, she was brought up in a boarding-school kept by her eldest sister at Bristol, after the decease of their parents. In the summer of 1774 she came to London, and made numerous acquaintances in the literary world, such acquaintances as those of Sir Joshua Reynolds,

* John vii. 39.

† Vol. iii. Sermon vi.

‡ Ezek. xviii. 31.

§ Ps. li. 10.

Garrick, Dr. Johnson, Bishops Porteus, Lowth, and Barrington, Dr. Kennicott, Lord Chancellor Bathurst, Horace Walpole, General Oglethorpe, Lords Rodney, Macartney, and North, Sir William Jones, Dr. Perry, and Mrs. Delaney; her literary fame having preceded her. She had, however, frequent attacks of illness; when "she studied the writings of Fénelon and Pascal, and the Jansenists; . . . devoured South, Warburton, Atterbury, Barrow, and Jeremy Taylor; and she added to these the works of Baxter and Howe, Hall, Hopkins, and Doddridge," also the Epistles of St. Paul, with the commentary of Matthew Henry. A few years later she heard Newton preach, and read some of his works.

What she read and heard entered into her heart, and the fruit came out in her life. Of her work in her own neighbourhood it is not within our province to speak; though ten parishes in that neighbourhood—Cheddar and the Mendip Hills—supplied with a thousand children the schools which she established; though "the children soon showed the fruits of discipline; and lessons of Scripture committed to memory, hymns and psalms read and sung, touched the children's affections and the hearts of the parents. Collier lads and dissolute young women were reclaimed. The workers in glass-houses, who had lived in such a fashion as to entitle their place to the name of Botany Bay and Little Hell, grew ashamed of their vices, and forsook them. Farmers, cold-hearted, close-fisted, and hard as stones, became gentle and sympathising. Industrial societies and benefit

clubs dispersed new ideas, and awoke new desires. The lives of the people were altered.”* It is more to our purpose to mention those writings by which she influenced for good, and very perceptibly, the upper classes of society. *Thoughts on the Manners of the Great* received her contributions in 1788. In 1790 she brought out her *Estimate of the Religion of the Fashionable World*. These and her other works attained a high degree of popularity. *Cælebs in Search of a Wife* came out in 1809. *Practical Piety* was published in 1811, and *Christian Morals* in 1812. Her last work, *Moral Sketches*, was written in 1819. In her later years “gratifying testimonies poured in upon her both from England and America. It was found that persons moving in the higher classes of society, and exercising large influence, had received their first impressions of religion from her works.”† She died at Clifton, September 7th, 1833; and was buried at Wrington, in Somersetshire, near where John Locke lies.

We shall find it most convenient to notice her work on *Practical Piety* at a somewhat later point in the course of these ANNALS.

* *Wilberforce, his Friends and his Times*, p. 118. † *Ib.* p. 125.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Low-Church Party at the Close of the Eighteenth Century. Summary of their Religious System. Means adopted by them for Propagating their Religious Views. The Pulpit. Other Modes of Teaching. Hymnals.

It will not be amiss to take now a general view of the Low-Church party as it was at the close of the eighteenth century. From what we have noted in previous chapters, it will be perceived that the main characteristic of the party at that time was *piety in the midst of ungodliness*. General piety: love to God, arising, in individual persons, from a belief of God's love to them, and showing itself in good dispositions and good works. Towards this the fathers of the party prayed and preached and strove. "True religion," "vital Godliness," and the like are common phrases in the letters and utterances of the leaders of the movement, about the time now spoken of. And if it is desired to analyse Low-Church piety more fully, we shall find it consisting of a sense of the being and presence of Almighty God—a sense of one's own lost condition apart from Him—a belief of a certain relation between oneself and Him as an existent fact—a view of that relation as depending upon certain supposed action of God towards oneself, or (may be) upon a certain attitude of spirit on the part of oneself towards Him: the Divine action being called Grace, and the human attitude of spirit being called Faith. It is evident that where

these conditions exist, there will be found a great degree of piety, in proportion to their intensity.

Mr. Simeon's conversion (as he himself would probably have called it), and his action consequent thereupon, may be taken as a typical instance. "I continued" (he says) "with unabated earnestness to search out and mourn over the numberless iniquities of my former life; and so greatly was my mind oppressed with the weight of them, that I frequently looked upon the dogs with envy; wishing, if it were possible, that I could be blessed with their mortality, and they be cursed with my immortality in their stead. I set myself immediately to undo all my former sins, as fast as I could; and did it in some instances which required great self-denial . . . my distress of mind continued for about three months . . . But in Easter week (he means Holy week) as I was reading Bishop Wilson on the Lord's Supper, I met with an expression to this effect: 'That the Jews knew what they did when they transferred their sin to the head of their offering.' The thought rushed into my mind, What! may I transfer all my guilt to another? Has God provided an offering for me, that I may lay my sins on His head? then, God willing, I will not bear them on my soul one moment longer. Accordingly, I sought to lay my sins upon the sacred head of Jesus; and on the Wednesday began to have a hope of mercy; on the Thursday that hope increased; on the Friday and Saturday it became more strong; and on the Sunday morning (Easter-day, April 4) I awoke early with these words upon my heart and lips,

‘Jesus Christ is risen to-day; Hallelujah! Hallelujah!’ From that hour peace flowed in rich abundance into my soul; and at the Lord’s table in our chapel I had the sweetest access to God through my blessed Saviour. I remember on that occasion there being more bread consecrated than was sufficient for the communicants, the clergyman gave some of us a piece more of it after the service; and on my putting it into my mouth I covered my face with my hand and prayed. The clergyman seeing it smiled at me; but I thought, if he had felt such a load taken off from his soul as I did, and had been as sensible of his obligations to the Lord Jesus Christ as I was, he would not deem my prayers and praises at all superfluous.”*

It will be observed that the change thus described by Mr. Simeon in his religious feelings and emotions was entirely irrespective of any realisation of his baptism as having effected anything for him, or of the nature of that Person into Whom he had been baptized. The feelings and emotions which Mr. Simeon describes as having been his might quite conceivably be gone through by a heathen who was under Christian instruction, but had only heard of Christ as if He had been an individual man and no more, and had never heard about Christian baptism at all. A sense of personal sinfulness, together with a belief that God accepts the death of Jesus of Nazareth as a substitute for the death of the sinner, with, perhaps, the idea that the Lord’s resurrection from

* Carus’s Memoir of Simeon, pp. 9, 10.

the dead was an assurance of such acceptance—this was the sole ground on which the above described feelings and emotions rested.

Such feelings and emotions found large expression in the forms prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer. Guilt could hardly be acknowledged and bewailed in more appropriate terms than those put by that formulary into the lips of communicants. Utter renunciation of self as a ground of confidence before God is most suitably expressed in the words of the Daily Confession, "There is no health in us." Trust in the Divine mercy as coming through Christ alone finds utterance in the same formula; and is inculcated, in the Office for Visitation of the Sick, in that benediction which begins, "The Almighty Lord." The mode in which that mercy has been obtained is thus set forth in the Eucharistic Office: "Almighty God our heavenly Father, Who of Thy tender mercy didst give Thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption, who made there, by His one oblation of Himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world." The necessity of having new, clean, and contrite hearts is taught implicitly in the Versicles at Morning and Evening Prayer, and in the Collect for Ash Wednesday. The impossibility of doing anything without Divine grace is acknowledged in other collects; and the same may be said of the truth that we are required to do good works, and to be in ourselves righteous, pure, and holy, after the model of Christ Jesus our Lord. This made

Low-Churchmen willing to use the Prayer Book up to a certain point.

The salvation which Low-Churchmen expected to receive on account of their faith, they expected to receive at death. In this they did not differ from other professedly religious people of their time. Pope's piece entitled *The Dying Christian to his Soul* expresses very well what the general ideas were on the subject. In this matter Anglican Christians generally were at variance with the teaching of the Prayer Book ; according to which we learn to pray over those who are departed that they may have their perfect consummation and bliss in the glory of a kingdom not yet come, though it is to be hastened through our prayers. But the horror of Popery was so deeply engrained in the ordinary English mind, and the doctrine of an intermediate state, and of the duty of praying for those in that state,* was so much forgotten, that error in these matters was in general not only tolerated, but treated as if it had been the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

In short, the faith which Low-Churchmen held at the time now under consideration, and to which they sought to bring others, may be described with tolerable accuracy as a faith in Jesus crucified, and that only. The Lord's Resurrection, Ascension, and future coming were held either as matters of history, or as what were to become matters of

* "Concerning My sons, and concerning the work of My hands, command ye Me." (Is. xlv. 11.) The faithful departed are some of God's sons, and it is a part of the work of His hands to give them peaceful rest now, and joyful resurrection hereafter.

history, and no more; except so far as regarded the Intercession offered by the Lord in the highest heaven now, and His Resurrection as leading to it, which intercession was truly regarded as having results in the present.

And the reader will please to remark here that the above-named points, which formed the whole, or almost the whole, of ordinary Low-Church teaching, were entirely of a positive character. Zuinglianism was held indeed, but it was held in solution: tacitly rather than explicitly. It was not until a later period that the contact of a test caused the latent heresy to precipitate itself, and a Low-Churchman's faith (so to call it) came to include not only the positive truths above named, but sundry negations as well—denial of “the Holy Catholic Church” in the sense in which those words were taken in primitive times, and denial of God's manifold grace as ministered in sacraments and sacramental ordinances. It will be observed, too, that the Low-Churchman's faith was theoretically based on a process of the intellect. A comprehension, by the understanding, of the Divine plan of salvation as conceived by Low-Churchmen, was the necessary preliminary, in the Low-Church system, to the acceptance of that plan by the affections, in its application to one's own case.

It will thus be seen that the positive and distinctive doctrines of the Low-Church party were sound and true; nor can we doubt but the belief of them in the times whereof we have spoken was due to the special action of God the Holy Ghost, Who is the Giver of life. Unfortunately, however, the

faith of Low-Churchmen, with all the elements of truth which it contained, became perverted in their holding of it. This was because, while making much, and rightly, of faith, they had not learnt to hold *the Faith* in all its integrity. They had not learnt the truth of that article of the Creed, as it has been always held in the Church, "The Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints." They did not hold that article, either, in its connection with the previous one, "The Holy Ghost." The Divine Spirit wrought in them a belief of certain truths, but their belief of them became, as we said, perverted. In holding the truth that our salvation is of God's free grace alone, they referred the grace not to the act of God done to them severally in their baptism, but to an eternal decree, supposed to be immutable and irresistible, which forcibly converted them. In holding the truth that their sins were forgiven them on account of Christ's death, they referred the virtue of Christ's death to the same eternal decree, rather than to the fact of the Incarnation. They held not that in the Incarnation God the Son had taken the whole race of men into union with Himself, so that His acts and sufferings should be the acts and sufferings of the race, and that the benefits of the redemption thus effected should only fail where they were deliberately refused; but that God, by His eternal and immutable decree, had predestined Christ to die for such and such individuals elected from out of the race. In holding that the indwelling of the Holy Ghost is necessary for those who are to be saved, they referred that indwelling, not to the descent of

the Spirit at Pentecost upon the company of the disciples, constituting them one body in Christ, which Spirit is therefore possessed by the whole company of those who are admitted into that Body by baptism, and, according to the Divine will and plan, should be ministered to individual members in the laying on of Apostles' hands; instead of this, they referred His indwelling to a distinct advent of Him to each individual, such advent being supposed to take place when each individual severally was converted. According to them, Christian practice was not the result of the very life of Christ, wrought by the Holy Ghost in those members of Christ's body who do not refuse the Spirit's working, but so many acts of the man himself, he being induced to perform them by an intellectual consideration of the love of Christ shown towards him individually. In their theology, sacraments were not means of grace in any real sense of the words; they were only means of grace so far as they were means of increasing faith. And this faith, not being taught to rest upon Christ in sacraments, had to rest merely on the imagination; and men were taught to think thus: "Believe that you are saved, and then at once you are; believe that you are justified by faith, and then at once you are so justified." And as to the Church, we have seen how the early Reformers held the existence of two churches, a visible and an invisible; the visible church being, apparently, the aggregate of such congregations and individuals as held the chief principles of Protestantism, the rest being churches of Antichrist and synagogues of Satan,—

and the invisible church being the company of true believers, or (Calvinistically) the number of those who are predestined to eternal salvation, and concerning whom God foresees that they will be saved in point of fact. This was the view held, after the Reformers, by Low-Churchmen.*

Being, however, in reality the result of Divine grace, Low-Church faith was not unaccompanied by works. It wrought by love, and the love showed itself in action. Where it wrought most powerfully, there was manifested the fruit of the Spirit: love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, self-control. And in Low-Church people generally it showed itself in outward and actual works. Of these some were positive; such as those to be mentioned now.

The great work of all others was that of *hearing Low-Church sermons*. The good Low-Churchman was not satisfied with hearing two sermons on Sunday; he must needs have one in the week as well. Another work was *Scripture-reading*: though whether this work was done as well as talked about, and whether, if so, the doing bore to the talking any reasonable proportion is another thing; and certainly Low-Churchmen have never been remarkable for making Scripture their study, with all their theory of verbal inspiration. And a third was *making prayers*: or, if not able to make prayers oneself, attending, at all events, meetings whereat other persons

* See (*e.g.*) a passage from Waldegrave's *Way of Peace*, cited below, p. , note.

made them ; these prayers being usually, if not always, extempore.

Another important work by which a Low-Churchman might generally be known was his *observance of the Lord's day as a Jewish Sabbath*. We have spoken of the Low-Church party as inheriting the Zuinglian theology of the Reformers, handed down to them by the Puritans. Of that theology the doctrine that Sunday ought to be observed as a sabbath—or rather, as *the Sabbath*—occupied a far more prominent position with modern Low-Churchmen than it had done with the early Reformers. One or two Reformation divines, indeed—Poynt at all events*—had hinted at such a thing ; but the idea was first formally propounded, either by a Mr. Smith in a sermon on the first Sunday in Lent, 1585, before the University of Cambridge,† or by a Dr. Bound, in a treatise, *Of the Sabbath*, published ten years later ;‡ and was denoted, in the technical language of those times, by the term “Morality of the Sabbath :” by which term was meant the estimation of the fourth Commandment as a moral precept rather than a ceremonial one, and, by consequence, the binding character of that Commandment in its literal sense, in the same way as the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth Commandments are binding. This view was held in all its strictness by the Low-Church party ; it lay at the foundation of a society formed in 1831 for the observance

* See above, p. 30.

† Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 465.

‡ *Ib.* p. 577.

of the Lord's Day,* and it was to a certain extent acted upon as well. We have heard a children's song which ran thus :

“ We must not play on Sunday,
Because it is a sin :
But we may play on Monday,
On Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday,
On Friday and on Saturday,
Till Sunday comes again.

“ We must not laugh on Sunday,
Because it is a sin :
But we may laugh on Monday,”
&c., &c.

We have seen another which began :

“ Now I love the Sabbath day,
Love it better than my play :
And I very well can spare
This whole day for praise and prayer.”

Well might Charles Simeon write, “ I think that many Judaize too much, and that *they would have joined the Pharisees in condemning our Lord* on many occasions.”† It should indeed be observed at the same time, that not a few High-Churchmen adopted in theory the same view as the Low-Church one: Bishop Blomfield in particular, whose, “ Family Prayers,” in an enlarged edition, contained a prayer for Sunday which began thus, more curiously than intelligibly, “ O Lord God of the Sabbath.” But if we except Bishop Blomfield himself (and we do not know

* The principles of the society recognised directly “ the Divine and permanent obligation of this solemn institute of revealed religion.” — *Christian Observer*, for 1831, p. 122.

† Carus's Life of Simeon, p. 692.

that even he ought to be excepted), we doubt if any person not a Low-Churchman ever went as far as the Low-Church party did in carrying the theory into practice. We recollect being taught in our own childhood that it was wrong to write a letter, or pay a visit to a friend on Sunday, or to read on that day anything which was not of a religious character. A little school-fellow told us that he was allowed to use his water-colours on Sunday—a very questionable matter, as we ourselves were taught to think—provided that the subject to be coloured was “a Sunday one.” Some Low-Church people desired the Postmaster to detain until Monday all letters for them which might arrive on Sunday. Putting, however, these practical errors aside, the manner in which the Low-Church leaders observed the Lord’s day was certainly a manifestation of their piety. With them the first day of the week was not a weariness, to be shortened as much as possible by lying in bed late in the morning and retiring early at night, but the occasion of real and great spiritual enjoyment, in communion with God and Christ over and above what they had on most other days.

Mostly, however, the works which evidenced a Low-Churchman’s faith were of a negative character: such were those to be specified now: the abstaining from what were termed “worldly amusements;” that is to say, from horse-races, from stage-plays, from dancing, whether public or private, and (according to some Low-Church authorities) from evening parties; always excepting

such parties as were to have a distinctly religious character, owing to the exposition and the prayer with which the entertainment was to be wound up. When the game of croquet came into fashion, there were great discussions as to whether it also was to be included among worldly amusements, or whether it might be permitted; and we do not know that the question was ever formally settled.

The period of which we are to speak presently furnished opportunities for works of yet another kind, in the rise of numerous societies of a more or less religious character, and which had to be supported and aided by the contributions, the pens, and the labours of Low-Church people. And the succeeding period furnished in its turn opportunities for a yet greater variety of works, in the active obstruction of what was being done by some other religious people; in other words, the contradicting or undermining what other religious people taught in the way of religious belief, and the opposing what they inculcated in the way of practice. This development, however, of Low-Church principles does not appear to have commenced until a later period.

Turning now to inquire what means Low-Churchmen employed for the propagation of their views, we shall have to remark that the chief means was the pulpit; not only because the pulpit is the obvious means for propagating any religious doctrine whatever, but on this special account also, that the pulpit, according to Low-Church ideas, was the great means of

grace—the great means, that is to say, by which God would not only convert His elect, but also bring them forward in His ways. Among the chief propagators of Low-Church doctrine we do indeed find some who were not preachers; we find, for instance, a Wilberforce and a Hannah More; but the greater number of them unquestionably were clergymen, occupants of the Anglican pulpit; and we naturally inquire, then, further, what it was that gave Low-Church preaching then a force which it does not seem to have now?

Several causes may be alleged. One, the *earnestness* of the preachers. “We have had the humdrum long enough” was Mr. Ludlam’s remark to Mr. Robinson, soon after the latter had come to Leicester. And this feeling must have been general, when any Low-Churchman began to preach: those who had no more public helps to their religion than what was afforded by one of Cowper’s fashionable clergy, mentioned by us before,* must have had some of their natural inclinations enlisted on the side of the preacher, even when he attacked their habitual carelessness, their self-righteousness, or their less respectable sins.

Another cause was *their belief in their office*. Not only were the things which they said true, but they spoke them with a Divine authority; such was their belief. This was expressed on the behalf of Mr. Robinson of Leicester, in an exaggerated form, in the monument put up to his memory in St. Martin’s

* See above, p. 93.

Church ; in which “ the principal composition represents the late Mr. Robinson receiving his commission to preach the Gospel *immediately from the hands of our Saviour Himself*, who is represented as having descended on a cloud, and as placing the pastoral crosier in the right hand of Mr. Robinson ; whilst He is also committing to him the Bible, on the open page of which is engraved, ‘ *This is He who came by water and blood !* ’ ”*

Oftentimes *the manner of the preaching* was an additional commendation to the hearers, the sermon being spoken rather than read, and may be without notes. There was indeed a prejudice against this, among the educated classes of that day ; it was thought that extempore speaking was for ranting Dissenters, and not for sober Church-people. This was exemplified in Henry Martyn’s voyage to India, when his fellow-passengers begged him to preach to them written discourses. But among the lower classes this prejudice does not seem to have existed at all ; and even where it did exist, yet when it had been so far set aside that men went to hear the preacher in spite of it, it was quickly removed altogether by the pleasure of hearing a sermon such as could be heard without tedium. Here at least there was something to keep people awake.

* Vaughan’s *Account of the Rev. Thomas Robinson*, p. 293. It probably never entered either into the mind of Mr. Bacon, the sculptor, or into the mind of anybody else, that thus Mr. Robinson was represented as an *apostle*: apostles being the only ministers who receive their commission from the Lord immediately and directly, without ordination by a merely human ecclesiastical superior, and are thus “ neither of man neither by man ” (Gal. i. 1).

All this must be coupled with the fact that nowhere else in the Church of England could these characteristics be found, save in the Low-Church party; or if they could be found anywhere else, the cases were only exceptional. This indeed was the *chief* cause of the force exerted by Low-Church preachers. Nor must it be forgotten that the doctrine which the old Low-Church preachers taught was for all practical purposes new. Dr. Conyers's experience cannot have been isolated: it must have been such as a majority of the Anglican clergy of his day would have had to own, could they have been compelled to answer the question truly. "Dr. Conyers had been holden up as a pattern of what a minister should be, when, upon studying his Greek Testament one day, as his custom was, he came in the course of his reading to Ephesians iii. 8, 'Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.' 'Riches of Christ!' said he within himself: 'unsearchable riches! What have I preached of these? What do I know of these?'"* Novelty always has some attractions.

With the pulpit must be classed those other modes of teaching which, at the time whereof we speak, were, we believe, employed by Low-Churchmen alone: the familiar lecture in the cottage or school-room, and the exposition at family prayers: also the Sunday-school, and the visits of persons—mostly females—who devoted themselves to the

* Vaughan's *Account of the Rev. Thomas Robinson*, p. 254.

work of visiting the sick and poor. To the press we have already alluded in effect, when speaking of religious publications. One, however, of the most important means used for propagating Low-Church principles was the introduction of hymns into the public services of the Church—of hymns other than what might be found at the end of Sternhold and Hopkins, or Tate and Brady—and the use of regularly composed hymnals. The introduction of such hymnals was very much opposed at first by those who professed regard for Church order and Church-discipline. The introduction of one for use in a church in Sheffield without authority occasioned a suit in the Consistory Court of York. In that case the Archbishop of York acted as a mediator; undertaking to compile a selection of psalms and hymns, and print it at his own expense, for use in the same church :* and this must have tended in no small degree to encourage the use of similar hymnals.

Among these, the *Olney Hymns* must have been among the first. The book as we have it now cannot have been composed as a Church hymnal primarily: Hymn 70 in it is entitled “A Welcome to Christian Friends,” and could hardly have been sung except in a private house; and so also Hymn 71, to which are prefixed the words “At parting.” Moreover, three sets of rhyming lines at the end, to which the name of “Poems” is given, cannot have been intended for singing at all. Many however of the compositions in the volume were evi-

* *Christian Observer* for 1822, p. 433, &c.

dently composed for use in Olney Church: thus we have thirteen "hymns before annual sermons to young people, on new-years' evenings," and apparently ten more, designated as "hymns after sermons to young people, on new-years' evenings." And seven hymns are indicated as to be sung "before sermon" and eight in like manner "after sermon." And a few are "sacramental hymns," evidently meant to be sung at the celebration of the holy Eucharist. While on the subject of the *Olney Hymns*, it may be well to remark that with the exception of those compositions which are grounded on texts of Scripture, the book is almost entirely occupied with descriptions of subjective feelings and emotions: the only one of the Christian seasons for which hymns are specially provided is Christmas. And (with the above exceptions) the only special occasions for which hymns are provided are funerals.

The Olney Hymn-book, however, was but one of the first in a whole library of such literature. The hymns wherewith such books were made up (with usually, a selection from metrical versions of the Psalms) were in many cases totally unfit for use in public worship, being descriptions of individual experiences or supposed experiences, wherein no congregation whatever could be supposed to share at one and the same time. And some of the expressions used conveyed ideas which were utterly unreal: thus, after this had been sung—

"The op'ning heavens around me shine
 With beams of sacred bliss,
 If Christ reveal Himself as mine,
 And tell me I am His,"—

the next words put into the mouth of the congregation were—

“ My soul would leave this heavy clay
At that transporting word :
Run up with joy the shining way,
To see and meet my Lord.”

Doctrinal hymns expressed for the most part those truths whereof Low-Churchmen made most account, such as human corruption, and the atonement and righteousness of Christ, and those other doctrines which Low-Churchmen held, but which were more or less erroneous : as, for instance, the sabbatical character and peculiar sanctity of the Lord’s Day, set forth in such a stanza as this :

“ Another six-days’ work is done,
Another Sabbath is begun :
Return, my soul, enjoy thy rest,
Improve the day which God has blest,”

and the assumption of the faithful soul to heavenly glory immediately on its own departure from the body at death ; as in the following lines :

“ In vain my fancy strives to paint
The moment after death,
The glories that surround the saint
When he resigns his breath.

* * * * *

“ Thus much (and this is all) we know :
They are completely blest.”

* * * * *

More unsatisfactory still was an alteration of Doddridge’s well-known communion-hymn “ My

God, and is Thy table spread." The second stanza, as written by Doddridge, ran :

" Hail, sacred feast, which Jesus makes,
Rich banquet of His Flesh and Blood."

This we rejoice to deem an evidence that He Who is above all ordinances both can and does communicate the grace of His ordinances, even where to all human view the ordinances are not ministered according to His institution : for how could Doddridge have attained to the spiritual discernment of the Lord's Body and Blood, as those lines indicate that he had, if he had not been made partaker of those heavenly Things really and truly, even at his nonconformist table ? In that Low-Church hymnal, however, which was sometimes called, from its compiler, " Hall's Selection," and sometimes the " Mitre-book," from its having the figure of a mitre stamped on its cover, Doddridge's orthodox words were thus Zuinglianised :

" Hail, sacred feast, which Jesus makes,
Memorial of His Flesh and Blood."

Another alteration which might be attributed to heresy, if it had not (as we believe it had) owed its origin to a simple unreasoning fear of everything which might conceivably be done or said by Roman Catholics, was in a hymn beginning— " When our heads are bowed with woe,"—and whereof the last line in each stanza, " Jesu, Son of Mary, hear," was altered into " Jesu, Son of David, hear." A doctrinal hymn by Hart, entitled *Experience*, but which appears to be a metrical

statement of the Five Points of Calvinism, appeared in a selection by the Rev. Samuel Silver, Vicar of Fulbourne All Saints, Cambridgeshire. Here is a specimen stanza :

“ To perseverance I agree ;
 The thing to me is clear,
 Because the Lord has promised me
 That I shall persevere.”

The whole book is a master-piece in its way ; but we do not suppose it ever became popular.

CHAPTER XX.

Period of Missionary Zeal. The Church Missionary Society. The *Christian Observer*.

“ Heaven does with us, as we with torches do ;
 Not light them for themselves : for if our virtues
 Did not go forth of us, ’twere all alike
 As if we had them not.”

Measure for Measure, Act I. sc. i. .

UP to the beginning of the nineteenth century the Low-Church party can hardly be said to have had any organisation ; they were an increasing number of individuals, but that was almost all. We use the term “ organisation ” in the same sense in which it is used by persons speaking of political parties : not as signifying the formation of a corporate body with a settled constitution, and with officers appointed according to definite rules, but as expressing the conditions of a party with recognised principles both of theory and of practice, by which the said party comes to be marked off from

the rest of society, and having, moreover, certain known leaders, the generality of whose recognition, in the capacity of leaders, holds the party together.

For it is in the nature of mankind to follow leaders much more than to strike out courses independently. And hence, even when the Protestant principle of private judgment is professed in the most unlimited terms, leaders are, we believe, invariably found whose opinions are deemed to be law: and while the theory is admitted that even these leaders can be mistaken, yet the multitude who follow them are content to shape their practice on the idea that the leaders (especially when they agree together) never are mistaken in point of fact.

Such an organisation was formed through the intercourse which the old recognised Low-Church leaders had with one another; and especially in the formation of clerical societies, such as that which met annually at Creton, Northamptonshire, in 1809, or thereabouts; and that which was formed by John Venn in the neighbourhood of Little Dunham, Norfolk, and which was either the first, or one of the first, of such societies. Two events, however, took place about the time whereof we speak, and within a few years of one another, which events contributed in their several ways to make the organisation of the Low-Church party much more perfect than it had been. One of these events was the formation of the "Church Missionary Society," and the other was the starting of the *Christian Observer*. The latter was the con-

centration of Low-Churchmen's literary ability, the former was the chief concentration of their religious zeal. In the *Christian Observer* they ventilated their views and opinions—the “Church Missionary Society” was the chief agency by which they sought to carry their views and opinions into practice.

The “CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY” was formed in the year 1798. At that time there was in the Church of England not any organisation avowedly for preaching the Gospel to the heathen. There was indeed the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and there was the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: the former had been founded in 1698, and the latter in 1701. But though the laws of each of these societies admitted of its funds being appropriated for the maintenance of missionaries to the heathen, that object was with the Society for Propagation of the Gospel only a secondary one; while with the other society it can scarcely be said to have been an object at all. Of the Low-Church party, however, the missionary spirit speedily took hold, and, in the first place, of those who formed the “Clapham Sect.”

In 1783 had been formed in London a society called the Eclectic Society, the object of which was to discuss subjects of divinity with a view to mutual edification.* On the 8th of February, 1796, Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, proposed to this society the question “With what propriety, and in

* Bateman's Life of Bishop Daniel Wilson, vol. i. p. 217.

what mode, can a mission be attempted to the heathen from the Established Church?" The discussion following thereupon led to the formation of the "Church Missionary Society."* After the question had been discussed at several meetings of the Eclectic Society, a meeting was held at the Castle and Falcon Inn, Aldersgate Street, "for the purpose of instituting a society amongst the members of the Established Church for sending missionaries among the heathen." The Rev. John Venn, Rector of Clapham, was in the chair; and at this meeting was established "The Society for Missions to Africa and the East."

The Eclectic Society had been unanimously of opinion, says the Rev. John Venn, that the London Missionary Society "was not formed upon those principles which were either calculated to produce success, or to justify our publicly uniting with them."† Yet, originated as the new society was by a party in the Church rather than by the Church herself, and by a party too which was Protestant rather than Catholic, it was not likely to have been constituted on Church lines; and its relations to the Anglican Church at large might become relations not only of independence but of antagonism. For many years (we are told by a warm supporter of the society) "it was the habit of the secretaries of some of the chief missionary societies, the Church Missionary, the London, the Wesleyan, to meet at one another's offices. They

* MS. note by the Rev. Basil Woodd, one of the members present. This note is cited in Simeon's Life, p. 111.

† Simeon's Life, p. 167.

then mutually imparted the result of their experience, in the conduct of their missions, in the selection and training of missionary candidates, and the course to be pursued with heathen converts. They discussed the methods of avoiding collision at home, or any matter which might excite jealousy or discontent with their own society in the minds of their missionaries abroad. They were all engaged in one great work.”* This, however, must not, we think, be deemed the fault of those by whom the “Church Missionary Society” was first formed. The society was an outcome of spiritual life and religious zeal; and no one in those days ever dreamed that spiritual life and religious zeal had more to do with one mode of organisation than with another. Moreover, to have given the society in its birth a church-organisation properly so called would have been, almost certainly, to give it its death of inanition. Nobody in his senses would have brought into the society, and especially to be members of its executive, a number of men who would have either chilled their brethren’s hearts with their own lack of zeal, or, maybe, hindered their action by active opposition. Much therefore as we may regret that the society does not now work altogether upon Church lines, we cannot but acknowledge that it was better for it to have been constituted upon party lines than upon such lines as would practically amount to its not having been constituted at all.

* Birks’s *Memoir of the Rev. E. Bickersteth*, vol. i. p. 374.

There is another point, besides, which also, we think, has failed to receive sufficient attention. Constrained as the society was to take up a party position at home, its missionaries were constrained by the nature of things to take up a party position abroad. We do not conceive that any blame for this attached either to them or to the society; what blame was deserved on account of the matter in question was deserved by the Church at large, which had given occasion for such a state of things to arise. Desirable, as no doubt it was, that the bishop of every colonial diocese should possess full canonical jurisdiction over every Anglican clergyman ministering within that diocese, it is nevertheless certain that no colonial bishop would claim such jurisdiction of right; since no colonial bishop had been elected to his throne according to the ancient canons or customs. It is election which gives jurisdiction, just as it is consecration which conveys the spiritual gift requisite for exercising jurisdiction; and though the colonial bishops had all been validly consecrated, not one of them had been canonically elected; and hence what jurisdiction they had came only by virtue of a contract, undertaken by those who were minded to render canonical submission. This consideration, we apprehend, was not sufficiently borne in mind, even in cases where it had great importance; and the consequence was that the "Church Missionary Society" came to have in time a worse character for ecclesiastical insubordination than it really deserved.

But nevertheless, after making all allowance for

these considerations, it will still have to be admitted that the "Church Missionary Society," which soon acquired the confidence of the whole Low-Church party, did in some of its proceedings carry out the same erroneous principles of Church order which were involved in the religion of its supporters. And even had their doctrinal principles been sound, yet that alone would not have sufficed to keep them clear of serious errors in practice. For the work which they had taken upon themselves was one really beyond the powers of all of them together; for it was the work of a spiritual Episcopate, for the efficient fulfilment whereof there is ever needed a special spiritual gift. That gift is conferred in consecration to the Episcopate; but of the Episcopate no one of their committee was *ex officio* a member. Thus, we repeat, they were sure to fall into practical mistakes. And how much more then when their very churchmanship was unsound! Even Dean Milner, who subscribed liberally not only to the mission-work of the Moravians, but also to that of the Wesleyans, conceived that the "Church Missionary Society" had not taken sufficient care to secure a conformity to Anglican discipline; and apprehended that from this laxity consequences injurious both to the interests of religion and to the credit of the Church of England were likely to ensue.* And when, after Dean Milner had gone to his rest, the committee of the Society not only accepted the pseudo-ordination of Lutheran communities as

* Life of Dean Milner, p. 610.

valid, but applied for Lutheran ordination in the case of at least one successful catechist;* and when, still later, a pronounced Presbyterian became one of their recognised lay agents in the East Indies, it does not seem at all too much to say that to continue the title of “*Church Missionary Society*” involved a misnomer. The following passage from the preface to the English Ordinal will be remembered: “It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures and ancient authors that from the Apostles’ time there have been these three orders of ministers in Christ’s Church: Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. . . . To the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in the United Church of England and Ireland; no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the United Church of England and Ireland, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto according to the form hereafter following, or hath had formerly Episcopal Consecration or Ordination.” That passage too of the Catechism in which the child is taught to say, “I learn to believe . . . in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind;” a statement to which Presbyterian doctrine is flatly opposed;

* The committee expressed their desire that the “ordained” German missionaries should confer with Mr. Garnon, an English clergyman, then chaplain at Freetown, the capital of the colony of Sierra Leone, and “ordain” W. Augustine B. Johnson as a Lutheran minister; and this was accordingly done by Messrs. Renner, Butscher, and Wenzel, March 31st, 1817.—*Africa’s Mountain Valley*, by the author of *Ministering Children*, p. 58.

for according to the Presbyterian formularies Christ redeemed, not all mankind, but only a certain number elected or chosen out of mankind.*

The "Church Missionary Society" was constituted a Low-Church society, and it continued so. An attempt was made, in later years, by Mr. (afterwards Cardinal) Newman, to swamp the committee by an influx of High-Churchmen;† but the attempt did not succeed. What, Mr. Birks asks, has protected the society "from such calamities, but the ægis of their principles, furnished to them by the subscribers at large?" (whatever that last clause may mean). And when, later still, the secretary was asked to join in establishing a missionary union for Paddington, apparently between his society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he declined on the ground that such unions are fallacious things.‡ And no doubt he was right.

The other means by which the organisation of the Low-Church party was effected was the publi-

* "By the decree of God, for the manifestation of His glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others preordained to everlasting death."—*Confession of Faith*, ch. iii. § iii. "These angels and men, thus predestinated and preordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed."—*Ib.* § iv. "To all those for whom Christ hath purchased redemption, He doth certainly and effectually apply and communicate the same."—*Ib.* ch. viii. § viii. "All those whom God hath predestinated unto life, and those only, He is pleased, in His appointed and accepted time, effectually to call, by His word and Spirit."—*Ib.* ch. xi. § i. "Those whom God effectually calleth He also freely justifieth."—*Ib.* ch. xi. § i. "Christ, by His obedience unto death, did fully discharge the debt of all those that are thus justified."—*ib.* § iii.

† Birks' *Memoir of the Rev. E. Bickersteth*, vol. i. p. 448.

‡ Knight's *Memoir of the Rev. H. Venn*, p. 223.

cation of the *Christian Observer*. This periodical was started by the "Clapham Sect:" Wilberforce and his friends were the first originators of the scheme, and the first supporters of the publication; and Zachary Macaulay was the first editor. It came out every month, the first number in January, 1802, and lasted until 1875, when it was amalgamated with another periodical of considerably later date, under the title of *The Christian Observer and Advocate*, and may be considered as a fair exponent of the views generally held by Low-Church people, whether identical with one another or diverse. And being the only magazine of the kind which the Low-Church party has ever had, it may be taken as a true representative of the literary excellence of what, after the first generation had passed away, if not sooner, deserved to be called the Illiterate or Stupid party in the Anglican Church.

The design of the first promoters of the magazine, as stated in the original prospectus, was "to promote the increase of sound theological knowledge, and to delineate the characters of primitive and unadulterated Christianity. As members of the Established Church they will occasionally examine, in a temperate manner, the principles on which that Church is founded; and they will endeavour to explain and enforce the pious tendency of her rites, ceremonies, and liturgy."* And no doubt it was the honest belief of Wilberforce, and of others who had not made theology a

* Preface to the *Christian Observer* for 1838.

study, that with primitive Christianity the notions of their own party were in perfect harmony. And so said the editor, in the preface to the first volume of the New Series: "The design was to endeavour to promote the glory of God and the salvation of men, by setting forth the doctrines, and inculcating the precepts, of the Gospel, as understood and received by the Church of England. General discussions, matters of taste, science and literature, and a brief memorial of the passing events of the day, were proposed to be kept subordinate to the above leading object, and to be rendered ancillary to it. But then he proceeded to add, "By the doctrines of the Church of England was understood, generally, those tenets in which the whole family of the orthodox Protestant Reformation concur with us, as recognised in our Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy:" where it will be noticed that (after the general usage of the Low-Church party) the Liturgy is put last. The lines generally taken by the editor and contributors were in accordance with the above statements.

The first number comprised three departments, the miscellaneous, the literary, and the historical. The first had five sub-divisions: biographical (which gave a sketch of the first promulgation of Christianity), biblical, theological (including a translation of part of King Edward the Sixth's Zuinglian Catechism), ecclesiastical, and various. The literary department comprised a review of new publications, a review of reviews, &c., &c., literary and philosophical intelligence, and a list of new publications. The historical depart-

ment described the state and progress of religion, and gave a view of public affairs, a chronicle of foreign occurrences, and a chronicle of domestic occurrences; closing with an obituary, and replies to correspondents. The plan was afterwards modified, and then a number of the magazine contained religious communications, miscellaneous articles, a review of new publications, a review of reviews, &c., &c., literary and philosophical intelligence, a list of new publications, religious intelligence, a view of public affairs, and an obituary. And as to Church principles, the editor professed a strict neutrality; that is to say, he would not be the vehement partisan either of Arminianism or of Calvinism; either of High-Church, or Low-Church.* Later, however, the principles of the magazine were described by the editor as "Hookerite."† Eventually the magazine became the monthly organ of the Low-Church party exclusively.

CHAPTER XXI.

Period of Missionary Zeal, continued. Early Life of Daniel Wilson the elder. London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. Hannah More's *Practical Piety*.

IN 1802 DANIEL WILSON, who afterwards became an eminent Low-Church leader, was ordained deacon: and this therefore will be a fitting place

* Preface to vol. for 1821, p. iv.

† *Christian Observer* for 1845, p. 171.

for briefly narrating the early history of that distinguished man.

Daniel Wilson was born on the 2nd of July, 1778, in Spitalfields, where his father was a silk manufacturer. At seven years of age he was sent to school, first to Eltham in Kent, and then to Hackney; in which last place his master was the Rev. J. Eyre, who had been curate to Mr. Cecil, and was then minister of Ram's Chapel, Homerton. At fourteen years of age he became apprentice to his uncle, Mr. William Wilson, a manufacturer and merchant of silk. Of his early religious training, such as it was, he writes, "My parents, for the first years of their marriage, were a kind of loose Church people, attending regularly at Mr. Romaine's, of Blackfriars Church, in the morning of the Sunday, and at the Tabernacle, I suppose, in the evening. When their young family made the distance from Blackfriars inconvenient, they attended at a Dissenting meeting-house in their neighbourhood in the morning, and at Spitalfields Church in the evening. My schoolmaster, however, being a clergyman, though not strictly regular, I was accustomed to the Church service during the four years of my residence with him. When I went to live with my uncle, before I was fourteen, an entire change took place in these respects, for he was a strict and conscientious Churchman, attending first Mr. Romaine, and after his death Mr. Crowther, of Christ Church, Newgate Street, Mr. Cecil, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Basil Woodd." The evening lecture at Spitalfields Church was preached at this time by the

Rev. Richard Cecil alternately with the Rev. J. Foster. At this period Mr. Wilson professes himself to have been living in sin, and not only without prayer, but remarked for his irreverent conduct at church. Calvinism appears to have been the only form of religion which he knew. On one occasion he was urging the logical consequence of this system, viz. the non-responsibility of man. A companion in the warehouse remarked that God, Who appointed the end, had also appointed the means. Wilson replied that he had none of those feelings towards God which God required and approved. "Well, then," said the other, "pray for the feelings." Daniel Wilson did so, thinking that he would be able to say that he had done all he could; but his prayers were soon answered, in the rise within him of an uneasiness about his spiritual state. He then communicated with his old master, Mr. Eyre, with his mother, and with the Rev. John Newton, then rector of St. Mary Woolnoth. The ministry which he received from these persons appears to have been, as indeed might have been expected, mainly a searching into Wilson's subjective feelings, instead of teaching him, as a Christian Evangelist ought to have done, the truths of Universal Redemption, and his own baptismal standing in Christ. But though Wilson was thus continually despairing, yet that Lord into Whom he had been baptized, and Whose grace, therefore, was ever with him, though he knew it not, did not allow his faith to fail altogether: in making his first Communion in October, 1797, he received the sacrament not only to his spiritual

life, but also to his comfort and joy. About the same time he felt a desire to become a minister in the Church. Various obstacles opposed themselves in his way to holy orders, but were in due time removed; and having resided the requisite time at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, and taken his B.A. degree in March, 1801, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Brownlow North, of Winchester, on the 20th of September in the same year, to the curacy of Chobham and Bisley, whereof the Rev. Richard Cecil was rector. And there we shall leave him for the present.

In the year 1809 was founded the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. This society was not constituted on Church lines, any more than the "Church Missionary Society." In fact, the character of its Churchmanship was seen in its fundamental rules; for Rule I. enacted that the officers of the society must be members of the United Church of England and Ireland, *or (if foreigners) of a Protestant Church*; and Rule II. that public worship and the education of the children under the society, *within the United Kingdom*, should be conducted in strict conformity with the principles and formularies of the Established Church. (The reader will note the limiting qualifications which we have expressed in italics.) Thus Mr. Nicolayson, the society's missionary at Jerusalem in the year 1839, was quite within his engagements to the society when, on the visit of the Presbyterian ministers, Dr. Black, Dr. Keith and Mr. McCheyne, he not only administered

Holy Communion to at least one person who was not kneeling, but admitted Dr. Keith to join with him in the ministration;* thus contravening both Rubric and Canon. Whether or not, however, as a result of increased manifestation of love and care for God's ancient people in the formation of this society, certain it is that at this same time the several Protestant missionary organisations "suddenly emerged from a state of comparative obscurity, and by a kind of simultaneous movement engrossed the popular favour and sanction from one extremity of the kingdom to the other."†

Two years later there appeared Hannah More's *Practical Piety*, of which we may here give a brief account.

The object of the work was very similar to the object of Wilberforce's *Practical View of Christianity*, except that it was not so avowedly polemical. It was to describe Christianity as a principle springing from the heart and influencing the practice. And, like the work of Wilberforce, it can, we suppose, be read by no sincere Christian without advantage. It manifests, however, very abundantly the defects of that religious system which the authoress had embraced. It manifests an ignorance of the way in which the principle of Christian religion is conferred, and an ignorance of the Christian dispensation as a dispensation — nay, *the* dispensation — of the Spirit.

* *Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews*, p. 189. *Memoir and Remains of the Rev. R. M. McCheyne*, p. 560.

† Grimshawe's *Memoir of the Rev. Legh Richmond*, p. 129.

“Our blessed Redeemer,” we read, “in overcoming the world, bequeathed us His command to overcome it also ; but as He did not give the command without the example, so He did not give the example without the offer of a power to obey the command.” By the mission of the Holy Ghost, Christ has *given* the power generally ; and God, by causing us to be baptized into Christ, has conveyed the power to us in particular. This, however, Hannah More did not know. “Genuine religion” (we read again) “. . . . puts the Christian into a new state of things, a new condition of being.” By this, Hannah More probably meant no more than that when a Christian’s religion is genuine, that Christian has been put into a new state of things, into a new condition of being. But even this account would not convey a right notion of the case. It would most naturally be understood as meaning that genuineness of religion is the preliminary condition to which the being in a new state of things is the consequence. Whereas, however necessary may be the inquiry of a good conscience after God* as a preliminary to baptism, it is baptism which brings us into the new condition wherein we can show, and ought to show, a genuine religion. As Hannah More truly points out, genuine religion “is a dedication.”† And a dedication of self to God can only be done in the perfectly dedicated One, that is, Christ : and it cannot be done in Christ until we are made one with

* *συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν*, 1 Peter iii. 21.

† Chapter i.

Christ, and we are made one with Christ by being baptized into Him. This, however, Hannah More did not know.

The grounds of the religion inculcated in *Practical Piety* are entirely subjective. The authoress describes the happiness of a Christian as consisting "in a settled, calm conviction that God and eternal things have a predominance in his heart:" not seeing that that settled, calm conviction is but one of those "frames" of mind in which (as she has just said, and most truly) true Christianity does *not* consist. And not realising the objective character of that life which we have of God, by Christ, and which is, in fact, Christ's own life, given to Him while in the disembodied state, and with a view to His resurrection on the third day,* and communicated to us when we are baptized into Him, she speaks of the Divine principle within us as if it were a mere motive.

Nor does she realise the nature of outward religious observances in general. These, she says, "were merely constituted to rouse our forgetfulness, to awaken our secular spirits, to call back our negligent hearts They were designed to excite holy thoughts, to quicken us to holy deeds."† We should have rather said that some were designed and appointed as means whereby we might receive grace from God, and the rest as means of expressing towards God the results of that grace which we have already received. To the former class

* θανατωθεῖς μὲν σαρκί, ζωοποιηθεῖς δὲ πνεύματι, 1 Peter iii. 18.

† Chapter iii.

belong sacraments and sacramental ordinances; and, in a secondary sense, preaching and teaching of all kinds; while to the latter class belong all the forms and ways of Divine worship and its belongings. She looked upon the Holy Communion as a means for strengthening faith, quickening repentance, awakening faith and kindling charity; but does not seem to have realised it as a means of increasing our spiritual life and strength. So little, according to her, has the outward act of baptism to do with the inner life, either directly or indirectly, that "an irreligious professor of Christianity is as much 'a stranger and a foreigner' as a heathen; he is no more 'a fellow-citizen of the saints, and of the household of God,' than a Colossian or Galatian was before the Christian dispensation had reached them."*

It is, perhaps, hardly fair to the authoress to cite the following as an illustration of her theology; but if so cited it will not prove a false illustration. In a chapter on the love of God she is urging an entire devotion to God on the ground of what He has done for us; and we come to the following passage: "The best we can offer is poor, but let us not withhold that best. He deserves incomparably more than we have to give, let us not give Him less than all. If He has ennobled our corrupt nature——" Here, forgetting, when we were reading the passage, both the authoress herself and her theology, and thinking only about her subject, we expected to

* Chapter ix.

find, on turning over the leaf, that the sentence would proceed somewhat thus: "by joining our fallen nature to Himself in the sinless person of His Eternal Son;" but we found only "with spiritual affections;" the authoress thinking about what God does to people individually now, rather than about what He did for all mankind once for all in the Incarnation. And the subjectivity of her religion leads her in one instance to write what to ordinary people sounds utter nonsense: "Alas! the heart is not the home of a worldly man, it is scarcely the home of a Christian."*

But although the theological views taught in the *Practical Piety*, being substantially the same as those taught in Wilberforce's *Practical View of Christianity*, were thus defective and erroneous, yet it was probably not so much the character of their theology which caused such an increase to the ranks of the Low-Church party, as the impetus which they gave to the cultivation of personal religion in general, together with the fact that, at the time when the authoress wrote the best preachers of personal religion were Low-Churchmen. When a person rose up from the study of such works, and inquired after more teaching, the Low-Church school was the only one which made itself known to him as likely to satisfy his spiritual requirements.

CHAPTER XXII.

John William Cunningham. Edward Bickersteth. Promotion of Milner and Ryder. Sumner's *Apostolical Preaching*. Controversy on Baptism. Irish Society. Calvinistic Secession. Newfoundland School Society. May Meetings.

THE same year (1811) which witnessed the publication of the *Practical Piety* saw the Rev. JOHN WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM Vicar of Harrow. He had been born in London, January 3rd, 1780, and had, with his parents, attended the ministry of the Rev. Basil Woodd at Bentinck Chapel, and sometimes that of Newton or Romaine. At Cambridge he heard Mr. Simeon, and Robert Hall, then preaching to the Anabaptist congregation there. At the age of twenty-two he was ordained by Bishop North of Winchester to the curacy of Ripley, in Surrey: after a year he took that of Ockham, in the same county, whence he removed to Clapham, of which parish the Rev. John Venn was then rector; and associated with Grant, Thornton, and Wilberforce. At Harrow (where he remained till his decease in 1861) he got the more distant hamlets of his parish separated into three distinct districts, each with its church: the third church being consecrated after his decease. And in the mother parish he got the church restored, and schools erected, with various parochial machinery at work.

Either in 1811 or in 1812 was founded the CHURCH OF ENGLAND TRACT SOCIETY, which was warmly commended in 1822 by the *Christian*

Observer.* In the year 1815 there entered the holy ministry a man who was destined to become an eminent leader of the Low-Church party : and who, by the amiability of his conduct even towards those of opposite ways of thinking, deserved the respect with which he was regarded by his brethren of all parties. EDWARD BICKERSTETH was born on the 19th of March, 1786, at Kirkby Lonsdale, in Westmoreland. His father, Henry Bickersteth, was a surgeon, and a man of "strict integrity and great weight of moral character : " his mother, a woman of strong and energetic mind, but withal very affectionate. They saw nothing wrong in going to balls or playing at cards ; but studied to train their children in the fear of God and in the way of His commandments. Edward was sent to Kirkby Lonsdale Grammar School till he was fourteen, when he got an appointment in the Dead Letter Office. At Easter 1803, on his mother's request, he made his first Communion, about four years after his confirmation. In the same year he drew up certain rules of conduct, in which he purposes to attend Divine Service twice, if possible, every Sunday, to say the Lord's Prayer every morning and evening, to read a chapter in the Bible every evening, and nothing at all on a Sunday except what might tend to encourage religious thoughts ; to spend half an hour daily in religious duties ; and to communicate at least four times a year. On Easter Day, 1804, he resolves to pray

* *Christian Observer* for 1822, p. 324.

three times daily, and to communicate at least six times in the year. In 1805, with a view to bettering his circumstances, he got employment in a solicitor's office in the evening, without parting with his appointment in the Post Office; and towards the end of 1806 he became a regularly articulated clerk. He had already had his religious impressions deepened by reading Hervey's *Theron and Aspasio*.

About the same time he appears (says his biographer) to have had an opportunity of communicating every week; implying that he availed himself thereof. In 1807 he remarks in his private journal, "It is Lent; I have hardly once exercised self-denial and kept a fast." We are left to infer from incidental expressions in his diary that he derived his religious views mainly from religious books and hearing sermons. Among the books which he read, Doddridge seems to have been a favourite; for he writes to his mother, "It was no small pleasure to find that Doddridge was so acceptable to one I hold so dear."* And the preachers whom he regularly heard were Mr. Budd and Mr. Pratt: the latter, no doubt, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, who guided the studies of Daniel Wilson, lately mentioned, when the latter was preparing for Oxford.

Soon after his marriage (which took place in 1812) he settled in Norwich as a solicitor, and immediately began to interest himself in the spiritual welfare of the place, by starting a

* Birks' Life of Bickersteth, vol. i. p. 138.

Sunday school and a benevolent society, the objects of which last included originally religious instruction. A "Church Missionary" association also owed its origin to him. At this time he had (and, it is probable, not undeservedly) the reputation of being a Calvinist.

A desire to do good to souls had led him for some time to desire the work of the ministry: the principal work in which he probably supposed to be preaching and teaching. In 1815 he opened his mind to his friend Mr. Pratt; and was asked in return to give up his profession, to seek ordination at the hands of the Bishop of Norwich (Dr. Bathurst), to come up to London, to assist Mr. Pratt in his chapel and in the office of the Church Missionary Society as assistant secretary, and to superintend those who were preparing for active service as missionaries of the Society. And here may be given an extract from a letter written to him at this time by Mr. Budd, which is curious as showing the views held by the Low-Church party as to the nature of the Christian ministry; views subsequently indorsed by Mr. Birks, Mr. Bickersteth's biographer: "You are not a Christian of yesterday. You are not a minister of yesterday. You have long been a minister—without imposition of hands, indeed, but acting under the indisputable and powerful motion of the Spirit. You have not administered the Sacraments, or appeared in a pulpit before the great congregation; but you have performed all the functions of a minister except these."* An

* Birks' Life of Bickersteth, vol. i. p. 238.

extract also from a letter written about the same time from Mr. Bickersteth himself is interesting, partly as giving the grounds of his conclusion that in speaking of every baptized person as regenerate, the Church does not mean that every baptized person is regenerate in point of fact, and partly from the charming simplicity with which he proposes to get ordained by a Christian bishop on the recommendation of an unbaptized Quaker: "I have been reading carefully the Articles, Canons, and Liturgy, and after some doubts and difficulties, feel satisfied our Church holds no doctrine not contained in the Scriptures, and that her forms tend greatly to edification. My greatest doubt was whether they did not identify Baptism and Regeneration, and though I think their ideas were obscure on this subject, I am now satisfied, particularly from the Homily on Whitsun day, and the Article on Baptism, that they did consider them quite distinct. I am now going through the Homilies.

"I think there will probably not be much difficulty in getting ordained by the Bishop. Should my present sentiments continue, I propose to get a letter to the Bishop, either from J. J. Gurney, or from Mr. H——, both of whom have considerable influence with him: and to go to him in about a fortnight, state my plans, and ask him if he can ordain me."*

Events proved that Mr. Bickersteth knew what he had to count upon. The Quaker saw the Bishop without Mr. Bickersteth's knowledge;

* Birks' Life of Bickersteth, vol. i. pp. 239, 240.

told the Bishop of Mr. Bickersteth's views, and gave his opinion of Mr. Bickersteth's character: and after some delay, in order, apparently, that the Bishop might be able to satisfy himself as to Mr. Bickersteth's knowledge of Latin and other learning, Mr. Bickersteth was ordained deacon on the 10th of December, 1815; and advanced to the priesthood on the Feast of St. Thomas next ensuing, on a letter dimissory to the Bishop of Gloucester. The rapidity of this advancement seems to have been owing to his being wanted by the "Church Missionary Society" to visit their African missions, and to put both missions and missionaries in order. Mr. Bickersteth fulfilled the visitation, and, on his return to England, added, to the duties of the Society's office, that of ministering in Wheler Chapel, Spitalfields, on Sunday afternoons, when he was in town.

The same year (1815) in which Mr. Bickersteth was ordained witnessed what was, we believe, the first promotion of a Low-Church clergyman to the episcopal bench. Isaac Milner had been made Dean of Carlisle in 1792, and the Hon. Henry Ryder, Canon of Windsor in 1808, and Dean of Wells in 1812; and now the latter dignitary was consecrated to the see of Gloucester.

In the same year was published a work with this title: *Apostolical Preaching considered in an Examination of St. Paul's Epistles*. The author was the Rev. John Bird Sumner, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury. He pointed out how uniformly the Apostle addressed his readers as

regenerate, and apparently in virtue of their baptism. This led more than one Low-Churchman to infer that St. Paul considered those whom he was addressing to have been regenerate really and truly. This inference had not occurred to the author, and he in consequence of it modified his language in the second edition of his work, so as to avoid teaching Baptismal Regeneration. But the alteration came too late to stop certain Low-Churchmen from embracing the Scriptural and Catholic doctrine, affirmed by the Church of England in the case of every person baptized according to her rules.

A controversy was carried on in the following year (1816) on the subject of Baptism, Dr. Mant having published a pamphlet maintaining that all baptized persons were regenerate, and all unbaptized persons unregenerate. The Rev. John Scott, of Hull (son, if we are not mistaken, of Thomas Scott, the Commentator), and the Rev. T. J. Biddulph, of Bristol, controverted these positions. Dr. Mant's pamphlet, however, was put upon the Tract List of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Upon this, Daniel Wilson, then Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, published (but anonymously) "a respectful address on certain inconsistencies and contradictions which have lately appeared in some of the Society's books and tracts;" the allusion being to Dr. Mant's tract, which, the writer alleged, contradicted the statements of at least fifty other tracts on the Society's list. On the 3rd of February a meeting of the Society was held, in which, after a

tumultuous debate, notice was given of a motion to be brought forward on the 5th of March, "that the Society would take into consideration such contradictions as might appear in their tracts;" and the final result was that a new edition of Dr. Mant's tract was published, in which all those expressions on which the controversy turned were either expunged or modified*—a proof of the increasing strength of the Low-Church party. Next year (1817) Mr. Wilson preached, before the University of Oxford, a sermon on Regeneration, in which he admitted baptismal regeneration, but denied that it was necessarily real regeneration!

In 1817 was established in Dublin the Irish Society. The objects of this Society were, the diffusion of education, and the distribution of the Scriptures, the Prayer Book, and school books in the Irish language. And in 1818 was formed the Merchant Seamen's Bible Society, with the object of selling or presenting copies of the Holy Scriptures on board outward-bound merchant vessels. In or about the latter year there took place a secession of ultra-Calvinists from the ranks of the Church of England to those of Dissent. Of this secession we have been able to learn hardly anything, save the fact that there was one. Who seceded, or how many they were, or to what bodies they betook themselves, we know not; unless it was to a beginning of the same secession that Simeon refers when, writing on the 25th of

* Bateman's Life of Bishop Wilson of Calcutta, vol. i. chap. viii.

November, 1815, he says, "Five pious young men are running into Huntingdon's and Dr. Hawker's principles, and are leaving the Church."* From some passages, however, in a work written about twenty years later, it would seem that not a few of them learnt a better theology than Calvinism, and fell in with a movement which came to be named after Edward Irving,† but the adherents of which, according to Dr. Döllinger, had too much truth in their system to be either numerous or popular.

In 1823 was formed another Low-Church society—the "Newfoundland School Society," apparently in rivalry of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. And the mention of this and the like societies leads naturally to a glance at the manner in which the working of them contributed to the organising of the Low-Church party as a party. For some time past the first fortnight in May had been dedicated to meetings in aid of various religious societies, and attendance at such meetings formed a species of religious dissipation to which Low-Church people flocked. And as the *élite* of society in general came up to London for the season of balls, concerts, and other entertainments, so those Low-Church people who could afford it

* Carus's *Life of Simeon*, p. 417. Mrs. Wilson (*née* Fry) writes, February 6, 1843, thus: "I do not know to what particular period of separation your extract refers. If to that of the ultra-Calvinist separation, under Messrs. . . . &c., they long ago broke up, and God and the world took each their own amongst them."—"Autobiography," 2nd edition, p. 210.

† See *Christian Observer* for 1839, pp. 361, &c.

came up for the purpose of attending the May meetings. And as when the parliamentary season is over, honourable members encourage their constituents in those political views with which they themselves are identified, so in the summer and autumn it was the practice of Low-Churchmen to hold meetings of various missionary associations, and of associations with kindred objects, all over the country, at which deputations from London attended and spoke. In the memoir of one who was born in 1825 the following account is given of her experiences of such: "The holding of religious meetings was one of the most important features of life in our town. There was every possible variety of societies in whose behalf these assemblies were held, but the chief among them all was the Church Missionary Society. The whole religious world of Hull combined to do honour to the yearly meetings of that society, held inside the largest church of the place. The townspeople flocked in families to the church on those occasions, when, instead of the pulpit, a large platform covered with green baize faced the congregation; chairs were studded over the platform, and in the middle there stood a table with glasses of water upon it, and a dish of delicious-looking oranges, wherewith the clergymen were wont to refresh themselves when wearied with their discourses. To the eyes of us children, that old green baize platform was just a symbol of the comfortable side of religion, saying to us once every year, 'Now we are going to have a right pleasant time of it together.' And we did

have decidedly amusing times, listening to queer stories about the heathen, regaling ourselves with sweet biscuits, of which all children were allowed a liberal supply at meetings, putting money into the plate at the collection, and finally going home rather late in the afternoon with a consciousness of having had a jolly holiday, and of having, at the same time, advanced the world a stage or two towards the millennium.”*

By the tours which the deputations from the societies made all over the country in the interests of the societies severally, the organisation of the Low-Church party was improved. The principal persons in the party came to know one another better than they had done before—by reputation at least, and oftentimes personally; common sympathies were exchanged, and common opinions were more confidently promulgated, and gained strength by circulation. And this brings us to present the reader with a notice of the Rev. LEIGH RICHMOND, who was very energetic in the cause of more than one Low-Church society, and who thus must have contributed in no small degree to the spread and establishment of the party.

* *Memoirs of Annie Keary*, pp. 36, 37.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Period of Missionary Zeal continued. Legh Richmond: his Conversion and Labours. Mr. Stewart's Efforts towards Prayer for Spiritual Revival. Controversy about Hymns. Discussion concerning Unfulfilled Scripture Prophecy. Mr. Drummond's Meetings at Albury. Dr. Charles Richard Sumner consecrated Bishop of Llandaff.

LEGH RICHMOND was born at Liverpool, on the 29th of January, 1772. His father, Dr. Henry Richmond, was a physician, who practised first at Liverpool and afterwards at Bath. His mother was a pious woman, and did her best to bring up young Legh in piety. On account of the lameness caused by an accident in his childhood, he was never sent to a public school. In 1789 he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took a foundation scholarship, and was placed each year in the first class at the college examinations; but, on account of ill-health, did not take honours, but was only allowed his degree as an *aegrotans*. He was ordained deacon in June, 1797, and in July following entered on the curacies of Brading and Yaverland, in the Isle of Wight. He was ordained priest in February, 1798.

“Mr. Richmond” (says his biographer) “appears to have entered on the ministry with the desire and aim of discharging its important duties in a conscientious manner, and he manifested such propriety of conduct in his moral deportment, and in the general duties of his new charge, as to procure for him the character of a highly respectable and useful young clergyman. A few months,

however, after his residence at Brading a most important revolution took place in his views and sentiments, which produced a striking and prominent change in the manner and matter of his preaching, as well as in the general tenour and conduct of his life. This change was not a conversion from immorality to morality, for he was strictly moral, in the usual acceptation of the term. Neither was it a conversion from heterodoxy to orthodoxy: but it was a conversion from orthodoxy in name and profession to orthodoxy in its spirit, tendency, and influence. . . .

Shortly after he had entered on his curacies, one of his college friends, who was on the eve of taking holy orders, had received from a near relative Mr. Wilberforce's *Practical View of Christianity*. This thoughtless candidate for the momentous charge of the Christian ministry forwarded the book to Mr. Richmond, requesting him to give it a perusal, and to inform him what he must say respecting its contents. In compliance with this request, he began to read the book, and found himself so deeply interested in its contents that the volume was not laid down until the perusal of it was completed. The night was spent in reading and reflecting upon the important truths contained in this valuable and impressive work. In the course of his employment the soul of the reader was penetrated to its inmost recesses. . . .

From that period his mind received a powerful impulse, and was no longer able to rest under its former impressions. A change was effected in his views of divine truth, as decided as it was influen-

tial. He was no longer satisfied with the creed of the speculatist—he felt a conviction of his own state as a guilty and condemned sinner, and, under that conviction, he sought mercy at the Cross of the Saviour. There arose in his mind a solemn consciousness that, however outwardly moral and apparently irreproachable his conduct might appear to men, yet *within* there was wanting that entire surrender of the heart, that ascendancy of God in the soul, and that devotedness of life and conduct, which* distinguishes morality from holiness; an assent to divine truth, from its cordial reception into the heart; and the external profession of religion, from its inward and transforming power. The impressions awakened were therefore followed by a transfer of his time, his talents, and his affections to the service of his God and Saviour, and to the spiritual welfare of the flock committed to his care. But while his mind was undergoing this inward process, it is necessary to state how laborious he was in his search after truth. The Bible became the frequent and earnest subject of his examination, prayer, and meditation.”† And to the study of the Scriptures he soon joined the study of the writings of the Zuinglian Reformers. He also in one place speaks of having diligently perused the primitive fathers—meaning, apparently, some of them.

At this period he seems to have done his church

* We suppose the writer to mean, “the lack of which.”

† Grimshawe’s *Memoir of the Rev. Legh Richmond*, pp. 14, &c. The last sentence probably means that he was frequent and earnest in examining the Bible, praying about it, and meditating upon it.

duties after the ordinary Low-Church manner, preaching twice on Sunday, giving a lecture to infirm people and others at Bembridge once a week, and meeting a private religious society once a week at Brading, where he appears to have resided. On one Ash Wednesday he speaks of himself in his diary as lacking the spirit of mortification and self-denial; but it does not appear that he ever dreamed of week-day prayers on any occasion when there was not to be a sermon. On the 24th of March, 1804, he writes, "I purpose to preach five evening lectures next week, on the progress, nature, and extent of Christ's sufferings." The week of which he thus spoke would seem to have been Holy Week, for by a comparison of dates (the entry following being dated the 23rd), we infer that 24 was an error, perhaps for 21.

In the beginning of 1805 he was asked to become assistant to the Rev. T. Fry, chaplain of the Lock Hospital, and went to London with that view. After a few weeks, however, he was offered the rectory of Turvey, in Bedfordshire, was inducted on the 30th of July, and commenced residence in the following October. The parish had been much neglected; and Mr. Richmond's immediate predecessor had held the living for too short a time to effect much in the way of improvement. There was, therefore, much for Mr. Richmond to do, and he appears to have lost no time in beginning. On Sundays "there were two regular full services:" that is, apparently, in the forenoon, Mattins, Litany, Communion-service to end of Nicene Creed, and sermon; and in the afternoon, Evensong and

sermon. In addition hereto Mr. Richmond seems to have said Evensong a second time in the evening, as a preliminary to a sermon for the special benefit of the young. "His week-day labours commenced with what he called his Tuesday-night cottage lecture, from its being held successively in the cottages of the poor, whom he assembled for the purpose of more familiar and direct instruction than could be usefully or suitably delivered in public. On Friday evening a lecture was delivered in the church, the prayers for the evening service being previously read; and once a month he met the communicants, on the Saturday preceding the Sacrament. He had also a weekly service at the workhouse. But his labours were not confined to public instructions; like his Divine Master, 'he went about doing good.' At the cottages of the poor he was a frequent visitor."*

Nor were these labours without a blessing in their success, even then. "Instances were not unfrequent of sound and solid conversion; and even those who received little spiritual benefit, learned to treat religion with respect, and began to exhibit a decency of deportment. Vice did not lift up the head with its wonted effrontery; nor was sin committed with the same fearless unconcern and disregard to its consequences."†

Mr. Richmond was particularly careful in preparing candidates for communion. "The person proposing himself for the communion was examined, and a year of probation was recom-

* Memoir, p. 81.

† *Ib.* p. 93.

mended to him, for the trial of his sincerity, and the manifestation of it by a consistent and virtuous conversation. Perhaps" (adds Mr. Richmond's biographer) "there were few communions which exhibited a more satisfactory piety; and the attendants at the Sacrament were, for the most part, the fruits of his own ministry and the dearest objects of his heart: he was regarded by them as a father; they consulted him on all occasions, and received advice and sympathy in all their affairs, both temporal and spiritual."*

Nor did these engagements make him forget the important business of his own personal religion. On the 10th of March, 1804, he writes in his diary, "Let me ever keep it in faithful remembrance that I preach to my own heart first, and then to my people's." Mr. Grimshawe once asked him with reference to his exertions when on missionary tours, "Whence do you obtain supplies for these extraordinary demands?" He does not relate in express terms the answer which he received, but adds, "Mr. Richmond in these circumstances felt his need of redoubled watchfulness and prayer: he not only rose early in the morning to seek communion with the Father of spirits, and retired as early as circumstances allowed, from the converse of men, that he might renew his strength in waiting upon God; but it was the constant habit of his mind throughout the day, by secret ejaculations, to draw down help

* Memoir, p. 94.

from above. Besides this, he had by previous research collected his materials, and by close study had so mastered his subject, that he required less time for preparation than most men. He would often arrange his ideas for a sermon, as he was travelling to the place where it was to be delivered; and the abundance of his resources, together with a remarkable facility of utterance, contributed to lessen his labour. What most excited surprise was the diversified manner in which he would treat the same subject. An esteemed friend of the writer's" (Mr. Grimshawe's) "once assured him that he went to hear Mr. Richmond preach three sermons on the same Sunday, for one of the public institutions. He said he expected there would be, of course, a similarity in the discourses; and yet they proved to be as varied as if they had been delivered by three different preachers."* Elsewhere he says, "The singular simplicity and unfeigned humility of Mr. Richmond was a great preservative from the ensnaring tendency of human applause. The writer can declare, from long observation of his friend, that no man more uniformly abstained from the language of praise towards others, or discouraged it more unreservedly towards himself."†

We have already alluded to some missionary tours undertaken by Mr. Richmond. Soon after his arrival and settlement at Turvey he began to devote much energy to promoting the causes of some newly-formed religious societies—the

* Memoir, p. 169.

† *Ib.* p. 172.

“Church Missionary Society,” the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, and the British and Foreign Bible Society: making tours for preaching, and for addressing meetings, in the several interests of these. And his biographer tells us, “So far from being injured by his exertions abroad” (*i.e.*, outside his parish), “he seemed to be invigorated and fitted for the better discharge of his duties at home; and his return from these missionary tours was ever accompanied by some signal revivals in his church and family.”* For these tours he received no pecuniary recompense, except, we presume, the refunding of his travelling expenses. Soon after the formation of the Religious Tract Society, he became, on the request of that society’s committee, one of its secretaries; receiving, at the same time, the guarantee for which he had asked, that tracts hostile to the doctrines of the Church of England should not be circulated by the Society. This was in 1811, or thereabouts.

What Mr. Richmond understood to be the doctrines of the Church of England may be inferred from his admiration of the Zuinglian Reformers, a selection from whose works, under the title *The Fathers of the English Church*, he published. On the 1st of February, 1804, he writes, “I am studying the Augsburg Confession on Justification. It appears decisive against Daubeny. Oh, for a full application of the doctrine to my own soul!” In explanation of this it must be

* Memoir, p. 148.

remarked that a clergyman named Overton had written a work entitled *The True Churchman Ascertained*, in vindication of the claims of the Low-Church party to be accounted true Churchmen. Archdeacon Daubeny thereupon brought out a work entitled *Vindicis Ecclesie Anglicanae*, in defence of himself and his like-minded brethren against the charge, expressed or implied by Mr. Overton, of corrupting sound doctrine. This work was criticised by Mr. Richmond in a review which appeared in the *Christian Observer* for 1804. In this review Mr. Richmond speaks of baptismal regeneration and spiritual regeneration as two different things. And in pointing out what he deems an error in Mr. Daubeny's doctrine, he speaks of one point of view from which Mr. Daubeny's subject—the question of divine election, predestination, &c.—was contradicted by the English Reformers and their immediate successors, and notices Mr. Daubeny's having omitted to contemplate his subject from the same point of view, and so having led himself and others into error: the said point of view being the nature and constitution of the Christian Church. We have not read Mr. Daubeny's work ourselves, but we think it highly probable that Mr. Richmond has, from his standing-point, hit the nail on the head: only instead of pointing out the source of error in Mr. Daubeny, he has correctly indicated the source of error in himself. He is in error as to the nature of the One Catholic Church, because he is in error as to the One Baptism.

Mr. Richmond's views as to "the order and way

of man's salvation" are thus briefly stated by him: "God's love and free mercy in Christ Jesus the *originating* cause. Christ's death and merits the *procuring* cause. Faith the *instrument* whereby it is apprehended; and works the *necessary fruits* of true faith, and the indispensable evidence of our possessing it."* It will be observed that thus the Sacraments are entirely ignored; though the Church Catechism expressly declares them to be means whereby we receive God's grace. From Mark xvi. 16, the words "and is baptized" are practically erased. After this it will not be a matter for surprise that he should have consented to his eldest daughter's becoming the wife of a Presbyterian minister, of whom he wrote, "His views of faith and practice exactly accord with my own." †

Of course, with Calvinistic views rather than Catholic ones, Mr. Richmond could not be expected to carry out as a parish priest the system of the Church of England. In his church the font was to be found, not near the door, as the canon requires, but near the east end—apparently in a chancel aisle. And when an Anabaptist minister objected to the Anglican Liturgy on the ground that it assumed the sincerity of the worshipper, and that charity, in cases where the fact is palpably otherwise, is misplaced—it does not seem to have occurred to him to point out in reply the absurdity which there would be in composing prayers for people who, being either impenitent or unbelievers,

* Memoir, p. 285, note.

† *Ib.* p. 329.

cannot pray at all. Nor was the defective character of his views on Baptism (and probably of absolution) without its saddening effect on his own faith. Found one day in the latter part of his life, by one of his surviving children, in deep grief, and with the papers of his deceased son Wilberforce before him, he said, "It was not unmingled grief for Wilberforce which was then uppermost; he knew he was safe in heaven, and that to him death had been victory; but that the thought painfully harassed him—shall *I* ever meet him in heaven? Shall *I* indeed ever get there? Friends try to comfort me by saying (as if they took it for granted) that sorrow is unnecessary; for the separation is very short, and we shall soon meet again in heaven. But alas! there is that inward consciousness of sin, and that perplexing conflict, that I cannot take it for granted; and the thought is now sinking me in the very dust, shall I *indeed* meet him in heaven? Am I sure eternity will unite us? And I often shudder, and fall down confounded, at the possibility that after all I may come short, and our separation be eternal."*

He was, however, a thorough pastor. Towards the end of his life "he regularly met a party of his pious poor at a neighbouring cottage on Tuesdays; frequently a different set on Thursdays; and on Sunday nights, after his fatiguing duties in the church, he met those who had been newly awakened to spiritual life. His heart seemed

* Memoir, pp. 410, 411.

particularly interested in this last little party, which he used to call his '*spiritual nursery*.' . . . On Sunday evenings after the administration of the Sacrament, he met the communicants . . . He was earnest in enforcing upon them consistency of character, and uprightness in temporal affairs."*

Mr. Richmond departed to his rest on the 8th of May, 1827.

About the year 1821 the Rev. James Haldane Stewart, Minister of Percy Chapel, London, began to stir up his brethren in various ways to pray earnestly and continually for a revival of the work of God the Holy Ghost.† And he was so

* Memoir, pp. 405-6.

† In a tract written by him, and entitled, "An Appeal to Christians," he offered the following suggestions:

1. That all ministers should seek a deeper and more abiding conviction of their own personal need of the Divine influence of the Holy Spirit, both for their own growth in grace, and for success in all parts of their ministerial labours; that, under this conviction, they may be led to more earnest secret prayer, for this blessing.

2. That they should unite with their brethren, as opportunities offer, in private social prayer, for the general outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

3. That they should preach upon the various offices of the Holy Spirit, that their congregations may be more practically acquainted with His important work in our salvation.

4. That, in their general discourses, they should constantly honour the Holy Spirit, by entreating His Divine aid, and ascribing their success to Him.

5. That, in large towns, a weekly lecture should be set apart for the above purposes.

6. That, in prayer-meetings, which are now held by different denominations of Christians, special prayer should be made for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

7. That all Christians should be invited to set apart, individually, *an hour, from seven till eight o'clock, on the Sabbath morning*, for private prayer and meditation on this subject. Their prayer may

far successful as to induce several thousand Christians of different denominations to unite at stated hours in prayer, each in his several way, for the end in question: nor are there wanting some who think that these prayers received a special answer.

While on the subject of Mr. Haldane Stewart, we may mention that during the last year of his occupancy of the chapel more than £750 had been collected, after charity sermons, for objects of piety and benevolence, many of them of a local kind; and during the last few years more than £10,000 were given by the congregation for such purposes, 1,800 children taught in a Sunday

include the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon themselves, their family, their ministers, their congregations, their country—all ministers of true religion, all societies formed for doing good to the heathen, and the Jews.

8. That all heads of families on *Monday evening* should entreat the same blessing in their family devotions.

9. That all Christians should read the Scriptures with a view to a more intimate acquaintance with this subject, and to have it more deeply impressed on their minds, that the Holy Spirit always acts in accordance with the word of God, and never contrary thereto.

10. That they should mention it to their religious correspondents at home and abroad; each Christian using his utmost ability to make this union for prayer as extensive as possible.

11. That religious periodical publications should be requested to aid the design; and that this paper, if approved, should be reprinted and other tracts written and published.

12. That whilst Christians offer their prayers in simple reliance on the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, they should accompany them with deep humiliation for their own sins, for the sins of their country, and for the sins of the whole church: and aim, in their conduct, to walk in love with all Christians, to be watchful against grieving the Holy Spirit, and in all things to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.

school, and 400 in a day-school; 1,400 poor married women assisted in their confinement, and 3,600 families visited and assisted in affliction. However, when the lease of the chapel expired, in 1828, the rector of the parish (St. Pancras) would not allow a Low-Church clergyman to minister any more in his parish.

About the year 1826 there arose a controversy as to the desirableness of singing hymns in church. Hymns had been introduced already, with more or less of opposition, in various places: now, however, the controversy became more general. By High-Churchmen the innovation was generally opposed, partly, no doubt, owing to a belief that only the Crown could authorise hymns for use in the Church of England; but it was felt that neither the Old Version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins nor the New Version by Tate and Brady sufficed to express all which the Church, living in New Testament light, and quickened by the Holy Ghost Himself, yearned to utter in her acts of praise. Besides, hymn-singing has always been popular amongst Protestants; and thus it came to pass that the practice established itself by little and little, until at last even cathedrals and university churches were fain to follow suit.

In or about the same year (1826) there was much discussion concerning unfulfilled prophecy; and with reference chiefly to two questions: What might be God's purposes with regard to His ancient people, Israel after the flesh; and, Whether the second coming of the Lord was to take place before or after the expected millennium. The

controversy was carried on with much ardour, and the ardour sometimes took a character which was not particularly Christian. Thus, in a work entitled *Dialogues on Prophecy*, there occurs a passage in which every person called Evangelical, who did not agree with the writers on the question of removing political disabilities from Romanists, was spoken of as "an infidel," and said to be "prophesying lies."

In this same year (1826), and the four following years, Mr. Henry Drummond, the banker at Charing Cross, and who had become the purchaser of Albury Park, in Surrey, and the estates belonging to it, opened his house to between forty and fifty persons for a few days together in each year, with a view to combined study of the prophetic Scriptures. Of those who attended these meetings, nineteen were Anglican clergymen, including Archdeacon Probyn of Llandaff, four were ministers of the Scottish Presbyterian Establishment, and two or three belonged to other denominations of Dissenters. The substance of their discussions was taken down at the time, and subsequently published under the title *Dialogues on Prophecy*—the same work to which reference has just been made. These meetings led to some remarkable results, of which notice will be taken in the proper place.

The same year (1826) witnessed another Low-Church promotion: that of Dr. Charles Richard Sumner, Canon of Worcester, to the bishopric of Llandaff. And if a Low-Church appointment could ever be desirable, it was so in this case.

The new prelate (consecrated on the 21st of May) was a gentleman, a scholar, and a pious Christian; he had, when Chaplain in Ordinary to King George IV., not shrunk from doing his duty to his royal master as a faithful minister of Christ; when Curate of Highclere, and when Vicar of St. Helen's, Abingdon, he had shown himself an exemplary parish priest for those times; and now, the youngest, we believe, on the Episcopal bench, he set his seniors an example of ruling a diocese.

This, however, could only be done by him in the diocese of Llandaff for little more than a year; for in 1827 he was further promoted to the see of Winchester.

In or about the year 1827 was opened a building in Upper Street, Islington, for the education of persons preparing to go out as missionaries under the "Church Missionary Society." The "Church Missionary" College had been founded in 1825; and was under direction of the "Church Missionary Society's" Committee. As might have been expected, though the promoters of the college did what they could to secure and cherish piety and missionary earnestness in those who came to them for a missionary education, yet distinctive Church principles existed with them rather in name than in fact and act. There was no chapel in the building, nor did the college officials commit themselves to a recitation of the daily office as ordered by the Prayer Book; though when, at a later period, it was made lawful to use on week-days an abbreviation of Mattins and Evensong, this abbreviated

service, with the addition of some special prayers, came to be used in the hall.

Moreover there was about this time a mutual understanding between the committee of the "Church Missionary Society" and the authorities of the Protestant Missionary College at Bâle in Switzerland. The Bâle Seminary had been founded in 1816: the theology taught in it was that of Württemberg, though the seminary was a private establishment entirely, the Antistes and Synod of the Reformed Church of Bâle having no voice in its government; and those who went out from it as missionaries received a kind of Presbyterian ordination. And in the early years of the "Church Missionary" College, when the "Church Missionary Society" had more money than they could spend, and fewer candidates for mission-work than they could employ, and when on the other hand the Bâle College had less money and more men, it was a common thing for the candidates, after finishing their course at Bâle, to be sent out as missionaries of the "Church Missionary Society" with no ordination at all save what they received from Protestant non-episcopalian ministers. Nor was it till the year 1838 or thereabouts that the committee of the "Church Missionary Society" made a rule that all their missionaries should have episcopal ordination: a rule which received in some cases but a reluctant compliance. From that time, however, the Bâle Committee continued to send young men to the Islington College, only without any pretence of ordination at all; and they became, in due course, clergymen of the Anglican communion,

signing the required declarations and engagements; with what sincerity was known to each in his own case, and to Almighty God in all the cases.

In 1828 was commenced the *Record*, in the character of a political journal and family newspaper. This was the organ of the Low-Church party so far as newspaper literature was concerned, as the *Christian Observer* was in the magazine line; and by the party-spirit which it manifested, and the bitterness and recklessness with which it attacked persons other than Low-Churchmen, it probably did a great deal in helping onwards the spiritual decline of the Low-Church party. At a later time in its career Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford wrote a letter of remonstrance to the Editor on account of the continued attacks on himself and Bishop Denison of Salisbury which appeared in the paper, styling them Romanisers. He told the Editor that even Archbishop Sumner had described the temper and language of the paper as execrable; and he called upon him either to justify his charges or to withdraw them. The Editor, in reply, wrote thus: “. . . . You firmly hold the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration; we as firmly believe that doctrine to be the tap-root of Popery, to constitute its very essence. . . . We firmly believe that whoever believes in that doctrine is a Papist in reality, whatever he may be in name, and that the salvation of his soul is thereby jeopardised.”*

CHAPTER XXIV.

Commencement of the Movement termed "Irvingism." Line taken by the Low-Church Party with regard to it.

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

Hamlet, Act I., Sc. 5.

"They say, The LORD hath forsaken the earth."

EZEKIEL ix. 9.

WE must now describe the line taken by the Low-Church party with regard to a movement, irregular indeed and disorderly in its commencement, but having enough in it to arrest the attention of any one whose heart was set towards the Person of the Lord Jesus Christ, and who recognised Him as the Head not only of the Church in general, but of each individual believer in particular. We allude to that remarkable spiritual movement which came to be nicknamed *Irvingism*, after one who was commonly (but erroneously) supposed its originator or chief leader, but which arose almost simultaneously in various parts and denominations of Christendom; commencing with the chief communion in the whole company of the baptized, that which was in fellowship with the patriarchal see of Rome.

In 1828 there were some remarkable spiritual manifestations in the Roman Catholic diocese of Augsburg, at a place on the banks of the Danube, called *Donau Moos* (*i.e.*, the Danube moss or bog).* The inhabitants of this place had had a sad character for ungodliness: the Bishop had sent a

* My information on the matters mentioned in this paragraph comes from a private but most authentic source.

devout young priest named Lutz to labour among them; and it had pleased God so to bless his labours that the character of the place became quite altered; numbers of persons had been brought to Absolution and Holy Communion, and had evinced the sincerity of their repentance by sober, righteous, and godly lives. And afterwards, that is, in the year just mentioned, there were, among those who were so converted, some who from time to time were moved to utter things in a power which appeared to be other than their own. There were utterances apparently prophetic, in one or more of which it was said that the Lord was about to do a great work for His Church, and not for the Roman Catholic communion alone; that He was about to give again Apostles and Prophets, and would pour out His Spirit as at the first: that He willed His people to know the benefit of Sacraments; and especially of the Holy Sacrament of Baptism, as the laver of regeneration of God's children in every place; and that they should observe all the holy ordinances of the Church, and prepare for His Second Coming, when He would take them away to be with Him in His glory. Mr. Lutz believed that these utterances were of the Holy Ghost: but the Bishop did not; and being displeased at the kind of revival which had taken place through Mr. Lutz's ministry, desired that Mr. Lutz would discourage the exercise of the spiritual powers. Mr. Lutz obeyed, and taught his people that they should wait in quietness. But though neither they nor he could hear of anything which seemed at all like a fulfil-

ment of what they believed to be prophecy, they continued to hope and pray that such fulfilment might take place. It should here be observed that nothing of all this was known in England until about fourteen years afterwards.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1830, there were spiritual manifestations in the cases of two brothers, James and George Macdonald, and their sister Margaret who lived with them in Port-Glasgow. The latter was an invalid, and at the time to which we now refer was thought to be dying. Her brothers were shipbuilders, respectable members of the Presbyterian Establishment, and accustomed to hold "prayer-meetings of inordinate length and frequency and fervour." And throughout the morning of a certain day she had felt very unwell and disinclined to converse with any one; inso-much that when a female visitor called, she wished not to see her, and told her that she was unable to talk with her. A few verses, however, of the 106th Psalm were sung; and "immediately" (says she) "I was so swallowed up in God [that] I did not see those who were with me in the room, nor hear their voices singing, but I heard the trump of God sounding in my ears so loud that all other sounds were lost. I heard unutterable things. The sound of the trumpet seemed to wax louder and louder, as if at that moment the Lord was to have been revealed. I felt surrounded by the heavenly hosts, a multitude which no man could number, and heard them saying, 'Alleluia, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.' Oh, it was a blessed sound, and I felt constrained to join with

them, and sing loudly the same glorious song. I did not feel on this earth ; I thought it had vanished at the presence of the Lord. No language can express the glorious things which were made to pass before me ; I was constrained to cry for a speedy revelation of the glory, that all flesh might see it. It was impressed upon me that the long-suffering of God is salvation, not willing that any should perish. I felt that the spirit of Jesus was weeping the same as He did over Jerusalem, over the world, and I was constrained to cry to those who were with me to ask for souls to be brought to Jesus. I felt that He was longing over souls with an intensity of love altogether inconceivable. All the mighty works which God did for His ancient people passed before me. I was astonished and overwhelmed. At that time a great deal was given me to say to my brothers. All things again passed from before me. I was overpowered by the spotless purity of God, and saw that He is indeed a holy God who cannot look upon sin without abhorrence. Everything seemed black and desolate with it. I shuddered and felt as if the whole creation groaned and travailed in pain. Had I not seen that Jesus on the cross had borne sin away, I thought all must have sunk under it immediately. The price that had been paid in the sufferings of our Lord was brought before me, and I felt what an awful thing it was to have light views of sin. All His agony in the garden and on the cross went to my heart, and I was constrained to say, ‘ Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.’ After this very much

passed before me. I felt in a measure what it was to be come to the spirits of the just made perfect ; I held intercourse and fellowship which I cannot describe, but which I knew to be reality.”*

We do not see how any spiritual persons can read the above narrative, coming as it does from a person of veracity, and not be convinced that the subject of it had really received a gift of prophecy. Her brothers accounted for the phenomena “on the supposition that their sister was dying, and in this way had realised such nearness to the eternal world. All things went on as quietly and in every respect the same as before for nearly two months, when another such morning as the above occurred, the particulars of which are thus described by one of the elder sisters: ‘For several days my sister had been so unusually ill that I thought her dying. She had scarcely been able even to have her bed made for a week. Mrs.—— and myself had been sitting quietly at the bedside, when the power of the Spirit came upon her. She said ‘There will be a mighty outpouring of the Spirit this day,’ and then broke forth in a most marvellous setting forth of the wonderful works of God, and as if her own weakness had been altogether lost in the strength of the Holy Ghost, continued with little or no intermission for two or three hours in mingled prayer, praise, and exhortation. At dinner-time James and George came home as usual, whom she then addressed at great length, concluding with a solemn prayer for James that he might *at that time*

* *The Restoration of Apostles and Prophets in the Catholic Apostolic Church.* London, 1861, pp. 6, &c. The work is now out of print.

be endowed with the power of the Holy Ghost. Almost immediately James calmly said, 'I have got it.' He walked to the window and stood silent for a minute or two. I looked at him and almost trembled, there was such a change upon his whole countenance. He then, with a step and manner of most indescribable majesty, walked up to Margaret's bedside and addressed her in those words of the 20th Psalm, 'Arise and stand upright.' He repeated the words, took her by the hand, and she arose."*

The same day James Macdonald, without saying anything to any one, wrote a letter to Mary Campbell, an invalid friend of the family, and who lived on the opposite side of the firth, but was thought to be dying. "The next morning" (his sister says) ". . . . James said, 'I am going down to the quay to see if Miss Campbell is come across the water.' . . . She came as he expected, declaring herself perfectly whole." Mary Campbell's own account is as follows: "On the Saturday previous to my restoration to health I was very ill. On the Sabbath I lay for several hours in a state of insensibility. On Tuesday I was no better. On Wednesday two individuals, who saw me about four hours before my recovery, said that I should never be strong, that I was not to expect a miracle to be wrought upon me. Not long after I received dear James Macdonald's letter, giving an account of his sister's being raised up, and commanding me to rise and walk. I had scarcely read the first

* *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, pp. 8, 9.

page when I became quite overpowered, and laid it aside for a few minutes; but I had no rest in my mind until I took it up again and began to read. As I read, every word came with power, and when I came to the command to arise, it came with a power which no words can describe. It was felt to be, indeed, the voice of Christ; such a voice as could not be resisted. A mighty power was instantaneously exerted upon me. I felt as if I had been lifted from off the earth, and all my diseases taken from me as by the voice of Christ. I was verily made in a moment to stand upon my feet, leap and walk, sing and rejoice.”*

We offer no opinion as to the exact manner in which these cures were effected, not having sufficient data. That they were wrought by spiritual power is evident; but whether that power acted directly, or whether it acted in either case through the medium of the patient's own will—as may have been in the case of Miss Fancourt, to be presently mentioned—there are no sufficient grounds for declaring positively. We do not even know what the disorders were from which the invalids had been suffering.

“A few evenings after the above occurrences” (we are told), “during a prayer-meeting, George Macdonald, in whom nothing supernatural had previously appeared, and whose natural caution had rendered him slow to welcome such manifestations in others, suddenly began to speak in an unknown tongue; James followed him.”† Mary

* *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, pp. 9, 10. † *Ib.* p. 10.

Campbell, it is added, had on two occasions before this, and while lying on her sick bed, been made to speak in a new tongue. Of his own experience, and of his brother George's, herein, James Macdonald says: "On Friday evening, when we were all together after prayer, Mary C——'s mouth was again opened to speak clearly and plainly in an unknown tongue for about ten minutes; after that, George's mouth was opened, and then mine. I felt it to be just the Spirit within me. I had no more power over it than a trumpet has over sound. Mr. C—— came to us on Saturday, and when we were all together my mouth was opened, and I spake as the Spirit gave me utterance. Mr. C—— then said: 'It is written, "Pray that ye may interpret;"' accordingly he prayed, and after he had finished I spake in words and sentences which George interpreted. He that interprets does not know what the meaning (of the tongue) is till he hears the voice of the Spirit speaking (the interpretation through him)."* "The first word of interpretation" (he says elsewhere) "was, 'Behold, He cometh, Jesus cometh.'"†

Thus began in Scotland the movement since called "Irvingism" by an indifferent, scorning, or otherwise hostile public. Of course the circumstances just narrated soon came to be known beyond the circle of those more immediately concerned; and (as one of these writes) "the pulpits and newspapers are all against us:" and by the autumn of 1831 the Macdonalds had been refused

* *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 13.

† *Ib.* p. 11.

Communion by their parish minister. Some persons, however, attended their prayer-meetings with a view to judging candidly and fairly concerning the phenomena ; and one writes thus : “ The history of one of these prayer-meetings is the history of all. I may probably as well relate what took place at the first which we attended. The mode of proceeding is, for each person who takes a part, first to read a psalm in metre, which is sung by the meeting, then a chapter from the Bible, and he then prays. On this occasion, after two other gentlemen, J. McD—— read and prayed. His prayer was most remarkable. The sympathising with the mind of our Saviour, interceding for a world which tramples on His blood and rejects His mercy, and for a Church which grieves His Holy Ghost, the humiliations for sin, and the aspirations after holiness, were totally different from anything I had ever before heard. He then, in the course of prayer and while engaged in intercession for others, began speaking in an unknown tongue, and after speaking for some time he sung, or rather chanted, in the same tongue. He then rose, and we all rose with him, and in a very loud voice and with great solemnity he addressed us in the same tongue for a considerable time. He then, with the same loudness of voice and manner, addressed us in English, calling on us to prepare for trial, for we had great trials to go through for the testimony of Jesus, to crucify the flesh, to lay aside every weight, to put far from us our fleshly wisdom, power, and strength, and to stay us in our God. After he had con-

cluded, a short pause ensued, when suddenly the woman-servant of the McD——'s arose, and spoke (for a space of probably ten minutes) in an unknown tongue, and then in English. The latter was entirely from Scripture, consisting of passages from different parts and connected together in the most remarkable manner. The meeting concluded with a Psalm, a chapter, and prayer from another gentleman. Immediately on conclusion, Mrs. ——, one of the ladies who had received the Spirit, but had not received the gift of tongues (she received the gift while we were in the country), arose, went out of the room, and began speaking in a loud voice of the coming judgments. After she had spoken about five minutes, M. McD—— commenced also speaking, and Mrs. —— instantly ceased speaking. It is impossible to describe the solemnity and grandeur both of words and manner, in which she gave testimony to the judgments coming on the earth, but she directed the Church to the coming of the Lord as her hope of deliverance. When she had concluded we left the house. . . .

“ . . . Those persons, while uttering the unknown sounds, as also while speaking in the Spirit in their own language, have every appearance of being under supernatural direction. . . . In addition to outward appearances, their own declarations, as the declarations of honest, pious, and sober individuals, may with propriety be taken in evidence. They declare that their organs of speech are made use of by the Spirit of God, and that they utter that which is given to

them, and not the expressions of their own conceptions or their own intention. But I had numerous opportunities of observing a variety of facts fully confirmatory of this. Whatever might have been the apparent exertion employed, I repeatedly observed that it had no exhausting effect upon them, that neither loudness of voice nor vehemence of action discomposed or exhausted them. And we had a remarkable instance of this in M. McD——, who one morning, having, in consequence of a severe cold, so entirely lost the use of her voice as to be unable to speak out of a whisper, yet on a sudden commenced, and from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. continued speaking in a loud voice, sometimes in intercessory prayer in the Spirit, sometimes in denouncing the coming judgments, and occasionally speaking in an unknown tongue, and at the end of that time she relapsed exactly into her former state, neither better nor worse than she had been in the morning, but without the slightest exhaustion from her long-continued efforts.

“ In addition to what I have already stated, I have only to add my most decided testimony, that so far as three weeks’ constant communication can enable me to judge—and I conceive that the opportunities I enjoyed enabled me to form a correct judgment—the individuals thus gifted are persons living in close communion with God and in love towards Him, and towards all men, abounding in faith, and joy, and peace; having an abhorrence of sin and a thirst for holiness, with an abasement of self and a hope full of immortality, such as I

never witnessed elsewhere, and which I find nowhere recorded but in the history of the early Church; and just as they are fervent in spirit, so are they diligent in the performance of all the relative duties of life. They are totally devoid of anything like fanaticism or enthusiasm; but, on the contrary, are persons of great simplicity of character and of sound common sense. . . . They do not assume to be teachers; they are not deeply read, but they seek to be taught of God, in the perusal of, and mediation on His revealed word, and to 'live quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty.'"*

These manifestations continued in Port-Glasgow for about a year; then they gradually lessened, and at last ceased.

But it was no long time before the like manifestations broke out in England also. Among those who had visited Port-Glasgow for the purpose of inquiring into the spiritual phenomena there to be witnessed, were six persons from England, three ladies and three gentlemen. Of the latter, one was a solicitor (Mr. Cardale, from whose letter to the *Morning Watch* we have just quoted), another (Dr. Hamilton Roe) a physician, and the third (Dr. Thompson) a retired army surgeon. Mr. Cardale was a zealous member of the Church of England.† His letter was read by the Rev. Edward Irving, minister of the National Scotch Church, Regent Square, and who was then in the height of his

* Letter to the Editor of the *Morning Watch*, signed "John B. Cardale," and dated Bedford Row, London, Nov. 16, 1830.

† This information I have from a private source.

popularity. He at once expressed his belief that the spiritual gifts of the Church's first age ought to have been possessed by the Church ever since. Mr. Cardale opened his house for a weekly prayer-meeting, that those who agreed with him in the same opinion might unite in praying for an outpouring of the Spirit upon themselves as appeared to have taken place in Scotland. And "it was" (we are told) "at one of these meetings, six months after their commencement, that their prayer was answered in the person of his own wife; one who had never associated with the brethren in Port-Glasgow, and whose whole character was the opposite of enthusiasm."* "The clergyman of the parish" (we are further told) "was duly informed of their proceedings, and besought to sanction them; but he refused, and preached against them. Still they continued their attendance at his church for several months, and only when virtually excommunicated, reluctantly withdrew from it to place themselves under the pastoral care of another clergyman: until at length compelled to seek shelter under Mr. Irving."†

About the same time there occurred another remarkable case of healing. The subject was the youngest daughter of the Rev. Thomas Fancourt, of Hoxton Square, who had been an invalid for several years. Bleeding, cupping, leeches, issues, setons, had been employed, as well as change of air, rest, &c. : until one day she was suddenly restored, in the manner described

* *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 42.

† *Ib.* p. 43.

by herself: "In the month of November, 1822, having for some months been in a bad state of health, it pleased God to visit me with hip-disease." (She then details the opinions of various medical men as to her disorder, and the treatment recommended by them severally, and adopted.) . . .

"In September, 1828, I returned home as unable to walk as when leaving it; once or twice the attempt was made, but produced much pain, from this time no means have been used excepting constant confinement to the couch. Within these few weeks, even on the very day in which Jesus so manifested His Almighty power, I had attempted to walk: scarcely could I put one foot before the other; the limbs trembled very much. Thus it continued till the 20th of October, 1830; when a kind friend, who had seen me about two months before, had been led by God to pray earnestly for my recovery, remembering what is written, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive.' He asked in faith, and God graciously answered his prayer. On Wednesday night, my friend being about to leave the room, Mr. G—— begged to be excused a short time. Sitting near me, we talked of his relatives, and of the death of his brother: rising, he said, 'They will expect me at supper,' and put out his hand. After asking some questions respecting the disease, he added, 'It is melancholy to see a person so constantly confined.' I answered, 'It is sent in mercy.' 'Do you think so? do you think the same mercy could restore you?' God gave me faith, and I answered, 'Yes.' 'Do you believe Jesus could heal, as in

old times?' 'Yes.' 'Do you believe it is only unbelief that prevents it?' 'Yes.' 'Do you believe that Jesus could heal you at this very time?' 'Yes.' (Between these questions he was evidently engaged in prayer.) 'Then,' he added, 'get up and walk: come down to your family.' He then had hold of my hand; he prayed to God to glorify the name of Jesus. I rose from my couch quite strong. God took away all my pains, and we walked downstairs, dear Mr. G—— praying most fervently, Lord have mercy upon us! Christ have mercy upon us! Having been down a short time, finding my handkerchief left on the couch, taking the candle, I fetched it. The next day I walked more than a quarter of a mile, and on Sunday from the Episcopal Jews' Chapel, a distance of one mile and a quarter. Up to this time God continues to strengthen me, and I am perfectly well. To Jesus be all the glory.'*

Her father subsequently says,—“The flesh on her legs was flabby and loose, which is ascertained to be now—what it was from the moment she arose and walked—firm as the flesh of a person in good health. . . . No alteration in the appearance of her back took place before the event referred to; and . . . her backbone, which was curved before, is now perfectly straight. It is material to add that her collar bones are ascertained to be now quite equal, whereas one of them was previously much enlarged. . . . It is four years since she walked at all; and then it was but

* This statement appeared in the *Christian Observer* for 1830, p. 709.

for a short time, with the assistance of a stick, and subject to pain in the hip."

"In corroboration of the above testimony, I am authorised to use the name—if called for—of a surgeon at the west end of the town, who, after a minute investigation of the case, took his leave with an unequivocal avowal of his decided conviction, that my daughter's restoration was the result of a *peculiar interposition of Divine favour and power.*"*

We cite this occurrence, not as considering it to have been what can be called, without any qualification, "miraculous," but because it helped to bring out the opinions and attitude of the Low-Church party, with respect to spiritual manifestations in general. A correspondent of the *Christian Observer* wrote, "All who know Miss Fancourt as well as I do, can testify with me to her sobriety of mind, and to the meekness and quietness of her spirit. It should be remembered, that until the final address of Mr. G—— she had no idea whatever of what he proposed to attempt."† On the other hand, some other medical authorities seem to show undoubtedly that the cure *might* have been wrought through secondary causes, and according to natural laws. Mr. Tripe, who attended Miss Fancourt for a year and a half in Devonshire, was fully convinced at that time that the affection of the spine and hip was only nervous.‡ And Mr. Newnham, in a letter to the *Christian*

* Letter cited in the *Christian Observer* for 1830, p. 710.

† *Christian Observer* for 1830, p. 776.

‡ *Christian Observer* for 1831, p. 63, in "Answers to Correspondents."

Observer,* says that “no disorganisation had taken place;” for (1) there were no symptoms to show such disorganisation, and (2) there were symptoms present indicative of a state of disease independent of disorganisation. He considered that there had probably existed chronic inflammation of the hip-joint, but not advanced to the ulterior stage of disorganisation. The disorder probably consisted of muscular feebleness, aided perhaps by a debility of the function of volition. Mr. N——’s rationale of the cure was agreeable to this view, viz. : that all which was wanted for Miss Fancourt’s cure was a sufficient stimulus to the will, and that such stimulus was afforded, irrespectively of any spiritual action, by Mr. G——’s words and manner. So that, as we said, we do not consider Miss Fancourt’s case to have been necessarily miraculous in the ordinary unqualified acceptation of the term, though there was certainly spiritual action on the part of Mr. G——, and that spiritual action was, indirectly at least, the means of effecting her cure.

The general run, however, of the Low-Church party had taken up with the idea that extraordinary spiritual action was not to be looked for in the present age. The editor of the *Christian Observer* spoke of the “most dangerous and unscriptural opinion, that the age of miracles has revived.”† Elsewhere he said, “The miracles recorded in the sacred writings, we separate by a wide line of distinction from all human narratives;”‡ and “we

* *Christian Observer* for 1830, p. 810, &c.

† *Christian Observer* for 1831, p. 710.

‡ *Ib.* p. 711.

best vindicate the miracles of Scripture when we place between them and all uninspired narrations a broad line of demarcation, not to be transgressed."* We should have thought that there was a sufficient difference between any *miracles*, true or false, and any *narratives*, to have prevented even an idiot from confounding between them; assuming, however, the Editor to have meant, by "human narratives," *miracles*, true or false, *recorded* in human narratives, the arbitrariness of such a *dictum* as his must strike every one. Why should he take for granted that every real miracle must be recorded in some book of canonical Scripture? Why should he be compelled to say, in another place, in reference to Miss Fancourt's case, "We must admit any solution rather than a miracle"? † Why should he be shut up to such a wonderful piece of reasoning as the following, written in reference to the same case? "To say that a miracle is possible is nothing, for no Christian denies it; to say it is probable is not to the purpose, for a miracle cannot be antecedently probable; its being a miracle is utterly opposed to its having been something probable. The real question is, is it proved; so proved that you would stake Christianity itself upon its truth? If it be not thus proved, it is not even probable; it is utterly improbable. The very essence of a miracle is, that something is irrefragably proved to have taken place, which, if not thus proved, would not have been credible; and such are the miracles in Scripture."‡

* *Christian Observer* for 1831, p. 711. † *Ib.* p. 713. ‡ *Ib.* p. 16, note.

Here, it will be observed, the Editor had formed a certain class of occurrences, and ticketed it "miracles," both which things he had, doubtless, a right to do. Probably those who took the opposite view to his as to the cure of Miss Fancourt's healing used the term "miracle" to include *any* special act of God done otherwise than through the ordinary known laws of nature. Further, observing that Miss Fancourt's cure did not fall within the limits of the class which he accounted miraculous, he took it for granted that it must have been effected by God through the ordinary operation of natural laws. He failed also to see that on his premises *no* miracle can be proved in the absence of Apostles; for how is any one to know that any particular occurrence, however extraordinary, could not have been wrought otherwise than by Divine power specially put forth?

Still more painful was the attitude taken up by the Editor in reference to the spiritual manifestations at Port Glasgow. Citing from the narrative above given, and ending the citation with the words, "Their whole deportment gives an impression not to be conveyed in words, that their organs are made use of by supernatural power," he proceeded: "But we will not copy more: we sicken as we write, to think how the fair face of Religion can be distorted and caricatured. Where the imposture ends and the insincerity begins, we cannot undertake to determine; but can any man in his senses believe that this compound of fraud and folly is the work of the Divine Spirit?" *

* *Christian Observer* for 1830, p. 782.

When reading this, we felt inclined to ask, What did the Editor imagine the spiritual manifestations of the first times of Christianity to have been like? the utterance of tongues which no man understood*—other utterances when every member of the assembled church had every one a psalm, a doctrine, a revelation, or an interpretation†—so that if this Editor could have been there, his attitude would have been precisely that which St. Paul says would be taken up by an ignorant man or an unbeliever, in case such a person should hear all the congregation speaking in tongues. Besides, in stigmatising the phenomena at Port Glasgow as a compound of fraud and folly, it is obvious that he was simply begging the question at issue.

In another place, after alluding to *the spiritual gifts enumerated in the twelfth chapter of First Corinthians*, he said, “Were it not wise to turn from such questionable ‘gifts,’ to the solid, practical realities of vital, saving, sanctifying truth?”‡ And this, in regard not of spurious gifts, but of real ones—of gifts which St. Paul bids his readers to desire, and some of which he would have them covet earnestly. Was there ever, we may ask, such a cool profession by Christian people, of contempt for Divine manifestations? Was there ever such an audacious refusal to obey plain precepts of Holy Scripture?

Among those who accepted the opinion that the spiritual manifestations were of God the Holy Ghost was the Rev. Edward Irving, Minister of the Scottish National Church (Presbyterian),

* 1 Cor. xiv. 2. † *Ib.* 26. ‡ *Christian Observer* for 1831, p. 64.

Regent Square. A prayer-meeting was soon started in connection with his congregation, for the special purpose of supplicating that the like manifestations might take place amongst them; and in the course of time they did take place, and were allowed by Irving not only in prayer-meetings, but in the regular services of the congregation. For this irregularity (as it was deemed), the trustees of the Regent Square Kirk took proceedings against him before the London Presbytery. Proceedings had previously been taken against him before the same Presbytery, by a private individual, for certain expressions in his public teaching which were unquestionably heretical, implying as they did that our Lord Jesus Christ had, either in His human body, or in His human soul, or in His human spirit, some tendency to sin. Irving, however, and the trustees of his kirk had repudiated the jurisdiction of the Presbytery, on the ground of their trust-deed, which provided that he was to be subject to the Scottish authorities alone: and they had carried their point. Now, however, he did not get off; the case was referred to the Presbytery of Annan, in Scotland, which had ordained him. He appeared before that court, and, being found guilty, was deposed from his ministry on the 13th March, 1833. The trustees had already taken the step of excluding him from the building, May 4th, 1832. He continued, however, to teach those who followed him, first in the bazaar in Gray's Inn Lane, and afterwards in a large hall in Newman Street.

There were spiritual manifestations of a similar kind in the house of Mr. Drummond, of Albury Park, in Surrey. Mr. Drummond had sat in Parliament for the borough of Plympton Searle, but had since left Parliament, and did not return, till elected, in 1847, as the representative of West Surrey. He had, as we have already seen, thrown his house open at times to between forty and fifty persons for the study of prophetic Scripture. The Rev. Hugh McNeile, afterwards celebrated as the self-styled "great and good," was then Rector of Albury, and had been accustomed to attend these meetings; but when the spiritual utterances began, he ceased doing so, and eventually resigned the living, not feeling himself able to deal with the movement. On the 12th of May, 1833, there began to be spiritual manifestation of the same character in an Independent meeting-house in Artillery Lane, Bishopsgate; the minister, the Rev. J. L. Millar, being suddenly called upon, and apparently in spiritual power, to abstain from ministering communion to his people that day, as he was about to do. And on the 8th of September in the same year, being Sunday, at the close of a sermon in Park Chapel, Chelsea, by the Rev. H. J. Owen, Minister of that chapel (in connection with the Church of England), a few words were spoken by a member of the congregation, which Mr. Owen, knowing the utterer to be a God-fearing man, and judging also, perhaps, from the character of the utterance, believed to be of the Holy Ghost. He called upon the Bishop (Dr. Blomfield) the next day, and reported the occurrence; whereupon the

Bishop informed him that such things could not be allowed in the Church of England. Mr. Owen desired that the Bishop would come and hear for himself, and then judge of the character of such utterances as that which had been reported. But the Bishop refused to do so, and insisted that they should not be allowed; adding, "It all comes of your preaching about the Second Advent." By taking which line, we cannot but think, the Bishop put himself and the Church in the wrong, however the question might have to be answered whether the utterances prohibited were of the Holy Ghost or no. For if they were not, the Bishop would, we think, by virtue of the spiritual gift conferred upon him at his consecration, be able to discern the truth; and if they were, it is to be assumed that the Church of England, being a true branch of that One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church to which belongs the promise of the Spirit's perpetual indwelling, would find room even in her public services for that same Divine Spirit to manifest himself as He might will, in orderliness, and in subordination to the Lord Jesus Christ, whose Spirit He is, and whose authority is borne by bishops and priests in their several places.

To return, however, to the Low-Church party. One of their lights at this time was the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, minister of St. John's, Bedford Row, and who afterwards seceded to the sect which calls itself Baptist. Of his congregation, Mr. Cardale, the solicitor above named as one of those who had gone to Port-Glasgow to inquire into the spiritual movement

there, was a member. Some spiritual utterances broke out from within Mr. Cardale's family; and the wild disorder with which the spiritual manifestations were at that time often accompanied, and the heresy with which Mr. Irving, the most prominent among those who believed them results of the Holy Ghost's presence and working, was credited, formed, with Low-Churchmen such as Mr. Noel, excuses for looking upon the spiritual movement in general with disapproval. Mr. Noel himself was invited by Mr. Cardale to come, and hear, and judge concerning the utterances, and then advise him as to whether they should be encouraged or not. But Mr. Noel, like Bishop Blomfield, declined; and Low-Churchmen in general treated the movement with utter indifference, if not with active hostility. One book* indeed was written to disprove the claims to what were called the *supernatural* gifts of the Spirit (as if any of the Spirit's gifts were other than supernatural); but no one who knows anything of the claims in question, and of the facts on the ground whereof such claims were rightly or wrongly put forward, will think that the author succeeded in proving his point. And indeed the point must have been remarkably difficult to prove from the author's standing-point; for, by his own showing, he could not have had any actual knowledge of any real spiritual manifestation at all, that is, of any which was of the Holy Ghost; so that his volume was such as a

* *The Modern Claims to the Possession of the Extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit, stated and examined, etc.* By the Rev. William Goode, afterwards Dean of Ripon.

man might write to prove the spuriousness of a certain set of bank-notes, who had never seen a real bank-note in his life. In general, if a Low-Church writer found it necessary to allude to the apparently supernatural phenomena, he contented himself with setting them down as "wild delusions,"* "infatuated talk,"† or "monstrous folly."‡ But the leaders of the party soon laid down the pen of controversy. Bickersteth wrote in his private journal, April 1st, 1832, "I went one morning to Mr. Irving's church, and heard the speakers with tongues. It did not appear to me a real work of the Spirit. I was depressed by it, as a delusion on the minds of eminent Christians."§ And Simeon, writing in the same year, and designating as "brainsick enthusiasts" those who believed the Divine origin of the manifestations, says, "I am not controverting their sentiments—I do not hold them worthy of controversy."|| In fact, whenever Low-Churchmen alluded at all to the movement now, it was, we believe, invariably in such terms as showed that Low-Church information concerning it was either imperfect or erroneous; and when they attempted to oppose it, they did little else than betray their own ignorance. Therefore, after the first noise and stir which it made was over, they found it best to hold their peace, even from good words. They thus in effect published to the world that, whether on account of one cause or on account of another, they were not conscious to themselves of sufficient spiritual

* *Record.*† *Evangelical Magazine.*‡ *Christian Advocate.*§ *Life*, vol. ii. p. 27.|| *Memoir*, p. 689.

discernment for dealing with the practical questions which it involved. And much the same may be said of the attitude taken up by them in regard to another religious movement, which commenced about the same time—the movement started by the so-called Plymouth Brethren.*

It was, therefore, to be expected that when, on the 14th of July, 1835, there appeared to be a fulfilment of things spoken in apparently spiritual power seven years before at Donau Moos; when, that is to say, twelve men were separated from all their previous engagements, whether ecclesiastical or other, to do the work of Apostles, to which work those who adhered to them believed that they had been previously designated by the Holy Ghost speaking in prophetic persons,† and when in 1836 and 1838 public testimony was borne to this and to the grace which (it was said) the Lord was putting forth towards His Church; ‡

* See Miss E. J. Whately's little publication entitled *Plymouth Brethrenism*. (London, Hatchards, 1879.)

† The twelve originally designated were these: John Bate Cardale, solicitor; Henry Drummond, banker and country gentleman; H. King, clerk in the Tower; H. Perceval, son of the Premier; Nicholas Armstrong, an Irish clergyman; Francis Valentine Woodhouse, a barrister; Henry Dalton, Incumbent of Bridgenorth, Shropshire; J. Tudor, artist; T. Carlyle, advocate; William Dow, formerly Presbyterian minister of Tongueland; David Dow, formerly Presbyterian minister of Irongray, Dumfries; and Francis Sitwell, country gentleman. Of these, Mr. David Dow declined to take the place of an Apostle, and his place was filled by a Mr. Duncan Mackenzie.

‡ In 1836 their "Testimony" was presented to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, the four Representative Prelates of the Church of Ireland, and to many of the English clergy; also to King William IV., and as many Privy Councillors as could be got at, and would accept copies of it. In July, 1838, another "Testi-

and when, further, in 1842 a worship of most Catholic character, with a Catholic liturgy and Catholic vestments, was seen in regular performance in their congregations ;—it was, we repeat, to be expected that these things, however to be explained, were not deemed worthy of any particular notice by Low-Church people.

Another work, however, identical in some respects with the one nick-named, by a misnomer, "Irvingism," was arising within the Anglican communion ; a work which, in spite of the mistakes made by its first beginners, was destined to supplant in no small measure the work done by the Low-Church party, and which from the very beginning was the object of Low-Churchmen's unvarying and unfailling opposition. We refer, it need not be said, to that movement the first stage of which was called Tractarianism and Puseyism, and the second stage of it Ritualism.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ministerial Labours of Daniel Wilson in England. His Appointment to the Bishopric of Calcutta.

ALTHOUGH the Low-Church party did not see any necessity of falling in with what, for aught they knew or cared, might be a special work of the Divine Head of the whole Church, for the benefit of the whole, they yet went on working in their

mony" was delivered to Cardinal Acton, for the Pope ; in September, to Prince Metternich for the Emperor of Austria ; and soon after to Louis Philippe, King of the French.

way, and increasing both in numbers and in influence. In the year 1832 another Low-Churchman was promoted to the Episcopate, though not to a diocese at home. Daniel Wilson, Vicar of St. Mary's, Islington, was consecrated Bishop of Calcutta, in succession to Bishop Turner.

We have already noticed Mr. Wilson's early career. We left him at Chobham, of which, as well as of Bisley, he was Curate. In November, 1803, he had married; in 1804 he had become Assistant-Tutor at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, succeeding to the office of Tutor and Vice-Principal in 1807. Meanwhile he had been serving first as curate of Worton, Oxfordshire, and afterwards as minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London; occupying the latter charge from 1809 till 1824, when he became vicar of Islington. In June, 1812, he resigned altogether his duties to the Rev. John Hill, who had been a pupil trained under his own eye. This Mr. Hill taught Calvinism, and Calvinism of a very pronounced character; and it may be interesting to note the explanation which he gave to his divinity class of the manner in which they might thank God for the regeneration of an infant just baptized, while at the same time believing that the said infant might not have been regenerated at all. "When," said the Vice-Principal, "I am starting on a journey, I thank God for bringing me safe to the end of it." One undergraduate, on hearing this, whispered to his next neighbour, "The Vice may, but I don't."

The change from Oxford to London involved

some sacrifice, for Mr. Wilson's income was thus reduced from about £500 per annum to about £300. It involved, moreover, plenty of work. Persons were now continually calling upon him about all manner of businesses. He took great pains in preparing young people for confirmation, and on one occasion presented to the Bishop no fewer than 325 candidates, a large proportion of whom afterwards became communicants. The average number of communicants at St. John's was from three to four hundred at each celebration. It was apparently under Mr. Wilson that the first real District Visiting Society was established; and under him from five to eight hundred pounds were annually expended by this agency in relief of the poor. He also made tours occasionally for the "Church Missionary Society" and the British and Foreign Bible Society. When thus travelling with Dr. Marsh, a venerable clergyman of whom we shall speak hereafter, they sometimes had to sleep in the same apartment; and on these occasions, says Dr. Marsh, the last thing he saw at night, and the first in the morning, was always Daniel Wilson on his knees. He started a scheme for translating Scott's Commentary into French; and carried on, with this view, a correspondence with many Protestant pastors abroad; appointing committees in London, Paris, and Geneva, appointing translators and raising funds. Failing health, however, obliged him to withdraw; and no more of the work was printed than St. Matthew, the Acts, and the Epistle to the Romans. Mr. Wilson was also secretary to a society for educating young

men for the ministry whose means were straitened. The nature of his religion at this time appears by the following extract from a letter dated December 3, 1821: "My proud heart requires much discipline. The world within as well as without the Church is seductive. To be upright with God, to subdue the selfish disorder of the passions, to walk humbly, to pray, to wait for heaven, to love the Master whom we serve and the service for His sake, and at last to ascribe everything to His mercy and grace—this is religion."* So, when hindered from work by an illness of many weeks, he said, "My anxious desire is to get *the abiding permanent effect of a sanctified affliction*. Affliction tends to awaken conscience, to unmask the world, to show the value of prayer, to endear the Saviour, to make us see the importance of an habitually close walk with God. God says He sits 'as a refiner and purifier of silver,' and I desire to submit to His blessed will." Afterwards, when a letter just received from Mrs. Hannah More was being read to him, in which she spoke of him in high terms, he stopped the reader ere the letter was well begun, and added, "Satan is ever ready to take advantage of the kindness of friends to fill the mind with vanity."†

In June, 1824, he was inducted vicar of Islington, the advowson of which living had been purchased by his father-in-law and bequeathed to him: and after preaching in the church once, and retiring

* Life, vol. i. p. 219.

† *Ib.* p. 215.

again into the country, commenced his regular ministrations as vicar on Advent Sunday following. Under him the congregation soon increased. There were, when he entered on the benefice, only two services on the Sunday, for only one of which the vicar was responsible, the other being supplied by an afternoon lecturer. At the first vestry-meeting in which he presided, the question was discussed whether the expenses of a third service should be paid by the churchwardens, or by voluntary subscriptions, and it was settled in favour of the former alternative; the resolution having previously been passed that for the third service (for which the vicar offered to be responsible) the seats should be free. The evening service was commenced at once, and drew large congregations.

Soon were formed schemes for church-building, the population of the parish being already 30,000, with only two places for Anglican worship, that is to say, St. Mary's parish church, and what was called "the chapel of ease." Three new churches were planned, and in due time built: St. John's, Holloway; St. Paul's, Ball's Pond Road; and Holy Trinity, Cloudesley Square. Nine Sunday schools were started, and in due time six more. In 1828 the services at the mother-church were, three on every Sunday and greater holy day (though, we are afraid, under this designation Ascension-day was not included), with one service (followed, apparently, like those just mentioned, by a sermon) in the week, and prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays and the lesser holy days. Mr. Wilson commenced also a celebration of the Eucharist at

8 a.m., though how often we are not told: it was probably once a month.

Such were Mr. Wilson's parochial engagements, when, in 1831, Bishop Turner, of Calcutta, died. Mr. Wilson had already been asked by him to communicate his opinion on the duties of an Indian bishop, and had done so. And now, fearing that some indifferent appointment might be made, he urged upon Mr. Charles Grant, then President of the Board of Control under Earl Grey's Government, the great importance of the matter, and named "many persons whom he deemed highly eligible. Having done this, the thought, he says, came into his mind as expressed in the prophet's words, 'Here am I, send me;' and he wrote again to state, that if a real emergency arose, and no one else could be found, *he was ready to go*. . . . His words are, 'I was compelled by conscience, and by an indescribable desire, to sacrifice myself, if God should accept the offering, and the emergency arise.' India was still accounted of at that time as a place of banishment from home and friends. No overland route, no Suez railway, no electric telegraph abridged the intervening space, or alleviated the pain of separation. And as to the bishopric, a peculiar fatality seemed to have settled on it. Four bishops, prostrated by their overwhelming duties, or the uncongenial climate, had sunk and died within nine years."*

After months of suspense the offer was accepted, and Mr. Wilson was consecrated on Sunday, April

* Life, vol. i. p. 279.

29th, 1832, in Lambeth Palace Chapel, by Archbishop Howley, assisted by Bishop Blomfield of London, Bishop Monk of Gloucester, and Bishop Gray of Bristol, the father of the Athanasius of Capetown. These were his meditations on the evening of that day: "Lord, I would now adore Thee for Thy great grace given unto me; that I should be called to the office of Chief Pastor and Bishop of Thy Church. Oh! guard me from the spiritual dangers to which I am most exposed—pride, self-consequence, worldliness of spirit, false dignity, human applause, abuse of authority, reliance on past knowledge or experience. Lord, give me simplicity of heart, boldness, steadiness, decision of character, deadness of affection to the world. Let me remember that the great vital points of religion are the main things to be kept constantly and steadily on my heart—then, compassion, tender, deep compassion for souls—then, simplicity of object and abstraction from every other interfering claim—then, a spirit of prayer and supplication—then, the learning lessons from affliction when God sends it."*

Curiously enough, comes almost immediately, in his biography, the record of a sort of Quakers'-meeting-breakfast, held in his own house: "June 1st. I have had a most pleasant party to breakfast. Joseph John Gurney, Mrs. Fry, Mr. and Mrs. Buxton, Mr. and Mrs. Hoare, Joseph Wilson of Clapham, &c., about twenty altogether. After reading the 45th Psalm and praying, Mrs. Fry

* Life, vol. i. p. 289.

made a prayer; and before breakfast, during the pause, Mr. Gurney made a prayer, and again after breakfast. There was a most pleasing spirit of love and kindness. Mr. Gurney prayed for me that I might be kept humble, contrite, self-abased, lowly in heart.* The Quakers and the Low-Church Bishop were not far apart.

Here Mr. Wilson's English career ended; and we therefore take leave of him, except so far as we may recur to him again, to see him fighting Low-Church battles again in his native country. But we may cite some illustrations of his personal character. Such we have in a letter to a friend, written during a vacation, soon after his entrance on the duties of assistant-tutor at St. Edmund's Hall: "I like my position. Everything falls out as I could wish. But I see many dangers looming in the distance. My heart is already becoming entangled in worldly studies, so that divine things lose their savour. I wish to count all things loss for Christ. I wish to love and cherish divine concerns; but pride, ambition, secular pursuits, and cares beset me and make my path slippery and insecure. Pray for me."† Inquiring within himself whether his sacred duties were flourishing, he writes: "In these, the power is of God alone. I often find great enjoyment in them. But I want to get nearer to the consciences of men. I do not love my hearers as I ought, nor aim enough at their salvation: rather do I seem to desire their good opinion and applause. When hearts are

* Life, vol. i. p. 290.

† *Ib.* p. 111.

touched I do not give the whole glory to God. Grant, Almighty God, that I may be more diligent in duty, that I may deal more closely with conscience, that I may bring home to myself the truths I preach to others, that I may love the flock more, and always be looking to Thee for the grace I need."*

As to his "church principles," he describes them thus, after his consecration to the Episcopate: "Real spiritual religion—sound, holy, scriptural; full of the Saviour, abounding in the fruits of the Spirit, elevated above all petty quarrelsome points: this is what we must preach and exhibit. And when *to this is added* a firm attachment to our Protestant Established Church, all is done that we can effect for the discharge of the responsible duties committed to us."† These words (in spite of the not very intelligible expression "responsible duties") express very well the character of Low-Churchmanship as regards church principles; and explain how it is that Low-Churchmen were, and always had been, such *bad* churchmen. *Their churchmanship was not a part of their religion*, it was only an addition or appendage to it. The true Catholic has, and knows that he has, no spiritual life at all apart from the Catholic Church; the Catholic Church, to the Anglican Churchman, is represented by the Church of England; so that his obedience to church rules, his observance of church fasts and church festivals, his reception of church ministrations, are a very part of his re-

* Life, vol. i. p. 119.

† *Ib.* p. 317.

ligion, as really and as necessarily as he himself is a part of the Church itself. To the Low-Churchman, however, the ordinances and appointments of the Church were but the dry posts to which he, as a young and green fruit-tree, was unavoidably fastened, and by which he imagined that his spiritual growth would, more likely than not, be hindered; as no doubt his wilfulness and party spirit were.

Another illustration of the same thing appears in a passage from a letter by the same prelate to a scrupulous chaplain of the East India Company—if, indeed, the passage is not pure nonsense: “Discriminate clearly and affectionately between the outward privileges of the Church and the real obedience and love of the sincere Christian.”* He reminded a junior chaplain of “the vigilance needful to lay the foundations of good Church habits and associations.” But how much he appreciated and used the Church’s own prescribed daily offices after he had become Bishop of Calcutta appears from the account given of the “family prayers” which were offered “in the chapel which he himself had fitted up. His chaplain from the reading-desk read the appointed lesson, and he from his seat expounded and prayed.”†

* Life, vol. i. p. 381.

† *Ib.* p. 326.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Results of Low-Church Work. Failure of the Party to effect great Reforms. Decline in Personal Piety.

UP to the year 1833 or thereabouts the influence of the Low-Church clergy had been "rapidly increasing throughout the country." (We quote now from a pamphlet by the Rev. Daniel Wilson, Vicar of Islington, and son to the Bishop of Calcutta, which pamphlet was published in 1850, and entitled *Our Protestant Faith in Danger*.) "The pulpits of some of the most important parishes, both in the metropolis and larger provincial towns, were occupied by men of these sentiments. Their growing weight was evinced by the large and attentive congregations which attended their ministry, the efficient manner in which their parishes were managed, the success attending the religious societies which they espoused, and the posts of distinction and authority in the Church to which several of them were called." At the end of the year 1829 the editor of the *Christian Observer* remarked, "When had we so many bishops, deans, archdeacons, and other dignitaries, of whom it may be truly said that they are really, as well as professionally, men of God? When was the gospel of our salvation so clearly proclaimed from so many of our national pulpits?"

And what, with all this dignity and influence, had the Low-Church party effected?

They had effected a true conversion to God in Christ in the case of numberless individuals, and

they had effected certain reforms and improvements in the English Church at large, tending to the edification of individuals. Then they had been the means of improving the psalmody in churches by the singing of hymns, the psalmody having previously been confined almost entirely to the performance of metrical versions of Psalms. They had caused the public service of the Church to be gone through generally in a more becoming manner than had too often been customary; doubtless through practising the same rule which in later times was formulated by Charles Simeon, of Cambridge, "Do not *read* the prayers, but *pray* them." Venn the elder had been wont to prepare the minds of his congregation now and then for joining in the office of Mattins or Evensong by speaking to them a few words extempore before commencing it. They had started societies of clergymen for mutual edification and improvement; such was one frequented by Mr. Robinson, of Leicester; such was that for the neighbourhood of Little Dunham, which owed its formation to the Rev. John Venn, son of Henry Venn the elder, and rector of that parish; such also is the "Islington Clerical Meeting," held annually, in the month of January, started originally by the Rev. Daniel Wilson the elder, Vicar of Islington and afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, and which is still a representative gathering of Low-Church clergymen in general. Other clerical societies met at Birmingham, Rauceby in Lincolnshire, and Aldwinkle and Creaton in Northamptonshire. There was, besides, an improvement of the outward face of

society at large. There was less drunkenness in the upper classes, less indecent language, and less profane swearing. Shops were not so frequently opened on Good Friday. And of course there was an improvement in the general efficiency of the clergy: that is to say, owing to the Low-Church movement there were more religious clergymen than there had ever been before. There was an increased care about divine service: the Prayer-book (so far, that is, as Low-Churchmen chose, or had learnt, to use it) was used more devoutly; several parts of the system of religion inculcated by the Church of England began to be made of more account than they had been; people learned to come to church in time for the commencement of the prayers; people were induced to join in the *Amens* and responses aloud. It was, moreover, a correspondent of the *Christian Observer* who called attention, in 1825, to the practice allowed in some parts of England, of holding wakes (*i.e.*, a kind of fairs) in the churchyard and on Sunday. To Low-Churchmen also was probably owing, in great measure, the revived observance of Good Friday in country districts.*

While, however, the Low-Church party was, in the hands of Divine Providence, the means of effecting all these improvements, it must be added that these were all. And although in one aspect the good which they did can only be estimated by

* No. 18 of the *Tracts for the Times*, published about 1834, has this passage: "It is within the memory of man that the yearly commemoration of our Blessed Saviour's death was in country congregations very generally omitted."—Page 26.

the length of eternity, in another aspect its value is comparatively small. Except as regards the matter of Church psalmody, wherein whole congregations as such were concerned, they touched individuals only. The sole end at which the Low-Church leaders aimed was the conversion (or, the conversion and edification) of individual souls; and (with the exception just named) not one of their improvements reached directly beyond this. From their principles, indeed, it was not to be expected that they should aim further, and thus we do not find that they made any efforts to secure a better observance of the Church's general system. True, one writer in the *Christian Observer* raised his pen against saying Mattins at two o'clock in the afternoon; and another (if it was another) against the omission of Ember-week prayers in their proper times; but we do not read of any effort made to get all those rules of the Prayer Book observed which had become obsolete through neglect. We hear of no effort to revive daily Mattins and Evensong; no effort to secure the better observance of Saints' days; no attempt at baptizing generally after the second lesson in the public service; or at performing the ceremony of marriage in the body of the church, and going to the Lord's Table only for the Benediction afterwards; or at reading an offertory sentence and the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church after the sermon, on every Sunday when there was to be no Communion. No Evangelical voice was lifted up, so far as we know, against the empty form of invoking God the Holy Ghost in a meeting of Dean and Chapter for what

was called the "election" of a Bishop. No agitation was started to get the power of appointing Bishops out of the hands of the Prime Minister of the day (who might be a Dissenter, or even an Infidel) into the hands of the clergy and lay-communicants of the diocese; or even to get for them, along with the Bishops of the province, the right of rejecting from consecration a candidate who was palpably unfit. No attempt to revive the Convocations of the Church, or to establish ruri-decanal meetings for mutual counsel amongst neighbouring clergy, or clergy and laity. No attempt to make cathedral establishments of use for any purpose at all save as large parish churches served by six or eight clergy instead of two or three; no attempt to make the cathedral a centre of religious activity for the whole diocese; no attempt to offer divine service generally, either in whole or in part, with any special beauty, *i.e.* musically. It was taken for granted that, however proper a choral service might be in cathedrals, it was worse than out of place in parish churches. No attempt to throw all parish churches open to all parishioners without hire; nor that baptism might be always administered without a fee.

At the jubilee of the Rev. Charles Simeon's incumbency at Trinity Church, Cambridge, which he observed with meetings of various Low-Church friends, "we discussed," writes the Rev. E. Bickersteth, . . . "reform in the Church, in which we generally agreed we could not intermeddle."*

* Birks' Memoir of the Rev. E. Bickersteth, vol. ii. p. 37.

Some, indeed, of the changes effected by the Low-Church party were for the worse rather than for the better. Mr. Cecil introduced the practice of singing some metrical stanzas *after the Second Lesson*; thus ignoring that act of praise which in the *Nunc Dimittis* or *Deus Miseratur* is put into our mouths by the Church. And the substitution of a sermon on Sunday afternoons for that catechising which the Church of England orders to take place after the Second Lesson at Evensong, and which in the last century was more general than it had come to be at the time whereof we are now writing, must needs be considered as a move for the worse. It was owing, we believe, to the exaggerated importance given by Low-Churchmen to the delivery of discourses on set texts of Scripture from the pulpit, in which the preaching of the Gospel was popularly supposed to consist.

We believe, moreover, that to the Low-Church party in the Church of England is to be referred most of that Dissent which makes so much noise in the present day. We have seen how Mr. Venn the elder was a principal cause of the erection of a Dissenting meeting-house, with its congregation, at Huddersfield.* A correspondent of the *Christian Observer* professed, in 1831, to have “been informed that in some large towns which ” (said he) “I could name, where the clergy are almost all distinguished for their piety and the exemplary discharge of their pastoral duties, Dissent is spreading.”† Nor is such a thing to be wondered at. Low-Churchmen accepted the system of the

* See above, p. 128.

† *Christian Observer* for 1831, p. 92.

Church only so far as that system was supposed or pretended to be consistent with their own independent practices ; and thus we have Mr. Bickersteth writing that if the use of lay-assistants were to be checked, the destruction of the Establishment would be a righteous thing.* Those who were taught Church principles after this fashion, and who had learnt a gospel which was both essentially and in details the same as was preached by Protestant Dissenters, must have felt that the religion of their profession was of a hybrid character ; and when their mental independence was sufficiently formed, they naturally became members of some sect to which this hybrid character did not belong.

And, on the whole, it will not surprise the reader to be informed that at this period the Low-Church party were manifesting a marked decline in personal piety. The editor of the *Christian Observer* speaks of their comparative lukewarmness and inconsistency.† “ Worldliness had crept into the bosom of the spiritual Church ; and the old self-denying maxims of the Scotts, and Newtons, and Cecils fell into disuse. Wealthy men began to profess a sort of semi-Evangelical faith ; luxury and ostentation increased, and a great lowering of the tone of Christian profession took place.”‡ Low-Church theology, too, as Sir James Stephen remarks, “ revolved so much on a very few central points as to induce a disastrous facility in

* Bickersteth's Life, vol. ii. p. 112.

† *Christian Observer* for 1850, p. 75.

‡ *Ib.* for 1861, p. iv.

catching a superficial acquaintance with it, and in reproducing it in a plausible imitation. . . . Gradually, also, it came to pass in the Evangelical, as in other societies, that the symbol was adopted by many who were strangers to the spirit of the original institution ; by many an indolent, trivial, or luxurious aspirant to its advantages, both temporal and eternal.*

Yes, temporal advantages. Some Low-Churchmen of our day seem to be unaware that the profession of Low-Church principles had some of these from the very first. We have seen somewhere or other, in print, a remark to the effect that for a clergyman to become a Low-Churchman was to shut oneself out from patronage. If by patronage were meant lucrative preferment, the remark holds true for a certain period of time : but otherwise it does not hold good at all. Romaine was chaplain to a Lord Mayor of London, and Rector of Blackfriars ; Newton was Rector of St. Mary's, Lothbury ; Venn the elder was Vicar of Huddersfield, and (when he felt his powers unequal to the work of a town charge) Rector of Yelling ; Robinson was Vicar of St. Mary's, Leicester ; Scott was Rector of Aston Sandford ; John Venn was Rector of Little Dunham, and afterwards of Clapham. And if the pecuniary value of some of these livings was small, yet the position, and the influence pertaining thereto, was not to be despised. And it must be remembered too that not a few Low-Church divines held proprietary chapels in London and elsewhere,

* *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, p. 446.

which chapels they, being popular preachers, soon filled with crowds of admiring hearers, while deriving a fair income from the pew-rents. In fact, so regularly was a large auditory observed to follow the Low-Church preacher, that a small attendance in any particular place of Anglican worship was deemed a sure sign that the gospel was not preached there.

Sir James Stephen characterises the Low-Church mind at this period as dwarfish, sterile, and rotatory.* And with this agree the utterances of more than one Low-Church divine of the period. "My heart often sinks within me" (wrote Legh Richmond) "when I see how little solid, sterling, *vital piety* manifests itself amongst many creditable Christians."† This is in a letter dated June 7th, 1825. The present writer was informed by one who had lived in Islington at the period, that about the year 1830 the prayers in a church belonging to the Church of England were in general very scantily attended, but that if a popular preacher was to occupy the pulpit, there was a rush of people into the building *just before the sermon*. Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, seems to imply a decadence of his party in true religion, when he expresses, in January 1832, his sense of the need of men who were Evangelical "in the right sense of that much-abused term."‡ Apparently there were many then who termed themselves Evangelical, without being, in the Bishop's opinion, really so.

Caroline Wilson, *née* Fry, the authoress of "The

* *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, p. 463.

† *Life*, p. 360.

‡ *Ib.* vol. i. p. 316.

Listener in Oxford," writes thus in December 1841, and apparently about that work: "Many even of my own friends—and of the public many more—who would once have welcomed, and rejoiced in the truths it contains, will now disrelish, dispute, and perhaps reject them. 'Who hath believed our report?' is the altered language now of those who remain unaltered, whereas they were once upon the popular side. So at least I think it will be more and more, for what I call the *out-and-out* evangelical doctrines; the full and entire gospel; such as a now almost extinct generation of pious ministers, in and out of the Church, preached it, and bequeathed it to us; but left, as I fear, few successors to themselves."* Hugh Stowell declares, in 1845, "The stream of Evangelical truth has become more shallow as it has become more diffused."†

And yet with this acknowledged decline, there was much zeal of a certain kind. The Low-Church *shibboleth* was vehemently insisted on, and those who could not frame to pronounce it right were severely judged. Even the right to judge their brethren was sometimes actually claimed by the party, in flat contravention of the Lord's precept, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." Thus a writer in the *Christian Observer* spoke of "full satisfaction to competent judges" as having been given by Dr. Johnson with respect to his soul.‡ Favourite preachers were eagerly run after, and the merits

* *Autobiography of Caroline Fry*, p. 183.

† *Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 295.

‡ *Christian Observer* for 1837, p. 684.

of one were discussed as against the merits of another. Here is an extract from the *Bath Herald* of November 10th, 1838: it has reference to the Rev. Fountain Elwin, one of the ministers of the Octagon Chapel, Bath:

“A PORTRAIT.

“Could I describe a preacher, such as Paul,
 Were he on earth, would hear, approve, and own,
 Paul should himself direct me. I would trace
 His master-strokes, and draw from his design.
 I would express him—simple, grave, sincere;
 In doctrine uncorrupt, in language plain,
 And plain in manner; decent, solemn, chaste,
 And natural in gesture.”

The Task.

“Let my reader imagine a person of goodly stature and noble aspect; hair turned to silver (more by study than years); eyes penetrating, but not severe; let him, in short, sketch in his mind an exterior resembling the finest and most graceful among the magnificent forms in the immortal cartoons. To these advantages let him add a voice supremely sweet, soft, and tuneful; articulation eminently distinct; action at once appropriate, elegant, and impressive; an air implying Christian humility and priestly lowliness, without a shade of servility, and perfectly self-possessed and unembarrassed, yet free from the slightest intermixture of haughty coldness. Let him also conceive a pouring forth of words which indicate to the hearer the man of high breeding, the profound scholar and theologian, and above all, the pleader *in earnest*; and the delivery of compositions irresistibly powerful from their faultless style and

perspicuity of arrangement : all the parts distributed with a master's skill, and each portion, while it belongs to the whole, complete in itself. Let him fancy the orator stating his purpose in a simple, unimpassioned exordium, warming as he advances in his illustrations ; strengthening these by weighty and unanswerable arguments ; proceeding to a brief and touching peroration or summing up ; and finishing with a sentence comprehensive, tender, and sublime. Any one who can imagine thus much can as readily believe that such a preacher must insure to himself the compliment from his auditory of profound attention, silent fixedness, the frequently starting tear, and the desire which pervades the bosom of every one around him"—to do what ? To act at once upon the truths thus plainly and convincingly set forth ? To begin at once the verification, in his or her own experience, of the advantages following on that course of practice which has been so powerfully urged ? To break with sin once and for ever ? To live thenceforward as those should do who have been so wonderfully redeemed ? To labour with all the powers of spirit, soul, and body for the glory of God, in the fulfilment of all the work which God's providence may appoint ? No : only "to hear him"—the preacher—"again and again." That was all. Our minds insensibly recur to the warnings and exhortations of Holy Scripture, "Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves."* "The time will come

* Jas. i. 22.

when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears."* "Ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth."†

CHAPTER XXVII.

Causes of Low-Church Failure. No Principle of Spiritual Progress. Positive Elements of Deterioration. Spiritual Indolence. Party-Spirit. Party-Conceit. Unreality. Cant. Ignorance. Object of Preaching—Conversion, not Spiritual Training. Narrow Circle of Doctrines. Extempore Preaching. Unscriptural Asceticism. Positive Theological Error. Sabbatarianism. "Verbal Inspiration."

It will be profitable to the reader that we should spend some little time in pointing out the causes to which the decadence spoken of in the last chapter may fairly be attributed. We note, then, a negative cause and a positive cause. The Low-Church movement failed to contain within it any principle of spiritual progress; and not only so, but it did contain within it positive elements of deterioration.

I. The Low-Church movement *failed to contain within it any principle of spiritual progress*. It was a religious philosophy, and no more; and while a philosophy may possibly make progress as a philosophy, it cannot make progress as a religion, any more than a philosophical religion can make progress as a philosophy. The maintainers of the Low-Church system might prate about the heart as the seat of true religion as much as ever they

* 2 Tim. iv. 3.

† *Ib.* iii. 7.

liked; the principle about which they prated was with them a mere theory of religious philosophy; a theory which was true when taken in certain relations, but of which nothing more could be said. There was nothing in it to control men's natural corruptions, saving so far as those corruptions were condemned by the Low-Church party.

And here should be remembered the notion allowed by Low-Churchmen, that an understanding of the doctrine of justification by faith is necessary for experiencing or undergoing the act of justification itself. Such a notion was expressed by Legh Richmond, in his review of Daubeny's *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*: "On a right understanding of this doctrine, and of its real efficacy on the heart of the believer, stands the very foundation of pure and undefiled religion."*

II. But the Low-Church movement *contained within it positive elements of deterioration*. One of these was *the fostering of spiritual indolence*. How could spiritual indolence be better fostered than by teaching in an unqualified manner that salvation and eternal glory were to be had through merely trusting to what had been done by another? With St. Paul this trusting involved the submitting to baptism; and in St. Paul's teaching baptism brought us into a connexion with Christ, so as to have His life in us, which life was to be cherished by our own Christian activity and repudiation of sin; but into Low-Church teaching the Catholic doctrine of Christian baptism was never brought;

* *Christian Observer* for 1804, p. 623.

with the Low-Church preacher faith was everything—faith, apart from Sacraments. Thus the Low-Church believer had no incentive to Christian activity other than what love he might feel for God and Christ within himself.

If, however, spiritual indolence was fostered by the Low-Church system, and true spiritual activity proportionably discouraged, the place of spiritual activity was made up to a certain extent by *party-spirit*. And indeed party-action was, under the circumstances, unavoidable ; it was not reasonable to expect that those who held and taught one religion should voluntarily associate themselves with those who held and taught another ; and the various missionary societies which had been started by Low-Churchmen were all started, not on the broad platform of the Church of England, but on the narrow platform of the Low-Church party. And the spirit of the party showed itself not only in the attitude which it took up with respect to Convocation, when Convocation was being revived as an active body, and with respect to Church Congresses when they were first brought into existence, but conspicuously when the so-called “Church Missionary Society” refused to let its missionaries in the diocese of Madras be superintended by a bishop who belonged to the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and two assistant-bishops had to be consecrated, one for the missions of each society.

With party-spirit was necessarily connected *party-conceit* ; and the party-conceit of Low-Churchmen was strong. And when the party

arose, nothing could be more natural or (humanly speaking) more excusable. For at that period of time Low-Churchmen were almost the only religious people in the Church ; for the Methodists, with whom they had much in common, had already begun to drift away ; and the pious High-Churchmen were few, and made no figure or stir at all in the eyes of the world. And it will illustrate our present point to remark what wide significance those terms properly had which in the biographies of the older Low-Churchmen are used with reference to Low-Church principles and Low-Church practice. Occasionally we find the term "Evangelical" in use, and, naturally enough, in contradistinction from "moral ;" the latter being the natural epithet for a teaching which might come from any well-instructed heathen, or mere natural theologian. Most frequently, however, the expressions used are such as these : "True religion," "vital godliness," and the like ; and these expressions were grounded in truth. Under such circumstances how could frail human beings, compassed with infirmity, fail of manifesting a large amount of party-conceit ? It must be borne in mind, too, that the party-conceit of Low-Churchmen was owing to a special cause besides. Not only were they the only truly religious people, but no one who did not agree with them in the main could, in their view, be a truly religious person at all. No one, according to them, could be truly religious who was not justified by faith alone. And could any one be justified by faith alone without believing that he was so ? And further, could any one hold the doctrine of justifi-

cation by faith alone without having been taught it by inward revelation from God? Was not the doctrine contrary to man's natural pride and vain-glory? Thus the root of all true religion was practically made to consist solely in holding the doctrine of justification by faith alone. And it is easy to see how this led naturally to a spiritual decadence. If the mere moralist trusted to an unsafe foundation, in trusting for salvation to his own works, how much more flimsy was this Low-Church foundation! A man's soul was deemed to be safe through the mere intellectual belief of a doctrine in religious philosophy! And when all this false supposition was held to be true in one's own case, and when, on the strength of its supposed truth, anathemas were dealt round to all who failed to give it their assent, more steps than one had been taken on the spiritual decline. Accustomed to account themselves, and to be accounted by others, as the only party in the Church of England to whom the term "true Christians" and its synonyms were rightly applicable, they came naturally to look down with an air of superiority, little differing, if at all, from spiritual pride, upon every one who forbore to identify himself with their party. The question asked by St. Paul of the Corinthians, "What! came the word of God unto you only?" they practically answered in the affirmative; until at last the names of party leaders were considered as a guarantee for the Christianity of an institution, no matter how palpably contrary to the express precepts of the New Testament might be the practice which the institution in question

carried on.* Such party-conceit, setting itself up instead of the Holy Scriptures as the standard of Christian morality, would of necessity lead to greater and greater depths of spiritual decline; though it must be owned that at the period where-

* The operation of party-conceit at a later period is seen in the manner in which the Rev. W. Knight, once Secretary of the "Church Missionary Society," describes the line taken by one occupying a high position in the Church. Mr. Knight prints (*Memoir of Henry Venn, B.D.*, page 175) the following extract from a letter written by the dignitary in question: "If you like to sound the Church Missionary Society as to funds, I have no objection, but nothing could induce me to submit to any dictation or interference on their part. The whole mission shall in every respect be managed by the Church here, or there shall be none. I have seen enough since I have been out here of the working of Societies to make me loathe them—always excepting the dear S.P.G., which seems to be mercifully preserved from the Society spirit. If the Church Missionary Society will follow the example of the S.P.G. and place £500 a year entirely at my disposal for the formation of a mission, I will thankfully accept of it. But if they mean to bargain for power, I will have nothing to do with them. I see every day I live more and more clearly that the whole Church work must be done by the Church, and not by any other agency. And, thank God, this diocese is beginning to think so too. If the Church Missionary Society will not help me without annexing conditions which the Church here will not assent to, and if the S.P.G. cannot assist us further, we must look to God for supplying us the means in other ways." The writer of the above extract was Bishop Gray, of Cape Town. But Mr. Knight gives no indication of this fact; unwilling, apparently, to perpetuate more than could be helped what in his opinion would be an *obvious tarnish* upon the fame of that great confessor; the tarnish consisting in having spoken against the practice of so perfect an institution as the "Church Missionary Society!"

The same party-conceit is seen in a paper of *Recollections by the Earl of Chichester, President of the Church Missionary Society*. His Lordship says, "H. Venn had a wonderful talent for drawing out a missionary, both at his own table and in the more august presence of the C.M.S. Committee." (*Memoir of Henry Venn, B.D.*, page 283.)

of we are writing now it had not attained the full height just described.

And the decline was all the more rapid, by reason of the *unreality* which the Low-Church system generated *in the personal character*. “We are too ready” (says Hannah More) “to imagine that we are religious, because we know something of religion. We appropriate to ourselves the pious sentiments we read, and we talk as if the thoughts of other men’s heads were really the feelings of our own hearts.”*

That is, in effect, we talk *cant*. And such an acknowledgment was true. Of the unreality just spoken of one manifestation was of necessity *cant* in various forms. By “*cant*” we mean affectation either in tone or in language. It is defined by Dr. Worcester as a “sing-song manner of speaking; a whining or affected tone; hypocritical speech; pretension without sincerity, as indicated by language and air.” “To *cant*,” similarly, is (according to the same authority) “to talk in a jargon, or with affectation; to speak in a whining or affected manner.” And the word “*cant*,” when used as an adjective, is defined to mean “vulgar, inelegant, affected, habitually or improperly used.” If we are asked for a further definition of the substantive, we might say that *cant* is the slang of those who trifle in religion, as slang is the *cant* of those who trifle with things in general. The way in which a person comes to talk *cant* is this: The person has a certain amount of liking for the out-

* *Practical Piety*, chap. viii.

side of religion, and mistakes this for a liking of religion in its essence. The object of his liking is necessarily the subject of his talk; and being accustomed to associate with those who are conversant with religion, he learns their manner of speech, and adopts it himself. As, however, he knows only the outside of religion, his talk necessarily fails of being answerable to religion in its essence: and is (to borrow a term from Roman casuistry) *material* cant. If, however, he talks for the pleasure of remarking himself, or of showing off to others, what he supposes to be his superior knowledge of religion, the cant becomes *formal*. And this was exhibited in Low-Churchmen. As to tone, we have known one Low-Church clergyman who read the Bible in a peculiar kind of undertone, as if he were afraid of reading it. And as to language, Conybeare, in his Essay on Church Parties, cites several instances. "The words '*faithful,*' '*tainted,*' '*acceptable,*' '*decided,*' '*legal,*' and many others, are used" [says he] "in a technical sense. We hear that Mr. A. has been more '*owned*' than Mr. B., and that Mr. C. has more '*seals*' than Mr. D.* Again, the word '*gracious*' is invested with a meaning as extensive as that attached by young ladies to '*nice.*' Thus we hear of '*a gracious sermon,*' '*a gracious meeting,*' '*a gracious child,*' and even '*a gracious whipping.*' The word '*dark*' has also a new and peculiar usage. It is applied to every person, book, or place not im-

* Mr. Conybeare says in a note, "A preacher is said in this phraseology to be '*owned*' when he makes many converts, and his converts are called his '*seals.*'"

pregnated with Recordite principles. We once were witnesses of a ludicrous misunderstanding resulting from this phraseology. ‘What did you mean’ (said A. to B.) ‘by telling me that —— was such a very dark village? I rode over there to-day, and found the street particularly broad and cheerful, and there is not a tree in the place.’ ‘*The Gospel is not preached there,*’ was B.’s laconic reply.”*

We may remark, too, one particular species of cant as exhibited in Low-Church people: viz., that in which a person is rebuked for profane, or flippant, or unsuitable language—the fact being that the language which occasioned the rebuke was merely not conventional. Thus the late Rev. Charles B. Tayler, a Low-Churchman, and a writer of what are called religious novels, rebukes one of the Tractarian writers for describing how a man once died of apoplexy in a pew, which, having been made (after the fashion of the times) with lofty panels, hindered his fellow-worshippers from seeing the state in which he was; and for pointing the moral—the only moral with which the writer in question was then concerned—in these terms: “A pleasant consideration this, for nervous people, who are fond of having their pews all to themselves.” This Mr. Tayler characterised as “frightful levity,” and made his heroine say, “I cannot understand how any writer of a serious and godly mind could treat so awful a subject as death, and the death of such a character, with such levity.”†

* *Essays Ecclesiastical and Social*, pp. 91, 92.

† Tayler’s *Margaret, or the Pearl*, pp. 123-4.

The writer of these pages was similarly rebuked, once upon a time, by a Low-Church correspondent in a country newspaper, for flippancy of language : the fact being that he had simply made a common-sense suggestion in common-sense language, on the subject of improving the religion of a place. It will be observed that in all these cases the rebuker, in rebuking his neighbour for not talking cant, proclaims, in effect, that he is an habitual cant-talker himself.

Before leaving the mention of that party-conceit which was so abundant among Low-Church people, we should remark that it was helped forward even by what had followed from it as a result : we mean *ignorance*. Taking it for granted that they themselves were the only true Christians in Christendom, Low-Churchmen never cared to know what was going on in the way of religion outside their own party. Thus, until a very late period it was the general belief among them that High-Churchmen were generally formalists ; that their services were a mere set of outward forms, in going through which the heart had no place : nor was this idea exploded until one day the Earl of Shaftesbury attended a service at St. Alban's, Holborn, of which the Rev. Alexander Heriot Mackonochie was then the incumbent, and brought back the report that the devotion of the congregation was beyond all question.

Independently, however, of those causes of decline which we have as yet specified, there were others involved in the *Low-Church system*. The Low-Church system was more for winning the uncon-

verted to repentance and faith than for spiritual training of the persons already converted.* This may be illustrated by an anecdote told of some celebrated Low-Church divine, we forget who. He had been taken by a friend to visit an old woman, and asked her if she knew the way to heaven. She replied that in her opinion there were but three steps to heaven; and on being asked what these were, said, "Out of self—into Christ—into glory." "I can teach her no more," said the clergyman. Not that pastoral ministry properly so called was wantonly ignored, or despised by Low-Churchmen in general; but Low-Church divines had only a small amount of material wherewith to fulfil it. Sanctification, by the Holy Ghost, of individuals redeemed, was, it is true, an important part of their teaching; but it was taught rather in reference to those in whom it was *not supposed to have been begun* than in reference to any others.

And even where no objection lay to the doctrine taught, yet the application had oftentimes a great tendency to generate unreality in those who accepted it. Full of earnestness as the first Low-Church preachers were, they failed to see that in proportion to their success *then*, would eventually be the lack of that very piety which they sought to inculcate. They may well be pardoned for this, for the thing

* This was sometimes expressly avowed. An article in the *Christian Observer* for 1866 cites Dr. McNeile as having said, "Our object is, not simply to improve men who have been already saved—though that is part of our pastoral work—but the grand object of evangelical preaching is the conversion of sinners." (Page 206.)

is palpably a paradox. Nevertheless, it is a truth, as a little investigation will show. Low-Church preachers put their hearers generally in an untrue position. Their own personal religious experience they took as the rule, instead of admitting that it might be exceptional. And then they strove to make their hearers feel accordingly, assuming them to be heathens instead of Christians, and striving to make them feel as heathens rather than as Christians; and not allowing them to feel as Christians until they had (in imagination at least) gone through the process of feeling as heathens. This arose from ignorance of the nature of Holy Baptism.

The unreality resulting herefrom is very plainly seen in the manner in which the Low-Church system dealt with children. The essence of Catholic education is to teach the child that he is already in a state of salvation through Christ, and to train him to continue in it. The Catholic child learns to look upon himself as already being saved by Christ; and to trace this salvation primarily to the work of the Eternal Son in our flesh, and secondarily to the fact of his having had all the benefits of Christ's work made over to him in his baptism. And he is taught at the same time that to him belongs, as he grows older, the responsibility of abiding in Christ, and keeping the grace which he has received, by a righteous and holy practice, to which practice he is trained by his parents and spiritual pastors. The Low-Church parent, on the other hand, taught his child to look upon himself as a heathen, until he had undergone

a sensible conversion. And the child, naturally taking for granted whatever his parents taught him, not only learned thus to ignore the grace which he had within him already, and which he had had from the moment of his baptism, and to look upon himself as a child of wrath while really he was a child of grace;—but was taught, as he grew older, to seek after such a set of emotions and feelings as those in which he supposed “conversion” to consist, and to work himself up, as far as he could, into those same emotions and feelings, if they did not come (so to say) of their own accord. Thus an imaginary piety of heart was cultivated at the greatest cost, perhaps, at which it could be cultivated—the cost of *truthfulness to oneself*. First the child, then the youth, then the grown person, learned to look at spiritual realities in an unreal way, and to deal with spiritual truths in an untruthful way. How could such a training issue otherwise than in the spiritual decadence of the party in general, and a stunting of the spiritual life in individuals? So that those Low-Churchmen who came to be good examples to their brethren did so really in spite of their training; their baptismal grace remaining with them without their knowing that it was baptismal grace.

Another cause of decline, and one inherent in the Low-Church system, was the fact that a certain small circle of doctrines was delivered as containing all which was necessary to salvation. The present writer was taught, in his childhood, a catechism in which the catechist says, “You now, then, my dear child, know the chief truths of the Christian

religion." But in that catechism not only some truths were very defectively stated, but there was no mention at all of the Church or of the Sacraments, nor even (if our memory serves us) of the doctrine of Trinity in Unity, except as implied in the words :

"I praise with all the heavenly host
Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

Then the words, "necessary to salvation," in the preacher's lips, came very easily to be understood by the hearers as signifying "necessary at all," and doctrines which, however true, were deemed unnecessary to be taught, soon came to be deemed unnecessary to be believed; from which the transition was but a natural consequence, to deem them untrue. Such doctrines were those which have respect to the Church as an organised body.

In some cases, moreover, there was yet another cause at work tending to produce spiritual decline. We mean where the preacher, having some readiness of utterance, some fluency of expression, deemed it unnecessary to prepare intellectually for the work of teaching his flock from the pulpit, but stood up before them to speak literally *extempore*. Such cases, it is to be hoped, were few, but some there certainly were. And poorly off indeed must those flocks have been whose spiritual shepherds put them off with so inadequate a ministration of the one ordinance represented by them as the one needful means of grace.

But another cause, and one which probably contributed as largely as any to producing spiritual decline, was the enforcing a kind of asceticism in regard of certain things not necessarily sinful. Low-Church people were taught that it was a sin in the sight of God to go to a horse-race, to see a play acted, to play a game at cards, to dance, or to be present at a ball; with which forbidden things was added, in the teaching of some, the hearing of a concert or of an oratorio. And we believe that the practice of such an asceticism as this would lead of necessity to decay in true practical religion. For, granting that every man has in him a certain amount of religious force (so to call it), it is evident that if any part of that force is expended in an improper way, there will be all the less remaining to be expended in ways which are right. If, for instance, he turns his religious force to a warfare with some things which are not sins in themselves, he will, we may expect, be found to allow in his practice some other things which are. And the later history of the Low-Church party afforded some striking exemplifications hereof, as we shall see hereafter.

Not, perhaps, the least effective cause of decline was *the holding of positive theological error*. Among the numerous negations of Protestantism, the Low-Church party held two distinct errors of a positive character: the obligation of observing the Lord's Day as a Sabbath—nay, as *the Sabbath* (a title very commonly given to it by Low-Churchmen)—and what was commonly called the *Verbal Inspiration* of canonical Scripture.

The notion about the Lord's Day was derived from the early Puritans. It was, that the Fourth Commandment was binding on Christians in the same way, and as fully, as any other precept in the Decalogue, save only that for "seventh day" we were to understand "first day." And such texts as Isaiah lviii. 13,14, were to be understood in like manner. Thus all kind of work and amusement on Sunday was sinful*: the only exceptions being such occupations as were required of necessity on considerations of mercy for others, or health, or sustenance, or safety for oneself. With these exceptions, it was maintained that the duty of abstaining on one day in seven from work and amusement was of a moral character, just like the duty of honouring one's parents, or of abstaining from theft and falsehood, and therefore was of perpetual obligation; but that the question which day was to be so observed was of a ceremonial character, and might be treated accordingly: and that it had been so treated in point of fact, the Apostles having altered the Sabbath day from the seventh day of the week to the first.

The doctrine of verbal inspiration was that every word of canonical Scripture came by dictation from God the Holy Ghost, and was to be regarded accordingly as if it had been spoken by God's own Voice. This doctrine also, it is probable, came from the Puritans; not, indeed, formally stated by them, but held in solution as it were, the natural result of that Protestantism

* See above, p. 254.

which put the written volume of Scripture in the place of the word of authority spoken by living men. A curious result of holding it was the idea that in quoting Scripture language the exact words of the Authorised Version ought in all cases to be given, no matter what the connexion might be in which the quotation was made. Thus, in narrating once to an old and dear Low-Church relative how some one had expressed, in the hearing of Bishop Philpotts of Exeter, a wish that we of the Church of England had such a preacher as Spurgeon, and how the Bishop had replied, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's ass," we were corrected for misquotation, and reminded that the sacred text ran—"Nor his ass."

How the holding of these two false doctrines contributed to the spiritual decay of the Low-Church party will not be very hard to see. We believe that no theological falsity can be held without detriment to the spiritual life. And the two erroneous tenets now in question formed no exceptions to this rule. The first involved a denial of the sacredness of a baptized person's whole life. The only exposition of the Fourth Commandment which the Church of England had given in her Catechism was expressed in the words, "To serve Him truly *all* the days of my life:" which was but in keeping with what St. Paul had written, "One man esteemeth one day above another, another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he

doth not regard it. . . . For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself: for whether we live, we live unto the Lord, and whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that He might be Lord both of the dead and living." * For evidently St. Paul's argument is this: "Christ has purchased to Himself, by dying and rising again, our whole existence, whether spent in life or in death; and therefore one day of your life belongs to Him as much as another." By teaching, however, that God had reserved one-seventh portion of our time above all the rest to Himself, Low-Churchmen opened the door to the inference that the remaining six-sevenths were left to us as our own; to say nothing of the encouragement given to superstition, as that it was better to give alms on a Sunday than on an ordinary week-day: the day sanctifying the gift, as was once said to the present writer.

As for the tenet of verbal inspiration, that did harm in two ways. In the first place, it tended to put men on substituting the letter which killeth for the Spirit Who giveth life; and in the next place, it involved an habitual self-deception, in proportion as the text of the New Testament was studied. What could a verbal inspirationist do with the four differing accounts given by the four Evangelists of the Title on the Cross? What could he do with the many quotations made by Apostles

* Rom. xiv. 5-9.

from the Old Testament but which do not agree either with the Hebrew or with the Septuagint? How would he explain the text "The word of the LORD endureth for ever,"* in the face of such a multiplicity of various readings as the examination of MSS., versions, and quotations in early Christian writers has brought to light? To be true to his theory in the face of these phenomena was to deal with himself systematically in a dishonest manner.

It was, however, by the Low-Church party-conceit chiefly that the way was prepared for the operation of the last great cause of decline to be now mentioned. It is written that the Word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit:† that is to say, compelling those people to whom it comes to take one side or another—either the side of God's Spirit and God's work, or else the contrary. And what is true of the word of God generally is true of every form which that word may take: it is true of every declaration of His truth in proportion to its correctness, no matter how the declaration may be brought. And wherever the truth declared is not accepted—and still more when it is opposed, and most of all where persecution is raised against those who hold or teach it—there, we conceive, will spiritual life fail, or (maybe) perish altogether. This, we believe, began to be shown more remarkably than before, in the history of the Low-Church party, at the period to be described in our

* Isa. xl. 8. I Pet. i. 25.

† Heb. iv. 12.

succeeding chapters. That was a period when certain truths, all of them previously denied by the party, and most or all of them forgotten by the Anglican Church at large, began to be taught again by Anglican clergy.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Peculiarities of the Low-Church Party. Undue Exaltation of Preaching. Depreciation of Common Prayer. Ignorance of General Theology. Intellectual Stupidity. Uncharitableness. Judging of others. Jewish Mania. Anglo-Israelitism. Ignorance of Scripture.

“The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears. And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables.”—2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.

It may be well to notice at this point some leading traits of character shown at this time by the Low-Church party in general, other than what we have already remarked.

The principal of these was *an undue exaltation of the function of preaching*. According to Low-Church divines, preaching was the main ordinance to which all other ordinances were but subservient. However highly the holy Eucharist might be exalted by them in theory, their Zuinglianism could not but forbid them to use it with more than about one-twelfth of the frequency with which they gathered congregations to hear sermons: for while there would ordinarily be, in the church of an active Low-Church priest, at least three sermons a week, there would commonly be only one cele-

bration of the Eucharist in the month. How could they be expected to make more account of that Sacrament? According to their theology, it was no more than a peculiar kind of preaching; and their own common sense told them that in the preaching line a good sermon from the pulpit was far more effective.

It was the same excessive ideas of the comparative importance of preaching which caused the Rev. John Venn to write of his father, Henry Venn the elder, "He now saw that sinners are brought through the Gospel into a new state—a state of reconciliation to our Heavenly Father—a state of adoption into His family—a state of grace and mercy;" * thus, in effect, putting preaching into the place of the great Sacrament of our regeneration. For, however true it may be (as indeed it must necessarily be) that the bringing of sinners into a new state—a state of reconciliation and adoption—is owing, indirectly, to the Gospel (for the preaching of the Gospel is the necessary preliminary to the acceptance of Christianity in any sense of the words, and therefore was necessarily dwelt upon by the Apostles in writing to those who had been converted to Christianity rather than grown up in it), yet the act by which individual persons are brought severally into the state in question is not the preaching of the Gospel, but the administration of Baptism.

As to prayers, though Low-Churchmen could hardly so reverse George Herbert's saying as to

* *Life of the Rev. Henry Venn, M.A.*, p. 20.

maintain that preaching is the end of praying, yet they practically inculcated a denial of his maxim—

“Resort to sermons, but to prayers most.”

Such a resorting was sure to be stigmatised as an undue exaltation of the Liturgy. A Low-Church clergyman, on coming to a living, might keep up the daily public service if he found one already established; but who ever heard of a Low-Church clergyman commencing a daily service where there had been none before? He might increase the number of sermons; but if he said the Office previously to preaching, it was only because both the Act of Uniformity and public opinion in the Church generally required that on such occasions the prayers should be read. “I fear,” says a correspondent in the *Christian Observer* for 1831, “it cannot be denied that the daily recurrence of the whole of our church service, morning and evening, whether it be sung or said, is not favourable to continued and intense devotion.”* That correspondent asked if this was true? and if so, what was the explanation? Another correspondent, speaking for himself, said that one cause might be the feeling of a want of fellowship among Church-people on religious grounds.†

It might be thought that in a party which made so much of preaching, preaching would generally, if not always, be of a peculiarly high order. Unfortunately, however, it was not so. We cannot call to mind the name of one English

* *Christian Observer* for 1831, p. 401.

† *Ib.* p. 664.

Low-Churchman of the period now under discussion who deserved to be mentioned as a theologian. Indeed, one characteristic of the Low-Church party was (as it still is) a remarkable ignorance of general theology. The case was probably an extreme one, of the old lady who read nothing save the Bible and the *Record* newspaper; but though it may have been an extreme example, it was most certainly a real example. The party had, indeed, numbered amongst them some diligent students: such was Thomas Scott; and Daniel Wilson, Vicar of Islington, and afterwards Bishop of Calcutta; and Professor Scholefield, of Cambridge; but these were the exceptions, not the rule. We have ourselves heard, on Trinity Sunday, a sermon from a Low-Churchman from that famous passage, in St. John's First Epistle, the greater part of which is spurious; the preacher having been, apparently, utterly unaware of the palpable spuriousness of the ground on which he was undertaking to build up doctrine. On another recurrence of the same festival we have heard another Low-Churchman, in another church, give his congregation a taste of Sabbellianism, and evidently in utter ignorance. Even now, few, if any, Low-Churchmen would probably allow to the Blessed Virgin the title "Mother of God," or dream that by refusing her the title *Theotokos*, of which the expression "Mother of God" is intended to be a translation, they are committing themselves to the Nestorian heresy. The regeneration of the Patriarchs before the Incarnation (let alone the Ascension and the descent of the Holy Ghost) was

a heresy derived from the Zuinglian Reformers ; it was expressly asserted in the *Christian Observer*,* and held, we believe, by Low-Church people generally.

But perhaps the most striking illustration of Low-Church ignorance at the period to which we refer is afforded in the fact that Thomas Scott, in commenting on the New Testament, thought it necessary to give a series of notes telling his readers the original Greek words whereof such and such English words were the rendering, and no more. Evidently Mr. Scott never contemplated the likelihood of his readers, being sufficiently acquainted with Greek to read the New Testament ordinarily in that language. Even Mr. Simeon, too, though a Fellow of King's, did not read the Greek Testament regularly in his stated devotions ; but preferred Brown's Self-Interpreting Bible.†

Indeed, generally speaking, human learning (including the knowledge of the Scriptures in the original tongues) has been by Low-Churchmen actually depreciated. Thus, Henry Venn the elder speaks of "a thing so immaterial as an accurate investigation of the Hebrew text," on the ground that "all things *necessary to be known* are the same in every version as in the original."‡ "Such men," says a correspondent in the *Christian Observer*, "felt that to be deeply learned required an extent

* *Christian Observer* for 1837, pp. 156, &c.

† Carus's *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon*, pp. 67,

‡ *Life*, p. 537.

of reading and a devotion of time and thought incompatible with the very pressing practical duties of the ministry.”* Cecil’s views on the subject were thus expressed by himself: “If God should restore me to health, I have determined to study nothing but the Bible. Literature is inimical to spirituality, if it be not kept under with a firm hand. A man ought to call in from every quarter whatever may assist him to understand, explain, and illustrate the Bible; but there, in its light and life, is all that is good for man. All-important truth is there; and I feel that no comfort enters sick curtains from any other quarter.”† “With some few exceptions” [they were very few indeed] “the Evangelical clergy” (says the Rev. Daniel Wilson, son of the Bishop of Calcutta) “continued to pursue their wonted course—preaching the Gospel and feeding their flocks, and leaving polemical theology to those who had leisure for its pursuit.”‡ The deficiency of Joseph Milner’s reading concerning matters in his subject where special reading was required, was exposed by Dr. Maitland, in his work on the Albigenses and Waldenses.§

And with this general ignorance must also be mentioned a general intellectual stupidity. Illustrations of this have continually come under our view while we have been studying the history of

* *Christian Observer* for 1844, p. 718.

† Memoir, prefixed to Cecil’s Works, p. 25.

‡ *Our Protestant Faith in Danger*, p. 7, cited in *Christian Observer* for 1850, p. 715.

§ *Facts and Documents Illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses*, sec. ii.

the party. To go back to Thomas Scott, the commentator: we wonder what estimate he could have had of his readers' common sense when he thought it necessary to inform them that the conduct of Ruth in her visit to Boaz's threshing-floor was not recorded for imitation? The fact was that in the great majority of cases where a Low-Churchman studied theology diligently, or used his mind freely, he came to be a Low-Churchman no longer, and became either a High Churchman, like John Henry Newman, or else a Broad Churchman, like the late Professor Birks.

Both in preachers and in hearers there was also, too often, a great lack of general Christian charity. It might have been thought that a party which professed to think the Church of England justified in asserting the regeneration of every baptized person on the principle of what was called charitable hypothesis, might have carried the same principle into their general attitude towards others who, like themselves, acknowledged and received "One baptism for the remission of sins." Far otherwise, however, was the fact. The Church of Rome, indeed, was of course deemed fair game for every member of the Anglican Communion. It was, however, reserved for the *Christian Observer* to censure Bishop Luscombe for merely speaking of our sister as "not only a true branch, but one of the chief branches of the great Christian family."* Indeed, the general tendency of the party was to refuse the name of Christian to all

* *Christian Observer* for 1828, p. 585.

in the Church of England besides themselves. Thus Mr. Bickersteth speaks of "Newton's Narrative" as being "in every Christian's library."* And a lay correspondent of the *Christian Observer* condemns the use, by preachers, of such phrases as "Our Saviour" in a mixed congregation, † *i.e.*, in a congregation partly composed of Low-Church people and partly of people whose principles were not Low-Church. We have ourselves seen a pamphlet on preaching in which disapproval was expressed with reference to the practice adopted by some preachers of addressing such a congregation as "Christian brethren."

This spirit could not but show itself in judging other persons. Simeon relates, as one of his early religious experiences, the opinion formed of him by a clergyman and three other persons, all, apparently, Low-Churchmen. "I soon dropped some expressions which conveyed the idea of my feeling myself a poor, guilty, helpless sinner: and Mr. A. was quite surprised, for he had set it down as a matter of course that I must be a staunch Pharisee; he had, even for the whole space of time that I had been at college, noticed my solemn and reverent behaviour at St. Mary's, so different from that which is generally observed in that place, and concluded, as three of his pious friends had also done, that I was actuated by a proud Pharisaical spirit."‡ And the late Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, was thus spoken of in the

* Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton, p. 7.

Christian Observer for 1827, pp. 657, &c.

† Carus's Life of Simeon, pp. 22, 23.

Record, with reference to the doctrine of justification by faith, and his failure to profess assent thereto in proper Low-Church phraseology: "Did he, even in death, rest intelligently and clearly on that fundamental doctrine on which Luther declared the Gospel turned, and whosoever denieth which is not to be accounted, in the words of Cranmer, for a Christian man? We cannot say. It does not appear."* We should like to know what business the writer of the above passage had to judge Dr. Arnold's dying state of heart, or to pronounce any opinion at all concerning it. Our Master's precept is, "Judge not, that ye be not judged: for with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged."

One curious trait, found, we believe, in Low-Churchmen exclusively, was, a love of Jews *as* Jews. Something might be said in favour of such a bias, on the ground that the Divine Source, to us, of our present life and future hope, when He took our flesh into union with Himself, took it of a Jewish maiden, and grew up and lived as a Jew among Jews: though, on the other hand, one who was imbued with the spirit of St. Paul might quote, in favour of an impartial regard for all mankind alike, those words of the Apostle, "Henceforth know we no man after the flesh."† But in fact, that trait whereof we speak was like the love of Abolitionists for negroes; such as, when black-skins had risen in rebellion against white-skins, and massacred them, sought to stay the hand of justice

* *Record*, of Feb. 3, 1845, cited in Conybeare's *Essays Ecclesiastical and Social*, p. 76.

† 2 Cor. v. 16.

on the ground of colour alone : as if the plea urged on behalf of the negro, "Am not I a man and a brother?" did not necessarily imply a like plea on behalf of the white man no less, when circumstances required. The advocates of the Jewish bias (so to call it) taught more or less explicitly that Gentiles were spiritually inferior to Jews ; and that the position, even of baptized Gentiles was in some respects less worthy or honourable than that of baptized Jews. Thus the bias in question was connected, either as cause or as effect, with an ignoring of the Christian's present spiritual standing in Christ, and with the hope which we have with regard to the future, which hope is not earthly, but heavenly ; not a hope of being established in the world, but a hope of being established in heaven ; and of ruling the world under Christ, not from a metropolis on the earth, but from a spiritual metropolis in the heavens. The restoration of the Jews to their own land in the time of Christ's millennial reign was spoken of as if it involved some derogation from the dignity of Gentile Christians ; the consideration being allowed to slip out of sight (if, indeed, it had ever so much as occurred), that while, in that blessed time, the Jews, converted as a nation, will occupy in the Divine establishment (if one may use such a term) the position of children, the Christian Church, gathered from among Gentiles and Jews indiscriminately, and cleansed and perfected, will be occupying the position of the wife and mother ; sharing with her Divine Spouse in His glory. We recollect being once in conversation, some years

later, with a near and dear relative, and expressing the opinion that when Antichrist rises up, the Jewish nation generally will follow him and accept him as their Messiah; an opinion for which we seemed to have support, not to say proof, in the Lord's words, "If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive."* But we were reprov'd in warm terms for having spoken against the chosen people—that is to say, for having thrown dirt upon a Low-Church hobby. It may be mentioned, too, how a Low-Church clergyman, beneficed in the Church of England, published a pamphlet advocating revision of the Prayer Book in a Low-Church direction, and deprecating the mentioning of Jews along with Turks, infidels, and heretics, in the third collect for Good Friday; in which pamphlet, moreover, he referred to Dr. Alexander, Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem, as being very painfully affected by that grouping.†

Nor was it in all cases enough to exalt the Jewish race as a race, in regard of spiritual things. At a somewhat later period to that of which we are now treating, one popular writer of the Low-Church party, known by her Christian name as Charlotte Elizabeth, actually published a letter to Bishop Alexander, reminding him of his own Jewish origin, and asking why he did not, as a Jew, administer to his sons the rite of circumcision!‡

* John v. 43.

† *A Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester, on the Revision and Re-arrangement of the Liturgy.* By the Rev. J. C. Proby, M.A., Rector of St. Peter's, Cheesehill, Winchester, p. 22.

‡ *Israel's Ordinances*, a letter to the Bishop of Jerusalem, p. 5.

This Jewish mania appears to have developed itself subsequently into that extraordinary craze known as Anglo-Israelitism, which traced the Anglo-Saxon race to Palestine as its true home, and some of whose partisans imagined the word "Saxon" to be a corrupt abbreviation of "Isaac's son;" a craze in support of which we have seen appeals made to the Book of Common Prayer, seeing that in that volume English Churchmen learned to take the Divine word as addressed to them, "When *your fathers* tempted Me, proved Me, and saw My works;" and because it taught them to sing, in the *Benedictus*, "To perform the mercy promised to *our forefathers* to perform the oath which He sware to *our forefather Abraham*:" and in the *Magnificat*, "As He promised to *our forefathers*." It was forgotten that St. Paul had written to the Gentile Christians of Galatia, "If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed."*

Indeed, in the case of Low-Churchmen as in the case of the Sadducees in the time of the Lord, the words had a true application, "Ye do err, *not knowing the Scriptures*."† This was felt by the son and biographer of Thomas Scott the commentator, whose words, written in or about 1822, with reference to "a thorough study of the Scriptures themselves, with the use of proper helps, but without reliance upon them," are, "How greatly is it wanting, even among our more serious and pious clergy! I speak with a painful sense of my own deficiencies in this respect,

* Gal. iii. 29.

† Matt. xxii. 29.

though without affecting to think them greater than those of many around me.”* It was admitted, about ten years later than the period now more immediately under review, that the Low-Church clergy “were not generally learned with the learning of Ammon and De Wette, or of Hengstenberg and Tholuck.”† That is, they were not learned even in the letter of Holy Scripture, or in that simple meaning thereof to the knowledge of which Hengstenberg and Tholuck brought valuable contributions—a thing which may be said of De Wette also, in spite of his rationalism and destructive criticism, and (for aught we know) of Ammon also. No, the Low-Church party in general were disgracefully ignorant of that very volume which they professed to prize so much. One of those Low-Churchmen who read the Scriptures most, and (after a fashion) studied them most, was the Rev. Charles Bridges, Vicar of Old Newton, in Suffolk, and afterwards Rector of St. Mary’s, Melcombe Regis. Besides a commentary on the 119th Psalm, and one on the Book of Proverbs, he wrote a little book of what he called “Scriptural Studies,” which consisted of a number of heads, as of sermons, each illustrating a text placed at the head of the “study,” and each illustrated, in its turn, by a number of Scripture references. One of these “studies” is on the text “The Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath,”‡ and the first remark immediately following is that

* Life of the Rev. Thomas Scott, p. 468.

† Correspondent in the *Christian Observer* for 1844, p. 718.

‡ Mark ii. 28.

“ this proves the ordinance of the Sabbath to be still of evangelical as well as of legal obligation.”* The fact was, that Mr. Bridges’ Scripture knowledge consisted in little more than an ability to cite a text which might seem *à propos* to any theological matter which he might have in hand.

And the greater number of Low-Church divines failed of attaining even to this low degree of Biblical knowledge. And it is needless to say that mystical interpretations or applications, though having Apostolic authority, were treated as altogether beneath notice. Thus, when occasion arose for theological controversy, they found their spiritual weapons fail them, and were obliged to have recourse to the carnal weapons of misrepresentation, ridicule, and angry invective, as will appear more at length hereafter.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Polemical Period. Keble’s Assize Sermon. The *Tracts for the Times*. Controversy in the *Christian Observer*.

THE leaders of the Low-Church party had been mixed up with polemics from the first time that there were any Low-Church leaders at all. If, however, Low-Churchmen had entered the lists with any one up to the time whereof we now speak, it had been generally to maintain the doctrines of Calvin against those of Arminius; and in particular to fight for the doctrine of Justifica-

* *Scriptural Studies*, Second Series, xxi.

tion by faith against such as, not having themselves any works to show which were remarkable for excellence, sought to maintain their respectability as divines by teaching a doctrine of justification by works in their sermons. Or, if the opponent were a brother Low-Churchman, the bone of contention was probably some point in unfulfilled prophecy, the nature of the Millennium, or the question of the literal restoration of the Jewish people. Moreover, during the periods with which our narrative has hitherto been engaged, the polemics carried on by the Low-Church party were for the most part defensive. Their aggression was on the practical heathenism which prevailed in those times so largely in the world in general, and the formality which prevailed to a certain extent among the professedly religious. They were mainly occupied with trying to get men to believe the doctrine of grace, to accept the salvation wrought out by Christ, and to live as those should do who have received so inestimable a benefit. With them the minor question was not Protestantism *v.* Catholicism, but Religion or no Religion, Reality *v.* Hypocrisy. Cowper's description of the ancient prude would not be felt now as a hostile thrust by any High-Church person as such. Now, however, the question was not a metaphysical one, such as how to reconcile the Divine sovereignty with human freedom, which can never be settled with our present mortal powers, and perhaps never by finite beings at all; nor was it one of opinions equally tenable by persons of the same faith; but

it was a question regarding two rival and antagonistic religions—the question, to wit, which should prevail to cast out the other.

This fact was owing to the manner in which the Reformation in England had been effected. The policy of the Protestant Government, in the times first of King Edward VI. and then of Queen Elizabeth, had been first to conciliate the Catholic party in the Church, and then to convert them to Zuinglianism. With this view, the English Liturgy was framed on Catholic lines, the truly *Catholic* doctrines of the Church were retained, and the old hierarchy kept up, and under the same names as in time past. Thus one could read in King Edward's First Prayer-book not only about "bishops, priests, and deacons," but also about "the mass" and "the altar." But, at the same time, as bishoprics and other Church preferments became vacant, the Government filled them with men who both disbelieved the doctrines of the Church, and did all they could to exterminate them. Thus the country, being flooded as far as might be with false teaching, was prepared in some measure for the Second Prayer-book, when that was forced upon the Church by the King and Privy Council, before the First Book had been in use five years. And the country was to be prepared too, had Providence permitted such a thing, for the abolishment of the Second Book in its turn, and the substitution for it of a Third Book, according to which, it is but too likely, the Church of England would have been transformed into a mere Zuinglian sect. The same policy,

divested of its rash haste, was continued by Elizabeth; the doctrines of the Church finding still, for the most part, expression in the Prayer-book, but every bishop of note (and perhaps every bishop absolutely) being tainted with Zuinglianism, or at the best with Calvinism: Bancroft being the first to whom such a reproach cannot apparently be attached.

Thus from the accession of Queen Elizabeth the Church of England has entertained two religions within its pale, a Catholic religion and a Protestant religion: the Catholic religion being that of the Prayer-book, and not really disallowed by the Articles, though seemingly so in certain cases; and the Protestant religion being that which has more frequently than not been inculcated by the rulers and those in chief power. With the rise of Laud and his party in the reign of King James I. the Catholicism of the Church of England asserted itself against the principles of Protestantism. Against it the greater part of the nation kicked, being then largely leavened with Zuinglian or Calvinistic teaching; and not only kicked, but threw it off. But being at last thoroughly disgusted with the reign of Puritanism, the nation, in its joy at the restoration of the Crown and the Mitre, readmitted Catholicism, and rejected all open profession of Puritanism. But (as also we have seen) some Puritan leaven remained; and the result was a practical compromise, which became confirmed when the Nonjurors seceded from the Establishment, and took away with them a large proportion of Anglican Catholicism. We have

seen how this compromise became quickened into a living religion, through the operation, as we believe, of God the Holy Ghost; but we are to observe that, although quickened, and for the time both active and fruitful, it was nevertheless Protestant in its character. And the Protestant principle was ready to come into antagonism with Catholicism, as soon as the Divine Spirit should, in His sovereign working, revive in the Church of England the Catholic element also.

Such a revival, in the opinion of one of its earliest human promoters, began on Sunday, July 14th, 1833, in the delivery of an assize sermon in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, by the Rev. John Keble, Fellow of Oriel College, and Professor of Poëry in the University; the subject of the sermon being *National Apostasy*. In this sermon (which was from I Samuel xii. 23), after cautioning his hearers that as regards reward and punishment there was an analogy between His dealings with the Jewish people in the old time and the dealings which He has with the souls of individual Christians now, the preacher proceeded to inquire what were the symptoms of national apostasy, and what were the particular duties of sincere Christians in times of such calamity. And in answer to the first question, he put the case of a nation having acknowledged, as an essential part of its theory of government, that as a Christian nation it was also a part of Christ's Church, and bound, in all its legislation and policy, by the fundamental rules of that Church, and afterwards deliberately throwing off the restraint thus involved, or even disavowing

the principle itself. And in answer to the second question, he specified the duties of intercession, remonstrance, and self-resignation to God in performance of all public and private duties.

The ground, however, had been preparing for some time previously. The public mind had been for a long time under the influence of causes which tended to win favour for the new movement, even where its true principles were not appreciated. Bishop Percy, by the publication of his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, had encouraged the love of whatever belonged to *Old England*. Sir Walter Scott had encouraged a respect for things mediæval; and withal a dislike to the Puritan Covenanters and their ways. Wordsworth the poet had encouraged a respect for the piety of our forefathers, and taught his readers, in contemplating their religious system, to discriminate between what was praiseworthy and what was the reverse.

Moreover, the Low-Church system of religion was felt to have some unrealities, some extravagancies, some deficiencies, and some absurdities; and a reaction, therefore, could not but take place sooner or later. Such a religion as depreciated public prayers and private fasting; such a worship as consisted mainly in hearing a sermon, and in which even the recital of prayers to Almighty God was done by an officiant facing the congregation; such a memorial of the Crucifixion as consisted in the eating a morsel of bread, and tasting a cup of wine, and nothing else;—all this was felt to be anomalous, to say the least. And therefore, if any

persons should rise up and teach that this was not true Christianity according to the Christianity of the first ages, such teachers were sure of some who would receive their teaching with avidity.

There had been preparation, too, of a more direct kind. The supernatural character of a ministry conferred in ordination through a regular succession from Apostles had been taught plainly and decidedly by the Rev. William James, Fellow of Oriel College,* and also (we believe) by the Rev. Hugh James Rose, of Cambridge, who had commenced the "British Magazine" in 1832, against the prevailing Latitudinarianism, but died in 1838. The Low-Churchman John Bird Sumner, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, had, by his Treatise on Apostolic Preaching, taught some Low-Churchmen (John Henry Newman among the rest) to give up Calvinism, and to embrace the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration.† Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel College, had taught Newman (and probably others) that Christian doctrine was to be learnt, in the first place, not from Scripture but from the Church; the use of Scripture being, according to him, for the verification of doctrine learnt from the Church already.

But the more immediate preparation of the general public for the Tractarian movement was done through the publication of a little volume of poems, whereof, though no name was put upon

* *Apologia*, p. 67.

† *Ib.* p. 65. It should be added, that when the author of *Apostolic Preaching* became aware of the effect which his work was producing, he so modified the work in the second edition as not to do any more such mischief.

the title-page or subscribed to the preface, yet the authorship was soon understood to be that of the Rev. John Keble. The work was entitled *The Christian Year*; it contained a piece of poetry for every Sunday and holy day in the Anglican Calendar, and either based upon, or referring to, some thought suggested in the Anglican service for the day. And the general object was to exhibit the *soothing* tendency which the Prayer Book has, and to enable the reader "to bring his own thoughts and feelings into more entire unison with those recommended and exemplified in the Prayer Book." The first edition came out in 1827: it was very favourably reviewed in the *Christian Observer* for March in the following year; the critic overlooking, apparently, the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, taught in these lines:

"Where is it mothers learn their love?
 In every church a fountain springs
 O'er which th' eternal Dove
 Hovers on softest wings.

"What sparkles in that lucid flood
 Is water, by gross mortals ey'd:
 But seen by Faith, 'tis blood
 Out of a dear Friend's side.

"A few calm words of faith and prayer,
 A few bright drops of holy dew,
 Shall work a wonder there
 Earth's charmers never knew.

* * * * *

"Blest eyes, that see the smiling gleam
 Upon the slumbering features glow,
 When the life-giving stream
 Touches the tender brow!"

There were some political causes, too, operating

in the same preparatory direction. The passing of the Reform Bill on the 7th of June, 1832, and the opening of political advantages to Protestant Dissenters, who immediately began to take advantage thereof, caused many to think that the Church of England was in danger; in danger, that is, of losing her worldly prestige and her worldly endowments. And thus it came to pass that when Mr. Keble had preached, in St. Mary's, Oxford, that sermon to which reference has been made, there was speedily formed in the University a small committee or quasi-committee, the object of which was to establish the Church on her true basis, *i.e.*, on the truth of certain principles, which, being spiritual, could not be altered by the change of mere worldly circumstances. "It was resolved not to aim at the maintenance of the 'Establishment,' but to advance with firmness the claims of 'the Church.'"

Thus commenced the movement speedily known as TRACTARIANISM, or (from one of its chief leaders) PUSEYISM. But underneath there was, we believe, a prompting power, whereof the opponents of the movement either took no account at all, or else took account only to misunderstand it; the power, we mean, of God the Holy Ghost Himself; of that blessed and Divine Spirit whose office it is to bring to remembrance all things whatsoever the Lord hath taught and commanded. To quote the language of Newman,* the leaders in the Tractarian movement were one

* *Apologia*, p. 188.

and all, in their several degrees, the organs of one sentiment which had risen up simultaneously in many places very mysteriously.

The principal members of the committee or quasi-committee were, the Rev. John Keble, then serving in a parish in Gloucestershire; Hurrell Froude, Fellow of Oriel College, and who had been tutor from 1827 till 1830; the Rev. William Palmer, of Dublin, Fellow of Worcester College; the Hon. and Rev. Arthur P. Perceval, Rector of East Horsley, in Surrey; and the Rev. John Henry Newman, Fellow of Oriel College, and afterwards Vicar of St. Mary's. With them was associated in counsel the Rev. Hugh James Rose, of Cambridge, and clergyman of a parish in Suffolk. Dr. Pusey was not, Dr. Newman thinks, fully associated with the movement till 1835, when he published his Tract on Baptism. His Tract on Fasting came out in 1840.

The means which this committee undertook to employ for the accomplishment of their end was the publication of a set of pamphlets entitled *Tracts for the Times*. Of these, the first came out in September, 1833; the rest appeared at various intervals of time. Number 90, the last of all, was dated, "The Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1841." The idea originated with Newman, to whose pen, moreover, the Tracts owed their actual commencement.* Various writers took part in the work; Dr. Pusey writing eight Tracts, Mr. Newman eight, Mr. Keble four; Mr.

* *Apologia*, p. 109.

Bowden (father of Mr. J. W. Bowden) four, Mr. Isaac Williams three, Mr. Hurrell Froude three, Mr. Arthur P. Perceval three, Archdeacon Harrison at least two, and Canon Eden, of Aberford, near Leeds, Mr. Manning (afterwards Cardinal) and Mr. Wilson, of Rowshams, each one. The line taken by the writers was distinctly Anglican, as opposed to Erastianism, Romanism, and Protestant Dissent. And because it was Anglican, it was to a great extent Catholic. And because it was to a certain extent Catholic, to that extent did it necessarily oppose Protestantism, whether without the Church of England or within it. On these accounts, the Tracts, being ably written, could not but produce a great stir and a great outcry; and, in point of fact, a great stir and a great outcry were produced. But it will be best to give here an outline of the subjects of the principal Tracts.

In the first Tract it was shown that to the doctrine of Apostolic Succession the English clergy stand committed. Number 6 pointed out in general terms the present obligation of primitive Christian practice, and, in a kind of postscript, noted, as a sin of the Church, the neglect of weekly Communion. In Number 17, on the Ministerial Commission, the doctrine of Absolution was declared, in the terms of the Prayer-book. Number 18 treated of the benefits to be derived from the Anglican system of fasting. (This was afterwards acknowledged by E[dward] B[ouverie] P[usey] as his.) Number 25, taken from Bishop Beveridge, sets forth the necessity and advantage

of Public Prayer; and Number 26, taken from the same author, the necessity and advantage of frequent Communion. Numbers 27 and 28 give the history of Popish Transubstantiation, from Bishop Cosin. Number 29 is entitled, "Christian Liberty; or, Why should we belong to the Church of England? By a Layman." Number 34 treats of Rites and Customs of the Church. In Number 59 the union of Church and State is defined to consist of two things—State-Protection and State-Interference. (This was dated the Feast of St. Mark, 1834.) Number 62 (SS. Philip and James in the same year) is on the antiquity of the ancient Liturgies.

Number 71 was on the Roman controversy; the point for consideration being, Why we remain separate from Rome. The object was to indicate such lines of argument as might be practically useful, especially for the unlearned. The writer pointed out that most Anglican controversialists of modern times had failed to use the best arguments; and that our best plan in the Roman controversy was to dwell upon practical abuses which are, in the Roman communion, not only allowed but enforced. After specifying several of these, he noted certain admissions which, according to him, we should do well to make, not being ourselves incapable of doing wrong or of making mistakes, any more than our opponents; and concluded by recommending the study of the Fathers, and of Anglican divines of the seventeenth century, as helps to knowledge of what is true in itself.

Number 72 consisted in a reprint of that chapter in Archbishop Usher's "Answer to a Jesuit," which treats of Prayer for the Dead; and in which it is shown that the practice of praying for the faithful departed is not necessarily connected with the Roman doctrine of Purgatory, and that such practice had prevailed in the Church from very early times, and did not disagree with Scripture.

Number 73 was against the rationalism and practical Socinianism of such authors as Erskine and Jacob Abbott. The object of Number 75, on the Roman Breviary, was described in that Tract itself as being to claim for the Church of England whatever of catholicity was expressed in that formulary, while rejecting the corruptions. Number 84 was a collection of authorities helping to answer the question "Whether a clergyman of the Church of England be now bound to have morning and evening prayers daily in his parish church."

Number 85 was on difficulties in the Scripture Proof of the doctrines of the Church. In this Tract the Protestant case is fairly stated, and it is then shown that the Protestant argument proves too much; viz., that outward religion is not only unnecessary, but forbidden; and the plan, followed by Protestants, of arguing from the scantiness with which certain Church doctrines are mentioned in Scripture, is turned against Protestants themselves with reference to some particular doctrines to which nevertheless Protestants attach great weight.

Lecture II. (for the Tract was a series of Lectures) shows that if a Divine revelation is given, some system of faith and worship necessary to be ac-

cepted must be taught somewhere, either in the Bible or out of it; and hence we cannot stop short at Protestantism. If we refuse the Anglican alternative, according to which this system is to be found in the teaching of the Church, we must either become Romanists or else deny Divine revelation altogether. Scripture implies in several places that there is such a system: such has been acknowledged in the Church from the earliest times; and that portion of it which relates to faith is of a piece with that which relates to worship and order.

Lecture III. dwelt upon the unsystematic character of Scripture revelation, and pointed out the analogy herein to God's plan in creation, dispersing the various substances useful to man not after the manner of a regular system, but in various combinations upon or in the earth.

The argument in Lecture IV. is curious. It is this: There are apparent inconsistencies between one part of Scripture and another; therefore it is not surprising if there should be apparent inconsistencies between the teaching of Scripture generally and that of the Church. A parallel is also drawn between the simplicity of Scripture language in describing what all admit to be great things, and the simplicity of the same in describing what are deemed great things by the Church.

In Lecture V. the general tone of Scripture is dwelt upon as being at first sight inconsistent with many things which nevertheless are admitted to be perfectly scriptural; sacred history being mostly conveyed with as much apparent inconsistency between one part of Scripture and another as there

is between Scripture and the Church in point of religious doctrine.

In Lecture VI. it was remarked that if the want of method and verbal consistency in Scripture be an objection to the truth of Church doctrine, it is equally an objection to what is called "orthodox Protestantism," and to the trustworthiness of sacred narratives, and even to the Bible in general itself. And then the author of the Tract proceeded to answer the objection that Church doctrine is not taught clearly in the Fathers any more than in Scripture. No wonder, we may remark here, that Protestants were riled; for in this same lecture it was shown that if they object to the testimony of the Fathers to the doctrines of the Priesthood and the Sacrifice, they ought for consistency's sake to object to it when given in favour of certain books both of the New Testament and of the Old.

In Number 86 it is suggested that the omissions and alterations in our own Liturgy may have been ordered by the same Spirit under whose control (or rather, we should say, prompting) the first rites of Catholic worship were ordained. We cannot accept this view: we are rather disposed to see, in the changes to which the writer of the Tract alludes, an illustration of God's word by Ezekiel, "I gave them statutes which were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live."* It will be observed that our own view does not exclude the belief of an overruling Providence, dealing with the members of the Church in mercy,

* Ezek. xx. 25.

hindering them from expressing God's whole truth with uniform distinctness of detail, because they had not held it aright or in thorough faithfulness, and so would be incurring condemnation if they were allowed to declare distinctly what they did not believe.

Numbers 80 and 87 treated of reserve in communicating religious knowledge; Tract 80 embracing Parts I. to III., and Tract 87 embracing Part IV. It was shown that the principle of such reserve is founded deep in human nature; that the system might be traced throughout the heathen world in some shape or other, proving it (in the opinion of the writer of these two Tracts)—we should have said, rendering it probable that it is—either of Divine origin, or arising out of some common principle: that it had the authority of the Lord Himself and His Apostles, and was practised both by Him and by them as a great law and rule of religious wisdom.

The writer then proceeded to point out how the existence of the principle in question was shown in the *disciplina arcani*, and in the system of interpreting Scripture mystically, both which things prevailed in the early Church. Unfortunately, however, the writer left his readers to infer what the *disciplina arcani* was.

Before applying the question of reserve to "certain modern religious opinions," he laid down that the doctrine of the Cross as taught by the ancient Church was the humiliation of the natural man as leading to the living and practical sense of Christ's Atonement, and that we cannot come to

Christ but by bearing the cross after Him. In this the writer, we conceive, erred by putting first last and last first. No doubt his language is true enough in a certain sense: the natural man is humbled in submitting to Holy Baptism; and it is only through Baptism that we can attain to any living and practical sense of the Atonement. And the bearing whatever difficulties a catechumen may have to undergo when seeking Christian Baptism may perhaps be termed a bearing of the cross after Christ. When, however, the writer of the Tract spoke of "self-renouncing duties of prayer and the like" as leading to a knowledge of the secrets of Christ's Kingdom, as if that were the only sense—or, indeed, other than a very inadequate sense—in which "by the cross of Christ we are brought to Him and led on to the knowledge of God," he wrote with what seems to us an astonishing ignorance both of the Atonement itself and of that Sacrament which makes us, immediately upon its reception, partakers of Atonement blessings. For how is a sinful man to deny himself intelligently until his heart is being purified by the faith of the Atonement as efficacious in his own case?—by the faith (in other words) "that Christ died for me, and that through His death forgiveness of my sins has been obtained?"

The same error lies at the root of the statement on which the writer of the Tract insists more than once, that good works make a good man: that good actions must be done before good dispositions can be produced, and that good dispositions must be produced before certain doctrines (of which the

doctrine of the Atonement is assumed to be one) could be received. That statement is perfectly true in the sense that good works are the only things which will warrant us in deeming another person good, or which will warrant us in thinking that we ourselves are being made good. The point, too, is unquestionable that when a man has begun to be good, the practice of good works not only tends towards making him better, but is necessary for that end. But all this was entirely beside the conclusion for which the writer of the Tract adduced it; for his argument would require the admission that man can do some good works of himself, and otherwise than as being purified through the Atonement. And indeed, if the teaching in this Tract were correct, it would be open to the fatal objection that the asceticism implicitly recommended may be the greatest hindrance to Christianity: as is evidenced by the system of Buddha, which teaches the same exalted morality and the same self-denying asceticism inculcated by such Christian writers as those whose Tracts we are now noticing.

In the concluding part of the Tract the writer charges full tilt at that party which taught that it was necessary "to obtrude and bring forward *prominently* and *explicitly* on all occasions the doctrine of the Atonement." "This one thing," says he, "it puts in the place of all the principles held by the Church Catholic, dropping all proportion of the faith. It disparages comparatively, nay, in some cases has even blasphemed, the most blessed Sacraments." (The writer might have said

more if he had lived to read of the Bordesley sacrilege, of which notice will have to be taken hereafter.) "It is very jealously afraid of Church authority, of fasting and mortification being recommended, of works of holiness being insisted on, of the doctrine of the universal Judgment. It is marked by an unreserved discourse on the holiest subjects. To this system all that we have said is thoroughly opposed."*

His attack involved some curious positions. "The advocates of these opinions . . . maintain that then only when the Holy Spirit was given did Holy Scripture set forth the Atonement with that fulness which they require." As if this alleged Low-Church point were not almost a palpable truism. "Thus have they contrived to take a position which sets aside almost the whole of Holy Writ, including the Gospels themselves, from any appeal on this subject." As if any book of the New Testament had been written before the Spirit had been given!

The writer of this Tract would set his Low-Church brethren right upon the subject. The "peculiar opinions" of that party were formed on the supposition that in order to have certain great principles (apparently, self-renunciation and dependence on God with a view to practical holiness) instilled and thoroughly infused into one's heart, it was necessary to declare aloud to all whom we meet the Atonement made by Christ, and the mode of sanctification through the indwelling

Spirit. On that point, however, he is at issue with them. And when he is asked how then scriptural doctrine was to be held and declared, his answer is, "Surely it is our duty to bring forward 'the faith once for all delivered to the Saints' in the fulness of that Creed into which we were baptized." As if this could be done without teaching both the Atonement made by Christ and also the necessity of sanctification through the indwelling Spirit!

The impression produced on our own mind through the reading of the Tract in question was that the writer, wishing on general grounds to overthrow the Low-Church theology, not only selected for his point of attack precisely those points on which Low-Churchmen were least assailable, but adopted, as his weapons of offence, arguments which, though sound enough in themselves, really did not touch his adversaries at all. Who had ever denied that there was such a thing as reserve, both taught in the Scriptures and practised by the Lord, and by His Apostles, and by the Church from the beginning, until these days of printing and reading? And who had ever denied that there were circumstances under which even those important and precious doctrines which the Tract-writer so ignorantly assailed were to be kept back? that in regard of Christian preaching as well as in regard of other matters there is a time to keep silence as well as a time to speak, and the Christian preacher must act as David professed to have done when he sang, "I kept silence, even from good words"?

And when he spoke of the disobedience of

ministers to their ecclesiastical superiors, of individuals to their appointed ministers, and of whole bodies of Christians to the Church, as the effects of the course which he was censuring in the Low-Church party, he erred in attributing all this to the fact that Low-Church people taught the doctrine of the Atonement unreservedly; whereas it was really owing, not to that, but to the fact that Low-Church teachers had failed to inculcate, along with it, the truths that Christian Baptism is the means whereby the benefits of the Atonement are conveyed, and that Church Communion, involving not only habitual reception of the Lord's Flesh and Blood at the altar, but the keeping one's own place in the Body, in due subordination to those who have the rule over us under the Head, is the means by which Christians continue in the reception of the same benefits.

Another unadvised attack was made by the same writer against the ordinance of preaching. Under the influence, no doubt, of a spirit of reaction from the Low-Church habit of exalting this ordinance to the depreciation of Sacraments and of Common Prayer, he spoke of preaching as what might be necessary when the Church was in a weak and languishing state (forgetting, apparently, that the existence of such a state was the reason for the publication of the Tracts), but which Scripture, to say the least, had never very much recommended.

With greater force, however, did he urge, against the Low-Church system in general, how that it had substituted a system of unreality and formality, under the name of spirituality, for the system of

Scripture and the Church; disparaging not only the superstitious and wrong observance of sacramental ordinances, creeds, and prayers, but the practical use of them in general; how that it substituted, for the Sacraments, something like a meritorious act or opinion on the part of an individual: its irreverence in the use of Divine names; and its dislike of homefelt natural expressions, in which any one who is in earnest is apt to clothe his sentiments, because they break through the unreal web of the Low-Church system. And there was in the tail a double sting, the charge of being akin to Popery, and the charge of worldliness.

We have carried our notice of the Tract on Reserve to this length, because that Tract was one of those which occasioned the loudest outcry from the Low-Church ranks. That outcry, however, was exceeded, if excess was possible, by that which rose on the publication of Tract 90. This Tract was signed J[ohn] H[enry] N[ewman], and dated on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, 1841. It dealt with the objection which it described as "often urged, and sometimes felt and granted," that there were in the Thirty-nine Articles some proposition or terms inconsistent with the Catholic Faith; and aimed at showing the groundlessness of this objection and "of approximating towards the argumentative answer to it;" showing that the Articles—the offspring, it was admitted, of an un-Catholic age, were nevertheless through God's good providence, not un-Catholic themselves, and might be subscribed by any who aimed at being Catholic in heart and doctrine. The drift and object of the

Tract were thus described in the concluding paragraph of the Tract itself: "What has lately taken place in the political world will afford an illustration in point. A French minister, desirous of war, nevertheless, as a matter of policy, draws up his state-papers in such moderate language that his successor, who is for peace, can act up to them without compromising his own principles. The world, observing this, has considered it a circumstance for congratulation; as if the former minister, who acted a double part, had been caught in his own snare. It is neither decorous, nor necessary, nor altogether fair, to urge the parallel rigidly; but it will explain what is here meant to convey. The Protestant Confession was drawn up with the purpose of including Catholics; and Catholics now will not be excluded. What was an economy in the Reformers is a protection to us. What would have been a perplexity to us then is a perplexity to Protestants now. We could not then have found fault with their words; they cannot now repudiate our meaning."

In one place the Protestantism of the writer went certainly too far, viz., to deny that the five lesser sacraments are "sacraments in *any* sense, *unless* the Church has the power of dispensing grace through rites of its own appointing, or is endued with the gift of blessing and hallowing the 'rites or ceremonies' which, according to the twentieth Article, it 'hath power to decree.'" The writer added, "But we may well believe that the Church has this gift." One hesitates here which to deplore most, the depreciation of the Anointing

of the Sick as if it had been an institution of mere human authority, or the ignoring of the truth that the Church Catholic is the very body of Christ, pervaded and energised by His Spirit, insomuch that whatever is done in her or by her in accordance with her Divine constitution is the act of the Lord Himself.

In treating of Article XXXIII., which deals with Transubstantiation, and (supplementarily) with the "Black Rubric," the writer showed that there was nothing in either to interfere with the doctrine, elsewhere taught in Anglican formularies, of a real super-local Presence in the Eucharist. In treating of Article XXXI., which teaches the One Oblation of Christ in contradistinction from the sacrifice (*i.e.*, sacrifices, Latin *sacrificia*) of Masses, he showed that that Article did not touch the Catholic doctrine of Christ's Body and Blood spiritually presented before God in the celebration of the Eucharist, in memory of the Sacrifice of the Cross.

But the thrust which probably the Low-Church party felt most keenly was given in the end of a section discussing the statement made in Article XXXV., that "the Second Book of Homilies . . . doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, . . . as doth the former Book of Homilies:" for, after sixty-seven quotations from the Homilies, came the following paragraph:—

"Thus we see the authority of the Fathers, of the six first councils, and of the judgments of the Church generally, the holiness of the Primitive Church, the inspiration of the Apocrypha, the

sacramental character of marriage and other ordinances, the Real Presence in the Eucharist, the Church's power of excommunicating kings, the profitableness of fasting, the propitiatory virtue of good works, the Eucharistic commemoration, and justification by inherent righteousness,* are taught in the Homilies. Let it be said again, it is not here asserted that a subscription to all and every of these quotations is involved in the subscription of an Article which does but generally approve the Homilies; but they who insist so strongly on our Church's holding that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist because the Homilies declare it, should recollect that there are other doctrines contained in them beside it, which they should be understood to hold, before their argument has the force of consistency."

Concerning the opinions set forth in the *Tracts*, there was a certain amount of dissension even among the authors; for no Tract did more than set forth the views of its own author. But these minor differences were soon overlooked in the storm which the theology of the Tracts excited wherever Low-Church opinions prevailed. The *Record*, indeed, had admitted five letters from Mr. Newman on the subject of Church Reform in the matter of discipline; and sundry things urged in the Tracts in the way of practice had been recommended at different times by one and another Low Churchman. Weekly Communion had been recommended by Mr. Romaine (so a correspondent in the *Christian*

* In the reprint of the *Tracts* this expression was altered to —“by a righteousness [within us].”

Observer believed), and by Mr. Howels.* The Editor of the periodical just named had inserted, in 1819, a letter of Dean Comber's, recommending it. Daniel Wilson, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, had spoken from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Islington, about leading his child "to the altar of our Eucharistic sacrifice." The fact that the Episcopate had been continued in succession from the Apostles had been asserted by Thomas Robinson of Leicester, in that essay in his *Christian System* which had for its subject the Church of Christ. In the *Christian Observer* for 1824 the following occurs in an editorial note to a letter from a correspondent, nor did the editor append any word of disapproval: "There seems to have been felt a general idea of the minister's acting both as the ambassador of God and the representative of the people; standing like Moses and the Prophets of old to transmit the commands and promises of God to the people, and to utter the wants and wishes of the people to God. The reading-desks in our ancient churches had, accordingly, and some retain still, two fronts: the one facing the people, at which the lessons were read, the other towards the chancel, where the prayers were offered." But it was speedily felt by all the Low-Church party that the theology of the *Tracts* was diametrically opposed to most of that taught by them. To quote the language of a writer in the *Christian Observer*, it was immediately seen, after only two or three numbers

* See *Christian Observer* for 1844, p. 769.

(of the *Tracts*) had been issued, that the ground taken up "was extremely perilous." Or (as the editor remarked in 1861) "to advance the claims of the Church" rather than "to aim at the maintenance of the Establishment" was "a fundamental error, and it led straight to popery." A remark, by the way, which is peculiarly instructive as to Low-Church tenets. The aforesaid writer believed that the *Tracts* "were first denounced at one of the early meetings of the Evangelical Brotherhood at Islington" (he probably means the institution known as the "Islington Clerical Meeting"), "by the Rev. Francis Goode, Lecturer of Clapham," and who on this occasion was ably supported by Professor Scholefield. . . . But not many months elapsed before every minister of the Gospel, as it was held by our Reformers," was loud in his "condemnation of this new and fearful portent." And the cry arose on all sides that the leaders of the movement were working their own way by little and little to Romanism.

In 1837 Mr. Newman was roused to reply; and he addressed a letter to the Editor of the *Christian Observer*, complaining of the manner in which the controversy had been carried on in that magazine. This letter the Editor did not refuse to insert; either because he wished to show all courtesy to his adversary, and to vanquish him in fair and open battle, or else because he thought that Mr. Newman's position only needed to be stated, with an editor's commentary appended, for the religious public to judge at once who had the best of the controversy. And certainly, if the minds of the

religious public in those days were constituted like the mind of him who is writing these pages, the Editor was right; though in this case the result would not have proved to him altogether satisfactory, for the natural conclusion to be drawn was that the case of *Christian Observer v. Newman* was really the case of *Words v. Weight*. Mr. Newman's letter occupied about eight octavo pages of the type ordinarily used by the *Christian Observer* in its leading articles. To it the Editor appended notes, and notes upon his own notes, in his smallest type, and to the amount of about sixty pages. Mr. Newman wrote a second letter of about eighteen octavo pages; this also the Editor inserted, prefixing about eleven pages of preliminary remarks in large and small type, and appending about twenty-eight pages of notes.

Mr. Newman complained of the vagueness of the charges brought against him: that the Tract-writers were called upon to reconcile some statements in the *Tracts* with some statements in the Articles and Homilies, without specifying in any case *what* statements were inconsistent with one another. He complained, too, of hard words used in empty declamation: and then mentioned two tenets which the *Christian Observer* had condemned, viz., that the Sacraments might possibly be of benefit to persons in a state of unconsciousness, and that Regeneration was a gift of the New Covenant exclusively! Which tenets he then proceeded duly to establish: the first as simply not absurd (as, it seems, the Editor of the *Christian Observer* had called it), and the second as in accord-

ance with Scripture. After this, he treated of the Homilies and Articles, and his own conscientious acceptance of them. He announced his intention of taking up, in a future letter, the subject of Justification, but did not carry his intention into execution; “not approving” (says the Editor) “of the manner in which we have inserted his former ones.”* Probably he deemed the Editor’s ignorance of theology a sufficient reason for not troubling him any more.

The Editor’s remarks on Mr. Newman’s letters are highly instructive, as indicating the mode of argument which was thought sound and good by the more literary part of the Low-Church party. He found fault with the Tract-writers for ordering the *Tracts* with reference to the academical year; † he found fault with them for adopting what arguments they deemed best calculated to convince the general public of the soundness of the views by them put forth. ‡ He even went so far as to deny their right to give a title to their own publications; telling them that they had no right to expect that the title *Tracts for the Times* should be adopted by the public. § He found fault with them for putting Calvin and Zuingli into one and the same class with Socinians. || He might be pardoned, indeed, for mis-stating his adversary’s meaning; ¶ for the terms which Mr. Newman used were not always unexceptionable in point of clearness. But we do not remember to have ever seen the prin-

* *Christian Observer* for 1837, p. 358.

† *Ib.* p. 115. ‡ *Ib.* p. 194, note 45. § *Ib.* p. 115, note.

|| *Ib.* p. 121.

¶ *Ib.* pp. 146, 152, 155.

ciple of the proverb "give a dog a bad name and hang him" more candidly avowed than in the following passage: "Our readers are not so ignorant as Mr. Newman alleges them to be of the system of those so-called High-Churchmen, whose arrogant claim of being the true sons of the Church of England we do not for a moment concede; and knowing full well the doctrinal and ecclesiastical system of those unsound Churchmen, it was a copious and conclusive argument in a few words to say that these Tracts embody their system; for when a category is once established, it is only necessary to show that a matter comes within it to determine the conclusion." * And as to the Editor's knowledge of theology and acuteness of intellect, the following choice morsel may be cited as a specimen: "Our readers will easily call to mind scores of statements to the effect of the following from Bishop Horsley: 'That man is justified by faith, without the works of the law, was the uniform doctrine of our first Reformers. It is a far more ancient doctrine; it was the doctrine of the whole college of Apostles. It is more ancient still; it was the doctrine of the Prophets: it is older than the Prophets; it was the religion of the Patriarchs.' No sound Protestants ever ventured to deny this; yet we should be glad to know how it can consist with the Oxford doctrine of Baptismal Justification; for the prophets and patriarchs had not baptism, and yet they were justified." † This was the man, never-

* *Ib.* p. 117.† *Ib.* p. 154, note.

theless, on whom Mr. Newman in his kindness spent two octavo pages in proving that the patriarchs were not regenerated! We do not know why it failed to occur to Mr. Newman to say simply, "There is only One who has ever been regenerated at all; and that is the Man Christ Jesus. He has been begotten again by the Father, being brought by the Father through death, and quickened with a new life: and there neither is nor ever has been any regeneration for any descendant of the first Adam, save through being made, in Christian Baptism, one with the Second Adam in this His regenerate state."

In a review of *Lyra Apostolica*, which appeared in the July number of the same periodical, we note some of the same characteristics. The reviewer's ignorance of theological truth leads him to draw this distinction between George Herbert and the authors of the *Lyra Apostolica*: "In George Herbert religion occupies decidedly the first place, and the Church the second: in the 'Lyra,' the Church is *primary*, and religion *subordinate*." What idiot would ever think of writing such a sentence as this: "In such and such a work, science is treated as of primary importance, and the men who study it are only secondary; in such and such another work, the men are the primary matter, and science itself only secondary"? The drift of one piece is that the bare proclamation of the Atonement in general terms is not enough for one laden with the guilt of sin, but he needs a special application of the same in Absolution. On the author of these lines the reviewer remarks,

“We envy not the sheep committed to his charge, if he be, as we presume, a pastor. Baptismal justification being past, the fifth of Romans, that blessed chapter which has made peace like a river flow into the troubled souls of poor penitents, is expunged from the sacred canon.”* Expunged, that is, in the reviewer’s imagination: it does not occur to him that he is himself practically expunging from the sacred canon both John xx. 23,† and 2 Corinthians ii. 10.‡ On the lines entitled “The Cross of Christ,” prefaced by the well-known quotation from Tertullian about the abundant use of the sacred sign by the Christians of his day, and containing these lines:

“Whene’er across this sinful flesh of mine
I draw the holy sign,
All good thoughts stir within me, and collect
Their slumbering strength divine;
Till there springs up that hope of God’s elect,
My faith shall ne’er be wrecked.

“And who shall say, but hateful spirits around,
For their brief hour unbound,
Shudder to see, and wail their overthrow,
While on far-heathen ground,
Some lonely saint hails the fresh odour, though
Its source he cannot know?”

—the reviewer remarked, “Considered as an effort of imagination, these lines are extravagant, but viewed as an exposition of truth [which they

* *Ib.* p. 468.

† “Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.”

‡ “To whom ye forgive anything, I forgive also; for if I forgave anything, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it in the person of Christ.”

obviously were not], they are quite monstrous." * And by way of showing us what efforts of imagination are lawful, he proceeded to enumerate the evils which, in his view, would follow from holding such thoughts as those expressed in the lines just quoted. "Charm ; holy water ; aspersion thereof ; cursings by bell, book, and candle ; these are a few, and only a few, of the family of evil which would be the certain offspring of such a parentage." †

CHAPTER XXX.

Polemical Period, continued. Further Opposition to the Tractarians and their Doctrines. The Bishop of Oxford. The Four Tutors. Bishop Sumner of Winchester. The Rev. Hugh Stowell.

THE Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Bagot) appears to have commenced the Episcopal share in the war against Tractarianism by animadverting on the "Tracts for the Times" in his charge of 1838. Mr. Newman, therefore, offered to withdraw any of those "Tracts" over which he had any control, if the Bishop desired it. To this, however, the Bishop did not then press him.

Tract 90 appeared in March, 1841. Immediately the opposition to the "Tracts" and their authors culminated in the proceedings taken by four Oxford tutors in reference to it. These tutors were, T. T. Churton, M.A., Vice-Principal and Tutor of Brasenose College ; H. B. Wilson, B.D., Fellow and Senior Tutor of St. John's College, and who

* *Ib.* p. 470.

† *Ib.* p. 471.

afterwards contributed to the notorious *Essays and Reviews*; John Griffiths, M.A., Sub-Warden and Tutor of Wadham College; and A. C. Tait, M.A., Fellow and Senior Tutor of Balliol College, and afterwards successively Head Master of Rugby School, Dean of Carlisle, Bishop of London, and Archbishop of Canterbury. These wrote (March 8th) to the Editor of the *Tracts*, in these terms: "The Tract has, in our apprehension, a highly dangerous tendency, from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England; for instance, that those Articles do not contain any condemnation of the doctrines—1. Of purgatory. 2. Of pardons. 3. Of the worshipping and adoration of images and relics. 4. Of the invocation of saints. 5. Of the mass; as they are taught authoritatively by the Church of Rome; but only of certain absurd practices and opinions, which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do.

"In conclusion, we venture to call your attention to the impropriety of such questions being treated in an anonymous publication, and to express an earnest hope that you may be authorised to make known the writer's name. Considering how very grave and solemn the whole subject is, we cannot help thinking that both the Church and the University are entitled to ask that some person, besides the printer and publisher of the Tract, should acknowledge himself responsible."

On March 15th, the Vice-Chancellor (Philip Wynter, D.D., President of St. John's College),

Heads of Houses, and Proctors resolved “that modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the said Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance, of the above-mentioned Statutes”—referring to Art. III. sect. 2, tit. ix. sec. ii. § 3, sec. v. § 3.

An impartial judge must needs deem this resolution to have been in itself a false libel. The University authorities might, if they saw cause, take a different view of the meaning of the Articles from the view propounded in the Tract: they might also, if they thought proper, call the argument in the Tract an evasion rather than an explanation; and if it was so, the fault lay, not with the writer of the Tract, but with the framers of the Articles, who ought to have made the Articles more stringent. But to speak of the Tract as reconciling subscription to the Articles with the adoption of errors which they were designed to counteract was to speak of it as doing the very thing which it did not do.*

* It is remarkable how the late Canon Kingsley, who had written to his mother in 1841, concerning the Tract writers, and especially Mr. Newman, “Whether wilful or self-deceived, these men are Jesuits, taking the oath to the Articles with moral reservations which allow them to explain them away in senses utterly different from those of their authors” (*Charles Kingsley*, p. 18), wrote to the Rev. F. D. Maurice, in 1865, insisting on the very principle on which Tract 90 was based: “You say, ‘The *Articles* were not intended to bind men’s thoughts or consciences.’ Now, I can’t help feeling that when they assert a proposition—*e.g.*, the Trinity—they assert that that and nothing else on that matter is true, and so bind thought; and that they require me to swear that I believe it so, and so bind my con-

Mr. Newman, however, without a hint of this, acknowledged, in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, the authorship of the Tract. He had already been excluded, as far as might be, from preaching in the University pulpit.*

The line taken by the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Charles Richard Sumner) with regard to the *Tracts*, and the principles of that party which derived one of its popular appellations from them, may be taken as a specimen of the line taken by their more respectable opponents. It was an entire misunderstanding of the real points at issue. The Bishop thus expressed himself, in a charge delivered in the autumn of 1841: "If a cloud be raised again around that great doctrine, which involves the mode in which we are 'accounted righteous before God,' if it be even called in question whether 'the Protestant doctrine of justification' be 'a fundamental of faith,' if, instead of the satisfaction of Christ, singly and alone, as the ground of acceptance, a certain inherent meetness of sanctification be so connected with the qualification *ab extra* as to confound the operation within with the work of Christ without." Also, "I cannot but fear the consequences for the character, the efficiency, and

science. In the case where they condemn an error, it seems to me quite different. There they proscribe *one* form of thought, and leave all others open by implication, binding neither thought nor conscience. The Romish doctrine of Purgatory is false; but denying that does not forbid me to believe other doctrines of Purgatory to be true, and to speculate freely on the future state. So that what you say applies clearly (to me) to the cases in which the Articles deny. It applies also to all cases in which the Articles do not affirm." (*Ib.* p. 238.)

* *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, p. 236.

the very truth of our Church if a system of teaching should become popular . . . which speaks of the Sacraments, not as seals and pledges, but as instruments of salvation in a justificatory and causal sense . . . investing them with a saving intrinsic efficacy, not distinguishable by ordinary understandings from the *opus operatum*." Here we note an ignorance of the true relation between Sacraments and Faith; an ignorance resulting from unsoundness as to the objective character of grace conveyed by Sacraments. It should be noticed, too, as a mark indicative of the Bishop's unsoundness, that on this subject he departs from the teaching of the Catechism: ignoring the fact that according to that formulary—the chief of all authorities to the Churchman—a Sacrament is first "a means whereby we receive" the Divine grace, and only secondly "a pledge to assure us thereof:" and using a term ("seal") which is not found, in this connection, either in the Catechism or the Thirty-nine Articles, and which, moreover, is susceptible of an heretical interpretation.

So again as to the relations between the Church speaking by tradition, and that Word of God which we have written in the Bible: what an utter misunderstanding is expressed in the following passage from the same charge, wherein the Bishop declares his fear for the Church: "If we derogate from the exclusive supremacy of the word as containing all things necessary to salvation, by a phraseology which, in effect, gives a co-ordinate authority to the interpretation of antiquity, instead of making the Church with our Article a witness and keeper

of Holy Writ." How can there be (we may ask) an exclusive supremacy belonging to one of two things rather than to the other, when each has its own peculiar sphere, into which the other does not come? The Bible says, Thus and thus taught the first preachers of Christainity, under the influence of God the Holy Ghost. The Church says, Thus and thus did I receive the revelation of God in Christ (with Whom I am one) by the same Holy Ghost. How can there be any contest here for supremacy? That such misunderstanding was excusable we do not deny; the Bishop of Winchester was not a theologian himself, and his party has never produced a single theologian worth naming. Nay, we are not sure that it was not naturally to be expected, owing to the way in which the writers of *Tracts*, had expressed themselves.

How this and similar episcopal charges, with which Mr. Newman's views were now continuously attacked for the space of three years, had the effect of driving him at last out of the Church of England, and others as well—for which the Church of England, as seems to us, ought to humble herself until the Lord come—belongs more to a history of the Tractarian party than to such a work as the present. Charges, however, were not the only weapons now used by Low-Church Bishops against Tractarians. We believe it to be true that when Mr. Keble came into the diocese of Winchester as Vicar of Hursley, and thenceforward, Bishop Sumner never would license a clergyman to serve as curate in that parish.

Another fair specimen of the line taken by respectable Low-Churchmen against Tractarianism may be mentioned in the sermons preached against it by the Rev. Hugh Stowell, Incumbent of Christ Church, Manchester, and Prebendary of Chester.* When Mr. Stowell preached the first of this series, eighteen bishops had, as he tells his flock, "felt called upon to enter their official protest more or less broadly against the "antiquated novelties.'" He himself had a candid mind and a charitable heart; but he did not always understand what his adversaries' position was, and could not, therefore, always explain it. Thus he charges them with teaching that Holy Scripture could not be authenticated except tradition established it;† and condemns them for teaching the insufficiency of Scripture, but fails to specify that the insufficiency of which he spoke was an insufficiency *for salvation*. He charged his opponents, too, with teaching that the writings of the primitive fathers of the Church conveyed to us Divine truths additional and supplemental to the written word;‡ and spoke of some remarkably clear passages from the *Tracts*, as "misty" in their meaning. He represented the Tractarians as teaching that the primitive ecclesiastical writers were "essential to the integrity and completeness" of the written Bible!§ In one place, where allusion is made, in the "Tracts," to the intermediate state, he speaks of

* *Tractarianism tested by Holy Scripture and the Church of England*. The preface is dated September 7th, 1845.

† *Tractarianism Tested*, vol. i. p. 55.

‡ *Ib.* p. 57.

§ *Ib.* p. 72.

the writer as if for "intermediate state" he had written "Purgatory, as understood by Romanists."

Mr. Stowell's inability to look at things from any other standpoint than his own appears from the harsh and sometimes abusive, judgment which he allows himself to pass in more than one place. When a Tract-writer is but stating an alternative of two evils as, in his opinion, a matter of fact which either was being realised then, or would be realised in time to come, Mr. Stowell represents him as if he were wishing and praying that those who refuse the one evil might fall into the other! "This writer" (he says) "would actually fling us back upon utter scepticism, if we will not bend our neck to the yoke of ecclesiastical despotism."* And then comes a hint to his fellow-Protestants not to suffer the Tractarian clergy to carry out their Romanising theories by interposing themselves between the people and the Bible; as if any Tractarian could do such a thing in the case of any individual whatever, without first convincing that individual's private judgment!†

Again: In the *British Critic* for April, 1842, the fundamental Tractarian tenet had been thus described: "*That there is altogether sufficient evidence, INDEPENDENTLY OF THE SCRIPTURES, that the Apostles taught as divine and necessary certain doctrines, and inculcated as essential certain practices.*" We should have deemed such a position to be one of simple fact or falsehood, on which any one might form his opinion according to the amount of his information; but not so in Mr. Stowell's judgment. To

* *Ib.* p. 94.

† *Ib.* p. 97.

write such a sentence as the above argued, to him, a fearful warping of the moral sense in the case of any one who had subscribed the Sixth Article!*

He misunderstands (and, by consequence, misrepresents) the Tractarians as denying the possibility of forgiveness after Baptism, strangely citing the very words of the Tract in which that *kind* alone of remission is spoken of which is bestowed in Baptism.

In his sermon on Justification by Faith he shows that he misunderstands the true issue again. He is using the word "Justification" in a narrower sense—his adversaries are using it in a wider. And when Newman wrote, "While the received doctrine in all ages of the Church has been, that through the largeness and peculiarity of the gift of grace we can, it is the distinguishing tenet of the school of Luther that through the incurable nature of our corruption we cannot," and when Mr. Stowell spoke of that passage as unsound,† both showed themselves equally unaware that there was no contrast at all between the two things spoken of. It is most certain that through the incurable nature of our corruption we cannot be justified in ourselves; and it is equally certain that through the largeness and peculiarity of God's grace we both can be and are.

Mr. Stowell's first mistake was in confounding between Faith and Opinion.‡ If this had been

* *Ib.* p. 78.

† *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 5.

‡ An evidence of this confusion occurs in his Sermon on Baptism, wherein he speaks of "the *opinions* of the Church of England on that subject."

rectified, there was little or nothing in his first sermon of this series to which an intelligent and devout Tractarian would not joyfully assent. In that sermon, too, in which he sets forth "how separatists are to be regarded," there is little or nothing to which any well-instructed Churchman would not assent; though unfortunately Mr. Stowell did not take up the only satisfactory ground of the validity of lay-baptism,—the impossibility of undoing one's membership in the Catholic Church by *merely* joining oneself to an unauthorised religious society,—the probability that the Lord gives His Body and Blood unawares to those recipients in whom He discerns a real faith in Himself, even where through ignorance the doctrine of the Real Presence is denied, and the priesthood of the Church rejected.

To Galatians iii. 2* Mr. Stowell referred as proving, with respect to preaching, that "through this channel, specially but not exclusively, it pleaseth God to communicate the Holy Ghost."† And still more remarkably, he refers, for another proof of the same thing, to the text, "He therefore that ministereth among you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?"‡ He failed to see that if the latter text had anything to do with the way in which the Holy Ghost is ministered to individual people, it would prove that He was ministered not through preaching, but through

* "This only would I learn of you. Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?"

† *Tractarianism Tested*, vol. i. p. 281.

‡ Gal. iii. 5.

hearing : in other words, that when the apostle or apostolic delegate was to minister Him, he had not to preach a sermon (and still less to perform the imposition of hands), but to hear a sermon from some one else ! We should have thought St. Paul's meaning sufficiently clear, viz., that all Christian religion, and all its manifestations, sprang originally from the fact that the Gospel had been received at the lips of preachers by believing hearers ; and that the hearing of faith was necessary in the case of all who would profit by any Christian ordinance whatever.

Mr. Stowell had not considered the difference between the objective and the subjective ; a difference clearly implied in more than one passage of Holy Scripture, and underlying the difference between the Tractarians and their Low-Church opponents, in so far as the tenets of each party were founded in truth. The Tractarians were on the objective side, the Low-Churchmen on the subjective. The Low-Church party in their ignorance of theology (and, we may say, of Scripture) assumed that their subjective view was contradicted by the Tractarian objectivities. The Tractarian taught that Baptism saves us : the Low-Churchman took him to mean (as perhaps in some cases he did mean, not always knowing Scripture better than the Low-Churchman), " We are saved by Baptism." The Tractarian taught that God's grace in Sacraments is independent of human faith : the Low-Churchman understood him as teaching that the receiving of Sacraments is profitable even though there be in

the recipient no faith at all. In so far, however, as the Low-Churchman was a Calvinist, his system was really in opposition to the Tractarian's: in his eagerness to enforce the precept, "Be ye reconciled to God,"* he explained away the declaration, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself."† And as the controversy went on, we shall find the Zuinglianism of the Low-Church party asserting itself as the only alternative to accepting Tractarian doctrine.

In his sermon on Apostolical Succession he shrinks from the idea of clerical powers, and prefers that of clerical responsibility; and thus, after all, never once so much as touches on the real *power* of the Christian ministry, in the way of showing that it is spiritual, sacramental, &c. He speaks of clerical functions as implying spiritual *authority*, and no more. He misunderstands the Tractarians as teaching that the authority to absolve is unconditional.‡ In combating the Tractarian notion that the grace of Sacraments is conveyed *only* through episcopal ministry, he did in effect take up that very position, the unsoundness of which he had proved. The true answer to it is that, although we are tied to ordinances, the Lord is not tied: that He can use the ministry of persons whom He has never commissioned: that He can give regeneration through lay-baptism, and His Body and Blood by the hands of a mere Zuinglian preacher. It is true, Mr. Stowell condemns those who deny Baptism to be a means of grace,§ and speaks of it himself as the consum-

* 2 Cor. v. 20. † *Ib.* 19. ‡ *Ib.* p. 156. § *Ib.* ii. p. 53.

mation of our new birth. But he emphatically denies that the ordinance itself necessarily contains and conveys the grace which it signifies; and infers from the text, 1 Peter, iii. 21, that "the efficacy of the ordinance is there made to turn upon the truth and sincerity of the belief avouched, rather than on the due administration of the visible rite." We should have thought that the words, "Baptism doth save us" conclusive as to the efficacy of the ordinance in itself, and the clauses, "not the putting away of the filth of the flesh," &c., as indicating the necessity of seeking God with a good conscience, for those who would receive and enjoy the salvation which Baptism brings them objectively. But not so Mr. Stowell: in the same sermon he writes thus: "If these examples—and others might be added [*what others?*],—prove no more, they at least prove that Baptism was not the exclusive (ought we not rather to say, was not the ordinary?) instrument of spiritual life!"* and soon goes on to enunciate the tenet that the inward and spiritual grace (!) of circumcision was the same as that of Baptism, and that regeneration is not peculiar to our own dispensation. Indeed, he actually calls circumcision "the Jewish sacrament of regeneration!"†

On the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he quotes, for disparagement, passages from Dr. Pusey's letter which we should have thought remarkably accurate: "We believe the doctrine of our Church to be that in the Communion there is a true, real, actual though spiritual communi-

* *Ib.* p. 66.

† *Ib.* p. 89.

cation of the Body and Blood of Christ to the believer through the holy elements:” “and of this gift,” Mr. Stowell continues, “though received only by the believing, we are afterwards assured that, ‘It is there independently of our faith.’” “Rome, in this respect, *had the truth*, though mingled with error, and clouded and injured by it: the Zuingli-Calvinist school have *forfeited it*. In a word, our Church holds with Rome the reality of the communication of the Body and Blood of Christ through the holy Eucharist, but denies her carnal way of explaining it.”* And he disparaged not only the Tractarians’ own avowed tenets, but even their accounts of primitive Christian doctrine, which everybody who has the slightest information on the subject knows to be strictly accurate.

He says, indeed, “A spiritual presence—a *special* spiritual presence—Scripture teaches, and we devoutly hold.”† But “the mode of expression employed by Christ” in the Words of Institution “was,” according to him, “no more than a striking way of representing the sign as the thing signified.”‡

In criticising the Tractarian recommendations of fasting and the use of the sign of the Cross, he does really no more than urge his own opinion, or (may be) his own ignorance. He does not see that Tractarian language as to fasting may be understood (and, we think, was meant to be understood) in what he himself would admit was a truly Evangelical sense. And the stanzas on the

* *Ib.* pp. 153, 154.

† *Ib.* p. 162.

‡ *Ib.* p. 159.

uses of the sign of the Cross, of which he says, "Such language would be simply absurd, were it not in reality as mischievous as it is extravagant,"* are no more than those which we quoted above.

If we except Archdeacon Garbett's Bampton Lectures, and the Rev. W. Goode's treatise on *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice*, these sermons are the only work of any length, so far as we have been able to learn, in which the *Tracts for the Times* were attacked by Low-Churchmen; for we do not count single sermons and pamphlets in this connection. But Number 90 was the last of the *Tracts*, and nothing new remained to be said in the way of controverting them. In general, the antagonism of Low-Churchmen showed itself in charges which made up for their vagueness in their vehemence. Hugh Stowell spoke of Tractarianism as a "conspiracy,"† and of the Tractarians as those who had "combined to betray the truth for which our Reformers bled."‡ Edward Bickersteth attacked their "undue deference to human authority, especially that of the Fathers," and their "overvaluing the Christian ministry and Sacraments;" but gave no hint as to the degree of deference which was undue, or the degree in which the ministry and Sacraments were overvalued.§ The Editor of the *Christian Observer* wrote thus at the end of 1848: "There is hardly a single individual in the whole party, from the highest to the lowest, that has the slightest claim to the character of a well-read theologian; and the great

* *Ib.* p. 241. See above, p. 425. † *Ib.* p. 289. ‡ *Ib.* p. 291.

§ *Life*, vol. ii. p. 80.

majority are young men of the most superficial attainments.”* When we find this statement made by the Editor of the chief Low-Church literary organ, we are not altogether surprised at what the Rev. Henry Alford is recorded to have said: “As to all the opponents of the ‘Tracts’ which I have seen, their spirit is so un-Christian, their ignorance so truly barbarous, and their theological systems so discontinuous and inconsistent with themselves, that I have never been able to read many pages of their writings without indignation.”†

CHAPTER XXXI.

Polenical Period, continued. “Church Pastoral Aid Society.” Colonial Church Society. Memorials about S.P.C.K. publications. Prayer for departed ones: Carisbrooke tombstone case. The Parker Society.

WE have abstained as yet from noticing other events which took place within the few years following the commencement of the *Tracts for the Times*, in order that the reader’s attention might be confined for the time to the early history of that movement which the *Tracts* were the means of starting. We now, however, recur to the year 1835.

In that year was formed the “Church Pastoral Aid Society” for providing additional clergy and lay assistants in parishes where such additional

* *Christian Observer* for 1848, Preface.

† Life, p. 133.

labourers were needed. In the "Synopsis" of the Society it was stated that when aid had been sought and granted, the parochial Minister must say how it was to be employed; that he must nominate the persons to be employed, engage them, superintend them, and control them entirely. All that the Society proposed doing was to provide for their remuneration, and, while so doing, ask for satisfactory proof of their qualifications. The Society also proposed to assist in providing Church-accommodation in destitute parishes, "for the administration of the Word of God," no mention being made of sacraments. It is worth noticing, too, that in the questions proposed to an applicant nothing was said about the ministration of Sacraments as distinct from other functions. Questions were asked as to the number of services, sermons, cottage-lectures, and Bible classes, but not as to the number of Eucharists. The Society, in fact, was a Low-Church Society rather than a Church Society properly so called: and in time it gave occasion for the nickname "Party Pastoral Dictation Society."*

In the same year certain clergymen, members of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, recommended that Society to republish Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, and turn their attention to tracts against Popery. The memorial embodying these recommendations was laid before the Board at the General Meeting in November, and referred to the Tract Committee for consideration; but the

* *Christian Observer* for 1845, pp. 734-5.

Tract Committee did not deem it expedient that Fox's *Acts and Monuments* should be republished by the Society. Hereupon five Clergymen, benefited in Essex, memorialised the general meeting of the Society, disputing the decisions of the Tract Committee as calculated to hinder the Divine blessing from resting on the Society's exertions, and charging many of the Society's Tracts with "doctrinal deficiencies." Their memorial was laid before the general meeting, and referred to the Standing Committee, but that committee deemed the objections raised against the Society's tracts unreasonable. Then came a second memorial, in which the signators made good their charges to a certain extent; as where a person is recommended to class, in prayer, his own true repentance along with his blessed Saviour's merits as doing away with his own manifold follies; where the author of the *Whole Duty of Man* spoke of God's laws as enjoining "nothing but what care and attention will make easy;" and where Bishop Watson, of Llandaff, spoke of Christians as certain to procure the Divine favour if they would "endeavour to deserve it." In the first of these passages, however, the memorialists were, as seems to us, only making the writer whom they controverted an offender for a word; and they showed, moreover, the deficiency of their own religious system by not mentioning Sacraments at all, save when quoting that article which defines the visible Church of Christ to be "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacrament be duly ministered according to Christ's

ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."

In the year 1838 a case was decided in the Court of Arches which had some bearing upon Low-Church tenets, though Low-Churchmen generally were content to ignore it. Following the traditions of heathenism as perpetuated by the Protestant Reformers, Low-Church divines had taught, as a thing admitting no question, that at death the soul passes either into heaven, or into the lake of fire (commonly called "hell"). High-Churchmen were at one with them in teaching that (in the time at least which has elapsed since Our Lord's ascension into heaven) every person's probation comes to an end at death: so that if a person's heart has not in some true sense or other been turned to God while in this present mortal state, there is no possibility of his being converted afterwards. But the Tractarian divines had taught the existence of an intermediate state, in which, when a person has died in a state of salvation, his spirit may be benefitted in some way or other through the prayers of his brethren, the members of the Church still militant upon earth.

This, of course, was contrary to popular Low-Church notions; and Low-Church people deemed it a sufficient disproof to deny that prayer could be of any efficacy at all for any departed person whatsoever. They thus took up, in regard of the faithful dead, the same ground which is taken up by infidels, in opposing the practice of praying for rain or for fair weather. The infidel says "It is absurd to think that your God should alter His

arrangements of weather : the sun will shine and the rain will fall just the same, irrespectively of any prayers which you may offer for a change." The Low-Churchman said, "It is absurd to think that God should alter His dealing with the faithful departed, or with any one of them : they will all have peaceful rest now and joyful resurrection hereafter, irrespectively of any prayers which you may offer on behalf of them." Neither party considered that the power of the Father's working without is proportioned to the prompting of the Holy Ghost within : as it is said, "Unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us." None considered the force of that precept in Isaiah, "Concerning My sons and concerning the work of My hands command ye Me."* They ignored, too, in this as in so many other matters, the teaching of their own Prayer-book. The Church of England taught, and still teaches, her children to pray over the grave of every brother or sister departed in her communion, "that we, *with all those that are departed in the true faith of God's Holy Name*, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in" His "eternal and everlasting glory." And in the Prayer of self-oblation, after Communion, she puts these words into the mouth of the celebrant—"most humbly beseeching Thee to grant that by the merits and death of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, and through faith in His Blood, we *and all Thy whole Church*

* Isaiah xlv. 11. We punctuate according to the Massoretic accentuation, from which the Authorised Version here needlessly departs.

may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion." With reference to the obvious meaning of which we may cite an anecdote of the late Mr. Henry Drummond. At a large party of friends assembled round that gentleman's dinner-table, he called out to Mr. McNeile, afterwards the "great and good," "I say, McNeile, do you pray for the faithful departed?" "O dear no!" said Mr. McNeile. Some time later he called out again, "I say McNeile, do you pray for the whole Catholic Church?" "O yes!" was the reply. And later still, "I say, McNeile, are not the faithful departed a part of the Catholic Church?"

Now it so happened that in Carisbrooke churchyard, in the Isle of Wight, a tombstone had been erected by a Romanist named Mary Woolfrey, to the memory of Joseph Woolfrey, departed; whether her husband or not we do not know; and the inscription on the tombstone contained these words, "Pray for the soul of J. Woolfrey." "It is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead. 2 Mac. xii. 46." The vicar of the parish, the Rev. John Breeks, took proceedings against Mary Woolfrey for this, on the ground that the inscription (which had been put on the stone without his previous permission) implied doctrine contrary to what was allowed in the Church of England. The case was taken, by letters of request, from the diocesan court of Winchester to the court of Arches; and Sir Herbert Jenner decided, on the 12th of December, 1838, that the inscription was not illegal, inasmuch as by no canon or authority of the Church in these realms had the practice of

praying for the dead been expressly prohibited. The suit was therefore dismissed, with costs.*

Towards the close of the year 1840 was formed the Parker Society. Its objects were, first, the reprinting, without abridgment, alteration, or omission, of such of the most approved works of the early writers of the Reformed English Church, as had been published in the period between the accession of King Edward VI. and the death of Queen Elizabeth; secondly, the printing of such remains of other writers of the sixteenth century as might appear desirable (including, under both classes, some of the early English translations of the foreign reformers); and thirdly, the printing of some MSS. of the same authors, hitherto unpublished. Thus the Society would seem to have been projected by way of opposition to the publishing of select works of the Fathers which had already begun at Oxford. The principal share in its formation must be ascribed to a Mr. George Stokes. This gentleman had laboured for many years previously in making known the works of the English Protestant Reformers through the agency of the Religious Tract Society; and it was with his concurrence that certain passages from the Reformers' writings were suppressed which certain members of the Religious Tract Society did not like—to wit, the protestations against the errors of the Anabaptists. Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, was elected President of the Parker Society. The council included the Rev. C. Benson, Master of the Temple, the Rev. Edward

* Curteis's *Reports of Cases*, part 4, p. 880.

Bickersteth, the Rev. W. H. Cox, Vice-Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, the Rev. J. W. Cunningham, the Rev. Thomas Dale, Canon of St. Paul's, the Rev. Dr. Dealtry, Chancellor of the diocese of Winchester, the Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, Canon of St. Paul's, the Rev. Dr. Mortimer, Head Master of the City of London School, the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, who had not then seceded from the Church of England, the Rev. James Scholefield, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge, and the Rev. Daniel Wilson, Vicar of Islington. At the meeting held in 1843 seven thousand subscribers were announced. It was anticipated that the whole of the works which the Society proposed to publish would be in their subscribers' hands in about sixteen years from the commencement. The subscription was fixed at a sovereign per annum : and each subscriber was to receive a copy of every work published by the Society within the year which his subscription was to cover. Among the authors, some or all of whose works were offered to the public in pursuance of the Society's scheme were, Archbishops Cranmer, Sandys, Parker, Grindal, Whitgift ; Bishops Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Coverdale, Pilkington, Bale, Jewel ; Archdeacon Philpot ; Roger Hutchinson, Thomas Becon, Fulke, Tyndale, Calphill, Bradford. The student could also read, in two of the Society's volumes, a large selection of correspondence which passed between English and foreign Protestants of the Reformation time.

It is to be remarked that although it would be manifestly unfair to fix upon the Low-Church

party in general the stigma of holding every heresy to which any authors on the Parker Society's list might have stood committed, yet where one heresy and another is taught in the plainest terms by one of these writers after another, a party of men who can speak of such writers in terms of general praise, unqualified by any repudiation of the heresies in question, and who can unite in republishing their works for the sake of spreading their theology, must be deemed to share, in general, in the heresies so put forth.* And thus the council of the Parker Society must needs be understood to have committed themselves to a general approval of the tenets maintained by those Reformation divines whose works the Society undertook to republish. And, to cite one or two instances: Of Bishop Hooper the person employed by the Society to edit his works was an admirer. He speaks of Hooper as one of the Church's "most

* "On every point connected with the doctrine and discipline of the Church the opinions of such men must be of incalculable interest. They were her defenders against external and internal assailants; they were the expounders of the truths which they had contributed to embody." This sentence is extracted from the Parker Society's eighth Annual Report, bound up with the first and second parts of Bullinger's *Decades*. The reader who compares the teaching of the Reformation divines (whereof a fair idea has been given in the extracts cited from them in former chapters of the present work) with that of the Book of Common Prayer—that book in the preparation of which, in its original form, only two Reformation divines, Cranmer and Ridley, had a share—that book which the Reformation divines would fain have supplanted altogether by one from which all distinctively Catholic doctrines should have been purged out, will be able to judge not only how far the Parker Society were committed to the opinions of the Reformers, but also how far the Society's language found in the above extract was deserved.

zealous *and useful* ministers." And the fact that this account of him was given by one of the Society's trusted editors affords a particular illustration of the general accord, in regard of opinions, between the Society and the Reformation divines. It affords, too, an illustration of the way in which party spirit blinds the eyes of those who indulge it, so that they fail to discern what is palpable to everybody else. The opinion of competent judges will surely be that a man whose conscience objected to the wearing of vestments required both by the Church and by the realm was not fit to occupy in either the position of a ruler. For on the one hand, if to Hooper's mind the question was merely one of putting on vestments of certain shapes and colours, his conduct evinced a remarkable narrowness of intellect, while, on the other hand, if the line taken by him was the outcome of a religion alien from that of the Church of England, and in following of which he would be led to aim at the entire overthrow of the Anglican Church as then subsisting, and the substitution, on its ruins, of a new organisation whose religion was to be Zuinglian, he was simply a traitor to the Church, and feeling himself to be such ; what our own view of the case is, we have set forth in an earlier chapter. That the arguments urged by Cranmer, and others, against Hooper's scruples had even succeeded in removing those scruples, Hooper's letter to Cranmer, dated February 15th, 1551,* does not to our

* Printed in the Parker Society's edition of Hooper's later writings, p. xv.

thinking imply by any means. The tenor of that letter is rather this: that Hooper was afraid of being thought disobedient to the Council, and therefore was content to put his scruples in his pocket, and be guided in his practice by the opinions of others. It is moreover instructive to read, in reference to the personal character and proceedings of some of the original authors, such passages as the following, in reference to Bishop Bale's having renounced monastic vows along with monastic errors:—"It is scarcely consistent for Protestants to look otherwise than with gratitude on those who broke the bands of a tyranny so nefarious, and vindicated the Christian liberty of themselves and their brethren."* Liberty, that is, to violate solemn vows which had been made in good faith. "Uncompromising" is the strongest term which the Parker Society's Editor had for Bale's controversial language, a few specimens of which will be found above.

* Bale's Select Works, p. viii. While however we quote the passage as showing the Editor's mind, yet we must repeat that we are unaware of the evidence that Bale had ever taken a monk's vows.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Polemical Period, continued. The Primates and other Bishops join Low-Church Missionary Societies. Anglican bishopric at Jerusalem. Dr. Alexander. Election of Poetry Professor at Oxford. Dr. Gilbert, Bishop of Chichester. "Holy Cross" Church, Leeds. "Society for maintenance of Scriptural Principles." Dr. Ollivant, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Suspension of Dr. Pusey.

IN 1841 the joy of Low-Churchmen was great; joy that both the English Metropolitans (Dr. Howley of Canterbury and Dr. Harcourt of York) and all those Bishops who were not already members of the "Church Missionary Society" became members both of it and of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews. And the mention of this last Society naturally introduces the mention of an event in which it had a special interest, and which took place in this same year. We mean the establishment of an Anglican Bishopric at Jerusalem.

The objects of this extraordinary measure appear to have been various. The promoters of the Mission to the Jews in Palestine desired that worldly protection for their converts which, it was expected, the converts would have if presided over by a clergyman in the worldly status of an Anglican prelate. King Frederick William IV. of Prussia desired, it is believed, a valid episcopate for the Protestant establishment in his dominions, and towards such an episcopate his share in found-

ing the Jerusalem bishopric might prove a step : for the bishop would ordain not only Englishmen on their signing the XXXIX Articles, but also German Lutherans on their signing both the Anglican Articles and the Augsburg Confession. And some earnest Churchmen may have believed that the establishment of such a functionary might conduce to the greater success of their efforts for winning Jews over to Christianity.

The scheme was strongly disapproved of by almost all High-Churchmen : Dr. Hook being, we believe, the only High-Churchman of note who advocated it. Those who opposed it did so on the ground that for a bishop to fulfil episcopal functions within the diocese of another is schismatical. It might, however, have occurred to them that, considering the relations in which the Church of England stood with respect to the Orthodox Churches of the East, the mere mission of a bishop to Jerusalem did at the worst leave things as they were, and might be the means of establishing such new relations as would lead to that healing of divisions, and that attainment of full intercommunion among Christians, which all intelligent Christians who enter into their Lord's most earnest longing cannot but desire. Much, however, would depend upon the person who was selected for the post. It had been arranged that the Governments of England and Prussia should select alternately : and that whoever might be chosen, and who might accept the appointment, should be consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Low-Church party could not be expected to

view the matter as their High-Church brethren did. They did not care overmuch for the Canons of Nicæa, nor did they respect the Eastern Churches much more than the Church of Rome. And there was such an acknowledgment of foreign Protestantism involved in the scheme, as could not but commend itself to Low-Church likings. As Mr. Bickersteth's biographer remarks, "the co-operation of Great Britain and Prussia, the two great Protestant kingdoms, and the brotherhood shown to the Lutheran Church, the first-born of the Reformation, were highly grateful to his truly catholic spirit, which longed for closer union among all who maintained the purity and truth of the Gospel."* Moreover, as the new bishop would have to preside over Anglican congregations in Palestine, and as many of those congregations had been formed under a distinctively Low-Church Society—the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews—there would be a manifest congruity in choosing the first bishop from Low-Church ranks at least, and, if possible, on the recommendation of the said Society.

The British Government selected the Rev. Michael Solomon Alexander, a converted Jew, who had undergone persecution for the sake of Christ. He had been born in Schoenlanke, in Prussian Poland, in 1799. Expecting an appointment in England as a *shochet* (*i.e.*, slaughterer of meat) and a teacher of the Talmud, he having already been employed in teaching the Talmud and the German language to his Jewish brethren in Germany, he

* Birks's Memoir of the Rev. E. Bickersteth, vol. ii. p. 167.

came to England at the age of twenty. Disappointed of the expected situation, he had entered the private family of a Jew as tutor; and had afterwards filled the office of Rabbi at Norwich and Plymouth successively. At the latter place he was baptized; and having settled at Dublin, and become known to the Archbishop of that See (Dr. William Magee), he was ordained by the Archbishop to the Diaconate on Trinity Sunday, 1827. He was soon afterwards advanced to the priesthood by the Bishop of Kildare (the Hon. Charles Lindsay), with the concurrence of the Archbishop; and went, at the end of the year, to Dantzic, as a missionary of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews; and returned, in 1830, to England, where he laboured for the next eleven years in the same capacity.

Although however Mr. Alexander appears to have been a pious man in his way, yet he knew nothing at all of scientific Christian theology. His consecration took place in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, on Sunday, November 7th, 1841. The Archbishop of Canterbury was assisted by the Bishops of London (Dr. Blomfield), Rochester (Dr. Murray), and New Zealand (Dr. Selwyn). The Sermon was preached by the Bishop of New Zealand, whose theology was never very definite; and the enthusiasm, almost amounting to insanity, with which some Low-Church people regarded the event may be gathered from a passage in the Life of Mr. Bickersteth, an extract from a letter from Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury) to Mr. Bickersteth:—"Charlotte Elizabeth said to

me on Monday: 'Yesterday the fulness of the Gentiles was completed.' Even if not so, the remark must make one reflect."*

It might have been thought that a capability for writing poetry was a necessary qualification for a professorship of that art; and, contrariwise, that Tractarian views were not a disqualification. Low-Churchmen however thought otherwise: when the Rev. Isaac Williams was a candidate for the Professorship of Poetry in the University of Oxford, in the year 1842, the Ven. James Garbett, Archdeacon of Chichester, was put up in opposition to him; the ground of the opposition being that Mr. Williams was known to be the author of *The Cathedral*. Mr. Garbett was returned by an overwhelming majority. His Bampton Lectures, published in the same year, were directed against Tractarianism. He held the Professorship till 1852.

Dr. Alexander's was not the only Low-Church promotion at this time. The very next year (1842) Dr. Ashhurst Turner Gilbert was appointed to the bishopric of Chichester, on the nomination of Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister. This was generally understood as a testimony on the part of the right hon. baronet against Tractarianism: Dr. Gilbert having backed up Mr. Garbett in his opposition to Mr. Williams, when those gentlemen had been candidates for the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford. It was the same Dr. Gilbert who afterwards signalised his episcopate by inhibiting the Rev. John Mason Neale,

* *Ib.* p. 183.

Warden of Sackville College, East Grinstead, for introducing legal ornaments into the college chapel: as we shall see hereafter.

In the same year (1842) Low-Churchmen were sorely exercised in their minds by what took place on the 14th of September, a day marked in the English Calendar as “ Holy Cross Day,” at the laying of the foundation of what was then intended to be called the Church of the Holy Cross, Leeds. The inscription on the foundation stone was as follows:—

“ THE FIRST STONE
OF HOLY CROSS CHURCH
IN THE PARISH OF LEEDS, AND COUNTY OF YORK,
WAS LAID
UNDER THE ALTAR,
IN THE NAME OF A PENITENT,
TO THE PRAISE OF THE REDEEMER,
ON HOLY CROSS DAY,
A.D. 1842.

“ God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.”

“ O Saviour of the world, who by Thy Cross and Precious Blood hast redeemed us, save us and help us ;

“ We humbly beseech Thee, O Lord.

“ By Thine agony and bloody sweat,

“ By Thy cross and passion,

“ In the hour of death,

“ In the day of judgment,

“ Lord, remember me when Thou comest in Thy kingdom.

“ WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., Vicar of Leeds.

“ JOHN MAC DUFF DERRICK, of Oxford, Architect.

“ JOHN NEWLAND MILLS, of Headingley, Builder.”*

} “ Good Lord, deliver us.

The Editor of the *Christian Observer* persuaded himself that the founders of the church in

* Browne's *Annals of the Tractarian Movement*, 2nd edition, pp. 125-6.

question wished to dedicate it to *a material piece of wood*;* and that the ceremonial was one of a series of proceedings which, if not checked, would introduce the dark superstitions of Popery.†

In the same year an address to the authorities of the University of Oxford was got up by certain laymen, against Tractarianism. Of it the Editor of the *Christian Observer* said, “Never have we seen a document more honourably distinguished by the mass of mental, moral, and religious excellence which it embodies: meaning, apparently, “which were embodied by those who signed it.”‡ At the same time a protest against “the chief errors of the Tractarian delusion” was signed by two thousand clergymen. About the same time, too, was formed a “Society for the maintenance of Scriptural Principles; especially in opposition to ‘Anglo-Catholic’ errors.” The principles and rules of this society were as follows:—

“1. Every Christian is bound to examine and ascertain the meaning of the Word of God for himself in the use of all the aids within his reach, and receive no doctrine as the doctrine of Scripture unless he sees it to be declared therein, otherwise he may receive errors as truth upon a fallible authority, against the plain testimony of the Word of God.

“2. Believers are justified by the righteousness of Christ imputed to them, not by an inherent righteousness imparted to them, by the Spirit; and they are, from first to last, justified by faith alone without works, but as ‘good works do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith’ (Art. xii.), the faith which justifies is a faith which ‘worketh by love.’

* See *Christian Observer* for 1842, p. 640. † *Ib.* p. 716.

‡ *Christian Observer* for 1844, p. 63.

“3. Ungodly persons have neither been born again of the Spirit nor justified, although they were baptized in infancy, but remain in an unpardoned state, exposed to the wrath of God, and, unless they be born again of the Spirit and obtain saving faith in Christ, they must perish.

“4. There is no Scriptural authority for affirming that our Lord is present with His people at the Lord’s Supper in any other manner than that in which He is present with them whenever they meet together in His Name (Matthew xviii. 20); and His Body and Blood are verily and indeed taken and received by them at that ordinance by faith, just as they are verily and indeed taken and received by them whenever they exercise Faith in His atoning Sacrifice; so that the imagination of any bodily presence, or of any other presence, effected by the consecration of the elements, is unscriptural and erroneous.

“5. The Ministers of Christ are termed in Scripture Presbyters, Bishops, Shepherds, Stewards, &c., but are never distinctly termed Priests (*ιερείς*) and the notion of any sacrifice, offered in the Lord’s Supper, by the minister as a Priest, distinct from the sacrifice of praise and devotedness offered by every true worshipper, is unscriptural and erroneous.

“6. There is no Scriptural authority for asserting that these only are rightly ordained, or are to be esteemed true members* of Christ, who have received episcopal ordination.

“7. The true apostolical succession is the succession of faithful ministers in the Churches of Christ, who have preached the doctrine of the Apostles and have ministered in their spirit.

“RULES OF THE SOCIETY.

“1. This Society shall be designated ‘The Society for the Maintenance of Scriptural Principles, especially in opposition to Anglo-Catholic errors.’

“2. The object of the Society shall be to promote the reading and the examination of the Word of God, and especially to maintain the truths contained in its declaration by the delivery of lectures, by the publication and distribution of tracts, by the formation of associations for the reading of the Scriptures and for prayer, and by any other suitable means.

“3. All persons who express their assent to the declaration shall be considered members of the Society if they so desire.

“4. Every member of the Society who shall subscribe 10s.

* So it is printed in the copy before us. Perhaps the correct reading is “ministers.”

annually shall be entitled to vote at the general meeting of the Society.

“5. A donation of £5 shall give the same privilege for life.

“6. The affairs of the Society shall be directed by a Committee, Treasurer, Secretary, and, if requisite, by a President and other officers, all being members of the Established Church.

“7. The Committee shall be chosen annually at a general meeting of the Society.

“8. All the meetings of the Society and of the Committee shall be opened with prayer.

“Subscriptions in aid of the Society’s plans and operations will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, at the Banking House of Messrs. Barclay, Evans and Co., 54, Lombard street, by the Honorary Secretaries, 53, Woburn Place, Russell Square, by any members of the Committee, or at the office of the Record.”*

In the year 1843 Dr. Alfred Ollivant, Vice-Principal of St. David’s College, Lampeter, and a Low-Churchman, was appointed by Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister, to the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge.

On the second of June in this year, the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, Edward Bouverie Pusey, D.D., was suspended for two years from preaching within the University by the Low-Church Vice-Chancellor, Dr. P. Wynter; the Vice-Chancellor’s assessors being Dr. Jenkins, Master of Balliol; Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel; Dr. Symons, Warden of Wadham; Dr. Jelf, Canon of Christchurch; Dr. Ogilvie, Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology; and Dr. Faussett, Margaret Professor of Divinity, the complainant.† The ground of offence was a sermon preached by Dr. Pusey before the University on the 14th of the preceding month, on *The Holy Eucharist a Comfort*

* Browne’s *Annals of the Tractarian Movement*, pp. 126 &c.

† *Ib.* p. 73.

to the *Penitent*; and which, these doctors alleged, contained some things opposed to the Church of England. The court had sat with closed doors, not even Dr. Pusey himself being cited to appear, or asked to explain any passages in his sermon. Dr. Pusey (who was himself the first to announce to the world that he had been convicted of Heresy and suspended by the 'six Doctors' ")* protested against the sentence as unstatutable and unjust; and when, on the expiration of the two years, he again stood up to preach before the University, and continued his subject from the same point at which he had been compelled to leave off two years before, no further complaint was made.

But although his Low-Church opponents found it desirable to hold their peace and grumble at him in secret, his followers in various parts of the country found their circumstances both noisy and hot. We allude especially to what became known as the Surplice-riots of Exeter; whereof we must speak in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Polemical Period, continued. Bishop Blomfield's recommendation of rubrical conformity; resisted by Islington laity and clergy. Bishop Philpotts of Exeter enjoins use of surplice in pulpit. Riots at Exeter. Causes of the ill-feeling. Proposal for revision of the Prayer-book and Canons.

WE do not remember to have seen in the *Tracts for the Times* any recommendations for a revived

* *Ib.* p. 74.

obedience to any particular rubrics which were practically obsolete. But a general spirit of conformity to the Anglican system was inculcated with more or less of detail throughout the series; and where Tractarian doctrine was received, one result would necessarily be the attempting to restore compliance with rules of the Church wherever those rules had fallen into neglect.

This speedily brought out the opposition of the Low Church party, and the violence of the ignorant Protestant rabble; and made it very evident how much of the spirit of the old Puritanism was still to be found in the Church of England. In the events which, in order of time, come to be mentioned now, there was seen the same unreasoning hatred of whatever might be vulgarly deemed Popish, and the same distrust of the Anglican formularies as forming any real bulwark to Protestantism, however much the contrary might be outwardly professed. For if people really believed the principles of the Book of Common Prayer to be Protestant, how could they object to a strict obedience to that Book in all its details? And along with this there was in the opposing party a consciousness of inability to distinguish truth from falsehood, and right from wrong, by any spiritual or moral intuition. For while every detail of Divine Service must stand or fall upon its own merits, and while, if any proposed change is in itself an improvement, it is no sufficient reason against adopting it to say that it is Popish, or that its adoption may open the way to other changes which may be deprecated; this

latter line was what the Low-Church party in general were content to take. And thus they necessarily renounced in effect all claim to that "Unction from the Holy One," whereby the spiritually minded Christian knows all things.

In the year 1842 the Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield) held his fourth Diocesan Visitation. In the Charge delivered at this Visitation he undertook to speak, with the authority belonging to his office, on what he regarded as the most important of those questions regarding which the clergy of that time were, he said, divided in opinion. Among those questions were some relating to the Church's ritual: and after laying down the duty incumbent on the clergy of observing the rubrics, he said, "It may indeed call for the exercise of a sound discretion in certain cases as to the time and mode of bringing about an entire conformity of your practice in this respect with the letter of the law; but I cannot, as it appears to me, consistently with my duty, interpose any obstacles nor offer any objection to its being done. I wish this observation to be understood as applicable not only to the administration of public baptism at the time prescribed by the Rubric, to the reading of the Offertory sentences, and to the Prayer for the Church Militant, but to the observance of the days which the Church appoints to be kept holy." After speaking of the people's neglect, he proceeded, "It must needs take some time to overcome that habit; but the clergy must be the first to attempt it, and they are not to be blamed for making the attempt. Let them do *their* part in

carrying out the Church's intentions, and then none of the laity will have cause to complain of being deprived by their means of any one of the opportunities and privileges to which all her children are entitled."* He afterwards expressed an opinion that the surplice was more correct than the black gown at the morning service, probably because the sermon then formed a part of the Eucharistic office.

The *Record* did not at first find any great fault with the Bishop's remarks on these points; even six months after the publication of the Charge, the Editor's opinion was that the Bishop's wishes might be complied with without any serious injury to the cause of what the Editor accounted Evangelical religion. Little or nothing, however, was done by the Low-Church clergy in the way of compliance.

On the 17th of May, 1843, the Bishop held a confirmation in Trinity Church, Cloudesley Square, Islington; and after the service, having desired the clergy present, who were seventeen in number, to come into the vestry, he addressed them to the effect that he wished for uniformity in three matters:—(1) That Mattins and Evensong should not be commenced with singing; (2) that psalms, hymns, and notices should be given out by the minister, and not by the clerk; (3) that the Offertory Sentence and Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church, should be said on all Sundays and Holy-Days when there was no Communion.

* Memoir of Bishop Blomfield, vol. ii, pp. 33 &c.

This last was a matter which he thought was one of necessity.

Various clergy urged various objections against compliance with the Bishop's wishes, the Rev. Henry Venn in particular (son of the late Rector of Clapham) urging that the laity deprecated changes, and feared, at this time more especially, in reference to the spread of Tractarianism, that any changes would but lead to more, and lead towards the spread of Tractarian doctrines. Shortly afterwards various members of Islington congregations, to the number of 2,835, memorialised their clergy, thanking them for not having made any changes in the conduct of Divine Service, deprecating the introduction of novelties and the revival of obsolete usages; and expressing an assurance that if the clergy allowed any change, the harmony between them and their congregations would be destroyed, and dissatisfaction and separation would result. This memorial was presented to the Rev. Daniel Wilson, Vicar of Islington, and afterwards Bishop of Calcutta, on the 18th of June.* The assurance expressed at the end of it was only too well founded: for owing to the fear which prevailed in the congregation of Trinity Church, Islington, that the Rev. Francis Fell, incumbent of that church, was about to make, on some particular Sunday, some changes in the mode of conducting Divine Service, half of the congregation, that is to say, several hundred people, stayed away from their church on the day

* *Christian Observer* for 1867, pp. 854 &c.

in question.* The change which he did introduce (we do not know if he introduced more changes than one) was the use of the surplice in the pulpit. When the black gown was introduced again, the congregation increased ;† but whether it ever attained its former number we have no information. The Rev. Samuel Baker also, incumbent of a proprietary chapel near Tavistock Square, took to wearing the surplice in the pulpit, and was left in consequence by nearly all of his large congregation. He also resumed the use of the black gown, but did not get his people back, and had to leave in consequence, as his income depended, wholly or in great measure, on pew-rents.

About this time the Editor of the *Record* had changed his mind, and “urged the laity to exert themselves in the cause of Protestantism, and this appeal was not altogether ineffectual, for when it was proposed to present an address to Bishop Blomfield, thanking him for his Charge, it soon became known that this would be followed by a counter-address from the Evangelical party, headed by a well-known nobleman.”‡ The Islington clergy had replied to their Diocesan in what was for all practical purposes a refusal to attempt that conformity to the Prayer-Book which he had recommended, making (as a Low-Church clergyman once expressed it to the present writer) “a noble stand.” Even though, however, they may

* Royal Commission on Ritual, Minutes of Evidence to 1st Report, p. 4.

† This I know on private information.

‡ Memoir of Bishop Blomfield, vol. i. p. 52.

have been able to plead "Not guilty" to the charge of raising the standard of rebellion against their Bishop; yet, if the people were thus set against the plainest rules of the Church, how was it, we may ask, that their clergy had not taught them better? Here were men who had all sworn oaths that they would pay canonical obedience to their Bishop in things lawful and honest, and had promised, by way of necessary preliminary to their admission to benefices or curacies, that they would conform to the Liturgy of the Church as by law established. Most of them, too, had declared their unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common Prayer. And, although, on seeing the storm which had been raised, the Bishop practically withdrew his directions about rubrical observance, yet proof was afforded how little the Islington clergy really cared for some of the Church's plainest rules, or ever thought of trying to get their people to acquiesce in the observance of the same. Nor were the Islington clergy alone in their rebellion against the Church and the Bishop. Other parishes in the London diocese followed the evil example of Islington. And the unreasonable demands of the clergy that they should be allowed in their disobedience induced the Bishop at last to withdraw from the position which he had taken up, and to desert those clergy who had complied with his wishes. But it was in the diocese of Exeter that the spirit of antagonism among the Low-Church laity had, perhaps, its worst manifestations.

The Bishop of Exeter (Dr. Philpotts) had* in his visitation-charges, delivered in 1842, recommended his clergy to observe the rubrics carefully, and to revive the observance of them as far as possible, where observance had fallen into disuse. Many of the clergy in the diocese began thereupon to put these recommendations into practice; and (not to speak of other matters) began to wear the surplice in the pulpit. The results of this, in some parishes, were strife, disputing, and even open rupture. Complaints were made against the Rev. W. Blunt† for preaching in a surplice, for not offering prayer in the pulpit either before or after the sermon, for lecturing extempore (that is, we suppose, catechizing) after the Second Lesson at Evening Prayer and omitting the subsequent Sermon, and for not allowing non-communicants to retire, as they had been wont to do, in the middle of the service, in contravention of the XVIIIth Canon, which orders that none shall “depart out of the church during the time of service or sermon, without some urgent or reasonable cause.” There were some other charges as well brought against him, bearing upon matters of church-discipline. The Bishop, after investigating the charges, delivered his

* For most of the information contained in the following paragraphs I am indebted to the kindness of Thomas Shapter, Esq., M.D., who was Mayor of Exeter at the time of the “surplice-riots.”

† This I suppose to have been the Rev. Walter Blunt, Curate of Helston, Cornwall. According to another account, the only charge made against him was that of wearing the surplice in the pulpit. (See Stephens's *Ecclesiastical Statutes*, pp. 2041-2071.) This was in 1844.

judgment on the 23rd of October, 1844 ; and pronounced the surplice to be the legal vestment for the clergy when officiating ; which vestment, he added, he purposed ordering his clergy generally to wear, save in case those vestments were provided and preferred to which reference was made in the Ornaments Rubric of the Prayer Book. And on the 19th of November he issued a circular letter to the clergy of the diocese on observance of the Rubric, in which letter he said, "I will now 'take order' by requiring, whenever the sermon is part of the ministration of the parochial clergy, that the surplice be always used."

The issuing of this letter was the signal for an outburst of strong dissatisfaction on the part of the Low-Church Laity (that is, of the greater part of the Laity in general) who belonged to the diocese : a dissatisfaction fanned into a flame by a local press which was violently opposed to the Bishop, and persistent in abusing him. On the 3rd of December the Bishop issued a letter "to a Rural Dean" suggesting that obedience to the episcopal injunction might be deferred for a season, until all the clergy might have been able to satisfy their people that the wearing of the surplice in the pulpit was solely in obedience to their Chief Pastor, to whom canonical obedience had been promised by every clergyman ; and that when the Bishop had issued his order, his object had been the putting an end to parties and divisions. Meanwhile, however, parish meetings were held, to protest against compliance

with the Bishop's circular letter ; and in too many instances the language used and the resolutions passed were coarse, and evidenced ignorance and ill-breeding. Many persons, moreover, expressed their own individual feeling by leaving their several churches as soon as the clergyman appeared in the pulpit with his surplice on. This last was the case at St. Sidwell's, Exeter, though the incumbent, the Rev. A. Courtenay, had preached in his surplice for some three years already. A large meeting of the parishioners of Heavitree (of which St. Sidwell's was only a district) was held on the 12th of December : thereupon ensued a correspondence between the Bishop and the Vestry ; and on the 23rd of the same month the Bishop withdrew his "order" as to the use of the surplice ; adding however that the surplice was still to be worn where it had been in use previously,* and also where it was then in use without causing offence. In pursuance hereof the clergy of four churches in Exeter, St. Sidwell's and St. James's included, continued the use of the surplice. On the 9th of January, 1845, at a meeting of the parishioners of those two parishes, the incumbents were earnestly requested to discontinue the use of the surplice in the pulpit. The incumbent of St. James's, the Rev. P. Carlyon, intimated thereupon his intention of complying, but Mr. Courtenay, of St. Sidwell's, refused ; and the following day (Sunday) he was mobbed while leaving the Church ;

* That is, we suppose, previously to the issuing of the "order."

as was also the incumbent of St. Paul's, the Rev. J. Armstrong. These clergymen applied to the Mayor for protection, which was granted; and but for it personal violence would, it was believed, have followed. Another clergyman who had preached in a surplice at St. Sidwell's was mobbed the same evening.

The Mayor thereupon wrote to the Bishop, disclaiming responsibility in case more formidable mobs should assemble. It does not seem to have occurred to his worship that it was his duty to enforce order at all hazards, and to protect at all hazards all persons whose only offence had been a strict compliance with the law. But the Bishop gave in, and absolved the incumbent of St. Sidwell's from the obligation of doing his duty: and of this absolution Mr. Courtenay availed himself, giving up the use of the surplice in the pulpit. From that time quietness was restored for between three and four years. But Mr. Courtenay's life was shortened through the worry caused by the Low-Church rioters.

It will be observed that the principle which showed itself in these actions of the multitude was no other than the principle of anti-christian lawlessness. The Low-Church laity were ready to respect a clergyman because of his being a gentleman (as most clergymen in those times were), or because of his being a man of learning or of eloquence, but they would not defer to him even in spiritual things merely because of his being a priest of God, with a spiritual charge over them. They would respect him for his natural gifts,

they would not respect him for the spiritual commission and authority given him from the Lord Jesus Christ, through ordination. Rather than submit to any purely spiritual authority, they were prepared to deny that there was any such thing: nor did it matter to them one straw that they were herein contravening some of the plainest precepts of Holy Scripture.

The grounds of all this opposition to the authorities of the Church were two: First, there was the senseless, unreasoning hatred of everything which might be supposed to savour of the Church of Rome; that is to say, of everything in the way of religious doctrine or ceremonial which was new to vulgar Protestants, however in accordance with the Scriptures or with the usages of the Primitive Church.* And in the next place, there was a rebellious impatience of any superiority in the clergy as clergy. This was well expressed by a special reporter of the *Times* newspaper, who, with reference to the Bishop of Exeter, said, "We are not at all afraid of the Bishop, and those of his clergy who carry out his views, adopting the tenets of Rome, and acknowledging papal supremacy; but by whatever name you call it, what we are afraid of is, the attempted establishment of priestly domination; the aggressive grasping of power and influence by the clergy;

* Thus the *Christian Observer* told its readers that the surplice was worn by Tractarians in the pulpit "because the sermon was intended to be made a part of a commemorative sacrificial service;" and spoke of the use of it in the pulpit as identified by the laity "with the whole Romanist and Tractarian system." *Christian Observer* for 1845, p. 125.

and these we are determined we will not submit to. Your ceremonies are meant to abuse and influence the minds of the laity to your authority ; your offertory collections are meant to give you power, by placing, uncontrolled, in your hands the means of carrying out any object you may will, even in direct opposition to our feelings. We distrust you, and we are determined that we will have none of these changes. Such are the feelings of the laity.”* “The objections of the laity appear to be, first, simply a dislike of change; secondly, a strong repugnance to what they conceive to be the introduction of Popish ceremonies; thirdly, a determined feeling of resistance to what they imagine to be an aggressive attempt at priestly domination, to which they will not submit; fourthly, a dislike of the offertory collection, because it is a tax, and because they had rather be the dispensers of their own alms, to the extent that they can afford, whilst they repel with indignation the charge of being influenced by selfishness or worldly-mindedness; and lastly, a determined objection to the use of the surplice by the clergy whilst preaching, because, though an indifferent matter, it is viewed as a party badge, behind which are to be found all the other objectionable innovations.”†

It began to be felt, nevertheless, that however Popish might be the Tractarian doctrines and ceremonies, and however arrogant might be the

* “*Times* of February 3rd, 1845.” I have not however been able to find the passage, nor that cited next.

† *Ib.*

Tractarian pretensions, both doctrines and ceremonies and pretensions were unmistakably supported by the Book of Common Prayer. Therefore, said the parishioners of Alphington, "This meeting cannot refrain from expressing its deep conviction of the necessity for the revision of the Rubrics, Canons, and Constitutions of the Church, seeing that they are conflicting and contradictory, that many have virtually been abrogated by subsequent statutes, that they are incompatible with the intellectual improvement and advanced state of civilization, and opposed to the spirit of the times."* And so, "a Peer" said, in a pamphlet entitled *Revise the Liturgy*, "As long as the Liturgy is suffered to remain as it is, the Tractarian has an ostensible warrant for the doctrines which he holds, opposed though they be to the Thirty-nine Articles."† There had been, too, in the year 1844, a proposal for revision of the Prayer-book in a Protestant direction;‡ though nothing seems to have come of it.

* Report cited in *Christian Observer* for 1845, p. 168.

† Cited in *Christian Observer* for 1845, p. 174.

‡ See a circular letter quoted in Browne's *Annals of the Tractarian Movement*, p. 128.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Polemical Period, continued. Protestantism not favourable to art; and especially hostile to symbolism. Stained window for Calcutta Cathedral. Cambridge Camden Society. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge. Stone altar decided to be illegal. Rev. W. Goode on a Buckinghamshire Architectural Society. Difficulties about St. Saviour's, Leeds. Establishment of the Cheltenham Training Colleges.

ART, of what kind soever, has always flourished more on Catholic soil than on Protestant. The names of those Christians who have achieved fame for themselves, either as musicians, or as painters, or as sculptors, will be found, we believe, in greater number among Catholics than among Protestants. Nor need we go far in seeking a sufficient reason. All art is a representation of truth; and in its perfection it is a representation of the ideal: of that ideal which has Eternal Truth for its basis. Now Protestantism, as such, deals not with truths at all, but with mere negations: negation of Church authority, negation of a priesthood on earth, negation of sacramental grace, and (in some cases) negation of Universal redemption, of the Atonement made upon the cross, and of the Divine Trinity.

For the same reason, Protestantism is conspicuous for its lack, more or less entire, of symbolism. Symbolism is but one particular class of those into which the several forms of art may be arranged; and how can there be a symbolism when there is nothing to be symbolised?

Moreover, Protestantism, having self for its object, whether as exalting self-conceit in the unlimited exercise of private judgment, or as seeking one's own individual profit, is necessarily more or less utilitarian; and will thus tend to the discouragement of art in all its higher forms, simply because it finds no room for it; and this is more especially true of that art, of what kind soever, which is used in sacred symbolism.

Therefore, as we proceed in our narrative, we shall find Low-Churchmen objecting to various details of Christian art, and of Christian symbolism in particular. And it will be remarked that the Low-Church quarrel against religious symbolism had a positive as well as a negative ground. The Low-Churchman disapproved of religious symbolism, not merely because he had no use for it himself, but because it was almost always used to set forth dogmas which he himself denied and hated.

In January, 1844, the Dean and Chapter of Windsor presented Bishop Wilson, of Calcutta, with a "George the Third window" for his cathedral. This window was of stained glass, and cost five thousand pounds. The news hereof caused great dread in the mind of an aged Low-Church clergyman, lest the window should be an occasion of sin to Hindoos or Muslims; for the subject represented in it was the Crucifixion; wherefore the said aged Low-Church clergyman wrote to the *Christian Observer* concerning the matter. The editor inserted the letter, which occupied about two-thirds of a page, in large type, and appended to it fourteen pages of his

own in smaller type, in which the fact was commented upon that the Tractarians had converted “niches, pillars, windows, screens, raised chancels, communion-rails, ‘altars,’ ‘altar-pieces,’ medallions, the orientation of churches, and a score other paltry matters, into figures and allegories;” and it was added that they had “*thus*” rendered these things a stumbling-block to many persons.* “The subject of decoration” (the editor continued) “is exciting much litigation; and our prelates will be forced to make up their minds upon it, as one of the practical questions of the times. A stained-glass window may be as fit a basis for taking the discussion upon as any other.† . . . The stained-glass question is not one merely of expense; men are beginning to treat it theologically. . . . The specific case of stained-glass windows is not provided for by the Canons; nor could it be, any more than the shape, colour, and material of every portion of the sacred edifice. The only important question is, whether there is anything tending to evil in each particular case as it arises There is a pettiness, and we might add a snare of Satan, in making such things of any spiritual moment.”‡ And afterwards, saying “We humbly profess ourselves Hookerites” (in opposition, that is, to Laudeans and Puritans),§ he pursued his way after this fashion through his fourteen pages: to

* *Christian Observer* for 1845, p. 97.

† *Ib.* p. 100.

‡ *Ib.* p. 101. It did not occur to any of these good people that by making all this disturbance they were themselves making the things in question to be of spiritual moment.

§ *Ib.* p. 102.

the effect that there would be no great harm in stained-glass windows any more than in surplices, consecration of churches, placing the communion-table "altar-wise" and railing it in, but that in these days the use of such things would be associated with Tractarianism, and therefore would occasion a Puritanical reaction. And he concluded with hinting quietly that we are better without painted windows than with them; though leaving the present matter for the undoubted Protestantism of the Bishop of Calcutta to decide. Observant people will hardly help inferring that the allegation of indifference with respect to sacred ornaments and sacred symbols was merely an excuse set up in the minds of Low-Churchmen unconsciously to themselves, and making (again, we would repeat, unconsciously to themselves) that antagonism to the general principle of sacred symbolism which appears in that word "*thus*," occurring in our first quotation from the *Christian Observer* in this connexion, and put by us into italics.

In the year 1845 great joy was caused to Low-Churchmen by the reconstitution (or, as it seemed to the general public, the dissolution) of the CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY. This society had been instituted in May, 1839, "to promote the study of ecclesiastical architecture and antiquities, and the restoration of mutilated architectural remains." It professed to be nothing more than this, and its printed laws contained nothing dubious or objectionable. But it was very soon felt that much at least of those religious views, whereof mediæval

art in ecclesiastical matters was the expression, were founded in truth: wherefore, from dealing with mediæval architecture and other antiquities, the members of the Society soon came to deal with mediæval theology, and from commending the former, to commending the latter as well.* And thus the Society came to be identified with Cambridge Tractarianism; and it seemed for a time as though Cambridge were about to surpass the sister University as a centre of Anglo-Catholic light. How the retirement into private life (so to call it) of the Cambridge Camden Society came about we will now describe.

“In the spring of 1884” (says the writer cited in the last note) “Camdeno-Puseyism was at its zenith. It was then the University Debating Society passed that remarkable and irrational vote that monasticism ought to be re-established. But in the

* It is instructive to note the view taken of the Cambridge Camden Society by an intelligent American writer who was at Cambridge at the time, whereof he writes. “The craft and artifice of these men was that they first inculcated a taste for mediæval art and architecture, for ancient Church ornaments and furniture, *as a purely æsthetic and antiquarian matter*, totally independent of theology, and then, after a taste for and interest in and attachment to these things had been formed and established, endeavoured to deduce from them an adherence to those religious and political errors which were contemporary with that art and architecture.” (Bristed, *Five years in an English University*, vol. ii. p. 65.) Mr. Bristed, it will be seen, charges those English gentlemen who were members of the Society with craft and artifice. It does not occur to him that no religious opinions can be a power for anything, either good or evil, if they are taken up merely as proper adjuncts to any external forms, and for the sake of external forms: and that the members of such a society as the Cambridge Camden Society must have seen this if they had any intelligence at all, and cannot therefore have expected to extend Tractarian opinions by mere æsthetical studies.

autumn of that very same year a reaction began to show itself." One of the most interesting churches in England is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (commonly called the Round Church) in Cambridge. It is one of the only three churches in England which have a circular nave : the two others being the Temple Church, London, and the Parish Church of Little Maplestead, Northamptonshire. In 1841 the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge, had come to be very much out of repair : in fact, a part of it had actually fallen in, and there was danger that the whole would come down. Some members of the Camden Society came forward and offered not merely to repair the fallen part, but to restore and beautify the whole church. The parishioners, who were the reverse of wealthy, gladly assented through their Vestry, and the Restoration Committee appointed began to raise subscriptions for carrying out the design. More than four thousand pounds were raised and expended in the restoration, which occupied more than two years.*

The Incumbent of St. Sepulchre's (the Rev. R. R. Faulkner) was Low-Church, and non-resident. Towards the end of the year 1843 he made the discovery that in the course of the restoration sanctioned by the vestry the old communion-table had been broken up and a new stone altar erected in its stead : this altar having been included in the plans for restoration. He demanded that the altar should be removed; and as, after much correspondence, his request was not complied with, he went

* Bristed, pp. 68, 69.

to law, nominally with the Churchwardens, but really with the Cambridge Camden Society. Proceedings were taken at first in the Consistory Court of Ely, and afterwards, on appeal to the Arches Court, against a faculty for permitting the stone altar to be erected. And on the 31st of January, 1845, Sir Herbert Jenner Fust, Dean of Arches, gave judgment that the structure in question was not a Communion-table within the meaning of the Rubric.

The legal proceedings had had the effect of delaying the consecration of the church (and consequently, though we do not know why, the celebration of Divine worship in it) for more than a year. And the result of the legal decision was that the two Archbishops, several Bishops, and the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University formally withdrew their names from the Camden Society's list of patrons. The Low-Church members of the society (about one-seventh of it) did the same, and nearly all the withdrawals were accompanied by publicly assigned reasons. The President recommended that the Society should dissolve itself. As, however, there were some legal difficulties in the way of doing this without the consent of all the members, it still continued a sort of existence under the name of the "Ecclesiological, late Camden, Society."

Church-restoration, indeed, as distinguished from what was vulgarly termed Church-repairing, found no favour in Low-Church eyes generally. Hugh Stowell could stigmatize *sedilia* and *piscinæ* as being, in our churches, misplaced and purposeless ;

and could ask, "What means the crucifix without the genuflexion?—the piscina, except we hold Transubstantiation?"* When a man like Hugh Stowell could talk such nonsense, the fanaticism of lesser Low-Church lights ceases to be matter of astonishment. And while on the subject of church furniture and church architecture, we may note a complaint made in the *Christian Observer* for February, 1848, by an Incumbent of the diocese of Oxford, against the "Architectural and Archæological Society for the County of Buckingham," for having, in a circular, asked the clergy to report to them as a matter of interesting information, various particulars concerning their churches; and among other things, whether the churches contained altars, credences, Easter-sepulchres, piscinæ, and rood-lofts. The Editor (the Rev. William Goode) recurred to the subject in the March number; and after starting with the excusable assumption that all these things were illegal, and remarking disparagingly upon sacred symbolism in general, and upon the restoration, in one church, of some ornament which was utterly harmless, he asked, "Is it not obvious what all this must lead to?—the restoration of such things [as those specified by us above]; and not merely the restoration of such things in old churches, but (as has been, indeed, already the case) their introduction into new. And, of course, the next step, a few years hence, will be to *use* them." Mr. Goode then thought it probable that in a few years English Churchmen would go through the same Easter

* *Tractarianism tested*, vol. ii. [p. 245.

ceremonies which had been in use before the Reformation, and would worship images which had been set up in rood-lofts. We cannot condemn him for the line which he took, starting as he did from such a premiss ; but the publication of this article, and its republication in the form of a separate pamphlet, did not, we think, do any credit to his sagacity.

While the litigation about the stone altar at Cambridge had been going on, that Church at Leeds which it was originally intended to call the Church of Holy Cross, but which is now known as St. Saviour's, was rising from its foundations. That church was being built by one who called himself a penitent, but who was believed to be one of the chief Anglo-Catholic divines—in fact, Dr. Pusey himself. We have seen how much protestation had been called forth from Low-Churchmen by the laying of the foundation-stone. And the Bishop of the diocese (Dr. Longley, afterwards Bishop of Durham, Archbishop of York, and Archbishop of Canterbury) showed himself so far a Low-Churchman as to visit the works no less than three times, and to stop everything which seemed to approach to a non-Protestant character. A thing, by the way, which might have been done advantageously in former times ; then proper provision might have been secured in one large parish-church for the due administration of Holy Baptism.* To come back, however, to the Bishop of Ripon : he objected, on the very evening before

* The original design for the parish church of St. Mary, Melcombe Regis (Weymouth), contained no provision for a font.

the consecration, to the inscription over the west door inside, "Ye who enter this holy place, pray for the sinner who built it." For, said his Lordship, after the decease of the founder this inscription will exhort to prayer for his departed spirit. On which account he insisted that the inscription should be, not on the wall itself, but on a moveable metal plate, to be removed immediately on the founder's decease.* He objected also to the inscription on some communion-plate, two patens, two chalices, and two cruets, silver gilt and richly jewelled. The inscription ran, "**Propitius esto Domine, Lucie Mariæ,**" &c. This he required to be altered; and it was altered accordingly. At last, however, the Church was consecrated, and the Bishop allowed Dr. Pusey to preach in it on the evening of the consecration-day, only stipulating that he should not touch, in his sermon, upon the subject of prayer for the departed.

It probably never occurred either to the Bishop or to any of his Protestant sympathisers that by thus forbidding prayer to be made for the faithful departed, they were contravening not only a principle acknowledged in the Prayer-book, but also, inferentially, a plain precept of Holy Scripture. In the Office prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer for use at the burial of the dead we are taught to pray that not only we, but all those that are departed in the true faith of God's holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss, both

* This was actually made the matter of an official record in the archives of the diocese! *Christian Observer* for 1846, p. 64.

in body and soul, in His eternal and everlasting glory. Agreeably to which it had been decided by the ecclesiastical courts, as we have seen, that prayer for the faithful departed was not prohibited by the Church of England. And the duty of offering such prayer is implied by a passage of Isaiah; for the faithful departed are included in the number of God's children, and the granting them peaceful rest now, and joyful resurrection hereafter, is included in the work of his hands: and it is written in Isaiah, "Thus saith the LORD, the Holy One and the Maker of Israel, Ask me of things to come: concerning My sons and concerning the work of My hands command ye Me."* This, however, we repeat, did not, it is likely, ever occur either to the Bishop or to any of his Protestant sympathisers. Nor, we may be sure, did it occur to them either that by following the course which they deemed right they were doing somewhat to hinder the resurrection; and yet that such was the case in reality seems a fair inference from the consideration that all God's great works are done in answer to prayer. The resurrection of the dead is closely connected, in some portions of Scripture, with the performance of God's promises to His ancient people Israel, and in reference to one at least of these it is written in Ezekiel, "Thus saith the Lord GOD: I will yet for this be enquired of by the House of Israel, to do it for them: I will increase them with men as a flock."†

* Is. xlv. 11. We quote according to the most literal rendering, and the Massoretic punctuation.

† Ezek. xxxvi. 37. The next chapter records the vision of the dry

It is also connected in several passages of Scripture with the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in reference to this it is written, "The Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come."*

We may mention here the commencement of an important work commenced in 1847, and in which, we believe, the Rev. Francis Close, Rector of Cheltenham, had the first hand. We mean the establishment, in the said year, of two training colleges, one for schoolmasters, and the other for schoolmistresses. For the former, St. Paul's College was opened in due time, as we shall see hereafter; and for the latter, St. Mary's Hall, situate in St. George's Place. The governing body for both was a committee of Life-Governors, appointed originally, it would seem, by a body of subscribers, and subsequent vacancies being filled up on appointment by those Life-Governors who remained; no authority, apparently, in the Church of England having any *ex-officio* place amongst them. The Life-Governors were assisted by a General Committee appointed from year to year by them, and including an Executive Sub-committee. The General Committee numbered twenty-two clergy and twenty-one laity, residing in various parts of the country, but more in Cheltenham than anywhere else. It was understood that the teaching and discipline were to be in accordance with Low-Church principles; or, as the title-page of the

bones, including their rehabili-ment with flesh, and their resurrection in life.

* Rev. xxii. 17.

Annual Report* expressed it, “upon Scriptural, Evangelical, and Protestant Principles, in accordance with the Articles and Liturgy of the Established Church.” (We do not know whether the author of this expression was an Irishman or not.)

CHAPTER XXXV.

Polemical Period, continued. Divisions in the Low-Church party. The “Evangelical Alliance.” Mr. Bickersteth and the Scottish Episcopal Church.

THE Editor of the *Christian Observer*, in his preface to the volume of that periodical for 1845, notes the existence of divisions among the members of the Low-Church party. That there should be divisions in the party was but natural: divisions being a characteristic of Protestantism. For as no central authority is owned by Protestants as a restraint upon the exercise of the individual judgment, the judgment of each individual is the sole criterion, for that individual, of truth; so that there are in Protestantism almost as many creeds as there are Protestants. And as all distinctions between faith and opinion are ignored, many matters of opinion come to be exalted, in numerous cases, into matters of faith, and an anathema tacitly decreed against everybody who takes upon him to think differently.

The Editor of the *Christian Observer* alluded,

* I quote from the Report for 1834; for which, and for a letter containing other information, I am indebted to the kindness of W. G. Baker, Esq., Superintendent Master.

probably, to the differences of opinion which prevailed among his party on the subject of union amongst Protestant Christians, to which we shall have now to refer. Low-Churchmen seem to have been pretty unanimous in this opposition to whatever they deemed to savour of Popery or of Tractarianism. But in the October of 1845 there was held at Liverpool a series of meetings of Christians belonging to various Protestant denominations, besides a few Low-Church members of the Church of England; the object being to discuss the great subject of Christian union (or rather, Protestant union), and the various obstacles which stood, or were believed to stand, in its way. The meetings commenced on the first day of the month, and ended on the third. Seventeen denominations at least were represented. The members of the Church of England were only twenty in number: the other persons attending the meetings were a hundred and ninety-six. Of the resolutions unanimously adopted at this Conference, one was:

“That the Conference, postponing the preparation of a full and formal document on the subject, deem it sufficient for the present to intimate that the parties who shall be invited to the future meeting shall be such persons as hold and maintain what are usually understood to be evangelical views in regard to such important matters of doctrine as the following, viz. :—

“1. The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of Holy Scripture.

2. The unity of Godhead, and the Trinity of persons therein.

3. The utter depravity of human nature, in consequence of the fall.

4. The incarnation of the Son of God, and His work of atonement for sinners of mankind.

5. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.

6. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.

7. The right and the duty of private judgment in the interpretation of Holy Scripture.

8. The Divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the authority and perpetuity of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.”*

The outcome of this was the formation of the “Evangelical Alliance.” It brought out much that was good in the Low-Church party; but at the same time it brought into light, besides, some of the inherent vices of Protestantism. In the Liverpool Conference not only had the chair been occupied, but “the benediction” had been pronounced, at the first session, by the Rev. John Angell James, an Independent; at the second, by the Rev. Dr. Raffles, also an Independent; at the third, by the Rev. Edward Bickersteth; at the fourth, by the Rev. Dr. Newton, a Wesleyan; and at the fifth and sixth, by the Rev. W. Innes, an Anabaptist. This involved, of course, a general recognition of each of these gentlemen as being, equally with the rest, authorised by the Lord to bless in His Name. And the conduct of those Anglican clergymen who went in with the Alliance was blamed accordingly, though in charitable terms, by the *Christian Observer* and some of its correspondents.

But the heterodoxy of the Low-Church party in general on the subject of one of the great Christian Sacraments—the Holy Eucharist—the disregard generally entertained by the party in respect of ecclesiastical order—and the insistence of the party on its own peculiarities as if those peculiarities

* *Christian Observer* for 1845, p. 730.

were of necessity compliances with Divine precepts—were brought out about the same time in another way. In 1844 the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, whose name has just been mentioned along with the names of others who took part in the Liverpool Protestant Conference, visited Scotland. That visit was made on behalf of the “Church Missionary Society,” but on Mr. Bickersteth’s sole responsibility, and on request, not of the Parent Society in England, but of certain local committees in Scotland. And this occasions us to mention a community which has passed through a very eventful history, full of instruction for the student of religious life as embodied in Christian communities—we mean the SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH. And our first mention of this body must be in connexion with the absurdities of the terms in which it is described by a leading Low-Churchman of his time, the biographer of Mr. Bickersteth, the Rev. T. R. Birks, some time Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge. That gentleman gravely states that the Scottish Episcopal Church was “historically derived from Archbishop Laud and the Non-jurors”* (as if Archbishop Laud and the Non-jurors had belonged to the same generation)—the fact being that the present Scottish Episcopal Church, as represented in the Episcopate, began after Archbishop Laud had been martyred, and before the Non-jurors seceded. The Scottish sees were all vacant except one, when Charles II. came to the throne; they were re-filled by Presby-

* Memoir of the Rev. E. Bickersteth, vol. ii. p. 255.

terian ministers consecrated to the Episcopate by Bishop Sheldon, of London, after being canonically ordained first to the diaconate and then to the priesthood: the new prelates being James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Andrew Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, and James Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway. And it is from that consecration, reinforced, it is true, afterwards by non-juring bishops, that the episcopal succession has been handed on in Scotland down to our own time.

The Scottish Episcopal Communion has never been, we believe, without a clergy learned in primitive Christian theology; and it had adopted not only the English Prayer-book, but also, in many congregations, a distinct Eucharistic office, the chief peculiarity in which was that in the Prayer of Consecration it did not follow, as Mr. Birks ignorantly asserts, "the model of that which Laud had endeavoured to impose throughout Scotland," but the model prevailing throughout the Churches of the East; and differing from what is vulgarly, but erroneously, called "Laud's Prayer-book," not (as Mr. Birks again asserts in his ignorance) "by a still plainer assertion of the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist," but by a simple prayer that God would so sanctify the Bread and Wine with His word and Holy Spirit, that they might *become* what the Lord Himself promised in effect that they should *be*; and without one syllable of definition in what sense this was to be understood: the verb "become" being obviously the correlative of the substantative verb "be," which, in the third person

singular of the indicative present, was used by the Lord Himself, when instituting this Sacrament; and having its meaning ruled by the meaning of the substantive verb, and by that alone.* Low-Church people, however, naturally demurred to to the use of the verb "become," because they did not really accept our Lord's use of the verb "be." They did not believe that the consecrated elements

* The following is the Prayer of Consecration, according to the Scottish rite:—

"All glory be to Thee, Almighty God, for that Thou of Thy tender mercy didst give Thy only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; Who (by His own oblation of Himself once suffered) made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in His Holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memorial of that His precious death and sacrifice until His coming again:

For in the night that He was betrayed, He took bread, and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying, Take, eat, **THIS IS MY BODY**, which is given for you: do this in remembrance of Me.

Likewise after supper He took the cup; and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for **THIS IS MY BLOOD**, of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the remission of sins: do this, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.

Wherefore, O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the Institution of Thy dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto Thee, the memorial Thy Son hath commanded us to make: having in remembrance His blessed Passion and precious death, His mighty Resurrection and glorious Ascension; rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.

And we most humbly beseech Thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of Thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy Word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son.

And we earnestly desire Thy Fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, &c., &c."

are the Lord's Body and Blood in any true sense ; and therefore they could not pray that the Eucharist bread and wine might *become* so. This, it will be observed, was but the natural outcome of that Zuinglianism which had been handed down to them by tradition from the Protestant Reformers, Cranmer and his crew.

To some occurrences in the Scottish Episcopal Church we must now draw the reader's attention. The congregation assembling in a building known as Trinity Chapel, Edinburgh, had placed itself under Bishop Terrot, of Edinburgh, as a congregation of the Scottish Episcopal Church. It was then receiving the ministrations of the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, a priest in English orders. Mr. Drummond had already "been accustomed to hold prayer-meetings with his flock, along with Bible classes for their spiritual edification, and these proved obnoxious to the ruling powers. A new canon was passed, in 1838, to render all such meetings unlawful ; while at the same time the epithet Protestant was expunged carefully in all the other canons from the title of the Episcopal Church. The meetings were formally complained of, and Dr. Terrot required Mr. Drummond to discontinue them. Impressed with the conviction that a great Scriptural principle was at stake, he thought it his duty rather to resign his charge . . . and to seek a new sphere of labour in England."* The congregation, however, urged him to continue ministering to them, and offered

* Memoir of the Rev. E. Bickersteth, vol. ii. p. 253.

to build him a new place of worship: and Mr. Drummond, finding out, just in the nick of time, that the Canons of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and the Scottish Eucharistic Office, then upheld by the Canons as of primary authority, were such as he could not conscientiously approve, consented, and, with his congregation, withdrew from the Scottish Episcopal Church. And it may be interesting to remark, by the way, how the "Church principles" of the schism were expressed in the new building and in the services carried on within it. The building was called St. Thomas's English Episcopal Chapel: the communion-table in it was set at the west end; on either side of the table was a great wooden tower, from which the prayers and the sermon severally were delivered, the officiant facing the people in each case. These two towers were connected by a kind of bridge behind the communion table: the font was a little basin let into the altar-rails in front. The writer attended this conventicle on Trinity Sunday in the year 1855: on that occasion the Athanasian Creed was omitted in Morning Prayer, but in order, apparently, to be quite correct, Mr. Drummond, in reading the first part of the Communion Service, stood literally at the north end of the table—the quasi-south end. In the evening, as there was to be a sermon for some Protestant society (that, the writer thinks, of Missions to the Romanists in Ireland), the proper lessons for the day were omitted, and there were read, instead of them, the thirteenth chapter of Ezekiel (about the daubing of the wall with untempered mortar) and the

second chapter of St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Thessalonians (about the Man of Sin, that is, in the belief of good Protestants, the Pope). So much did Mr. Drummond and his congregation care for the Book of Common Prayer.

In 1841 the congregation assembling in a building known as St. Paul's Chapel, Aberdeen, under the ministry of Sir William Dunbar, Bart., a priest in English orders, placed itself under Bishop William Skinner, of Aberdeen, as a congregation of the Scottish Episcopal Church; permission being at the same time guaranteed to priest and congregation to use the English Prayer-book. In May, 1843 the Bishop required from Sir William the same unconditional acceptance of the canons of the Scottish Episcopal Church which was required of every other clergyman officiating in that community. This Sir William declined to give; and not only so, but he and his congregation withdrew their submission to the Bishop. Thereupon, on 10th of August, the Bishop, sitting in synod, passed upon Sir William the sentence of the greater excommunication. It is to be observed that Sir William Dunbar, as well as Mr. Drummond, was a Low-Churchman.

Some Low-Church people in England, a small minority apparently, but including amongst them, as we have heard, one of the most honoured members of the party, the Rev. Charles Bridges, Vicar of Old Newton, Suffolk, and afterwards Rector of St. Mary's, Melcombe Regis, disapproved of the action of one or both of these clergymen. And in consequence of this, the "Church Mission-

ary Society" desired its deputation not to preach either in the Scottish Episcopal Church, or in the self-styled "English Episcopal" congregations. Mr. Bickersteth, however, went a tour on his own responsibility, and preached for the "Church Missionary Society" not only in Scottish Episcopal congregations, but also in those which recognised Mr. Drummond and Sir William Dunbar severally as their pastors; and thus practically identified the great majority of the Low-Church party in England with actual schism as well as with doctrinal heresy. In reference to this matter it is instructive to note how Mr. Bickersteth's biographer, the Rev. T. R. Birks, describes the schismatical priests as "witnessing for Protestant truth against an unscriptural communion service, and for Christian liberty in the pastoral office against a yoke of ritual bondage, which, if consistently enforced, would soon be fatal to the very life of the whole church:"* the meaning of which latter clause is, that if prayer-meetings such as Mr. Drummond's are forbidden in any branch of the Church, that branch will soon come, in consequence, into a state of spiritual death!—Mr. Bickersteth preached again in Mr. Drummond's meeting-house in the autumn of 1849.

While on the subject of the Scottish Episcopal Church, we may notice that that body has never found favour in the eyes of Low-Churchmen. This was very natural, for placed as the Scottish Episcopal Church was amongst a population the

* Birks's *Memoir of the Rev. Edward Bickersteth*, vol. ii. pp. 260-1.

bitterness of whose hostility to its principles was only tempered, alas, by an increasing infidelity, its only chance of continuance lay in its assertion of primitive principles of Church government and order, which the Low-Church party in England ignored, and the doctrines of Universal Redemption and Sacramental Grace, which the Low-Church party in England either deemed questionable or altogether denied. By the Convocation of Bishops and Clergy at Laurencekirk in 1804 the Articles of the Church of England had been unanimously accepted; the canons passed at Aberdeen in 1811 had enforced the acceptance of them as an indispensable condition for ordination; an enactment which had never been repealed. The English Prayer-book was the formulary for worship, save that the Scottish form of Confirmation was permissible, and the Scottish Eucharistic Office was deemed of primary authority. This however was not enough for the *Christian Observer*. Scottish Episcopalians, said the Editor, differ from the Church of England "in constitution, inasmuch as they are at liberty—and this liberty they have used and abused—to introduce at any moment fresh changes and deviations from the Church of England. They differ also in doctrine, inasmuch as they worship the elements after consecration." [We should have thought that this charge, even if true, was one which concerned not doctrine, but practice.] "They are not the Church of Scotland, and they are not the Church of England. Let them substitute the Church of England's Articles [*sic*], Homilies, and

Services for their own—let them make no changes which are not recognised in the Provinces of Canterbury and York—and we may then deal with them as an ecclesiastical sister in distress; whereas, now, they can scarcely be regarded as cousins-germane.”* And when, in later years, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Longley) laid the foundation-stone of a Cathedral at Inverness, there came a deep wailing from the same periodical, on the ground that the Scottish Episcopal Church was “a schismatical Church by the law of Scotland;”† that we were “not in full communion with them;” and that we were “in full communion with the Church of Scotland,”‡ that is, with the Parliamentary Establishment so denominated. One is at a loss which to deplore most; the blindness which ignored the most obvious facts, or that spirit of Protestant popery which would only grant sisterly rights to a sister-church on condition of unconditional surrender to the dictation of one more numerous and more wealthy.

* *Christian Observer* for 1857, p. 72.

† *Ib.* 1866, p. 883. “Perth” occurs both here and in the next citation, by a strange blunder, for “Inverness.”

‡ *Ib.* p. 965.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Polemical Period, continued. Mr. Close on Church architecture and Church restoration. Death of Charlotte Elizabeth. Appointment of Dr. Gobat to the Anglican Episcopate at Jerusalem. Appointment of Dr. Hampden to the see of Hereford. Low-Churchmen and the "Irish Fever." Inhibition of Mr. Neale. Dr. J. B. Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury. Low-Church ferments in the Exeter diocese. More surplice-riots. Society for Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics. "Church Missionary Society's" Jubilee.

THE REV. FRANCIS CLOSE had been appointed by Mr. Simeon to the vicarage of Cheltenham in the year 1826. Here he had made himself conspicuous by denouncing the races, balls, and play-going which prevailed in his time; and now in 1844 he published a pamphlet entitled *Church Architecture Scripturally Considered*, in which he gave his readers to understand that the architect and builder of Gothic Churches was no other than Satan himself. That was the time when the tide of Church-restoration was setting in; its flow having been owing in great measure to the Cambridge Camden Society, lately mentioned; and going on the principle of carrying out that rubric in the Book of Common Prayer, which prescribes that "the Chancels shall remain as they have done in time past:" all which was generally felt to be clean contrary to the spirit of the Low-Church party. And on the 5th of November in the same year he preached a Sermon entitled *The Restoration*

of Churches is the Restoration of Popery; to which, in a later edition, he added an appendix, giving at length, or referring to, letters of approval received by him from Archbishop Sumner, Bishop Monk of Gloucester, Bishop Copleston of Llandaff, Bishop Musgrave of Hereford, Bishop Murray of Rochester, and others. In the reprint of this, brought out in 1881, he said, "The poisonous plant was only then in the bud; it has since blossomed, borne fruit, and is now scattering the deadly seeds of superstition far and wide; for there are few churches which have been faithfully restored to their original features which do not abound with Popish imagery; the dead walls corresponding with the dead forms of worship which in too many instances harmonise with the architectural superstition." What he meant by "architectural superstition" is not clear. It is instructive to compare the teaching of the early Puritans with reference to the efforts made by Laud, when Bishop of London, to effect the restoration of Old St. Paul's: and which was, that it was more agreeable to the rules of piety to demolish such old monuments of superstition and idolatry than to retain them.*

In the year 1846 Charlotte Elizabeth, the authoress commonly so known by that her Christian name, and who had married a gentleman of the name of Tonna, departed to her rest.

Bishop Alexander, the Anglican emissary at Jerusalem, had died in 1845; and in 1846, on the

* Heylin, cited by Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, vol. vi. (New Series) p. 201.

nomination of the King of Prussia, the Rev. Samuel Gobat, President of the Protestant College at Malta, was consecrated in his stead. Mr. Gobat had been educated among the Lutherans, and, being then in Lutheran "orders," had spent three years in Abyssinia as a missionary of the "Church Missionary Society," and been ordained Deacon in August, 1845, by Bishop Blomfield of London, without any preliminary examination.* Of him Dr. Neale says that he "had committed himself to flat and damnable heresy on the subject of our Lord's Person. True (Dr. Neale continues), he was said to retract it. But he had stated it explicitly and voluntarily; he retracted it only implicitly and when forced by the fear of losing the mitre."† On the other hand, the Editor of the *Christian Observer* speaks of "the absurd charge of his being a Nestorian." We have not been able to find out the grounds on which the charge was brought; but in the absence of evidence, we venture to surmise that the right rev. prelate, in the theological ignorance generally prevalent among his party, and without meaning either to assert or deny anything about the Person of our blessed Lord, may have refused to the blessed Virgin the title "Mother of God." Be that as it may, however, Mr. Gobat was raised to the Episcopate.

Against this consecration a protest was addressed to Archbishop Howley by persons alleged

* *Samuel Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem; his life and work.* London, 1884.

† *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, vol. ii. p. 1201.

to have been influential, but who had not signed their names. The chief accusation which it contained concerned Gobat's views on Baptism. Gobat had asked Bishop Blomfield what he understood by Baptismal Regeneration. "He at once said, 'A change of position; that is, a passing from an uncovenanted to a covenanted state, by the person baptized being thereby introduced into the visible Christian Church.' To this" (Gobat adds) "I had no objection; I could even have gone a little farther." *

A few days before that general ordination at which Gobat was to have received priest's orders, the Bishop sent him word that a party (unknown) had appointed a lawyer to protest, at the Cathedral, against his being ordained. The Bishop thereupon advised him not to present himself; stating that he would ordain him priest on another occasion. And accordingly, a few days afterwards he was ordained, with several other candidates, at Fulham; and a few days later was raised to the Episcopate at Lambeth; whence he went forth in due time to misrepresent the Church of England in the East.

From a question concerning one alleged heresy in particular, the transition is easy to certain circumstances connected with an opening of the door, more widely than it had been opened before, to heresy in general. The nomination of Dr. Hampden, in the latter part of 1847, by Lord John Russell to the bishopric of Hereford, was regarded with alarm by men of all parties in the

* Life, p. 210.

Church, and by Low-Churchmen as well as by High-Churchmen. Dr. Hampden was Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford; and had incurred the public censure of the University by certain passages in his published writings. But the great majority of English Bishops had been requiring their candidates for Holy Orders to bring certificates of having attended Dr. Hampden's lectures; and this probably influenced the Prime Minister in making the appointment in question; though another motive is very likely to have been the fact of Dr. Hampden's having made a determined stand against Tractarianism.

We have said that Dr. Hampden's appointment was disliked by men of all parties. The Tractarians however appear to have been foremost among his opponents; and some Low-Churchmen seem to have feared that the Tractarian party would thus be gainers in moral influence; as if the gaining of moral influence by any party whatever through doing right were not matter for rejoicing to every true Christian. The following passage occurs in the *Christian Observer*:—"Whatever may be the result of the present conflict as it respects Dr. Hampden, the consequences to the Church cannot but (we fear) be injurious. And so far from damaging the Tractarian party, the probability is that their cause will obtain an augmentation of moral power over the minds of many thinking men, who have made themselves *acquainted with the merits of the case*, by their opposition to the dangerous and rationalizing statements of Dr. Hampden, which will far outbalance

the disadvantage to their interests of having Dr. Hampden on the Episcopal Bench.”*

Dr. Hampden's unsoundness appears to have consisted in the view that all dogmatic statements of doctrine were beyond the limits of Divine Revelation; and that this was true in reference to those doctrines, among others, in holding which the Catholic differs from the Sabellian or Socinian. As Dr. Hampden expressed it, “No speculative deductions from the language of Scripture carry with them the force of divine truth.”† “Strictly to speak, in the Scripture itself there are no doctrines.”‡ In *Observations on Religious Dissent* he had spoken of Unitarians as Christians.

Opposition, however, proved fruitless. Dr. Hampden, after going through what was termed an election, but which was invalid, and after having this invalid election confirmed as valid at Bow Church, on the 11th of January 1848, was consecrated at Lambeth Palace on Sunday, the 26th of March following.

In the year 1847 was furnished a sad proof of the lack of faith and of true religious zeal by the Low-Church party at Liverpool. There raged then in that place what was termed the “Irish fever;” an epidemic generated among the Irish population by their lack of food and lack of cleanliness; for it was the year of the Irish famine, caused by the failure of the potato crop. Liverpool was then, as now, a stronghold of Low-Church fanaticism.

* *Christian Observer* for 1848, p. 71.

† *Bampton Lectures*, 1st Edition, p. 17.

‡ *Ib.* 2nd Edition, p. 374.

Under the circumstances a special hospital for the fever-patients was formed out of a block of warehouses; and here even the nurses died, we have heard, in a sort of regular succession. A meeting of clergymen beneficed in Liverpool was held with a view to considering what could be done in the way of pastoral ministration to the sufferers. All who were present admitted the duty incumbent upon them of visiting the hospital for the purpose of fulfilling such ministrations; and all, with the exception of the Rev. Cecil Wray, the High-Church incumbent of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Liverpool, refused their own share of the work.

It behoves us now to chronicle one of those sad transactions by which Low-Church Bishops have more than once both stained the history of their party, and brought their own order into disrepute with such persons as desired the full efficiency of the Church of England, according to the Church's own mind.

Sackville College, situate in the parish of East Grinstead, in the county of Sussex, is an almshouse for men and women, founded in 1609, in accordance with the will of Robert Sackville, Earl of Dorset. It received a Royal Charter in 1624. The house contained a chapel, but there was no provision for the ministrations of a chaplain; the statutes of the house requiring no more under this head than that prayer should be offered, and lessons read, by one of the inmates. On the 26th of May, 1846, the patron, the Earl of Delawarr, had appointed the Rev. John Mason Neale to the wardenship; and that gentleman at once commenced

saying Morning and Evening Prayer in the chapel, thus fulfilling that rule of the Book of Common Prayer, which prescribes that, "All Priests and Deacons are to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer either privately or openly, not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause." He also placed in the chapel an altar, with a cross and candlesticks, and another cross over the rood-screen. It appears further, that while the lessons were being read by one of the inmates, Mr. Neale was in the habit of following with his eye in the Latin Vulgate. Now it happened one day that a clergyman who had come to live in the neighbourhood went to see the College; and being admitted into the chapel, he saw Mr. Neale's Latin Bible, and also a volume of the Roman Breviary, which Mr. Neale had inadvertently left while going to or from his study—the study opening into the chapel by a side door. The clergyman reported to the Bishop of the diocese (Dr. Gilbert) what he had seen. This was in the December of 1846. On the 7th of May, 1847, the Bishop, along with this same clergyman, visited the chapel, and on the next day his Lordship addressed the following brief note to Mr. Neale:—

Frant Vicarage, 8th May, 1847.

"REVEREND SIR,—I feel it to be my duty to inhibit you, and I do hereby inhibit you, from celebrating Divine Worship, and from the exercise of clerical functions in my diocese.

" I am, Reverend Sir,

" Your well-wisher in Christ,

" A. T. CROSER."

Along with this the Bishop sent the following:—

“*Frant Vicarage, 8th May, 1847.*”

“REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—I cannot transmit to you the following inhibition, without adding a fervent prayer that God may be pleased to open your eyes to the dishonour done to Him, by supposing that His spiritual service can be promoted by presenting to the eyes and thoughts of worshippers the frippery with which you have transformed the simplicity of the Chapel at Sackville College into an imitation of the degrading superstitions of an erroneous Church.

“I remain, Reverend and Dear Sir,

“Your faithful Brother,

“A. T. CICESTR.”*

Mr. Neale, however, claimed a right to officiate in the College chapel in spite of the Bishop, on the ground, apparently, that the College was a private family. The Bishop, thereupon (who had written to the Churchwardens of the parish to inform him if they heard of Mr. Neale's disregarding the inhibition, and the days and hours of the offence), took proceedings against him, and the matter came before the Court of Arches in June 1848. The decision of the Dean of Arches (Sir Herbert Jenner Fust) was, that Mr. Neale had been guilty of an ecclesiastical offence by officiating in the chapel in spite of the inhibition; and Mr. Neale was condemned in costs accordingly, and admonished not to repeat the offence. Nor was the Bishop's inhibition ever formally removed, though in 1863 Mr. Neale received an informal and indirect intimation that his officiating in the diocese would not be

* These letters are given in Browne's *Annals of the Tractarian Movement*, pp. 612-3.

hindered any more by the Bishop.* His Lordship probably thought that he had (to say the least) made a fool of himself by silencing one of the most learned and earnest priests in the whole Anglican communion, against whose private character no one had ever breathed a whisper; but his Lordship felt a natural dislike of saying so to any one else.

We are now come to the year 1848. This year the Low-Church interest received a great advancement; for Archbishop Howley, of Canterbury, having, on the 11th of February, departed to his rest, was succeeded by Dr. John Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester, and elder brother of the Bishop of Winchester. This was on the nomination of Lord John Russell.

The same year witnessed the secession, to the Anabaptist sect, of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row. Many members, too, of the Low-Church party felt not over-confident of their position in the Church, if that position should be submitted to the test of agreement with the Prayer-book. And with the idea of over-riding the strict statements of the Prayer-book by the more lax statements of the Articles, a clause was proposed in the Clergy Offences Bill, at that time before Parliament, recognising the Thirty-nine Articles as *the* standard of doctrine in the Church of England. This met with some strenuous opposition; in consequence of which petitions to Parliament were got up this year (1848) and influentially signed, praying that

* This I have from private information kindly supplied.

effectual means might be taken to prevent the peace of the Church from being disturbed, and its ministers harassed, by attempts to set up any unauthorised standard of faith as the test of orthodoxy. By an “unauthorised standard of faith,” they meant to include the Book of Common Prayer; holding (so these petitions stated) that it would be most dangerous to the welfare of the Church to allow dogmatical inferences deduced from it to be erected into a standard of faith controlling the Thirty-nine Articles; which they took for granted were “the Church’s own standard.” This was from men whose assent to the Articles had been merely in the terms that they are agreeable to the Word of God, but who, with respect to the Book of Common Prayer, had declared their unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by it.

This year there were fresh Low-Church ferments in the diocese of Exeter. The Bishop of that diocese was holding a visitation; and in the course thereof a sermon was preached before the Bishop and assembled clergy, in which the preacher, the Rev. William Maskell, spoke of the School-men as having built their theological labours “upon the strong foundations laid during the first ten centuries of the faith.” He gave, too, the term “Sacraments” to other ordinances besides Baptism and the Holy Communion; and using the term “Sacraments” in this wide sense, he spoke of Sacraments as “means of grace given by our Lord to all who are in the right way:” and as assuring and imparting the Divine energy. He described,

too, the Absolution in the Eucharistic Office as remitting venial sins alone; implied that the Absolution in the Daily Offices was no absolution at all; and taught that it was necessary to confess by word of mouth all known and remembered sins, with a view to receiving the full grace of priestly absolution, whatever that grace might be. Hereupon twenty clergymen memorialised the Bishop, asking him to censure Mr. Maskell for thus preaching: and thus manifested their own stupidity, ignorance, and heresy. An interchange of several letters followed; in which the Bishop, on his part, pointed out the unreasonable character of the memorialists' objections as to Mr. Maskell's way of speaking about the School-men and the Sacraments, but concurring with them in their views as to his utterances concerning Absolution; though the memorialists must have winced a little on reading these words of their Diocesan:—"I rejoice to see you thus faithfully recognising the high power, with its correlative duty, committed to you by God at your Ordination, to remit and retain sins, by His authority, as priests in the Church of God." The Bishop expressed his willingness to send to the Court of Arches any case which they might be disposed to prosecute against Mr. Maskell, relative to Absolution: but in reply they declared themselves unwilling to take any proceedings at law.

The Low-Churchmen of Plymouth and the neighbourhood, however, were still dissatisfied, and they held a public meeting whereat a memorial to the Archbishop of Canterbury was adopted.

Could His Grace help them at all against Tractarianism? Would he get a Bill introduced into Parliament for better defining the ceremonial of the Church, in accordance with the usages to which people had for generations been accustomed, for expressly declaring and confirming the supreme authority of the Thirty-nine Articles, and for determining the sense, in conformity therewith, of any ambiguous phrases in the formularies of the Church, or for the adoption of such other measures to the like effect, as to His Grace might seem fit?*

To which the Archbishop replied, in effect, "I cannot do what you ask me. I wish the Tractarians had been content to continue the prevalent disobedience to rubrics in cases where no Bishop had found fault with it; that they had in non-essential matters yielded to the feelings of the people, and that they had not conducted worship in parish churches after the manner usual in Cathedrals.† But Tractarians tell me that they feel in conscience bound to obey the Prayer-book; and I am bound to respect them accordingly. As for a Bill, the time for introducing one has not come yet."

Then another meeting was held, and a memorial determined on which might be sent to the Queen. We have been (said the memorialists in effect) to

* Both the Memorial and the Archbishop's reply will be found in the *Christian Observer* for February, 1849 (pp. 138 &c.).

† This had been one of the improvements brought in by the Tractarians: and it involved surpliced choirs. The first country church in which the choirs were vested in surplices since the Reformation was, probably, that of Kilndown near Goudhurst in the County of Kent. This church was erected in 1841.

the Bishop, and he will not help us; we have been to the Archbishop, and he cannot help us: he says that the time is not yet come: but it cannot be far off; will your Majesty help us? What we want is "the adoption of such measures, with a view to an authoritative and Protestant determination of the sense of the Liturgy in all its parts, and also for defining the ceremonial of the Church in conformity to established usages, as to your Majesty's wisdom may seem best calculated to obtain those desirable objects."*

In the autumn of this year there was a renewal of the surplice-riots at Exeter. On two occasions a clergyman from another parish, a man of advanced views, great mental power, and singular courage, had preached in a surplice at St. Sidwell's Church, and though there had been on each occasion some slight indications of disapproval on the part of the congregation, yet nothing worthy of special notice had occurred. In the month of October, however, certain churches in Exeter had been opened for extra services on Sunday evenings, these services being undertaken by various clergymen who had volunteered for the work, under the arrangement of a committee. And when the clergyman to whom we have just alluded was announced as the preacher at St. Sidwell's on the evening of the 29th of October, an opposition appears to have been regularly organised; and his mounting the pulpit with a surplice on was the signal for a burst of uproar, so that not a single sentence could be heard throughout. The Mayor

* *Christian Observer* for 1849, p. 143.

was summoned, and he, seeing that it was hopeless to attempt quieting the people, appealed to the preacher to leave the pulpit, which he did. The mob then assembled in the main street, adjoining St. Sidwell's churchyard, and the Mayor entreated the clergyman to leave the sacred precincts by a different route. This he was unwilling to do, but, on the advice of his friends, eventually did; and the mob dispersed, after making noisy demonstrations against two other clergymen who had in no way provoked them.

Towards the end of the same year the Committee of the Special Fund of the "Irish Society" reconstituted themselves as a distinct society for missions to the Romanists: and on the 22nd of May, 1849, the "Society for Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics" held its first annual meeting. The writer attended a country meeting of this Society within the three or four years following, to which meeting a *consecrated Host* was brought in a paper, and exhibited, by the deputation from the Parent Society: the speaker explaining at the same time how the Host had been obtained, and how it was known to have been consecrated. Nor was any sign of disapprobation given by any person present, so far as the writer is aware, whether from either of the Low-Church clergymen who were present, or from any person in the body of the meeting. No one seemed to have any idea that what was being exhibited was in any real sense the Body of the Lord, or that any act of profaneness had been perpetrated upon It.

This year being the fiftieth year of the existence

of the "Church Missionary Society," Wednesday, the first of November, was deemed a suitable day for a Jubilee commemoration: time being thus afforded for communication with the distant Missions; the day being intermediate between the anniversaries of the Society; and being also a day which the Church of England (the Committee were far too good Protestants to recognise the fact that in this the Church of England had but followed general Western usage) had dedicated to the commemoration of the one communion and fellowship in which the members of Christ's mystical Body are knit together. The principal London arrangements in connexion with this celebration were:--In the afternoon of Sunday, the twenty-ninth of October, a Sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral, by the Canon in residence, the Rev. T. Dale. In the evening of Tuesday the thirty-first, Service and Sermon at St. Ann's, Blackfriars, the Church at which the first seventeen Anniversary Sermons were preached. On All Saints' Day, at the same Church, Mattins and celebration of the Eucharist, with a Sermon by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and at St. George's, Bloomsbury (the Society's Parish Church, we believe), Mattins and Sermon by the Bishop of London. In the evening, Service and Sermon at Christ Church, Newgate Street. On Thursday, the second of November, the Jubilee meeting, a public one, was held in Exeter Hall; and on the evening of the following day was held, in Freemasons' Hall, a public meeting of the Church of England Young Men's Society for aiding missions at home and abroad.

And indeed the “Church Missionary Society” had cause for thankfulness and rejoicing: for it was then employing 166 European teachers, 14 native clergymen, and 1,298 native teachers. More than 350 missionary labourers had been sent out since the Society’s commencement; besides many who had joined the Society’s service abroad. The last annual returns of Communicants, as far as returns had been received by the Society, showed a total of 13,278 persons who had received Holy Communion in the Society’s Missions within the twelve months to which they referred. Training establishments for the supply of missionaries had been established at Islington (in 1825), Sierra Leone, Tinnevely, Travancore, and Ceylon: besides which, the Society enjoyed the confidence of those at the head of the Missionary Seminary at Bâle in Switzerland; that seminary “was established upon Evangelical principles,” that is, upon Zuinglian principles; but this did not hinder the “Church Missionary Society” from receiving from it more than eighty students. As to income, the Society’s receipts in the year ending March 31st, 1848, had been no less than £89,265 18s. 8d. And since the Society’s first establishment, nearly two million pounds had been contributed to its funds in Great Britain alone.

At the same time, the committee had to remark a certain amount of stagnation among the Society’s supporters. “A review” (said they) “of the past history of the Society shows, in each successive decade of years, some marked enlargement of its resources and operations, upon comparison with

the former. But in the last decade the friends of Missions have as yet made no corresponding advance: they seem to be satisfied with present attainments.”

The Jubilee however was observed with great zeal wherever the Society had any footing. Sermons were preached and meetings held all over the country; the contributions to the special “Jubilee” Fund amounted to £39,587 2s. 7d.: which the Committee proposed to devote, and no doubt did devote, to four objects: the augmentation of their fund for disabled missionaries,—the establishing of a boarding-school for the children of missionaries at work,—the establishment of a fund for aiding newly planted churches in the support of their own ministers and institutions,—and the erection of permanent mission-buildings abroad.*

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Polemical Period, continued. Dr. Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff. Rev. J. W. Cunningham, editor of the *Christian Observer*. Death of the Rev. E. Bickersteth. His labours and piety.

IN 1849 Dr. Ollivant was promoted to the see of Llandaff, vacant by the death of Bishop Copleston. This was on the nomination of Lord John Russell. What Dr. Ollivant’s opinions were on the subject of the Holy Communion, the Bishop

* The information in the above paragraph is taken from *the Jubilee Volume of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East*. London, 1849.

himself set forth in his charge delivered in 1866. "I venture to think that the Church repudiates the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the elements themselves, and that her doctrine is that the elements become the body and blood of Christ in their reception by the faithful worshipper." That is, although the Divine Body and Blood are "*taken and eaten* in the Supper . . . after an heavenly and spiritual manner," they are not "*given* . . . in the Supper" after any manner at all; and there is no use in praying "Grant us . . . so to eat the Flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ and to drink His blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body," &c., since, according to the Bishop's theology, though there might be ways of eating and drinking common bread and wine without such effects following, there could be no other way of partaking of the Lord's Body and Blood. The accession of Dr. Ollivant however to the see was not unaccompanied with benefit. The churches in the diocese had fallen into great neglect: some were without doors, others were without windows, some had large holes or yawning chasms in the roof, and the interior was often as wet as if a river had just been running through it. Under the new Bishop, however, the works of church-restoration, church-building, and the providing of additional curates in the larger and more populous parishes, began in earnest; and in a few years the condition of the Church in the diocese was completely changed.

In 1850 the Rev. John William Cunningham

became editor of the *Christian Observer*. With reference to some articles written by him, the following story was told to the present writer:— Speaking of these articles in a company of friends and acquaintances, Mr. Cunningham said that he sometimes threw one of them off before breakfast. “So I should have thought,” was the reply of the person addressed.

In the same year the Rev. Edward Bickersteth went to his rest. We have already sketched out the early career of this amiable and pious man: we may add now a few particulars of his later years. In August, 1829, he was licensed as Minister of Wheler chapel (now called St. Mary’s), Spitalfields, where he had already done duty on Sunday afternoons. Here the congregations soon became large and attentive; and Mr. Bickersteth’s biographer notes as an extraordinary thing that on one occasion there were a hundred and twenty communicants. Moreover, in one year a sum of no less than four hundred pounds was raised for various charitable purposes, though the congregation was not generally rich. Mr. Bickersteth soon started a third service, with sermon, on Sunday evenings; besides a service and sermon in the week.

In March, 1830, Mr. Bickersteth resigned the secretaryship of the “Church Missionary Society,” and having been offered, almost immediately afterwards, the rectory of Watton in Hertfordshire by Mr. Abel Smith the patron, he accepted it, was inducted on the 23rd of October, and came into residence the following month. The population

of the parish was then 830. Mr. Bickersteth's ideas of the nature of the ministerial office were confined to preaching and visiting.* How little he realised the nature of the Church of England, or the grounds on which communion with her was his duty, appears by the following extract from a letter :—“ I should like to be well acquainted with ——— : I believe they are Dissenters, but certainly he is not a narrow-minded, bigoted Dissenter. I had rather he was a Churchman, because I am convinced the Church of England approaches nearer to Christian perfection in its Articles and Liturgy, than any Church with which I am acquainted. Yet I think it would be extremely narrow-minded to shun a man's company, merely because he was a Dissenter. The main essentials, such as faith, love, humility, and piety, are what one ought chiefly to regard, and we should be fondest of the company of those who have most of these, however we may differ in lesser points.”† He classes “ M. Henry ” (apparently Matthew Henry the Puritan) among “ excellent ministers.” In bringing out a revised edition of his *Scripture Help* he was assisted by an Anabaptist preacher.

Examples of his piety may be seen in the following extract from his diary :—“ I live too much in the bustle of the religious world. Communion with saints is necessary, but retirement and communion with Christ is still more so. I am too little alone with God. I find a kind of hypocrisy in religious conversation carried on too much, and

* Memoir of the Rev. E. Bickersteth, vol. ii. p. 8.

† *Ib.* vol. i. p. 99.

that the flame of devotion is rather deadened than quickened by it; yet it is an unspeakable privilege.”* How much he knew of his Master’s requirements, and how he aimed at fulfilling them, appears by the following, written in 1828 :—“ O my soul, the grand proof that thou art doing the will of God, is not indefatigable industry, active zeal, doing many things that the world or the Church commends, but it is here : Dost thou take up self-denying duties and go through them steadily in their season, as readily as thou takest up and goest through those that are more agreeable and pleasant to thee? Dost thou take up spending and losing and wasting duties, in which money, health, strength, and toil are required, as well as gainful and profitable duties; and go through the thorny road as well as along the plain path, when thy way to Zion demands it? Dost thou again take up reproached, and despised, and scorned duties, confessing Christ before the ungodly, doing the work that brings obloquy as well as the work that brings commendation?”† Nor did he altogether neglect fasting. At a time when various spheres of usefulness seemed opening before him, his remark is, “ What a season should it previously be, of fasting, preparation, and prayer!”‡ On February 26th, 1837, he prays at the altar for seven things, among which are grace for early rising, and self-denial in things pleasant to the flesh. And on his fifty-first birthday he supplicates grace to offer a tenth of his income for God’s truth, worship, and immediate service, and two thirds of a tenth for

* *Ib.* vol. i. p. 183.† *Ib.* p. 419.‡ *Ib.* p. 406.

the social happiness of others, and their enjoyment in God's worship. (What he meant by this last term does not appear, unless it was the warming of churches and the cushioning of pews.)

His attitude towards Protestant Dissenters may be seen in the following extract from a letter of his to Dr. McNeile, who had, it seems, expressed the opinion that the "Evangelical Alliance," of which Mr. Bickersteth was a warm supporter from the first, was a mistake:—"We must . . . accept the punishment of our sins as a Church. The hard severities against Puritans and Papists, till the grand rebellion was provoked, gave occasion to that insurrection on all sides against the laws of Christ, of patient suffering, and victory by faith and love, and overcoming evil with good, in which so many godly men, of deeper piety than ourselves, were led astray. Instead of learning wisdom by experience, our forefathers passed the Act of Uniformity, and added to our guilt by the persecution of the Nonconformists, and were themselves punished by two evil kings, till God brought about the Revolution. Still we learned not wisdom by experience, we repented not of our sins, and our Church sank into dead formality. God then gave a glorious revival in the time of the Wesleys and Whitfield; but instead of being welcomed it was mocked and scorned, till there was no room in our Church for the faithful men who began this work. We are reaping the bitter fruit of three centuries of sins. It is not enough to say, our Church has most truth to present in its constitution to the people of England. The Lord may well say: 'Look

at your sins in the appointment of bishops, and the exercise of patronage generally. See tens of thousands in your parishes, and under the appointed ministry, starving for want of the bread of life. I have called other faithful men to the ministry, to help this need. I have given to them also precious gifts of My Own Spirit, important truth to testify,* souls to their ministry, and a large portion of My Church in England is now to be found amongst them. I have indeed divided the land for the Church of England, but I have given them also a legal sanction for their worship in every parish of that land.' Thus, my dearest brother, the Church of England is not the whole Church of Christ in England. It probably was so once; and but for our sins, particularly the way in which the Act of 1662 was passed, and our own Church sins, it might to a great extent have been so now. Now you aim to bring our whole country to this state of unity. But my view is, that though we should aim at this in the way of truth, forbearance, and love, we must also humble ourselves before God for our exceeding Church sinfulness, which has prevented our dissenting brethren from recovering the light of truth which we really enjoy, and has (for with them also there are many sins) engaged their zeal even directly against what we believe to be the truth of God.

“Our disunion is our weakness. Now what I wish from you, dear brother, is, that you should be God's voice, calling the Church of England to

* This comma is not in the copy before me, but seems necessary for making sense.

true repentance for three centuries of sins ; that you should charge home on the present generation all these sins ; that you should obtain, by prayers from God, and by manifestation of the truth, from men, frank confession, deep humiliation, and tender forbearance towards others, because of our own exceeding sinfulness. I would further suggest that our repentance for our sins, as a Church, should be proved, by leading us to humble ourselves before God, in joyfully acknowledging their call of God, their ministry, their gifts, and their success, and thanking Him that, notwithstanding our unfaithfulness, He has carried on His precious work, of gathering His elect from our land, even by those who are, as we believe, in many things defective labourers ; if indeed we may say so of so many, who, like Baxter and Owen, Watts and Doddridge, Benson, Hall, Fuller, and Watson, have by their writings profited the whole Church of Christ. We ought to cultivate intercourse and kindness with them, as Archbishop Sancroft so sweetly recommended."

In the eighteen years of ministry which Mr. Bickersteth spent at Watton, the number of communicants in the parish church had increased from about twenty-five to an average of eighty or ninety. In his diary for January, 1849, he thus enumerates his weekly parochial engagements :—

"Sunday: Bible class—morning and afternoon service—and evening lecture.

"Monday: Cottage lecture—catechizing the children—and Parish Friends' Meeting, in the different classes, weekly.

"Wednesday: Wempstead lecture in the afternoon—Watton lecture in the evening.

“ Thursday : Adult Evening School.

“ Friday : Cottage lecture—Adult Evening School.

“ Saturday : Prayer Meeting at the Rectory.”*

Wempstead, it should be observed, was a hamlet distant about two miles from Watton. The “ Parish Friends’ Meeting ” was “ for distinct classes of parishioners. One week the meeting was of personal friends, when Mr. Bickersteth gave a short lecture on the Articles and on Church History, followed by a general conversation; the next was for the school teachers, and farmers’ wives; the third for the daughters of the small tradesmen, and the fourth for the district visitors.”†

On his recovery from an accident, the results of which it was feared at one time would be fatal, he plunged again into work for various religious societies, the “ Evangelical Alliance ” occupying a large share of his attention. In the midst of this, we find him thus writing in his private journal :—“ O take my soul unto Thy special care, O my God ! Amidst incessant occupations, it is seriously injured by want of more communion with Thee. Lord, give me more of the spirit of prayer. I loathe and abhor myself, and humble myself in Thy sight. O that the closing Sabbath and week-days of another year, may, by Thy mighty grace, have a quickening power, reviving every good thing, and quickening every grace of faith, hope, and love ! ”

Mr. Bickersteth had not been idle with his pen. In 1814 he published a pamphlet entitled *A Help to the Study of the Scriptures, by a Churchman.*

* Memoir of the Rev. E. Bickersteth, vol. ii. p. 408. † *Ib.* p. 414.

This afterwards became a volume: and it should be noted, *à propos* of the author's theology, that he was assisted in revising it for its third edition by "an able Baptist minister at Norwich." In 1818 came out his *Treatise on Prayer*: in 1822, his *Treatise on the Lord's Supper*: and about a year later, his *Christian Student*. In 1832 he undertook to edit a series of religious works, consisting, in great part, of biographies, and entitled *The Christian's Family Library*. In the following year he published a voluminous book of hymns, for use in families and congregations, and entitled *Christian Psalmody*. This was remarkable for the most wanton alterations of the hymns appropriated from other writers. He also wrote a good-sized volume of family prayers.

END OF VOL. I.

POSTSCRIPT.

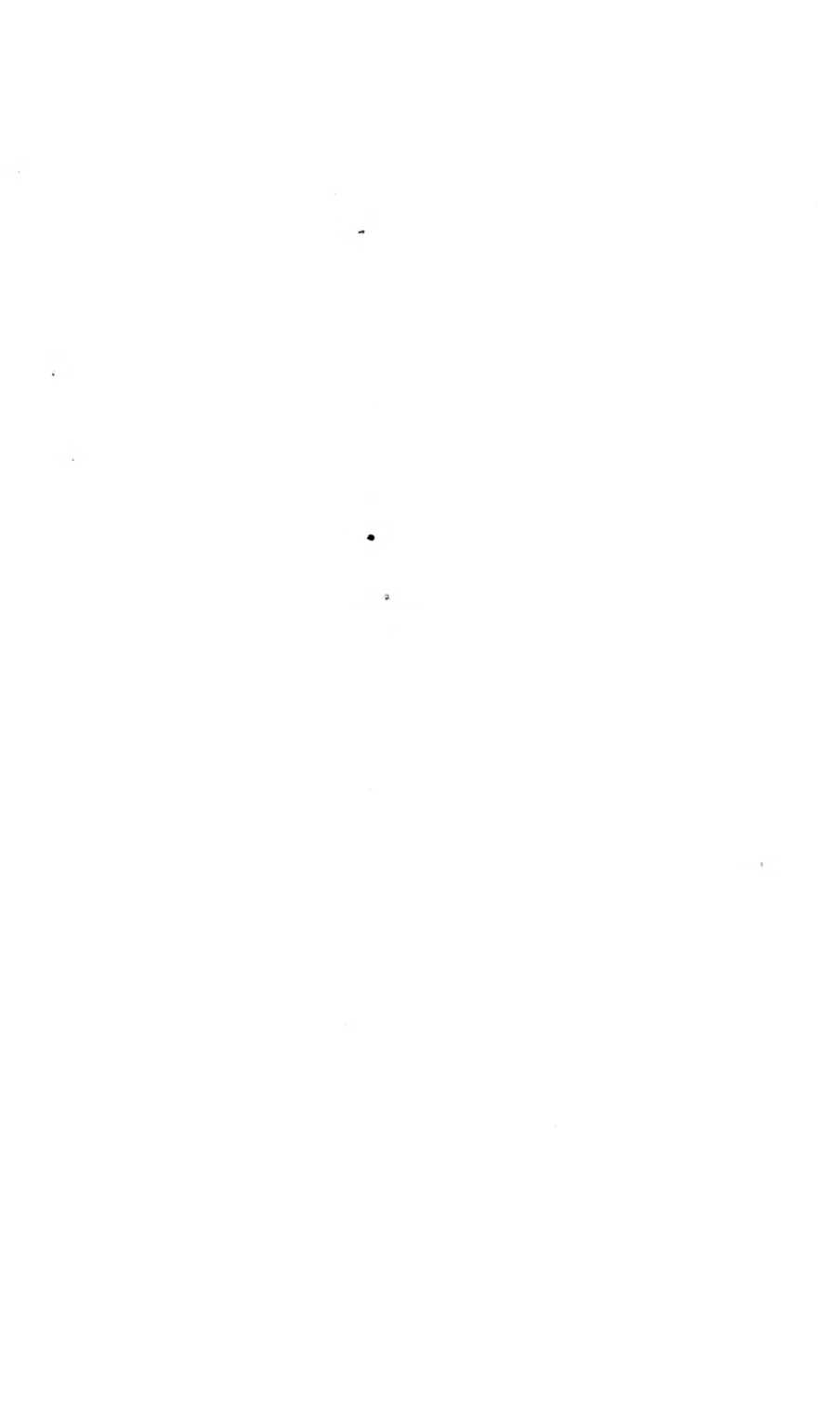
I print here the passage from Bp. Waldegrave's *Way of Peace*, to which reference is made in the note to page 253 of the present volume :

“ Here I must affirm that (whatever be the uses to which man has applied the term) the Holy Ghost when, in the written Word, He speaks of ‘the Church,’ absolutely (in such passages, for instance, as ‘Christ loved the Church’; ‘upon this Rock I will build My Church’) doth not mean any one visible ecclesiastical corporation, nor any aggregate assemblage of visible ecclesiastical corporations, but that ‘whole family in heaven and earth,’ known indeed unto God, but ‘indefinable’ by man, which is styled ‘the general assembly and church of the firstborn which are written in heaven.’”

3rd Edition, p. 75.

It will be observed that instead of giving any *proof* of his position, the Bishop contents himself with saying, “I must affirm.” That is all.

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