

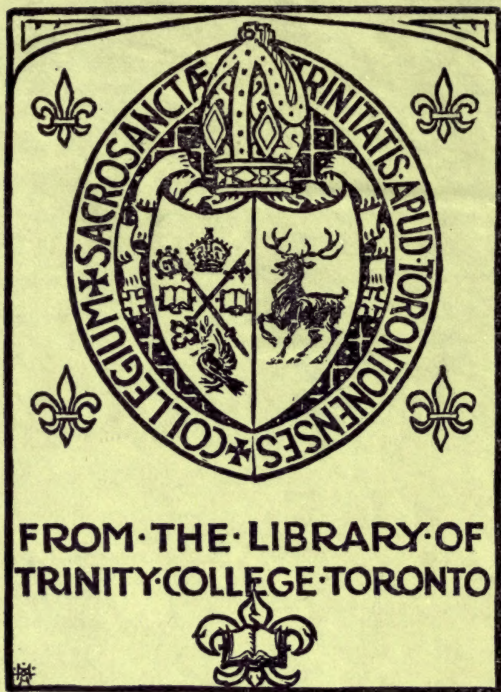
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THE CONTINUITY OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

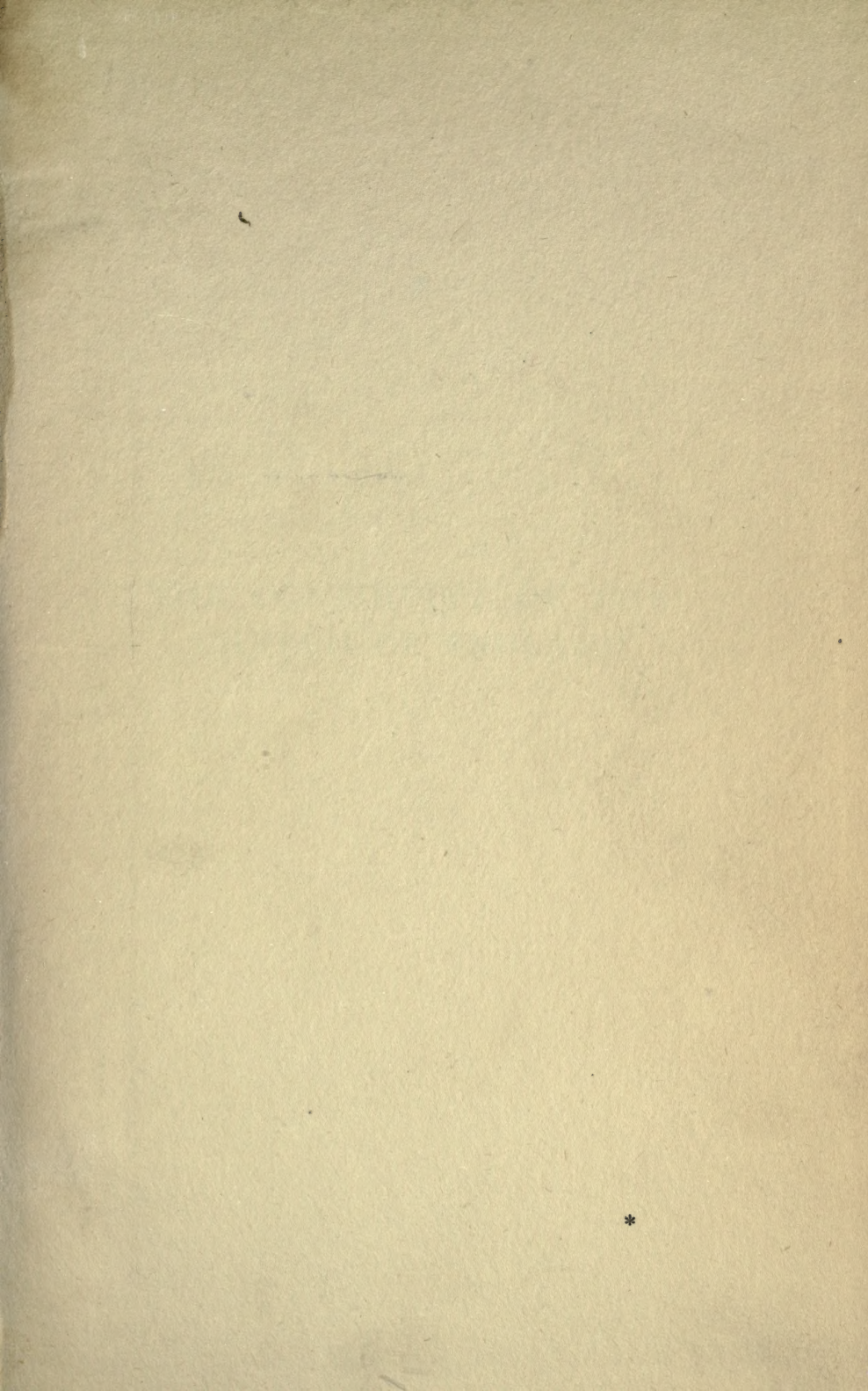
F. W. PULLER



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1986



THE CONTINUITY OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

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The CONTINUITY *of* THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
BEFORE & AFTER ITS REFORMATION IN
THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, WITH SOME
ACCOUNT OF ITS PRESENT CONDITION

BEING A COURSE OF FOUR LECTURES DELIVERED
AT S. PETERSBURG IN THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE
OF THE CHIEF PROCURATOR OF THE HOLY SYNOD
TO AUDIENCES CONSISTING FOR THE MOST PART OF
MEMBERS OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF RUSSIA

BY

F. W. PULLER

OF THE SOCIETY OF S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, COWLEY

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PREFACE

It seems right to put on record in this Preface the circumstances which directly prepared the way for and led up to the delivery of the course of lectures which here appears in book form.

That a Priest of the Church of England should be invited by a diocesan Bishop of the Orthodox Russian Church to give a course of lectures on the English Church to members of the Russian Church, and that the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod should arrange that those lectures should be delivered in his official residence, are events which do not happen every day, and they are events which betoken such a degree of friendliness towards the English Church on the part of high Russian authorities both ecclesiastical and civil, as would have been scarcely thought possible a little while ago.

No doubt for a great many years past there have been influences at work preparing the way for a *rapprochement* of the Russian and English Churches. Among ourselves good work has been done by Mr. William Palmer and by Mr. George Williams, and by Dr. Neale and by Mr. W. J. Birkbeck and others; and there have been visits of Russian and Greek Bishops to England and of Anglican Bishops to Russia and to the Greek-speaking countries of the nearer East.

But there can be no doubt that the idea of forming

a Russian Society for the promotion of friendly relations between the Churches of Russia and England was very largely due to the good work done by the Anglican and Eastern-Orthodox Churches Union, a society founded in England in July, 1906. Of this society the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton has been the Honorary General Secretary from the beginning, and during the six years of its existence it has spread into many different parts of the world. One of its two Presidents is Archbishop Agaphangel of Vilna and Lithuania, and four other Russian Bishops are on the roll of its members.

It was however felt that, if the movement was to spread on any large scale in Russia, it was desirable that a Russian society should be formed with its centre in Russia; and accordingly a scheme for the formation of such a society with a constitution and rules was drafted by certain influential and zealous Russian Churchmen living in S. Petersburg, and this scheme was submitted to the Holy Synod along with a petition to the Synod that the scheme should be sanctioned. The sanction of the Synod was granted just at the time when four of our Bishops, namely the Bishops of Wakefield, Bangor, Exeter, and Ossory, were paying a visit to Russia, and were being entertained most hospitably by the authorities in Church and State. The meeting at which the new society came into existence was held in February, 1912, in the official residence of the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, and at that meeting a number of persons were enrolled as members. Bishop (now Archbishop) Eulogius of Kholm was elected President, and a committee was formed.

At the first meeting of the committee it was deter-

mined that a Priest of the English Church should be asked to give a course of lectures on the Church of England in S. Petersburg; and in due time the President of the Society, the Bishop of Kholm, caused to be sent to me an invitation to come to S. Petersburg and there give a course of four lectures on the subject selected, the first lecture to be given on the evening of Ascension Day, and the three other lectures respectively on the Monday, Wednesday, and Friday of the following week. With the consent of my Superior General I gratefully accepted the invitation, and in due time, after receiving the blessing of my Bishop, I left England along with Mr. Fynes-Clinton on Monday, the 29th of April (N.S.), and travelling *viâ* Berlin and Warsaw reached Moscow on Thursday, the 2nd of May (N.S.), which day according to the Old Style used in Russia is reckoned as the 19th of April.

We remained at Moscow eleven days, and spent a very enjoyable time in that most interesting city. We were graciously received in audience by Her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess Elizabeth, and at her invitation were shown over every part of the Convent of nursing and teaching Sisters, of which she is both Foundress and first Mother Superior. We were able to have interviews and in some cases long conversations with three of the Suffragan Bishops of the diocese of Moscow, and with the Archimandrite of the Tchudoff Monastery, and with other distinguished clergymen and laymen belonging to the Orthodox Russian Church. Unfortunately we were unable to see the Metropolitan of Moscow, as he was absent from his Cathedral city at the time of our visit.

On the evening of May 13 (N.S.) we left Moscow and arrived the next morning at S. Petersburg. After breakfasting at the house of Monsieur Nicolai de Lodygensky, we visited first the Bishop of Kholm, the President of the new Russian Society, and then his Excellency, Monsieur V. Sabler, the Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod, who, besides many other gracious acts of kindness, invited me to give my lectures in his own official residence.

These lectures were given on the days which had been fixed for them, and the number of those who attended them was exceedingly encouraging. That number varied from about 200 to about 300. The larger part of those who attended were Russians, but there was also a fair number of members of the English colony in S. Petersburg. The lectures were delivered in English, but they were interpreted sentence by sentence into Russian by Monsieur de Lodygensky, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Russian Society which through its President had invited me to deliver the lectures.

I need say nothing more here about these lectures, because they are printed in this book as they were delivered, with the exception that, to keep the length of the lectures within due limits, some few passages, which stood in the manuscript and find a place in this book, were omitted in the delivery.

It may however be well to remind English readers that I was not addressing an audience of specialists in English Church History, but a mixed audience consisting mainly of Russian lay people, though with a fair sprinkling of Russian ecclesiastics, and I had therefore to assume that most of my audience had very elementary

ideas about the Church of England. This book is therefore not a book giving the results of learned research, but is intended to be a popular, though I hope accurate, account of the Church of England in her continuous life from the sixth century to the twentieth, special attention being paid to the events of the sixteenth century, when the enemies of our Church try vainly to make out that there was a breach of continuity.

When I wrote the lectures, I had no idea of publishing them in English, though I thought it possible that I might be asked to allow them to be published in Russian. As a matter of fact, they are going to be published in Russian. But it has been represented to me that the lectures deal with a subject which would interest many English readers, and might be of real use to some of them; so I have determined to publish them not only in Russian, but also in English.

I am indeed very sensible that there are matters which ought to be treated in a book of this sort, and which nevertheless are not treated here. I cannot pretend that the book contains an exhaustive discussion of its subject. But I was limited to a course of four lectures, and I preferred to discuss what seemed to be the most important points with some measure of fullness, rather than to treat a large number of points inadequately.

I am not professing to give in this Preface a full account of my visit to S. Petersburg, which lasted sixteen days; but there was one discussion held with a number of the Professors attached to the S. Petersburg Spiritual Academy, which seemed to be so fruitful in its results, that I cannot pass it over in silence. The meeting was

held in one of the apartments occupied by the Bishop of Kholm, and he presided, there being also present Bishop Innocent of Yakutsk. The subject proposed for discussion was the Eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost, about which, as is well known, endless controversies have been carried on between the Eastern and Western divisions of Christendom. The very distinguished Professor Brilliantoff acted on this occasion as the principal speaker on the Russian side; and he began the discussion by asking me what meaning was attributed by the Church of England to the *Filioque* clause¹ in the Constantinopolitan Creed.

I commenced my reply by reminding the assembly that in the course of the third Action of the second Council of Nicaea (A.D. 787) the Letters of enthronization sent by S. Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, to Hadrian of Rome and to the three other Patriarchs were read; and that in those letters the assertion is made that the Holy Ghost proceeds "from the Father through the Son" (ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ)²; and that immediately afterwards the replies sent to S. Tarasius by the representatives of the three Eastern Patriarchal sees were read, expressing the joy of the writers at the orthodoxy of S. Tarasius's letters; and that finally the synodic letters of Theodore, Patriarch of Jerusalem, were read, in which letters the Holy Ghost is confessed as proceeding eternally "from the Father," no mention being made of His Procession through the Son.³ A

¹ In the Eastern form of the Creed it is stated that the Holy Ghost "proceeds from the Father." In the Latin and English forms it is stated that He "proceeds from the Father and the Son" (*Filioque*).

² Coleti, *Concilia*, ed. Venet., 1729, viii. 812.

³ *Op. cit.*, col. 825.

protocol was afterwards entered in the Acts of the Council to the effect that the whole Council consented to and received the definition of orthodoxy of the most holy Ecumenical Patriarch, Tarasius, which had just then been read, and also the reply sent to S. Tarasius by the representatives of the other Eastern Patriarchal sees, and the synodic letters of Theodore of Jerusalem.¹ I pointed out that these facts make it clear that the second Council of Nicaea synodically approved the formula which speaks of the Holy Ghost as proceeding from the Father, and it also approved the formula which speaks of the Holy Ghost as proceeding from the Father through the Son. The Council evidently saw no reason why both these formulas should not be accepted. And, when we remember that there have been Eastern theologians who have repudiated the formula "ex Patre per Filium," and when we also remember that the second Council of Nicaea is reckoned by the whole Eastern Church among the Ecumenical Councils, the approbation given by the Council to the formula "ex Patre per Filium" appears to be a decision of the highest importance.

I went on to say that the theologians of the Church of England repudiate all idea of there being more than one ἀρχή or Fountain-head of Deity.² The Father alone is the primary Source from whom the Son proceeds, and He alone is also the primary Source from whom the Holy Ghost proceeds; but in the Eternal Spiration of the Holy Ghost the Son intervenes with a certain

¹ *Op. cit.*, col. 841.

² Bishop Edgar Gibson of Gloucester well sums up our English teaching in his explanation of the fifth Article (*The Thirty-nine Articles*, edit. 1908, p. 213).

mediating co-operation,¹ so that the Holy Ghost proceeds eternally from the Father through the Son,² and therefore in a sense it may be said that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. In other words, our English theologians regard the formula "Filioque" as equivalent to the formula "Per Filium."³

Professor Brilliantoff then said that my explanation was entirely in accordance with the teaching of the Orthodox Eastern Church.

Afterwards the question of the insertion of the *Filioque* clause into the Constantinopolitan creed by the English and other Western Churches was raised.

In regard to that matter I stated by way of preliminary that the Church of England makes no complaint against the Eastern Church for adhering strictly to the Creed as it was sanctioned by the Council of Chalcedon. The English Church accepts the Council of Chalcedon as an Ecumenical Council, and the Creed as sanctioned by that Council is therefore for us also an Ecumenical document of the highest authority. But the Council did not put forth the Creed as a formula to be used

¹ Cf. S. Greg. Nyss., *Quod non sint tres Dii—ad Ablabium*, circ. fin. ; *P.G.*, xlv. 133.

² On this subject I would venture to urge the instructed reader to study the illuminating *Études de Théologie Positive sur la Sainte Trinité* by Père de Regnon. See, for example, the third and fourth chapters of his *Étude* xxii. (vol. iii. pp. 130-150) and many other passages of his masterly work.

³ Tertullian, the very fountain-head of the theological language of the West, admirably combines the ideas of the "Filioque" and the "per Filium." He says (*Adversus Praxean*, cap. viii.):—"Tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo *et Filio*, sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice, et tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine, et tertius a sole apex ex radio. . . . Ita Trinitas per consertos et conexos gradus a Patre decurrens . . . monarchiæ nihil obstrepit" (*Corp. Scriptt. Eccll. Latt.*, Vindobon., xvii. 239).

in the Liturgy of the Altar. At the time when the Council of Chalcedon was held, no Creed was said in the Liturgy. When we introduced the Creed into the Liturgy, we were not bound to introduce it in the exact form in which it was sanctioned by the Council. Moreover, both in the West and in the East it had been customary for local Churches to add clauses to Creeds of very high authority. In the West the Apostles' Creed is the Creed which is used at Baptisms and on most other occasions when a Creed is used; it is not, however, used at the service of the Altar. Now the Apostles' Creed is the Creed of the early Roman Church, and was probably composed not later than during the first half of the second century. Yet local Western Churches on their own authority added clauses to it. Thus in the fourth century or earlier the Church of Aquileia added to the Apostles' Creed the clause about the descent of our Lord into Hades.¹ And in the fifth century or earlier the Gallican Churches, or some of them, added the clause about the Communion of Saints.² Yet no complaints were raised by the Roman Church or by other Western Churches on account of these clauses having been added. On the contrary some centuries later these additions were accepted by the Roman Church herself and ultimately by all the Western Churches. Similarly in the East,³ the original Nicene Creed was

¹ Cf. Rufin., *Commentar. in Symbol.*, §§ 14, 18; *P.L.*, xxi. 352, 356. Whether the clause originated at Aquileia I do not know.

² This clause did not get into the Roman Creed until later, but it is found in the Creeds of Niceta of Remesiana and of S. Jerome as early probably as the fourth century (compare Dr. A. E. Burn's text-book, *The Apostles' Creed*, pp. 41, 43).

³ In putting on paper the statement which I made to the Conference about the interpolation of authoritative Creeds in the East, I have

put forth by the most venerable and most authoritative of all the Ecumenical Councils, namely the Council of Nicaea. For a time that was the only Creed which had received Ecumenical sanction; yet the local Churches of the East felt quite free to use their own traditional local Creeds, and to enlarge them by inserting clauses taken sometimes from the Nicene Creed and sometimes from other sources. There seems good reason to believe that the Constantinopolitan Creed is really the Creed of the Church of Jerusalem enlarged about the year 363 by S. Cyril of Jerusalem,¹ and quoted eleven years later by S. Epiphanius in the 119th chapter of his *Ancoratus*.² This enlarged Creed of Jerusalem is almost word for word the same as the Creed which we now commonly call the Constantinopolitan Creed. The original Nicene Creed had been interpolated at Constantinople and perhaps elsewhere, with additional clauses before the time of the Council of Chalcedon,³ and it is recited in the Chalcedonian definition in an interpolated form.⁴

All these facts make it quite clear that local Churches in the fourth and fifth centuries, that is to say in the

corrected an inaccuracy into which I fell, and have set forth the evidence somewhat more fully than I did at S. Petersburg.

¹ See Dr. Hort's *Two Dissertations*, 1876, pp. 73-97, and Dr. A. E. Burn's text-book, *The Nicene Creed*, pp. 27-29.

² *P. G.*, xliii. 232. The *Ancoratus* was published in 374, seven years before the Council of Constantinople, the second Ecumenical.

³ Compare Hort (*Two Dissertations*, pp. 112-115).

⁴ For example, in the Nicene Creed as quoted by the Council of Chalcedon, the words "of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary" are interpolated after "was incarnate"; and the words "and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate" are interpolated after "and was made man"; and the words "of whose kingdom there shall be no end" are interpolated after "to judge both the quick and the dead." I give these merely as specimens, for there are several other interpolations, besides some omissions. Compare Mansi ii. 668 with Mansi viii. 109, 112.

age of the great Fathers of the Church, felt themselves at liberty to add clauses to the Creeds which they had inherited from earlier times, or which they had received from Ecumenical Councils. And if this is granted, why should it be regarded as *ultra vires* for the Churches of England, Spain, Gaul, and Germany, and finally for the Church of Rome, to add the *Filioque* clause to the Constantinopolitan Creed? Of course a local Church has no right to add a heretical clause to any Creed. But it has already been admitted that the *Filioque* clause, if it is regarded as equivalent to the formula, *Per Filium*, is not heretical, but is perfectly orthodox.

At the close of the Conference the presiding Bishop, the Bishop of Kholm, authorized me to tell my audience at my lecture in the evening that, though the Russians and the English differ in the wording of their respective formulas, yet the Conference had, after hearing explanations, concluded that the two Churches are agreed as to the substance of the teaching concerning the Eternal Procession of the Holy Ghost.

It is much to be hoped that the good work which the newly formed Russian Society has begun will go on and prosper, and finally in God's good time result in the re-establishment of intercommunion between the Churches of the Eastern Communion and the Churches of the Anglican Communion. But if this blessed consummation is ever to be reached, both sides will need to be actuated by a peace-making spirit, ready to recognize substantial unity amid superficial diversity, and many prayers will have to be offered, and many opportunities for friendly intercourse will have to be secured and utilized.

For more than eight centuries and a half the separation has lasted; but God is evidently creating now in both Communions a desire for re-union; and He who has begun this good work will know how to bring it to a successful issue, unless we mar His loving designs by lack of zeal or other unfaithfulness.

“For the welfare of God’s holy Churches, and for the union of them all, let us pray to the Lord.”¹

F. W. PULLER, S.S.J.E.

S. EDWARD’S HOUSE, WESTMINSTER,
September 28, 1912.

¹ From a diaconal suffrage which occurs more than once in the Liturgy of S. Chrysostom.

Three of the chapters of this book have already appeared in the ENGLISH CHURCH REVIEW (see the August, September, and October numbers of that periodical).

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THE CONTINUITY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN THE SIXTH CENTURY TO ITS REFORMATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

I FEEL it to be a very great privilege to be allowed to speak to an audience like this, consisting, as it does so largely, of members of the Holy Orthodox Church of Russia.

For the last fifty years, ever since I went as an undergraduate to the University of Cambridge, I have felt a deep interest in the Holy Orthodox Church of the East, and very specially in the Church of Russia.

We, who belong to the Church of England, are naturally drawn to take interest in and to love the Russian Church, because we have so much in common with her. We always think of her as a glorious part of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which was founded by our Lord JESUS CHRIST, the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father, who for us men and for our salvation was made man, being conceived in the womb of the Blessed Mary, the ever-virgin Mother of God. And we of the Church of England think of ourselves as

forming another part of the same Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church; and we are therefore accustomed to regard the holy Church of Russia and all the holy Orthodox Churches of the East, as Churches which are sisters of the holy Church of England.

I do not know whether that is the view which you take; but undoubtedly that is the view which we in England take.

Unfortunately a long distance separates our two countries, Russia and England. Not very many Englishmen come to Russia, and not very many Russians come to England; and those, who do come, are for the most part chiefly interested in commerce and other matters connected with the things of this world; comparatively few are primarily interested in the things connected with religion and the Church. So that in England, while the faithful members of the English Church love the Russian Church, they do not know so much about her as they would wish to know. And perhaps it is the same with you here. You have indeed a friendly feeling towards the Church of England; but most of you would perhaps admit that you do not know very much about her.

It was probably for this reason that some weeks ago I had the honour of receiving an invitation from the President of this Society, the Bishop of Kholm, to come to S. Petersburg to deliver a course of lectures on the Church of England. I felt this invitation to be a great honour, and I felt also great joy in my heart. I said to myself:—At last then I have an opportunity of coming into contact with the holy Church of Russia, of getting to know her people, and her clergy, of visiting her churches and her monasteries and her spiritual academies and colleges, of joining in her holy worship, of venerating

the shrines of her Saints, and of seeing the fruits of holiness which are produced in her by the Holy Ghost, and by the Catholic faith which she professes. And I thanked God for granting to me this favour, and for allowing me to see Russia and the Russian Church before I die.

But it is time for me to begin the task which I have undertaken, and to speak to you about my mother, the Holy Church of England. And in this first lecture I shall try and give you a rough sketch of the history of that Church.

The foundation of the Church of England began in the year 597, when our Apostle, S. Augustine, with his forty companions landed in the South-East corner of England, at a place situated in what is now called the county of Kent. At that time England was divided into seven kingdoms, and one of those kingdoms was the kingdom of Kent. And the King of Kent was named Ethelbert, and the capital of his kingdom was called Canterbury.

Before coming to England S. Augustine and his companions had been monks in a monastery founded in Rome by the great S. Gregory, that Gregory whom we in the West call S. Gregory the Great, and whom the Greeks call *ὁ Γρηγόριος ὁ διάλογος*, and who in Russia is known as Svyatoë Gregorie Dvoeslov. After S. Gregory had become Bishop of Rome, he sent some of the monks of his monastery with S. Augustine at their head to preach the Gospel to our English nation, and to plant the Church in England.

The fact that it was Pope S. Gregory, who planned this mission to evangelize the English nation, and who sent monks from his own monastery at Rome to carry

out the Mission which he had planned, is a fact of great importance. It had a great influence on the future history of the English Church. S. Gregory has always been regarded as the Apostle and founder of the Church of England; and we English recognize that the local Roman Church, over which S. Gregory presided as being its Bishop, is our Mother Church, for which we should naturally wish to feel a filial reverence and gratitude. No doubt in later times this filial feeling has very much diminished and has in fact almost disappeared, because of the exorbitant and tyrannical claims which the later Popes have put forth; but whenever we read or speak about the history of the foundation of our Church, we rejoice to acknowledge that the Roman Church in the time of Pope S. Gregory was a loving mother, to whom under God we owe our very existence as a Church.

I believe that I am not mistaken, when I express my belief that you here in Russia reverence S. Gregory. The liturgy of the Presanctified, which is used in your churches during so many days of the Lenten fast, is called the Liturgy of S. Gregory *ὁ διάλογος*; and you commemorate S. Gregory in your services on the 12th of March, on which day his name also finds a place in the Kalendar of our English Prayer-book.

Here in Russia your first missionaries came from the great Church of Constantinople, and for many centuries she acted towards you as a nursing mother, sending you Metropolitans, and furnishing you with copies of the Holy Scripture and with liturgical books and with copies of her codes of canon law, and helping you in many other ways. What Constantinople was to Russia, that Rome in early days was to England. But in later times

you have been happier in your relations to Constantinople, than we have been in our relations with Rome. Constantinople has not attempted to tyrannize over you, whereas Rome has tyrannized over us, until we could stand the tyranny no longer.

Here I must remind you that our Church at the time of its foundation and for four and a half centuries afterwards was in communion with the Holy Orthodox Church of the East. S. Augustine of Canterbury began to preach the Gospel in England in 597, that is to say 44 years after the fifth Ecumenical Council; and the final breach between the Eastern and the Western Churches did not take place till 1054, that is to say 457 years after S. Augustine began to found the Church of England.

Before I pass on to the later history of the Church of England, I ought to mention that, while S. Augustine and his companions, who came from Rome, were the earliest missionaries who preached the gospel to the English nation,¹ their labours were for the most part confined to the South of England. The North and centre of England was evangelized by Celtic missionaries headed by S. Aidan, who came from a monastery built on the little island of Iona, one of the many islands off the West coast of Scotland. These Celtic missionaries were very holy men, who held the Catholic faith in its integrity; but they differed in some minor matters of discipline from the missionaries who came from Rome. S. Aidan began his work in the North of England 38 years after

¹ There were of course earlier missionaries who evangelized the Britons, now represented by the Cymry or Welshmen; but I am speaking of the evangelization of the heathen English who had wrested the greater part of South Britain from the Britons.

S. Augustine had begun his similar work in the South. At one time there seemed to be some danger that the Christians, who had received their Christianity from Rome, and the Christians, who had received their Christianity from Iona, would refuse to join together so as to form one Church; but in the year 664 a conference of the two parties was held at Whitby, and it was decided that the whole nation, both in the North and in the South, should keep the Roman discipline, and should be organized as one Church, with the Archbishop or Metropolitan of Canterbury, the successor of S. Augustine, as the chief Bishop.

Four years after the Conference at Whitby, a very great man, who was the only Eastern who ever ruled in England as a Bishop, I mean Theodore of Tarsus, became Metropolitan and Archbishop of Canterbury. He was almost like a second founder of the English Church. He reduced all things to order, established new bishoprics where they were needed, and consecrated Bishops for them; he held synods and promulgated canons of discipline; and in preparation for the sixth Ecumenical Council he, with the Bishops subject to him, condemned the Monothelite heresy and made clear the orthodoxy of the Church of England. You Russians, who belong to the great Eastern Church, ought to take special interest in Archbishop Theodore, an Eastern like yourselves, whom God gave to the Church of England to be, as it were, its second founder. He presided over the see of Canterbury and over the whole Church of England from the year 668 to the year 690.

When S. Gregory first sent S. Augustine to England, he had planned that there should be two Metropolitans,

one in the South and the other in the North. But S. Gregory's plan was not immediately carried into effect. As we have seen, the North of England was evangelized by Celtic missionaries from Iona, and the Celtic Church had no Metropolitans. Consequently the only Archbishop or Metropolitan in England was the Archbishop of Canterbury in the South. York was the chief city in the North; but the Bishop of York was not a Metropolitan, he was, at any rate from the time of the primacy of Theodore of Tarsus, one of the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury. However, in the year 734 it was determined that S. Gregory's original plan should be carried out, and that there should be two Metropolitans. The larger part of England, containing a good many dioceses, remained under the Southern Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the smaller part of England, in the North, with only a few dioceses, had for its Metropolitan the Archbishop of York. And from 734 to the present day the English Church in England has been divided into two provinces, each with its own Archbishop. The only exception to this state of things was that for sixteen years, from 787 to 803, a third province was constituted in the centre of England, with Lichfield as the seat of its Archbishop. But this innovation was soon got rid of.

For rather more than five centuries the Roman Popes interfered very little with the Church of England. Once or twice individuals appealed to the Pope; but such conduct was regarded with disapprobation by the country at large; and if the Pope's decision was disliked, it was ignored and set aside. On some very rare occasions the Popes sent legates to England, but

it was at the request of the King. When in later times the Pope claimed to send legates to England on his own initiative, he was told that no legate could be received in England unless the King agreed to such a course being taken. The Pope had nothing to do in those days with the appointment of our Archbishops and Bishops. They were chosen and consecrated in England without any reference to him. Only in the case of the Archbishops, after they had been appointed, and either consecrated or translated, and finally enthroned, they applied to the Pope for the gift of the pall, which he gave or sent to them as a mark of honour, and as a token that they were in communion with himself and his Apostolic see; but the English Archbishops exercised all their metropolitical authority, from the day of their consecration, without waiting for the gift of the pall. Letters and bulls from the Pope could not be published in England, unless the King gave his consent to such publication. I am describing the relation of the Church of England to the Roman Popes from the first coming of S. Augustine to England until the death of King Henry I. in 1135, a period of more than five centuries.

After the death of Henry I., during the four centuries which followed, the Pope succeeded in obtaining little by little a considerable increase of power over the Church of England. How did this come about? I think that it was due in a very large degree to what are called the forged decretals of the Pseudo-Isidore. These documents were forged in France in the middle of the ninth century. They professed to be letters written by the early Bishops of Rome of the first, second and third centuries. And in these letters, these

early Roman Bishops are represented as claiming monarchical powers over all parts of the Catholic Church, whether in the East or in the West. In the ninth century there was very little learning in the churches of the West. No one accepts these documents now as genuine; but in the ninth and following centuries they were accepted as genuine. But not much use of them was made until about two centuries after they were forged. It was in the time of Hildebrand, who became, near the end of his life, Pope, and was known by the title of Gregory VII., that these forged decretals began to be inserted into the collections of the canons. But there was not much knowledge of them in England until after the reign of Henry I., when a handbook of canon-law which included a great deal of matter taken from the forged decretals, was published under the title of the *Decretum* by an Italian monk, named Gratian; and this handbook became extraordinarily popular in all parts of the West, not only on the Continent but also in England. People now learnt to regard the Pope as a spiritual autocrat, who could legislate for the whole Church, and could interfere in every diocese, and could appoint Bishops wherever he liked, and could also depose them from their office at his own will. All spiritual jurisdiction was regarded as emanating from him; and any Christian might appeal from the Church courts of his own country to the great central appeal-court at Rome. And all this vast authority was supposed to have been bestowed by our Lord on S. Peter, who was regarded as the first Pope, and to have been bequeathed by him to his successors in the see of Rome.

There was another event which tended to increase

the Papal power in the West, and therefore in England as being part of the West; and that was the sad breach of communion between the East and the West, which took place in 1054, in the time of Pope Leo IX. of Rome, and of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius of Constantinople. The result of that breach of communion was in the West to isolate the Roman see, as the only Apostolic see, of which Western Christians knew anything. Before that breach of communion, Western Christians had been familiar with the idea of the Church Catholic having for its leaders the occupants of *five* apostolic or at any rate patriarchal sees; namely the Bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. But after 1054, four of these five sees were outside the communion which the Westerns recognized as the only Catholic communion; and consequently the see of Rome towered up alone in its majesty as an Apostolic see, whereas before it had been regarded as only one out of five such sees. The result was that the balance of power in the Church was overthrown; and there were no checks to the inordinate development of the claims of the Pope.

So far as I know, the Church of England had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the breach between the East and the West. In those days the English people, living on their island, were very much cut off from the movements of thought and the great events which might be happening on the Continent. We English in all probability did not hear about the cessation of inter-communion between the East and the West until several years after that event took place; and when we did hear about it, we could only have heard the Pope's account of the matter. Unless I am

much mistaken, it was the exorbitant and ever-growing claims of the Pope, which were the real cause which led to the sad division of Christendom. And in the eleventh and twelfth and following centuries, the general acceptance of the forged decretals made it almost impossible for Western Christians to realize how baseless and how wrong those claims were.

I shall not say much about the four centuries of Papal domination in England, which lasted from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. The Papal tyranny was so grievous, and the Papal court was so covetous and greedy, that, long before we English broke away from the Pope, we were driven to make very stringent laws to restrain his monstrous claims and his extortionate exactions. According to our ancient customs and laws, when a see was vacant, the new Bishop was to be elected by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of the diocese; and the election was to be confirmed by the Archbishop of the Province with the approval of the King. But during the thirteenth century the Popes began to reserve to themselves the right of filling all benefices of whatever kind, including bishoprics, which should become vacant during the residence of their incumbents at the Papal court. And in the middle of the fourteenth century, in the year 1363, Pope Urban V. reserved to his own appointment and disposition all patriarchal, archiepiscopal, and episcopal sees, which were at that time anywhere and anyhow vacant, or which should become vacant during his lifetime. This same reservation has since the time of Pope Urban been made by all the Popes who have succeeded him. In this way the Popes made an attempt, which was very largely successful, to rob the various Chapters, Metropolitans,

and Provincial Synods of Western Christendom of their rights in regard to the election and confirmation of Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops; and by this robbery they not only increased their power, but they also absorbed vast sums of money into their own treasury; because they forced all those, who were to be made Bishops, to pay very heavy fees in order to obtain their appointment. Thus, for example, during the fifteenth century each Archbishop of Canterbury and also each Archbishop of York had to pay on appointment ten thousand florins of gold into the Papal exchequer; and the Bishops of Winchester, a very richly endowed see, had to pay as much as twelve thousand florins of gold.

Against these and other similar proceedings of the Pope, the English Church and the English nation protested strongly. Several Acts of the English Parliament were passed in the fourteenth century, the final effect of which was that, while the Pope still kept up the form of appointing the English Archbishops and Bishops, he always appointed the person whom the King of England named to him. Thus the King was fully established as the real chooser of the Bishops, a function which he retains to this day. Of course both then and now, though the King practically chose and still chooses the Bishops, they do not become Bishops until they have been consecrated by their Metropolitan assisted by other Bishops of the Province; and if a really unworthy person were chosen, consecration would be refused.

At the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, there were a succession of worldly-minded and in some cases horribly immoral and even unbelieving Popes. I refer to Sixtus IV., Innocent VIII., Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X. This continued

succession of bad Popes brought the institution of the Papacy into evil repute, and throughout the West prepared men's minds for a revolt from the Papal system. The revolt began in Germany with Luther, and spread from thence to Sweden, Norway and Denmark, to Switzerland, to many parts of France, to Holland, and ultimately to England. But the reformation in England took a very different turn from that which it took on the Continent. There, that is on the Continent, when all reform of the Papacy seemed impossible, men lost heart and lost faith in the Church. They rose in hot rebellion against spiritual wickedness in high places. They overthrew the Church in their anger and manufactured for themselves a new theology and a new organization. They started new Churches having no organic continuity with the ancient Catholic Church which had existed up to that time. In England the movement took quite another shape. Alterations in doctrine did not come for many years. There was no attempt to organize a new Church. There was no rising of the people against their official superiors, "no prophet like Luther to claim their allegiance, no logician like Calvin to dominate their intellects." The English Reformation was carried out by the King and his Parliament acting in conjunction with the Bishops. During the reign of Henry VIII. the main step that was taken was the throwing off of the Papal yoke. We English denied that the Pope had any jurisdiction over the Church of England by the law of Christ. We might have allowed his Patriarchal jurisdiction, conceded to him by the Fathers, because Rome was the Imperial city, or granted to him by Councils, or willingly accepted by us on the ground of our gratitude to the Roman see for having sent to us the missionaries who first preached to us

the Gospel. But the Pope would not hear of a mere Patriarchal jurisdiction. He claimed to be the autocratic monarch of the whole Church, by reason of a monarchical authority inherited from S. Peter, and given to S. Peter by Christ.

You, here in Russia, must surely sympathize with us in our determination to repudiate these Papal claims, which were really accepted in an age of ignorance on the authority of documents now known to be forgeries. Popery is based upon forgeries. *You* never knew anything about those forgeries, and so you never accepted them. We accepted them, not knowing them to be forgeries, but believing them to be true. In time they gave rise to such an unbearable worldly tyranny that we threw off the whole Papal system which had grown out of them. We were enabled to do this in good faith, because the discovery of printing and the spread of the knowledge of the Greek language throughout the West enabled us to realize that the Papal autocracy had never been accepted by the Holy Fathers who lived in the earlier ages of the Church's history, and therefore could not form part of the original divinely given constitution of the Church.

There can be no doubt, I think, that sooner or later the Papal claim to possess a divinely given autocratic jurisdiction over the whole Church would have been repudiated by the English Church and nation. But the moving cause which brought matters to a point, and determined the moment, when the repudiation should take place, was King Henry VIII.'s desire to marry Anne Boleyn, and his consequent wish to have his marriage union with Catharine of Aragon declared to be null and void from the beginning. As you would know, Catharine

of Aragon had had for her first husband Arthur, Prince of Wales, the elder brother of Henry VIII. He had died a few months after his marriage, leaving no children. For political reasons it was thought desirable that Henry should marry his brother's widow, Catharine. But the law of God, plainly declared in the 18th chapter of Leviticus, forbade such an incestuous union. That law had been held to be binding on Christians from the days of the Apostles. Nevertheless Pope Julius II. in the plenitude of his Papal power dared to do what none of his predecessors had ever ventured to do. He set aside the law of God, and granted a licence to the young Prince Henry to marry his brother's widow. The granting of this licence or dispensation by Pope Julius was an outrage on elementary Christian morality, and was itself absolutely null and void.¹ And the pretended marriage with Catharine was also null and void. If Henry VIII. had been a good man, he might well have felt that his soul was in terrible danger, since he was living in incest and in open violation of God's law. As a matter of fact Henry VIII. was a bad man; but he was perfectly justified in petitioning Pope Clement VII. to declare his marriage null and void from the beginning; and the Pope was bound in justice to do so. But the Pope stood in terrible fear of the Emperor Charles V., who was Catharine of Aragon's nephew, and he continually put off giving any decision in the matter about which Henry was asking for judgement. At last Henry's patience came to an end, and as he could get no answer from Rome, he brought the matter of his marriage

¹ On the invalidity of this dispensation I venture to refer the reader to a book of mine entitled *Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister*, p. 114, note 1.

with Catharine before the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of all England; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, having given opportunity to both sides to plead their cause, at last, on the 23rd of May, 1533, pronounced Henry's marriage with Catharine to have been from the beginning null and void.

The Pope was of course furious, when he heard of what had taken place in England, and in March 1534, he pronounced Henry's marriage with Catharine to be a good and valid marriage.¹ In the course of the same year, 1534, first the Provincial Synod of York, and afterwards the Provincial Synod of Canterbury, put forth Synodical Declarations to the effect that "the Bishop of Rome hath no greater jurisdiction given him in Holy Scripture by God in this kingdom of England than any other foreign Bishop."² Thus did the Church of England by the acts of her Synods formally repudiate the notion that the Pope had any divinely given authority over her.

It is important to notice that the Church of England never withdrew her communion from the Church of Rome, though she did repudiate the Pope's baseless claims. The breach of communion was brought about by the act of Pope Paul III., the successor of Clement VII. He had the audacity to fulminate a bull, published in December, 1538, in which he professed to depose Henry VIII. from his position as King of England, and in

¹ Sixtus V., probably the ablest of all the post-Tridentine Popes, "afterwards declared that Clement had deserved the calamities that befel him, because he had not dissolved so unholy a union." I quote these words from the great Romanist historian, Lord Acton (see his *Lectures on Modern History*, edit. 1906, p. 137).

² Dixon's *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction*, vol. i. pp. 227, 238.

which he excommunicated all Englishmen who should continue to recognize Henry as their sovereign. The bull issued by Paul III. went indeed much further than that. It placed all Henry's dominions and all churches within them under interdict. It deprived all Henry's loyal subjects of all their rights of property, which all comers were authorized to take from them. It absolved all the King's subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and commanded all his judges and other officers and servants to refuse him obedience on pain of excommunication: it prohibited every sort of commerce with him or his adherents, by buying, selling, marketing, carriage of provisions or other goods, or otherwise in any way of business: it declared forfeited to the first takers the goods of those who might carry on such intercourse. In the event of the King still continuing obdurate, it required all the nobility and lay people of his realm to rise against him and expel him, by force of arms if necessary, from his dominions; and it forbade all other Kings and Emperors either to make treaties or compacts with him; the Pope taking upon himself to cancel and annul all such treaties or compacts, present and future; and the Rulers of all nations were enjoined to make war upon him, and so reduce him to the obedience of the Roman see.¹ Of course Englishmen were not going to admit the right of an Italian ecclesiastic to depose their King and destroy their country. The bull, so far as its immediate purpose was concerned, was a mere *brutum fulmen* (a thunderbolt which failed to hit the mark); but

¹ The bull is printed in the *Magnum Bullarium Romanum* (edit. Laertius Cherubinus, 1727, Luxemburg, tom. i. pp. 707-712). See also Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (edit. Pocock, 1865, Oxford, vol. iv. pp. 318-334).

it had the effect of putting an end to the intercommunion which had ever existed between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. It was the Church of Rome which separated herself from the Church of England. The Church of England has never by any formal act separated herself from the Church of Rome. From the time of Henry VIII. until the present day, except during the short reign of Mary, England and Rome have been out of communion with each other, but the responsibility for that state of things does not fall on our shoulders.

Over and over again the Bishops of the Church of England and also the King of England have protested that they have never had any intention of separating themselves from the Catholic Church. Thus, for example, in 1536 King Henry VIII. desired the venerable Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, to write to Cardinal Pole and to explain to him the sentiments of the King of England. Tunstall did so, and in the course of his letter he said:—"You suppose . . . the King's grace to be swerved from the unity of Christ's Church, and that . . . he intendeth to separate his Church of England from the unity of the whole body of Christendom . . . wherein surely both you and all others so thinking of him do err. . . . His full purpose and intent is . . . not to separate himself or his realm any wise from the unity of Christ's Catholic Church, but inviolably, at all times, to keep and observe the same."¹ Similarly Archbishop Cranmer of Canterbury in his noble appeal in 1556 from the sentence of the Pope "to a General Council called together in the Holy Ghost, and representing the Holy Catholic Church," says:—"As

¹ Palmer's *Treatise on the Church of Christ*, edit. 1839, vol. i. p. 446.

touching my doctrine, it was never in my mind to teach contrary to the word of God and the Catholic Church of Christ according to the exposition of the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs. I only mean and judge as they have meant and judged. I may err, but heretic I cannot be, inasmuch as I am ready to follow the judgement of the word of God and of the Holy Catholic Church, using the words that they used, and none other, and keeping their interpretation.”¹

Pope Paul III.'s bull deposing King Henry, and excommunicating all Englishmen who should continue to recognize him as their sovereign, produced no effect in England. The Bishops and Clergy and the whole nation continued to recognize Henry as their king; they took no notice of the Pope's interdict and excommunications. The Holy Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of our Lord continued to be offered in all our churches, the Sacraments continued to be administered, the people continued to come to church. There was no division among them, no schism; all continued to abide in the communion of the Church of England, although the Pope had withdrawn his communion from that Church.

¹ Dixon's *History of the Church of England*, iv. 502.

CHAPTER II

THE LEGAL AND SPIRITUAL CONTINUITY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH BEFORE AND AFTER ITS REFORMATION (PART I.)

SOME people have an idea that in the time of King Henry VIII. a new Church was set up in England, and that the King and the Parliament transferred the cathedrals and church-buildings, and tithes and other endowments from the old Church to this supposed new Church. Such an idea is absolutely false. If such a transfer had ever taken place, it would be easy to prove it. There would be Acts of Parliament ordering such a transfer to be made; and historians would have written accounts of how the old clergy were driven out and how the new clergy were put in. But there *are* no such Acts of Parliament, and there *are* no such historical records. And the reason for this silence is the undoubted fact that there was no new Church made, and therefore no transfer of Church buildings and Church property from the old to the new. The old Church went on under its old name. It had always been called "the Church of England," even in the days when the Popes had exercised great authority in England. The great charter of English freedom, known as the Magna Charta, which was signed by King John in 1215, begins with the words,—"*Libera sit Ecclesia Anglicana*" (Let the Church of England be free). In 1307, at the parliament held in Carlisle, the lay Lords and the Commons presented a remonstrance to

King Edward I., in which they complain that the Pope of Rome wrongfully claims to fill up vacant archbishoprics and bishoprics in England, as if he was the patron of those dignities and benefices, and they say that, if this is not stopped, "the estate of the holy Church of England" will be destroyed. The English Parliament quoted and embodied the words of this remonstrance in two later statutes, one of which became law in 1350, and the other in 1389. And when we pass on from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the reign of Edward VI., the son and successor of Henry VIII., in the sixteenth century, we find that nobody had any idea that a new Church had been created and substituted for the old Church. It was in the reign of Edward VI., in the year 1549, that the services used in the public worship of God were translated from Latin into English, and simplified, and gathered together so as to form one volume, which has been known ever since as the *Book of Common Prayer*; and in one of the prefaces to that book, a reason is given for the services having been translated into English: and that reason is expressed in the following words:—"The service in this Church of England these many years hath been read in Latin to the people, which they understand not; so that they have heard with their ears only, and their heart, spirit, and mind, have not been edified thereby." Here it is clearly implied that the same Church of England, which had in past times used Latin services, was now to use English services. There was no new Church. It was the old Church which continued without any break. I believe that I am right in saying that, in the time of the Patriarch Nikon, the holy Church of Russia corrected certain mistakes, which had crept into her service-books; but those salutary corrections

and changes did not make a new Church of Russia. The old Russian Church went on, notwithstanding the changes. And so it was with the Church of England. The old Church of England went on, notwithstanding the simplification of her services, and their translation into English.

When King Edward VI. died, he was succeeded in the throne by his half-sister Queen Mary, who married Philip II., King of Spain. Mary and her husband were strong Papists, and they forced the Church of England to ask the Pope's pardon and to submit to his claims, and the Pope admitted the English Church once more to his Communion. But this state of things only lasted for a short time. After reigning for a little more than five years, Mary died; and was succeeded in 1558 by her half-sister, Queen Elizabeth; and under Elizabeth's rule the English Church threw off once more the yoke of the Papal tyranny, and began again to use the English services of the Book of Common Prayer instead of the Latin services, the use of which had been restored during the reign of Mary. The Pope did not at once excommunicate either Elizabeth or the English nation;¹ and the same old English Church went on without any break in its continuity. During the latter part of Queen Mary's reign, one of the Cardinals of the Roman Church, Cardinal Pole, had been Archbishop of Canterbury. But he died on the very same day that Queen Mary died; and so, when Elizabeth came to the throne, the see

¹ It was in February 1570 that Pope Pius V. fulminated the bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, deposing Queen Elizabeth, absolving her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and anathematizing such as continued in their obedience. The bull is printed in the *Magnum Bullarium* (edit. 1727, tom. ii. p. 304), and also in Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (edit. Pocock, vol. v. pp. 579-581).

of Canterbury was vacant. In due time it became necessary for a new Archbishop to be elected. It will, I think, illustrate the entire absence of any idea of creating a new Church, if I quote the letter which Elizabeth wrote to the Dean and Chapter of the Church of Canterbury, giving to them *her* permission, as representing the royal founder of that church, to proceed with the election of a new Archbishop. The Queen's letter is thus worded:—"The Queen to her beloved in Christ, the Dean and Chapter of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury, health. We have received from you a humble petition in which you pray that, since by the natural death of the most Reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Reginald Pole, a Cardinal, the last Archbishop of your Church, that Church is now vacant and is deprived of the consolation of having a chief Pastor, we would condescend to grant to you our licence, as founder, to elect for yourselves another person to be your Archbishop and Pastor; Now we, being favourably inclined to grant your prayers on this behalf, have thought fit to concede to you that licence, begging you to elect such a person to be your Archbishop and Pastor, as shall be devoted to God, and useful and faithful to us and our kingdom."¹ The Queen at the same time in another letter let the Dean and Chapter know that she expected and required them to elect Dr. Matthew Parker; and so in fact they did elect him; and the election was in due time confirmed; and afterwards Matthew Parker was consecrated by four Bishops who had themselves received valid consecration. The point to be noticed is that the Queen in the ordinary form, that had been used for centuries,

¹ Rymer's *Foedera*, tom. xv. p. 536.

gave her licence to the Dean and Chapter to elect a successor to Cardinal Pole. She assumes that by the death of Pole the Church of Canterbury is deprived of the consolation of being under the guidance of a Chief Pastor, and that by electing Parker that consolation, of which they have been deprived, will be restored to them. There is no hint that in her mind Parker is to be the Primate of a new Church. He is to succeed Pole as the Primate of the old Church.

Perhaps you will think that I am spending too much time in proving that neither in the time of Henry VIII. nor in the time of Elizabeth was there any idea of setting up a new Church. But this point is a point of very great importance; and before I pass away from it I should like to read to you the words of one of the greatest of our more recent English historians; I mean Dr. E. A. Freeman, formerly Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Dr. Freeman says:—"Looking in this way at the events of the sixteenth century, it is certain that no English ruler, no English Parliament, thought of setting up a new Church, but simply of reforming the existing English Church. Nothing was further from the mind of either Henry the Eighth or of Elizabeth than the thought that either of them was doing anything *new*. Neither of them ever thought for a moment of *establishing* a *new* Church or of *establishing* anything at all. In their own eyes they were not *establishing* but reforming; they were neither pulling down nor setting up, but simply putting to rights. They were getting rid of innovations and corruptions; they were casting off an usurped foreign jurisdiction, and restoring to the Crown its ancient authority over the State Ecclesiastical. . . . There was

no one act called 'the Reformation'; the Reformation was the result of a long series of acts. There was no one moment, no one Act of Parliament, when and by which a Church was established; still less was there any Act by which one Church was 'disestablished' and another Church 'established' in its place. . . . In all that they did Henry and Elizabeth had no more thought of establishing a new *Church* than they had of founding a new *nation*."¹

I think that I have shown clearly that neither in the reign of Henry VIII. nor in the reign of Elizabeth was there any intention on the part of the rulers of England to set up a new Church. There was no breach in the outward framework of the Church. The Church of England, after its loss of communion with the Church of Rome, completely preserved its legal continuity with the old historic Church of England, which had been founded at the end of the sixth century by S. Augustine of Canterbury and his companions.

But perhaps it will be said,—Legal continuity and the preservation of the outward framework of the Church are good things; but, in a Divinely founded and Divinely endowed society like the Church, other things are also necessary, if the spiritual identity and the spiritual continuity of the Church are to be successfully vindicated. There have been instances in the long history of Christendom of national Churches becoming tainted with heresy, and so losing their union with Christ, the great Head of the Church, and being rightly cut off by excommunication from fellowship with the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is the true mystical body of

¹ E. A. Freeman (*Disestablishment and Disendowment, What are They?* 2nd edit., 1885, pp. 27-29).

Christ. And again it is conceivable that through carelessness, or through some untoward misfortune, or through ignorance of what is necessary to insure the validity of ordinations, a Church might cease to have validly consecrated Bishops, and consequently would cease in a little while to have validly ordained Priests and Deacons, since no one has the power to make a true Priest or a true Deacon except a validly consecrated Bishop. If such a calamity were to happen, there would be no valid Confirmation, no valid Eucharist, no valid Absolution in a Christian body which had thus ceased to enjoy the ministrations of true Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. And such a Body could have no right to claim to be a living portion of the Catholic Church of Christ.

Two questions must therefore be asked about the Church of England as she is at present. Has she preserved the true Catholic faith? And secondly, has she preserved a validly ordained ministry? Let us consider first the question whether the English Church has preserved the true Catholic faith; and then in a future lecture we will consider the question of the validity of English ordinations.

In regard to the holy Faith, it will be well to deal first with the teaching of the Church of England on what are sometimes called the Fountains of Faith, namely Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition. Our Church teaches in the sixth Article of Religion that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." The Thirty-nine

Articles, from one of which I have quoted the preceding sentence, were brought into their final shape and in that shape synodically authorized by the Synod of London held under the presidency of Dr. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1571, the thirteenth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. And that same Synod enacted a canon, in which Preachers are required to "see that they never teach aught in a sermon, to be religiously held and believed by the people, except what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, and what the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have collected from the same doctrine."¹

The Church of England therefore regards both Scripture and the tradition of the Holy Fathers as being *fontes fidei*, fountains of faith; but she gives the first place to Scripture. Following the teaching of the glorious S. Athanasius, she holds that "the Sacred and Inspired Scriptures are sufficient to declare the truth";² and, to quote again the words of S. Athanasius, she holds that "Holy Scripture is of all things most sufficient for us";³ and agreeing with S. Augustine, she holds that "in those things which are set down plainly in Scripture are found all things which contain faith and the way of life, that is hope and charity";⁴ and taught by S. Cyril of Jerusalem, she believes that "nothing at all ought to be delivered concerning the Divine and holy mysteries of the faith without the Holy Scriptures."⁵ But, while the Church of England holds that all the

¹ Cardwell's *Synodalia*, edit. 1842, vol. i. pp. 126, 127.

² S. Athan., *Contra Gentes*, § 1.

³ S. Athan., *Ad Episcopos Aegypti*, cap. i. § 4.

⁴ S. Augustin., *de Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 9, § 14.

⁵ S. Cyrill. *Hierosol.*, Cat. iv. § 17.

necessary articles of faith are contained in Scripture, so that they may be either read therein or at any rate may be proved thereby, she also holds that, whenever there is the least possibility of doubt as to the meaning of Scripture, it must, if it has to do with the obligatory articles of faith, be interpreted, not according to the private opinion of individuals, but according to the uniform teaching and tradition of the Catholic Church. She enjoins on those to whom is committed the ministry of preaching that they should "see that they never teach anything in a sermon, to be religiously held and believed by the people, except what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, and what the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have collected from the same doctrine."¹

The teaching of the Church of England on this point seems to me to agree very well with the teaching of the Russian Church in the Longer Catechism, which was drawn up by the illustrious Philaret, the Metropolitan of Moscow, and was afterwards after careful revision adopted and promulgated by the Most Holy Synod as the Catechism of the Russian Church herself. In that Longer Catechism it is stated that Holy Scripture

¹ The great scholar, Isaac Casaubon, who, though he was bred a Huguenot, had been led by his study of the Fathers to revolt from the anti-Catholic positions maintained by the continental Protestants, came to England in 1610, and wrote (*Ep.* 837) to another great though younger scholar, Salmasius:—"You must not suppose that this people is a barbarous people. . . . If I am not mistaken, the soundest part of the whole reformation is to be found here in England, where the study of antiquity flourishes together with zeal for the truth." Casaubon's biographer, Mark Pattison, says (*Casaubon*, edit. 1892, p. 270) that on arriving in England Casaubon found "a whole national Church encamped on the ground on which he had believed himself to be an isolated adventurer."

was given "to this end, that Divine Revelation might be preserved more exactly and unchangeably." It is also stated that "we must follow that tradition which agrees with Divine Revelation and with Holy Scripture." And once more it is said in the Russian Catechism that "Tradition is necessary even now, as a guide to the right understanding of Holy Scripture."¹

But it sometimes happens that controversies arise within the Church in reference to very important points of doctrine; and differing opinions are held as to what is the true teaching of Holy Scripture, and what is the real authentic tradition of the Church on the point about which the dispute has arisen. In such cases the Church herself is the *Judex Controversiarum*, the Judge of Controversies. And therefore the Church of England in her twentieth Article of Religion states that "the Church hath . . . authority in controversies of faith." The authority of the Church in judging concerning controversies of faith may be exercised in different ways, according to circumstances. Sometimes a controversy which is very limited in the area over which it rages, may be terminated by the decision of a single Bishop, or by an Ecclesiastical judge, appointed by a single Bishop. Sometimes it will need to be decided by a Provincial Synod or by a National Synod, or by a Synod of all the Bishops in some group of Nations, or finally by an Ecumenical Synod. In every case except the one mentioned last, the decision is liable to be over-ruled by a Synod of higher authority. In the case of a true Ecumenical Synod, that is to say, a Synod which is recognized as Ecumenical by the

¹ Blackmore's translation of the *Longer Catechism* in his *Doctrine of the Russian Church*, edit. 1845, Aberdeen, p. 36.

whole Church, the great Divines of the Church of England have been accustomed to teach that its dogmatic decisions are irreformable, that is to say, incapable of being altered in substance.¹ Thus Dr. Hammond, a very learned and pious theologian, who flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century, speaking of the general sentiment of learned Anglicans, says:—"We do not believe that any General Council, truly such, ever did or ever shall err in any matter of *faith*."² Similarly his contemporary, Archbishop Bramhall, one of our ablest divines, contrasting the members of the Roman communion with members of the Church of England, says:—"They [the Romanists] have subjected Ecumenical Councils, which are the sovereign tribunals of the Church, to the jurisdiction of the Papal court. And *we* are most ready in all our differences to stand to the judgement of the truly Catholic Church, and its lawful representative, a free General Council."³

Again, Dr. Saywell, Master of Jesus College in the University of Cambridge, says:—"The same truth is contained in Scripture, in Tradition, in Ecumenical Synods. It cannot be that an Ecumenical Council, or the free

¹ Dr. Edgar C. S. Gibson, the present Bishop of Gloucester, in his excellent explanation of *The Thirty-nine Articles* (6th edit., 1908, p. 536), which is a book very largely used in our Theological-Seminaries and Colleges, speaking of the decisions of Councils claiming to be Ecumenical, says:—"Where the decisions win their way to universal acceptance, there we have the needful guarantee that the Council has faithfully reflected the mind of the universal Church, and we may well be content to believe that the Council has not erred. But 'the inerrancy of a Council can never be guaranteed at the moment. The test of the value of a Council is its after-reception by the Church'" (Forbes, *On the Articles*, 3rd edit., 1878, p. 299).

² Hammond, *Of Heresies*, p. 163.

³ Bramhall, *A Just Vindication of the Church of England*, chap. ii.; *Works*, edit. 1842, vol. i. p. 100.

and true testimony of the College of Pastors, should be contrary to the tradition of the Church; nor can any doctrine be confirmed by the tradition of the Church which is repugnant to Sacred Scripture, since among all traditions none is more certain than that of Scripture. Therefore let the Scripture retain its perspicuity and sufficiency, Tradition its firmness and constancy, the pastors and Ecumenical Synods their authority and reverence; nor let any one set them in opposition to each other, since the same faith, the same doctrine in all things necessary to salvation, is taught in its own method and order by each; and each has its own use and authority in handing down and preserving the truth.”¹ In a previous sentence Saywell had made it clear that he is speaking of “Councils truly Ecumenical, received and approved by the Catholic Church.” He would have readily admitted that there have been Councils, claiming to be Ecumenical, which have put forth heretical definitions, such as the Council of Ariminum, and the Robber-Council of Ephesus, and the Iconoclastic Council of Constantinople in the year 745. It is because of such councils as these that the Church of England in her twenty-first Article says that “General Councils may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God.”² But of course such Councils would never be

¹ Saywell, *Præfat. ad Epistt. Launoi*, Cantab., 1689. This preface was re-printed in the edition of the *Opera Omnia* of De Launoy published at Geneva (Coloniae Allobrogum) in 1731. The passage quoted in the text is to be found in tom. v. part. i. pp. lxxvi, lxxvii of that edition.

² That that is the meaning of the statement in the twenty-first Article is clear from a parallel passage in a contemporary document, the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum (De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica*, cap. xiv., edit. Oxford, 1850, p. 6). This document was drawn up to a great extent by the very same men who are responsible for the original

received and confirmed by the Catholic Church, and would therefore never be numbered among the true Ecumenical Councils. The passages, which I have quoted, happen to be taken from the writings of Anglican Theologians of the seventeenth century, but the doctrinal decrees of the true Ecumenical Councils have *always* been regarded by the Church of England as authoritative.¹ To give one quite recent example:—in the year 1867 Dr. Longley, the Archbishop of Canterbury, invited all the Bishops of the Anglican Communion to come together from all parts of the world for the purpose of holding a Conference under his presidency in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Lambeth. The Conference met and passed a number of important Resolutions, together with a preamble or introduction in which the Bishops express “the deep sorrow with which they view the divided condition of the flock of Christ throughout the world”; and they go on to say:—“We do here solemnly record our conviction that unity will be most effectually promoted, by maintaining the faith in its purity and integrity, as taught in the Holy Scriptures, held by the primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils.”²

I hope that I have made it clear that the Church of England regards Holy Scripture and Holy Tradition

draft of the Articles; and the passage, to which I refer, deals with the same subject as that with which the statement quoted from the twenty-first Article deals.

¹ Bishop A. P. Forbes of Brechin in his *Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles* (3rd edit., 1878, p. 299) says:—“In the case of dogma, the decision of an approved Ecumenical Council forecloses the matter for ever.”

² *The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, and 1888*, edited by Randall T. Davidson, 1889, p. 97.

as being the fountains of faith, and that, if disputes arise as to what the real teaching of Scripture and Tradition on any point of faith is, she regards the Church herself, acting through her local synods and courts, and in the last resort through a true Ecumenical Council, as the Judge of such controversies.

This is the position which the Church of England takes in regard to these matters, and she not only takes it in theory, but she puts the theory into practice. If I were dealing with this matter at length, I might illustrate what I have said by referring to many instances, in which the Church has guarded the faith once for all delivered, by punishing those who in her judgement have perverted or denied truths forming part of the deposit of faith committed to her custody. But in a lecture like this, it is necessary to be brief. I will therefore refer to only two cases, the records of which are easily accessible to me. Both these cases were dealt with by the Church within my own life-time, and I well remember their occurrence. One was a case occurring in the Province of Canterbury, and therefore in England. A certain Priest named Dunbar Isidore Heath, who was in charge of the parish of Brading, published a book in the year 1858; and in that book he maintained that Christ, our Lord, did not shed His Precious Blood to propitiate the Eternal Father for our sins. He further maintained that forgiveness of sins has nothing at all to do with the Gospel; and he inserted in his book other heretical statements. Whereupon he was accused of being guilty of the criminal offence of heresy in the Court of Arches, the Provincial tribunal of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the charge being proved to the satisfaction of the Court, he was sentenced to be deprived of the cure of souls in

the parish of Brading and also of the temporalities attached to that benefice.

The other case, to which I shall refer, is a more celebrated case, and occurred in the Province of Capetown in South Africa. One of the Bishops of that Province, Dr. John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal, published in 1861 a Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; in 1862 he published the first part of a work entitled—*The Pentateuch critically examined*, and in 1863 he published the second part of the same work. These books gave very great scandal to the Church. The Bishop maintained that all men, whether they are believers or unbelievers, Christians or non-Christians, are counted by God to be righteous, that they all are dead unto sin and risen again unto righteousness. Further he denied that God is reconciled to us by the death of His Son. He asserted that all men, even the heathen, are at all times partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ. He spoke of and treated the Holy Scriptures as a merely human book, not inspired by God the Holy Spirit, or inspired only in such a manner as other books may be inspired; and he made himself responsible for much other grievously erroneous teaching. Accordingly a charge of false teaching was formally brought against him and was taken into consideration in November, 1863, by a Provincial Synod of the Province of Capetown, over which Synod Dr. Robert Gray, the Metropolitan of Capetown, presided. As Bishop Colenso refused to recant, he was by the decree of the Synod deposed from his bishopric and prohibited from exercising any ministerial function within any part of the Province of Capetown. Dr. Colenso in defiance of this sentence continued to act as Bishop among the small number of

people in Natal, who had been led astray by him; and accordingly in December, 1865, his Metropolitan was compelled to pass upon him the sentence of the greater excommunication, and he remained deposed and excommunicated until his death in 1883. In July, 1868, the Province of Canterbury synodically affirmed that Bishop Colenso had been canonically deposed; and in January, 1869, Dr. William Kenneth Macrorie was consecrated to be Bishop of the Church in the colony of Natal, to shepherd the flock, which had been deprived of its former pastor by his lapse into heresy and by his subsequent deposition.

I have gone into some detail in giving you an account of these two cases, because I want to make it clear that the Church of England recognizes the duty which is laid upon her of guarding the deposit of the Catholic faith, which is committed to her care, and of cutting off from her communion open and notorious heretics, even though they may have been raised to the sacred office of the episcopate.

Now I pass from the consideration of the fountains of faith, namely Scripture and Tradition, and from the consideration of the Church's judicial office in deciding controversies about the faith, and I come to the authorized standards of faith and doctrine, which the Church of England recognizes and continually uses.

I might begin with the doctrinal decrees of the accepted Ecumenical Councils, which are undoubtedly recognized as authoritative by the Church of England, and are continually referred to as authoritative by our great theologians. If a suspected heretic was brought before one of our ecclesiastical courts, and was accused of contravening the doctrine laid down in any of those

doctrinal decrees, the matter would no doubt be investigated, and, if the accusation were proved, the heretic would be condemned.¹

But I am thinking rather of the standards of faith and doctrine with which members of the Church of England come into continual contact, and which they have, so to speak, in their hands. Of these I shall mention four:—namely (I.) the Creeds, (II.) the Catechism, (III.) the Prayer-book including the Ordinal, and (IV.) the Articles of Religion.

I. As the Church of England is bound by the doctrinal decrees of the accepted Ecumenical Councils, she necessarily accepts the Nicene Creed in the form in which it was drawn up and sanctioned by the first Council of Nicaea, and also the creed, commonly called the Constantinopolitan Creed, in the form in which it was sanctioned by the Council of Chalcedon. I remember the second of these being publicly used, when the Reverend Edmund S. Ffoulkes, who had previously seceded to the Roman Communion, was received back into the Communion of the Church of England by the late Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester. But neither the original Nicene Creed nor the original Constantinopolitano-Chalcedonian Creed are commonly used either in public or private by English Church people. The creeds which we commonly use are (1) the Apostles' Creed, (2) a Western form of the Constantinopolitan Creed, and (3) the creed commonly called the Athanasian Creed.

(1) The Apostles' Creed is the old Roman Baptismal Creed of the first half of the second century, with a

¹ See Phillimore's *Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England*, 2nd edit., 1895, vol. ii. pp. 842-844.

few additions, mostly Gallican, of the fifth and sixth centuries. This is in England the most generally known of all the three creeds. It is the one which is used at Baptisms; and it is the one which is taught to children, when they learn their catechism; and it is the one which is rehearsed by the Priest to a dying person, when the office for the Visitation of the sick is being used; it is the one which normally is said daily in church at the two choir-offices of Mattins and Evensong; and finally it is the one which is almost universally used by English Church people, when they say their private prayers. As I have already mentioned, it was the baptismal creed of the local church in the city of Rome; and the missionaries, who went forth from that centre all over the West, carried it with them and taught it to their converts. The later additions to it were not made by any plenary Western Council, but by local churches in Gaul and elsewhere; and these additions were at last accepted at Rome, perhaps about the end of the seventh century, and finally the use of the enlarged creed became universal throughout the West.

(2) The second creed which is commonly used in the English Church is a Western form of the Constantinopolitan Creed. Speaking generally, one may say that the English form agrees with the Latin version of the Creed, as it was commonly used in the West during the middle ages. Both the English and the Latin versions have an additional clause—"Deus de Deo," "God of God," inserted immediately before the clause—"Lumen de Lumine," "Light of Light"; and both have the addition of the expression—"Filioque," "and the Son," following the words—"ex Patre," "from the

Father," in the clause which deals with the Procession of the Holy Ghost. But the English Version differs from the ordinary Latin Version, in that in the clause dealing with the Catholic and Apostolic Church the English Version omits the adjective, "Holy." It is certain that this word was not omitted for any dogmatic reason, because in the English Version of the Apostles' Creed, we every day express our belief in "the *Holy* Catholic Church." But it happened that in most of the early printed editions of the Councils, as for example in the editions of Merlin, Crabbe, and Carranza,¹ the Constantinopolitan Creed appears without the word "Sanctam," "Holy," in the clause dealing with the Catholic Church: and the compilers of our Prayer-book probably concluded that the word "Holy" was an interpolation, and omitted it for that reason.²

This English Version of the Constantinopolitan Creed is the Creed used in the Church of England at Celebrations of the Holy Eucharist. The fact that it contains the expression—"Filioque" in the clause, which deals with the Procession of the Holy Ghost, constitutes, I imagine, one of the principal obstacles to intercommunion between the Eastern Churches and the English Church. I am at present explaining to you what are the Church of England's standards of faith, and it would be confusing to your minds if I were now to interpolate a long digression on the *Filioque*; but I am quite ready to

¹ Merlin's first edition was published at Paris in 1524, and his second edition in 1535. Crabbe's work was published at Cologne in 1538. Carranza's first edition was published at Venice in 1546, and his second at Salamanca in 1549.

² See an article entitled "The Anglican Version of the 'Nicene Creed'" in the *Church Quarterly Review*, viii. 378, 379.

discuss the matter with Russian Theologians if such a discussion should be thought desirable.¹

(3) The Athanasian Creed is the third creed which is regularly used by the Church of England. It sets forth very clearly and at considerable length the two great fundamental doctrines of the Holy Trinity in Unity, and of the Incarnation of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, and it contains some very salutary clauses, warning Catholic Christians of the danger of apostatizing from the Catholic faith. The teaching of this Creed is absolutely in harmony with the teaching of the great Doctor of the Church, S. Athanasius; but it was not written by S. Athanasius. He wrote in Greek, whereas this Creed was originally written in Latin. It is not certainly known when, where, or by whom it was written. But, following the most recent investigations, I am inclined to believe that it was written in Spain during the second half of the sixth century, and that its author was perhaps S. Martin, Archbishop of Braga.²

According to the use of the Church of England, the

¹ By the kindness of Bishop (now Archbishop) Evlogie of Kholm I had the opportunity of conferring with a certain number of Russian Orthodox theologians on the *Filioque* clause a few days after this lecture was delivered. I was delighted to find that, when I explained the *Filioque* as equivalent to the *Per Filium*, and when I assured those with whom I was conferring that the theologians of the English Church condemned altogether the notion that there is more than one original ἀρχή in the Godhead, they all declared that my explanation was in entire accordance with the teaching of the Eastern Orthodox Church. I also pointed out to them that local churches in the West had added on their own authority clauses to the Apostles' Creed, and that local churches in the East had added on their own authority clauses to the original Nicene Creed, and that consequently the addition of the *Filioque* to the Constantinopolitan Creed was a defensible proceeding. See also the Preface to this volume, pp. xiv, xv.

² See the Lectures of the learned Benedictine, Dom Morin, published in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xii. pp. 161, 337. [But I see

Athanasian Creed takes the place of the Apostles' Creed at Mattins on all the chief festivals of the year and also on some few Saints' days.

I believe that the Athanasian Creed is never used in the public worship of the Orthodox Eastern Church; though it is printed, is it not? as a useful doctrinal instruction in the appendix to some editions of some Slavonic and some Greek service-books.

It is to be noticed that all these three creeds, the Apostles' Creed, the Western form of the Constantinopolitan Creed, and the Athanasian Creed, were in use in the greater part of the West, two centuries and a half before the final rupture between the East and the West. Their use in the West did not prevent there being intercommunion between the Eastern and Western branches of the Church.

II. I pass now from the Creeds to the Catechism, which is an Instruction by way of Question and Answer, to be learnt by every baptized member of the Church, before he is brought to be confirmed by the Bishop. The Catechism consists of two parts, the first of which contains an explanation of the Baptismal Covenant, and the second contains a short instruction about the two greater Sacraments, those two which are necessary for all classes of Christians, if they would be saved, and the only two, concerning which we have any assurance in the New Testament that they were explicitly instituted by Christ our Lord, while He was here on earth. These two greater Sacraments are of course Holy Baptism and the Holy Eucharist.

that, in the *Revue Bénédictine* for October, 1911 (tome xxviii. pp. 417-424), Dom Morin has receded from the position taken up in his Oxford Lectures, and he is now inclined to assign the *Qui.umque* to S. Caesarius of Arles.]

In the first part of the Catechism those preparing for Confirmation are taught the Apostles' Creed with a short explanation of its teaching about the Three Persons in the Blessed Trinity. They are also taught the Ten Commandments, with a summary account of the principal duties which they enjoin. And finally they are taught the Lord's Prayer, together with an explanation of its several petitions.

The second part of the Catechism explains that the outward part of a Sacrament is the means whereby we receive the inward part, and a pledge to assure us that we are receiving that inward part. It goes on to explain the outward visible sign in Baptism, and the inward spiritual grace which it conveys. It lays down that adult converts must have repentance and faith, before they can be baptized; and it also explains that in the case of infants faith and repentance are promised on their behalf by their sponsors. Then the Catechism goes on to give similar instructions about the Holy Eucharist, and it teaches very plainly that the inward part of that Sacrament "is the Body and Blood of Christ," "which," it says, "are verily and indeed taken and received" by Christian people, when they communicate.

This Catechism was not intended by those, who compiled it, to be a full exposition of the Christian religion, but only a short instruction fit to be learnt by heart by children of the age of seven years; for it was at that age that English children were usually confirmed in the sixteenth century and during the earlier part of the seventeenth century.¹

III. The third standard of faith and doctrine, which binds the members of the Church of England is *The Prayer-book*, or, to give it its full title, *The Book of*

¹ Compare Scudamore's *Notitia Eucharistica*, edit. 1876, p. 51.

Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Church of England together with the Psalter or Psalms of David pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches and the Form or Manner of Making Ordaining and Consecrating of Bishops Priests and Deacons. The Prayer-book is the official liturgical book of the Church, and it contains directions for the performance of the public worship of God, and also the words which are to be used in that public worship. In our services the principal part is taken by the Bishop or Priest, but the people, led by the Choir, when there is one, also take their part. They join with the Officiant in the singing or saying of the Creeds, and in the general Confessions of sin, and they take their part in the chanting of the Psalms and Canticles, and in the Litany, and from time to time they make the appointed response to some utterance of the Officiant, and at the end of each of the prayers they express their assent and co-operation by the *Amen*. Thus the teaching of the Prayer-book is binding on the people as well as on the Priest, according to that ancient principle to which the Fathers of the Church often appeal, and which is expressed by one of them thus:—"ut legem credendi statuat lex supplicandi,"¹ "that the law of our prayer may determine the law of our belief." Moreover the Clergy, when they are ordained, and on certain other occasions, are required to make and subscribe the following declaration:—"I assent to the . . . Book of Common Prayer, and of the ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons: I believe the doctrine of the Church of

¹ *Auctoritt. de Grat. Dei*, cap. xi., Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum*, edit. Nelreda, 1909, p. 28.

England, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the word of God; and in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority." The Prayer-book is therefore not only a liturgical manual, but it is also a standard of faith and doctrine binding both the Clergy and the Laity.

It seems important here to emphasize the fact that the prayers and thanksgivings and other liturgical items, which go to make up the Prayer-book, were not for the most part *new* compositions. On the contrary that which was new formed a small part of the whole. A very learned English liturgical scholar, Dr. Frere, has written thus about the sources of the Prayer-book: he says:—"Apart from the Bible, the old traditional Latin services of the English Church have provided *by far the greater part of the contents*: this is not merely true of actual bulk, but it is still more markedly true of the whole spirit and method of the Prayer-book: it has drawn also from other sources—Greek, Gallican, Lutheran, and Swiss, in their measure; but nowhere is the Catholic temper of the book better shown than in the treatment of the matter which is adopted from sixteenth-century sources, such as the *Consulation* [of Hermann, the reforming Archbishop of Cologne] or the suggestions of Bucer; and even when the borrowing has been most extensive, there are still the clear signs of careful editing, and the excision of what might sound out of tune with the old devotional temper preserved in the traditional prayers of the Church."¹

¹ *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* by Procter and Frere, edit. 1902, pp. 674, 675.

The main object, which the compilers of the Prayer-book seem to have set before themselves, was to make the public worship of the Church comprehensible to the mass of the people. The old mediæval services were beautiful, but they were in Latin, and were very complicated, and were scattered about in different books, such as the Missal, the Breviary, the Manual, the Processional, the Pontifical, and others. The compilers of the Prayer-book undertook the task of shortening the offices, simplifying them, and translating them into English, so that all the offices, which were in ordinary use, might be comprised in one volume, which every layman who could read might take to church, and by the help of which he might follow the services intelligently, and not only understand the words spoken by the Officiant, but also make the responses and fulfil his own appointed share in the holy act of worship. There can be no doubt that the compilers of the Prayer-book were remarkably successful in carrying out the very difficult task which they had undertaken. The beautiful and stately English of our translation of the Bible and of our Prayer-book has done a great work in commending to the English nation the truths of Divine revelation, which have been committed to the custody of His Church.

The most important Offices contained in the Prayer-book are the following:—The Order for Mattins and Evensong; the Order for the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist, together with the varying Collects, Epistles, and Gospels to be used at that service throughout the year; the Litany; the Order of Baptism for infants, and the Order of Baptism for adults; the Order of Confirmation; the form of Solemnization of Matri-

mony; the Order for the Visitation of the sick, and the Communion of the sick; the Order for the Burial of the dead; the Thanksgiving of Women after childbirth; the Psalter; the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Besides these there are Offices of less importance, and the Calendar, and Tables of Lessons, &c. The directions for hearing confessions and the form for giving Absolution are to be found in the Order for the Visitation of the sick.

Some services, which are regularly used, have never been included in the Prayer-book, probably because the need for them occurs only rarely. As examples of these I might mention the service for the Consecration of Churches and Church-yards, and the service for the Unction and Coronation of the Sovereign, and of his Consort.

Altogether, it will be seen that provision is made in the Prayer-book for all the more important of the ordinary needs of Christian people; and consequently the teaching of the Prayer-book, which is based on the great articles of the Faith, shows in a devotional form the bearing of those revealed doctrines on the various aspects of the Christian life.

Undoubtedly the teaching of the Prayer-book is not Lutheran teaching or Calvinistic teaching. It is thoroughly Orthodox and Catholic, and in harmony with Holy Scripture and the general doctrinal tradition embodied in the writings of the Holy Fathers.

I have now spoken of three Church of England standards of faith and doctrine, namely the Creeds, the Catechism, and the Book of Common Prayer. These three standards have this in common, that they all of

them bind the Laity of the Church as well as the Clergy. The Laity recite the Creeds in Church ; the Laity have to learn and accept the Catechism before they can be confirmed ; and the Laity have to worship God according to the liturgical forms of the Prayer-book ; and, as they are bound to put their whole heart into the worship in which they take part, the "lex supplicandi" inevitably determines the "lex credendi"; or, in other words, the teaching of the Prayer-book becomes as a matter of course the rule of their faith.

IV. Now I come to the fourth Church of England standard, and that is the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. It differs from the other three, in that it binds the Clergy only. The lay members of the Church of England, as such, are never asked to subscribe the Articles, or to express in any way their assent to them ; but, according to the strict rule of the Canons, if they go out of their way to pass judgement upon them in an unfavourable sense, declaring that it is wrong to subscribe them or that they are superstitions or erroneous, they become excommunicate *ipso facto*.¹ No doubt there are some propositions in some of the Articles which the laity are bound to accept as true, but the duty of accepting those propositions as true does not rest on the laity on account of those propositions being found in the Articles, but it rests on them because those propositions express fundamental articles of the Catholic faith, which are proposed by the Church either in the creeds, or in the definitions of General Councils, or in other ways, to all her members for their acceptance.

The Church of England never calls the Thirty-nine

¹ See the fifth of the Canons of 1604.

Articles articles of *Faith*; they are always called "Articles of Religion." In their first form they were Forty-two in number, and the title prefixed to the first edition of them speaks of them as agreed upon "for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord in *certain* matters of religion." Some of those matters of religion are no doubt fundamental articles of faith, but others are pious opinions or inferior truths, and others again are practical truths which do not come within the category of points to be believed. Another point to be noticed about the Articles is that from the time of their composition they were never meant to be regarded as forming a complete system of theology. It was intended that they should deal with certain particular points which were actually in dispute during the reign of Edward VI.

In saying all this, I am not putting forth a private opinion of my own, I am expressing the view which is taken by all the great divines of the English Church, whether they belonged to one school of thought or to another. As the point under discussion is important, I will quote two or three passages bearing on it from some of our most illustrious theologians. Archbishop Laud of Canterbury, who died a martyr's death in 1645, in his Conference with Fisher the Jesuit, said:¹—"The Church of England never declared that every one of her Articles are fundamental in the faith. . . . Besides, the Church of England prescribes only to her own children, and by those Articles provides but for her own peaceable consent in those doctrines of truth." Archbishop Usher of Armagh, a most learned prelate, who died in 1656,

¹ Laud's *Works*, edit. Oxon., vol. ii. p. 60.

says:¹—“We do not suffer any man to reject the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England at his pleasure, yet neither do we look upon them as essentials of saving faith, or legacies of Christ and His Apostles; but in a mean as pious opinions, fitted for the preservation of peace and unity; neither do we oblige any man to believe them, but only not to contradict them.” Bishop Pearson of Chester, who died in 1686, one of the most authoritative of all our divines, says:²—“The book of Articles is not, nor is pretended to be, a complete body of divinity, or a comprehension and explication of Christian doctrines necessary to be taught; but an enumeration of some truths, which upon and since the Reformation have been denied by some persons; who upon their denial are thought unfit to have any cure of souls in this Church or realm; because they might by their opinions either infect their flock with error, or else disturb the Church with schism, or the realm with sedition.”

At the Conference of Bishops, held at Lambeth Palace under the presidency of Archbishop Benson of Canterbury in 1888, a Resolution was unanimously passed by the 145 Bishops who took part in the Conference, which throws light on the position of the Thirty-nine Articles as a standard of faith and doctrine. The Resolution is thus worded:—“That, as regards newly-constituted Churches, especially in non-Christian lands, it should be a condition of the recognition of them as in complete intercommunion with us, and especially

¹ Quoted by Bishop Bull (Bull's *English Theological Works*, Oxford, 1844, Appendix pp. 52, 53).

² Bishop Pearson's *Minor Theological Works*, edit. Churton, vol. ii. p. 215.

of their receiving from us Episcopal Succession, that we should first receive from them satisfactory evidence that they hold substantially the same doctrine as our own, and that their clergy subscribe Articles in accordance with the express statements of our own standards of doctrine and worship; *but that they should not necessarily be bound to accept in their entirety the thirty-nine Articles of Religion.*"

This Resolution shows very clearly that the Bishops of the Anglican Communion do not regard the acceptance of the thirty-nine Articles of Religion in their entirety by newly-constituted Churches, as a condition *sine quâ non* of their admitting those Churches to recognized and complete inter-communion with themselves. It follows necessarily from such a view of the matter that the Anglican Episcopate holds that it would be wrong to regard all the propositions contained in the Articles as being articles of faith necessary to be believed. Taken as a whole, they are Articles of peace and godly concord rather than Articles of faith, and it is in that light that they have always been regarded.

The Articles of Religion were first published in 1553, near the end of the reign of King Edward VI., but it is almost certain that they had not then received the sanction of the Synods of the Church.¹ Though drawn up by theologians, they were authorized by the King and not by the Bishops; and two months after their publication the King died; and the Church was forced by his successor, Queen Mary, to submit to the claims of the Roman Pope. When, five years later, Mary died and Elizabeth succeeded, the Roman tyranny was once more

¹ See Bishop Gibson's Explanation of *The Thirty-nine Articles*, sixth edit. 1908, pp. 15-20.

shaken off, and in 1562 the Articles were carefully revised and improved and sanctioned by the Synods of the Church; and they were again revised in 1571 and brought to their present form, and in that form they were sanctioned both by the Church and by the State.

It is sometimes wrongly supposed that the compilers and revisers of the Articles were moved by only one desire, namely to root out from the Church of England certain errors and superstitions, which had crept in during the middle ages. No doubt that was one of their motives, and that motive can be clearly traced in fifteen out of the forty-two Articles, which were published in King Edward's reign. But there was another motive which acted even more strongly than the one which has just now been mentioned, namely the desire to provide a bulwark against the far more fundamental errors of the Anabaptists of Germany and the Netherlands, who held extreme Protestant views, and were taking refuge in England from the persecution which they had to endure on the continent. At least twenty-three of the forty-two original Articles were aimed at one or other of the differing sections of the Anabaptists.

It would be quite impossible for me to go through all the thirty-nine Articles, and to prove to you that they are all in harmony with the teachings of Holy Scripture and of Holy Tradition and also with the dogmatic decrees of the accepted Ecumenical Councils. If I were to attempt to do so, I should have to prolong these lectures through many weeks. I believe myself that most of our Articles would be accepted at once by the learned theologians of the Holy Church of Russia and of the other Orthodox Eastern Churches. In regard to some few they might wish for explanations, before

they could express their complete approval of them. But the Articles ought not to be regarded as an obstacle to inter-communion, unless Eastern theologians are prepared to maintain that any of them are irreconcilable with the faith once for all delivered to the Saints.

I am inclined to think that, as, for lack of time, I can only speak about a few of the Articles, it will be best for me to call your attention to the principal Article which deals with the subject of the Holy Eucharist, namely the 28th, and also with the Article which deals with the Sacraments generally, namely the 25th. I choose those particular Articles just because I imagine that some of your theologians would wish to have those Articles, or at any rate certain parts of those Articles, explained.¹

But before I begin my explanations, I must remind you of a fact which I have already pointed out, namely that the Articles were not intended to be a full statement of the Church's teaching on the matters with which they deal. They for the most part touch only on certain particular points which were in dispute in England during the sixteen or at most the twenty-five years which followed the death of King Henry VIII. in 1547. I must also call your attention to the fact that the theologians who drew up the Articles and the synods which revised and sanctioned them had hardly any knowledge of the writings of the later theologians of the Orthodox Eastern Church. They did indeed know some of the writings of the Eastern *Fathers*, but

¹ For a discussion of the true meaning of the 31st article, which very rightly condemns certain mediaeval misrepresentations of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, I may perhaps be allowed to refer to a paper of mine published in 1896, and entitled, *Les Ordinations Anglicanes et le Sacrifice de la Messe*.

they knew little if anything of the writings of Eastern theologians who lived after the breach between the East and the West in the year 1054. The disputes with which they were dealing were Western disputes; and the theological expressions, which they used, were understood according to the meaning assigned to them either by the theologians of the West, or by the common usage of popular language in Western countries and more especially in England.

The title of the 28th Article is *De Coena Domini*, "Of the Lord's Supper." This is one of the names which the Holy Fathers, following S. Paul,¹ give to the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist. It is so called by S. Basil,² S. Chrysostom,³ S. Augustine,⁴ and others.

The dogmatic part of the 28th Article runs thus:—
 "The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that 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.

"Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

¹ i. Cor. xi. 20.

² *Reg. Brev. Tract.*, n. cccx., *Opp.* ii. 525, edit. 1722.

³ S. Chrys., *Hom.* xxvii. in i. Cor. (xi. 20) § 2, *Opp.* x. 285, edit. Par., 1837.

⁴ S. Augustin., *Ep.* liv. c. vii., *Opp.* ii. 168.

“The Body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten is Faith.”

In the first paragraph of the Article a false opinion of the Anabaptists about the Lord's Supper is rejected. They held that it is “*only* a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another.” The Article denies that it is *only* that. “Rather,” it says, “it is a Sacrament of our Redemption by Christ's death. Insomuch that 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.” All this teaching is based upon the doctrine laid down by S. Paul in the tenth and eleventh chapters of his first Epistle to the Corinthians.¹

Then in the second paragraph the Article repudiates the mediaeval Latin doctrine of transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the Holy Eucharist. The mediaeval Latin doctrine is based on the distinction between “substance” and “accidents” invented by the heathen philosopher, Aristotle. These Aristotelian terms are not used in reference to the Holy Eucharist either in Holy Scripture or in the writings of the holy Fathers. They were introduced into the theological language of the Latin Church after the breach between the East and the West in 1054; and I am thankful to know that the holy Church of Russia like the holy Church of England has carefully avoided any use of them in her dogmatic formularies. Some

¹ See i. Cor. xi. 28, and x. 16.

time ago I read with great pleasure an account of a conversation which took place about fifty years ago between the much venerated Metropolitan of Moscow, Philaret, and Dr. Young, Bishop of Florida in the United States of America, a Bishop belonging to the Anglican Communion. The account was re-produced in the journal of the S. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy, the *Tzerkovny Viestnik* of March 27, 1897, under the title, "The views of the Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow upon the Latin doctrine of Transubstantiation."¹ In the course of the conversation the Metropolitan Philaret spoke as follows:—"The manner of our Lord's presence in the Blessed Eucharist is a mystery to be apprehended by faith, and not a matter to be speculated and dogmatised upon, or to be reasoned about. All definitions or pretended explanations, such as the use of the word Transubstantiation (*Transsubstantziatziija*), are nothing but attempts to penetrate into the mystery, and thereby they overthrow the essence of a sacrament." That is exactly what is said in our 28th Article. It is there asserted that "Transubstantiation overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament" (*sacramenti naturam evertit*). After this statement made by the Metropolitan, Bishop Young said:—"But is not the word Transubstantiation used in your Longer Catechism?" "No," replied Philaret with emphasis, "it is not. In Russian we say [not *transsubstantziija*, but] *presushchestvolénie*, a word corresponding exactly to the Greek word *μετουσίωσις*." "But," said Dr. Young, "it is used more than once by Blackmore in his translation of the Russian Catechism." "In that case,"

¹ See Publication xli. of the Church Historical Society, entitled *Priesthood in the English Church*, pp. 54, 55, edit. 1898, S.P.C.K.

replied the Metropolitan, "the translation is incorrect. We have taken good care that the word should not appear in our Catechism." The writer in the *Tzerkovny Viéstnik* observes that this conversation "is extremely interesting as showing the extraordinary acuteness of the famous Metropolitan's theological intellect, in thus finding a means of preserving the Orthodox teaching . . . from the irruption into it of the coarse metaphysics of the schoolmen, with their self-made and, even from a philological point of view, unnatural term, Transsubstantiation."¹

It is clear that in our English repudiation of the mediæval Latin doctrine of Transubstantiation, we find ourselves at one with the holy Church of Russia.

And when we pass from what we repudiate to what we believe about the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ under the form of bread and wine, I have no doubt that on this point also the Church of Russia and the Church of England are at one.

Before I go on to the next paragraph of the Article, it will be well to set before you the official teaching of the Church of England on the holy Sacrament of the

¹ About five weeks after the account of this conversation had been published in the *Tzerkovny Viéstnik*, it was re-printed in the *Guardian* of May 12, 1897, with the following note:—"We may add that the word *presushchestvlénie* is the exact Slavonic equivalent of the Greek *μερουργίαις*, the Slavonic word *sushchestvo* philologically corresponding not to *substantia*, but to *οὐσία* (*essentia*), and being formed in just the same way from *súshchi*, present participle of the verb *bytj*, to be. When it is remembered that the Metropolitan Philaret was himself the author both of the Longer Catechism and of the translation of the Articles of the Synod of Jerusalem in the form in which the Holy Synod of Russia finally accepted them, it will be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this conversation, and of the fact that it has been re-printed just at this time in one of the leading ecclesiastical journals of Russia."

Eucharist, as it has been gathered from her Prayer-book and Catechism and other formularies by one of the most learned and devout of our theologians, who lived in the last century, and died in 1882, thirty years ago. I mean Dr. Pusey, a Canon of the Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford.

Dr. Pusey says:¹—"There now remains only to sum up the teaching of the Church of England on the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist. She teaches then, that 'Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself' are means 'whereby God doth work invisibly in us'; 'means whereby we receive the inward part or thing signified' by 'the outward and visible sign'; and that they are 'pledges to assure us thereof'; [These passages are quoted from the 25th Article and from the Catechism]. She teaches that 'the inward part or thing signified in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is the Body and Blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper'; [This is quoted from the Catechism]. She teaches that 'Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, hath given His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ to be our spiritual Food and sustenance in that holy Sacrament'; and that this is 'a Divine thing to those who receive it worthily'; [These passages are from the first warning Exhortation for the Celebration of the Holy Communion]. She teaches that then 'we spiritually eat the Flesh of Christ and drink His Blood; then we dwell in Christ and Christ with us, we are one with Christ and Christ with us'; [This is from the longer Exhortation at the time of the Celebration of the Com-

¹ Pusey (*The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ the Doctrine of the English Church*, edit. 1869, pp. 234-237).

munion]. She teaches that we 'come' there 'to the Body and Blood of Christ'; [This is quoted from S. Basil in the second Part of the Homily concerning the Sacrament]. She teaches that we 'receive His Blessed Body and Blood under the Form of bread and wine'; [This is from the Notice at the end of the first Book of Homilies]. She teaches that 'at His Table we,' if we be faithful, 'receive not only the outward Sacrament but the spiritual *thing* also; not the figure only but the truth; not the shadow only, but the Body'; 'spiritual Food, nourishment of our soul, a heavenly refec-tion, an invisible meat, a ghostly substance'; that 'Christ' is our 'refec-tion and meat'; that that Body and Blood are *present* there; for 'in the Supper of the Lord, there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, *no* untrue figure of a *thing absent*'; [These passages are from the first Part of the Homily concerning the Sacrament]. She teaches that 'the bread' which 'is blessed' or 'consecrated' with our Lord's words, 'This is My Body' 'is the Communion or par-taking of the Body of Christ'; that the Cup or wine which 'is blessed' or 'consecrated' with His word, 'This is My Blood of the New Testament,' 'is to such as rightly worthily and with faith receive the same,' 'the Communion or partaking of the Blood of Christ'; [These passages are from the rubrick immediately following the words of administration, and from the 28th Article]. She teaches that, if we receive rightly, 'we *so* eat the Flesh of JESUS Christ, the Son of God, and drink His Blood, that our sinful bodies are made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most Precious Blood'; [This is from the Prayer of humble access in the Eucharistic Liturgy]. She teaches that, if we receive rightly, we are made 'partakers of His most Precious

Body and Blood'; and so, 'partakers of Christ'; [These passages are from the Prayer of Consecration and the 29th Article]. She teaches that 'God Himself vouchsafes to feed those, who duly receive these holy Mysteries with the spiritual Food of the most Precious Body and Blood of His Son our Saviour JESUS Christ'; [This is from the second Thanksgiving after Communion]. She teaches that 'the Body and Blood of Christ which were given and shed for us,' when received by us, do, if we persevere, 'preserve our bodies and souls unto everlasting life'; [This is from the words of administration]. She teaches that they are 'a salve of immortality and sovereign preservative against death'; 'a deifical Communion'; 'the pledge of eternal health, the defence of faith, the hope of the Resurrection'; 'the Food of immortality, the healthful grace, the conservatory to life everlasting';" [These passages are from the first Part of the Homily concerning the Sacrament].

This then is the official teaching of the Church of England on the subject of the Holy Eucharist, collected out of its authorized formularies by Dr. Pusey. And I think that every one, who is acquainted with the eucharistic teaching of the holy Fathers, will admit that the teaching of the Church of England on this subject is singularly patristic in its tone.

Here I will dwell specially on one point in that teaching. Our Church, when speaking of the Eucharistic Food, often calls it "spiritual" or "heavenly" Food. Thus she says that God has given "His Son our Saviour JESUS Christ to be our *spiritual* Food and Sustenance" in this Sacrament; and she declares that "we receive not only the outward sacrament but the *spiritual* Thing also"; and she describes the inward part of the Eucharist

as “*spiritual* Food, a *heavenly* refection, an *invisible* meat, a *ghostly* substance.” Now this is exactly in accordance with the language of the holy Fathers. Thus S. Irenaeus¹ says:—“The bread which is from the earth receiving the invocation of God is no longer common bread but Eucharist, consisting of two things (*δύο πραγμάτων*), an earthly thing and a heavenly thing.”² Here the outward part is an earthly thing, the inward part, that is the Body of Christ, is a *heavenly* Thing. Similarly S. Athanasius in his fourth Festal Letter says:—“Our Saviour also, since He was changing the typical for the *spiritual*, promised them that they should no longer eat the flesh of a lamb, but His own, saying, ‘Take, eat and drink ; this is My Body and My Blood.’” The paschal lamb was merely typical food ; the Body and Blood of Christ are *spiritual* nourishment conveying eternal life to those who devoutly receive them. Similarly S. Ambrose of Milan³ says:—“In that Sacrament Christ is ; because it is the Body of Christ ; it is not therefore bodily Food, but *spiritual*. . . . For the Body of God is a *spiritual* Body : the Body of Christ is the Body of the Divine Spirit, since Christ is Spirit, as we read, ‘The Spirit before our face is Christ the Lord.’”⁴

We will now pass on to consider the third paragraph of the 28th Article, which is thus worded:—“The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the

¹ *Adversus Haereses*, iv. xviii. v., edit. Massuet.

² S. Irenaeus’s concluding words run thus:—*οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν ἀλλ’ εὐχαριστία ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκεία, ἐπιγέλου τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ.*

³ *De Mysteriis*, cap. ix. § 58.

⁴ S. Ambrose is quoting the Old Latin version of Lament. Jerem. iv. 20.

Supper is faith." This paragraph was drawn up by Bishop Guest of Rochester, and was substituted by the Synod which was held at London in 1563 in place of another very unsatisfactory paragraph which was at first proposed for its acceptance. Bishop Guest was a strong believer in the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, and he defended that doctrine in the Synod, and by the help of God persuaded the Synod to adopt the paragraph which he had composed; and for this service the Church of England owes him a great debt of gratitude.

The paragraph states that the Body of Christ is not only received and eaten by the communicants, but it is first of all *given* to them by the Priest. The Body of our Lord is present in the Sacrament before it is received by the communicant. It is caused to be present under the form of bread, and the Precious Blood of Christ is caused to be present under the form of wine, by the operation of the Holy Ghost at the time when the sacrament is consecrated; and it is by the operation of the Holy Ghost that the Presence is perpetuated. So that when the Priest gives the Holy Sacrament to the communicant, it is already the Body of Christ under the form of bread. But the Body of Christ is, as S. Irenaeus says, a heavenly thing. It is present in a manner above sense and nature. It is not locally enclosed in the outward part of the sacrament, but it is connected with it, somewhat, perhaps, as the human soul is connected with the human body.¹ The mysterious

¹ So the Romanist, Scavini, in his *Theologia Moralis Universa* (Tractat. iv. disput. iv. pars i. cap. i. art. 2, edit. 1855, Paris, tom. iii. p. 527) says :—"Christus enim non est sub specie eo modo quo corpora naturalia sunt in locis, sed eo fere modo quo anima est in corpore,

connexion between the outward part of the Sacrament and the inward part results in the fact that, when one part is given and taken, the other part is given and taken. The connexion between the two parts is brought about and continued by the action of the Holy Ghost; but beyond that we cannot go; because nothing is revealed. But a giving and taking, which depends on a connexion brought about and continued by the action of the Holy Ghost, must necessarily be carried out only in a heavenly and spiritual, though most real, manner.

There was one member of the synod, Cheyney, Bishop of Gloucester, who did not grasp the point, to which I have just now been calling attention; and in his zeal for the doctrine of the Real Presence of our Lord's Body and Blood in the Sacrament, he objected to the word "only," as it stands in this third paragraph. This objection of his led to Bishop Guest writing a very important letter to Sir William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's principal Treasurer. I will here quote the most important paragraph of that letter. Bishop Guest says: ¹—"I suppose you have heard how the Bishop of Gloucester found himself grieved with the placing of this adverb 'only' in this Article,—'The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper after an heavenly and spiritual manner only,' because it did take away the presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament; and privily noted me to take his part therein, and yesterday in mine absence more plainly touched me for the same. Whereas between him and me I told him plainly that this word 'only' in the foresaid Article did not exclude the presence of Christ's Body

quae tota singulis corporis partibus unita est." Scavini refers in confirmation to Vasquez.

¹ See Pusey (*Real Presence*, pp. 203, 204, note k).

from the Sacrament, but only the grossness and sensible-ness in the receiving thereof. For I said unto him, though he took Christ's Body in his hand, received it with his mouth, and that corporally, naturally, really, substantially, and carnally, as the doctors do write, yet did he not for all that, see it, feel it, smell it, nor taste it. And therefore I told him I would speak against him herein, and the rather because the Article was of mine own penning. And yet I would not, for all that, deny thereby anything that I had spoken for the presence."

The last sentence of the third paragraph of the 28th Article runs thus:—"And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith." The Holy Eucharist, as S. Irenaeus tells us, consists of two things, an earthly thing and a heavenly Thing, which are wonderfully united in one Sacrament. When we devoutly partake of that Sacrament, the earthly thing is digested by the appropriate organs of our body, which is strengthened and refreshed thereby; and at the same time our soul appropriates through the organ of its living faith the heavenly Thing or Things, namely the Body and Blood of our Lord, and it feeds thereon and is, in its far higher way, strengthened and refreshed thereby. As the great S. Augustine of Hippo says:—"He [our Lord] gave to His disciples the Supper consecrated by His Hands: but we were not reclining at that banquet; and yet we daily eat by faith that very Supper" ["Coenam manibus suis consecratam discipulis dedit: sed nos in illo convivio non discubuimus; et tamen ipsam coenam fide quotidie manducamus"].¹

¹ S. August., Serm. cxii. cap. iv., Migne's *P. L.*, xxxviii. 645. See also Thomassin, *Theol. Dogmm., De Incarnat. Verb.*, lib. x. capp. xxix., xxx., edit. 1868, Paris, tom. iv., pp. 451-472.

We now come to the fourth and last paragraph of the 28th Article, which runs thus:—"The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped." In order to understand this paragraph, it must be remembered that in the later middle ages, after the breach between the East and the West in 1054, certain new ceremonies were introduced into the Latin Church which had not been practised during the first thousand years of the Church's history. The feast of *Corpus Christi* was instituted in honour of the Holy Sacrament of the Altar, and it became customary on that feast to carry the Holy Eucharist in procession through the streets of the towns and villages. It also became customary to expose the consecrated Sacrament in a monstrance, which was placed on the Altar, for the worship of the people. Moreover, every time the Holy Sacrifice was offered, it became customary for the Celebrant to elevate above his head first the Host and then the Chalice immediately after the consecration. Finally, whereas in the early times of the Church the Blessed Sacrament was usually reserved for the sick in the sacristy or in some inconspicuous part of the church, it was usually reserved in the later middle ages in the West in a pyx hanging over and in front of the high altar in full view of the people. The compilers of our Prayer-book did not in any way condemn these customs, but for various reasons they did not wish to continue these comparatively novel usages; and in answer to any possible objector who might ask why they had abolished them, they stated in this last paragraph of the 28th Article that these customs were not ordained by Christ, and were therefore not obligatory; and it was within the rights of the rulers of the Church to do away

with them. I do not think that any of these customs have ever been established in the Russian Church, and if a Latin were to ask why she did not follow them, she would answer that Christ had not made these customs obligatory. As regards reservation for the sick, it was during part of the reign of Edward VI. permitted that, at the end of the Celebration of the Holy Mysteries, the Eucharist should be carried straight to the sick, who wished to communicate. Afterwards it was ordered that the Priest should celebrate in the sick person's chamber,¹ and should impart to him our Lord's Body and Blood. Now the old custom of reserving for the sick is being gradually restored.

I pass now to the 25th Article, which is entitled "*De Sacramentis*" ("Of the Sacraments"). I shall only deal with those parts of the Article, concerning which theologians of the Holy Church of Russia might not improbably ask for explanations. But first I must say something about the meaning given to the word "Sacrament" by the holy Fathers and by Divines who have lived in later ages of the Church.

The Fathers seem as a rule to use the word very widely. S. Augustine speaks of the Sacrament of the Creed, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Prayer. S. Hilary speaks of the Sacrament of fasting and the Sacrament of Holy Scripture. S. Jerome speaks of the Sacrament of Martyrdom. S. Augustine also speaks of the Sacra-

¹ The learned Benedictine, Dom Martene (*De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iii. art. v. § xii., Edit. Antverp., 1736, tom. i. coll. 303, 304), says :—"Sed et propter infirmos privatis in domibus celebrare permissum haud inficiamur, idque et ecclesiasticis decretis probare, et sanctorum virorum factis, et exemplis confirmare in promptu esset." He goes on to give various instances of the observance of this custom, and he mentions that it still flourished in Spain in the sixteenth century.

ment of the exorcized salt which was given to the catechumens. S. Bernard speaks of the Sacrament of the feet-washing. Pope Alexander III. speaks of the Sacrament of the Incarnation. And one might go on almost endlessly enumerating all the Sacraments which are mentioned by the Fathers. There is not one of the Holy Fathers, who ever grouped together the seven rites to which in the later middle ages Peter Lombard and the Schoolmen restricted the use of the word "Sacrament." This fact is admitted by the learned Roman theologian, Cardinal Franzelin.¹

The fact is that the word sacrament is a word which may be defined in many ways; and, if we attempt to number the Sacraments, we shall arrive at different results, according to the different definitions of the word which may severally form the starting-points of our numbering. The Holy Fathers used the word in such a wide sense that it would have been hardly possible for them to assign any number to them. And as a matter of fact they never do attempt to number them. They sometimes pick out certain sacraments of special importance and group them together. I read in a Romanist article on "The Sacraments of the Gospel," which forms part of a Dictionary much used by the Romanists in England, the following statement, which is certainly a true statement. The Romanist writer says:—"In the earliest ages, Baptism and the Eucharist, the two Sacraments most clearly and directly instituted by Christ, and most necessary for all, were classed together."² In other words those two formed a group

¹ *Tractat. de Sacramentis in genere*, edit. 1873, thes. xix. p. 273.

² *The Catholic Dictionary* by Addis and Arnold, edit. 1884, p. 736. This dictionary bears the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Manning.

apart. They were regarded as having been typified by the water and Blood which flowed from our Saviour's side, when He hung on the Cross. The water typified Baptism, and the Precious Blood typified the Eucharistic Chalice.¹ But it would be quite wrong to imagine that the Holy Fathers taught that there were only two Sacraments. They taught no such thing. They held that the Sacraments were very numerous; but that two of them held a place of special pre-eminence, and formed a group by themselves, and those two were Baptism and the Holy Eucharist.²

Afterwards different writers devised different groups. Thus S. Theodore of the Studium, a holy monk of Constantinople, who died in 826, declares that Christ "instituted six Sacraments," namely Baptism, the Eucharist, the Consecration of the Chrism, Ordination, the Monastic habit, and the rites connected with Burial.³ Similarly S. Peter Damian,⁴ a friend of Pope Gregory VII., groups together twelve Sacraments. Hugh of S. Victor⁵

¹ Cf. S. Chrysost., *Hom.* lxxxv. in *Johann. Evang.*, cap. xix. v. 31.

² The members of the Council of Constantinople, held in April, 1718, under the presidency of Jeremias II., Patriarch of Constantinople, in their answer to the English Non-juring Bishops, speaking of the Holy Sacraments, the number of which they consider to be seven, say:—"Two only exceed in necessity and are such as no one can be saved without them," and they proceed to mention Baptism and the Holy Eucharist (see George Williams's work entitled—*The Orthodox and the Non-jurors*, edit. 1868, p. 46).

³ Cf. S. Theodor. Studit., *Epist.*, lib. ii. ep. 163.

⁴ Cf. S. Petr. Dam. Serm. lxi., *P.L.* cxliv. 898. Another friend and supporter of Pope Gregory VII., Bonizo, Bishop first of Sutri and afterwards of Placentia, in his *Libellus de Sacramentis* (*P.L.* cl. 857), speaking of the Sacraments says:—"Duo ab ipso Domino tradita, quaedam vero ab apostolis instituta." Bonizo died in 1090. S. Peter Damian died in 1072.

⁵ Cf. Hug. de S. Vict., *De Sacramentis Christian. Fid.*, lib. i. part ix. cap. 7, *P.L.* clxxvi. 327.

names nearly thirty, which he divides into three classes. At last Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, laid down that there were seven Sacraments.¹ He did this in a book entitled *The Sentences*, which was published about 1150. His book became the principal manual of theology among the Latins during the next four hundred years, and his theory about the number of the Sacraments was very generally accepted.

But in England, when our 25th Article was drawn up, our Bishops thought that it was safer to go back to the teaching of the Holy Fathers, and to use the word "Sacrament" in the wide sense in which the Fathers used it; while at the same time, like the Fathers, they classed together in a special group the two great Sacraments which had been directly instituted by Christ, and were generally necessary for all persons who wished to live the Christian life. Concerning Baptism our Lord said:—"Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."² And concerning the Holy Eucharist our Lord said:—"Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of man and drink His Blood, ye have not life in yourselves."³ He said nothing like that of Confirmation or Penance or Ordination or Matrimony or the Unction of the sick. That does not prove that those five are not Sacraments. They undoubtedly are Sacraments. But it does show that they are not such necessary Sacraments as the two great Sacraments which Christ Himself ordained, while He was here on earth.

I have already said that the Church of England thought it best for her own people to use the language

¹ Lib. iv. *Sententt.* dist. ii. § 1, *P.L.* cxcii. 841, 842.

² S. John iii. 5.

³ S. John vi. 53.

of the Holy Fathers rather than the language of Peter Lombard and the Latin schoolmen. She did not condemn that scholastic language; but she preferred for her own use the language of the Fathers. In the Homily of Common Prayer and Sacraments it is stated that "in a general acceptation the name of a Sacrament may be attributed to any thing whereby an holy thing is signified. In which understanding of the word the ancient writers have given this name, not only to the other five commonly of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven Sacraments, but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet and such-like; not meaning thereby to repute them as Sacraments in the same signification that the two forenamed Sacraments are." By "the two forenamed Sacraments" the Homily means of course to refer to Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, the two which are generally necessary to salvation.

This passage of the Homily shows that the Church of England, following the Fathers, allows the wide use of the word Sacrament, which was customary in the early Church; only she is jealous to guard the special dignity and necessity of the two very great Sacraments which flowed from the Side of Christ crucified; and the Fathers in their day were also jealous about the same point.

But it will be well now to say something about the teaching of the Church of England in regard to the five Sacraments which Peter Lombard classed along with Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, so as to make a special group of seven.

The first of these is Confirmation. The rule of the Church of England is that children, who have been

baptized in infancy, should be "brought to the Bishop to be confirmed by him, so soon as they can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, and shall have been further instructed in the Church Catechism set forth for that purpose." When they are being confirmed, the Bishop prays for them thus:—"Almighty and everliving God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants by Water and the Holy Ghost, and hast given unto them forgiveness of all their sins: Strengthen them, we beseech, O Lord, with the Holy Ghost, the Comforter." And the Bishop goes on to mention the seven gifts of the Spirit; and then, after the example of the Holy Apostles, he lays his hand upon the head of every one severally, in order to impart to each one the Pentecostal indwelling of the Holy Spirit.

In the case of adult converts from Judaism, Mohamadanism, and heathenism, and also in the case of any others who for any reason were not baptized in their childhood, but who now wish to become Christians, they are first baptized, and are then brought to the Bishop to be confirmed, so soon after their Baptism as conveniently may be.

The rule of our Church is that "there shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed."

The second of the five Sacraments, about which I am speaking, is Penance. There is an important declaration of the mind of the Church of England on this subject in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick in the Prayer-book. At a certain point in the service the

following direction is given to the Priest :—“ Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort :—Our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences: And by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.”

Here the Priest is required by the Church to *urge* the sick person to make his confession, if the latter feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, that is, I suppose, with some deadly sin, or with some sin which the sick person may suppose to be a deadly sin. The Church of England evidently regards the Sacrament of Penance as the appropriate remedy for deadly sin. No one would urge dying persons to do disagreeable things, unless it was felt to be of the highest importance that they should do them. This consideration seems to show that in the opinion of the Church of England a person who fears that he has fallen out of the state of grace, is under a grave obligation to make use of the Sacrament of Penance, if it may be had, in order that by the right use of that Sacrament he may be restored to a state of living union with our Lord. This principle must necessarily apply also to the case of a person who has fallen into deadly sin, and who wishes to be restored to the state of grace before making his Communion. God may indeed give him grace to make acts of perfect contrition, and so restore him to all the privileges of the

new Covenant;¹ but if the sinner is not sure that this has taken place, and therefore cannot quiet his own conscience herein, the Priest is directed in the Communion Service of the Prayer-book to invite him to come to himself "or to some other discreet and learned Minister of God's holy word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's holy word he may receive the benefit of Absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice."

The third of these five Sacraments is Orders. I think that it will be sufficient at this point in my argument, if I quote a passage from the work of a learned theologian of the Russian Church, Professor Basil Sokoloff of Moscow. His book² is entitled—"An Enquiry into the Hierarchy of the Anglican Episcopal Church," and one of the chapters of that book has for its title the following question:—"Has the Laying-on of hands of the English Church the significance of a grace-giving Sacrament?" That particular chapter has been translated into English by Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, and I shall quote what Professor Sokoloff says, using Mr. Birkbeck's translation. In the passage which I am going to read to you, Professor Sokoloff is investigating the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England in

¹ S. Thomas Aquinas (*Summ. Theol.*, part. iii. qu. lxxvii. art. iii. ad 3^m) says:—"Dicendum quod . . . poenitentia non est tantae necessitatis sicut baptismus; potest enim per contritionem suppleri defectus sacerdotalis absolutionis."

² Professor Sokoloff's book was placed before the Most Holy Governing Synod as his exercise for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and the degree was conferred upon him. I do not suppose that by this act the Holy Synod was committed to all the conclusions of his book; but one may, I hope, assume that the granting of the degree implied that the reasonings and conclusions of the book fell within the limits of what it is permissible for an Eastern Orthodox theologian to hold and teach.

regard to the Sacrament of Orders, and he is specially investigating the teaching of the Order of Ordination and Consecration which forms part of the Book of Common Prayer. Professor Sokoloff says:—“In the Preface to this Order the idea is clearly expressed that only that man may take upon himself to minister in the Church who has been first called, tried, and admitted thereunto ‘by lawful authority,’ and moreover that the ordination itself must be accomplished by means of ‘Episcopal consecration or ordination, by public prayer with imposition of hands.’ In the prayers of the Office we frequently come upon testimony that the English Church acknowledges the hierarchy to be a Divine ordinance. ‘Almighty God,’ it says, ‘Who by Thy Divine Providence hast appointed divers orders of ministers in Thy Church, and didst inspire Thy holy Apostles to choose into the order of deacons the holy Proto-martyr Stephen, with others.’¹ ‘Almighty God, Giver of all good things, Who by Thy Holy Spirit hast appointed divers orders of ministers in Thy Church.’ ‘JESUS Christ . . . after He was ascended into heaven sent abroad into the world His Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Doctors, and Pastors, by whose ministry and labour He gathered together a great flock in all parts of the world.’² He ‘poured down His gifts abundantly upon men, making some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Doctors to the edifying and making perfect His Church.’³ The persons ordained to the ministry of the Church are represented in

¹ Ordination of Deacons. See *Book of Common Prayer*, Oxford, 1885, p. 379.

² Ordination of Priests. *Ibid.*, pp. 383, 388.

³ Ordination of a Bishop. *Ibid.*, p. 393.

the Anglican Ordinal as direct successors of those Apostles, Pastors and Doctors whom God Himself ordained. According to the words of the prayers, these persons are 'now called to the like office and administration'; the 'Almighty God' Himself 'vouchsafes to accept and take' them 'unto the office' they are to serve 'in' His 'Church': 'the Holy Ghost' calls them 'to take upon' them 'this office and administration.'¹ This Divinely instituted service is spoken of in the prayers as a 'sacred office and ministry,' an 'office both of great excellency and of great difficulty,' 'so high a dignity' it is so lofty and so full of difficulty, that, in dedicating himself to it a man cannot rely merely upon his own powers and abilities; that will and ability God alone gives.² This is why the Church, in bestowing the laying on of hands upon her ministers, heartily beseeches the Lord God, 'that He may bestow' and 'pour His grace upon them,' and strengthen them by 'the heavenly assistance of the Holy Ghost.'³ And this is not all: the Church also expresses her firm belief that at her prayers, and in the strength of the commission given to her, he that is ordained actually receives at the imposition of hands 'the grace of God' and 'the Holy Ghost.' By the lips of the consecrating Bishop she in faith exclaims: 'Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest or Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto Thee by the imposition of our hands. . . . And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands.'⁴ And thus,

¹ From Ordinations of Deacon, Priest, and Bishop. *Ibid.*, pp. 379, 338, 381, 313, 385, 391.

² *Ibid.*, p. 385.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 377, 385, 389, 391, 393, 394.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 383, 393.

according to the present teaching of the Anglican Church, the hierarchy is acknowledged to be a Divine institution, into the body of which are admitted only such persons as have received a special calling. These persons receive a consecration through the imposition, accompanied by prayer, of the hands of the Bishop, by means of which there is sent down upon them the grace-bestowing gifts of the Holy Ghost, and it is only this Divine assistance which gives them strength and ability for the fulfilling of their high office. This doctrine concerning the Divine ordinance and grace-giving significance of the hierarchy the Anglican Church has preserved unchanged from the earliest times of the religious reformation and of her separation from her connexion with Rome."

Thus speaks the learned Professor Basil Sokoloff; and I hope that you will agree with me that he proves to demonstration that the Church of England, which speaks of Ordination or Orders as a Sacrament both in her Homilies and in the 25th Article, evidently regards it as a grace-giving Sacrament; though she does not put it into that small group of Sacraments necessary for all who would live a Christian life, into which group she only admits the two great Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist.

The fourth of the five Sacraments, with which we are dealing, is Matrimony. In the first part of the Homily concerning Swearing the Church of England expressly calls Matrimony a Sacrament. She has been speaking of the holy promises with calling the Name of God to witness, which are made when any one receives the Sacrament of Baptism. And she goes on to say:—"By like holy promise the Sacrament of Matrimony knitteth man and wife to perpetual love." And in the

Form of Solemnization of Matrimony contained in the Prayer-book, after the two parties, that is the man and the woman, have expressed their willingness to be married, and have then mutually taken each other into the holy unity of wedlock, the Priest proceeds to recite over them a number of solemn blessings, in which he beseeches God to pour out upon the newly married pair all the gifts and graces which they need, in order that they may live holily and happily in the holy estate of matrimony unto their lives' end. But the Church of England, ever on the watch to exalt the two great Sacraments which are necessary for all, is careful to warn her children that Matrimony, though it is a Sacrament, is not such a Sacrament as Baptism and the Holy Eucharist are.

The fifth and last of these Sacraments is named in the Article Extreme Unction. In regard to this matter it is necessary that we should remember that those who composed the 25th Article, had before their minds the Extreme Unction of the Latins not the Prayer-Oil of the Easterns. They probably knew nothing about the Eastern Prayer-Oil. What they knew was the rite described eleven years earlier, that is in 1551, by the Council of Trent as the "sacramentum exeuntium," "the sacrament of the dying."¹ The learned Benedictine, Martene, who wrote about the year 1700, says that in his time it was everywhere the custom to wait until people were in the last stage of dying before the sacrament of unction was administered to them; and he mentions certain mistaken ideas and evil practices current in the thirteenth century as the source of this universal practice, a practice of which he does not approve.² The

¹ Concil. Trident. Sess. xiv. *Doctrin. de Extrem. Unct.*, cap. iii.

² Martene, *De Antiq. Eccl. Ritt.*, edit. Antwerp, 1736, tom. i. col. 834.

practice had therefore been going on for nearly five hundred years, and it was no doubt that practice which was present to the minds of our Bishops, when they drew up the Article. The Unction came to be regarded not so much as a supernatural means of obtaining health for the sick, as a means of preparing a dying person for death. The great Jesuit theologian, Suarez, teaches that the primary purpose of the rite is to give such help and comfort to the sick man as will aid him to overcome the difficulties which crowd upon him, when he is in the article of death.¹ And the Council of Trent in the preamble to its decree on Extreme Unction teaches much the same doctrine. Now there is nothing in the Epistle of S. James or in any other part of the New Testament which speaks of Unction as a rite to be administered to people, when they are in the article of death; nor is there any trace of any such notion in the writings of the Holy Fathers or in the liturgical formulas of the Church. No doubt the Apostles anointed the sick, but they did not anoint them to help them in the last struggle of dying. Our Bishops were therefore justified in regarding Extreme Unction, as they knew it, as being a "corrupt following of the Apostles."

It would have been well if the compilers of the Prayer-book had drawn up an office for the consecration and administration² of the oil of the sick, together with

¹ Suarez, *Opp.*, ed. 1748, tom. xix. p. 438.

² But it is worthy of note that, while forms for the *consecration* of the oil of the sick are found as early as the fourth century, I know of no forms for its *administration* earlier than the ninth century. In particular there are no forms for the administration of the oil either in the Gelasian Sacramentary or in the original Gregorian Sacramentary or in the copy of the Gregorian Sacramentary sent from Rome by Pope Hadrian I. to Charles the Great in or about the year 788. It would seem as if during

proper directions which would make it clear that the oil was to be normally administered to sick persons who were capable of recovery, and that the unction was not to be postponed until the moment preceding death. This however was not done; though in the first Prayer-book published in the reign of Edward VI., in 1549, a short office for the anointing of the sick was provided. But the Church of England has never forbidden her Bishops and Priests to carry out the directions given by S. James in his Epistle, and at the present time, with ever-increasing frequency, the sick members of the Church are sending for the Priests and are being anointed by them.¹

The first of the paragraphs of the 25th Article, which I shall quote, runs thus:—"There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ in the Gospel, that is to say Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord." This paragraph states a truth which cannot be denied. The two Sacraments, which are generally necessary for all who would be admitted into and abide in the new Covenant, are the only two Sacraments which, as far as we know, were directly instituted by Christ, while He was here on earth, and concerning which a record of their institution has been preserved in the Holy Gospel. In order that these

the first eight hundred years the Clergy were left free to compose their own forms for *administering* the oil, so as to adapt the prayers to the special circumstances of the several cases with which they had to deal.

¹ A learned Anglican writer on liturgical subjects, the late Mr. W. E. Scudamore (*Notitia Eucharistica*, second edition, 1876, pp. 1002, 1003) says:—"If a sick person, having faith in the prayers of the Church, were to send for his Parish Priest or Priests (the Presbyters or 'elders of the Church'), and, appealing to the Scripture, were to request them, on its authority, to 'pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord,' I do not see how they could refuse compliance without incurring the guilt of disobedience to the voice of God in Holy Scripture."

two great Sacraments may be distinguished from all other Sacraments, the English Church has been accustomed to call them "Sacraments of the Gospel."

The next paragraph of the Article is thus worded:—"Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction,¹ are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed (*probati*) in the Scriptures: but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God." As Dr. Edgar Gibson, the Bishop of Gloucester, observes, "the description is somewhat carelessly drawn,"² as Confirmation, one of the five Sacraments, is not included in it, for it is certainly not a state of life, nor does the Church of England regard it as a "corrupt following of the Apostles," since she has always practised it and attached great importance to it.

I will end what I have to say on this Article by quoting a passage from Bishop Jeremy Taylor, a much-reverenced Bishop of our Communion, and also a thesis adopted by the Bonn Conference held in 1874. Bishop Taylor says:—"It is none of the doctrine of the Church of England that there are two Sacraments only, but that of those rituals commanded in Scripture, which the

¹ It is to be noted that Hugh of S. Victor (*Summ. Sentent. tract.*, 5-7) mentions five *sacramenta majora* or *spiritualia*, amongst which he does not reckon either Ordination or Penance. On the other hand Robertus Pullus does not discuss Marriage when he is dealing with the other Sacraments, but when he is dealing with the three states of life, viz. the state of the *praelati*, the state of the *continentes*, and the state of the *conjugati*.

² Bishop E. Gibson, *The Thirty-nine Articles*, edit. 1908, p. 604.

Ecclesiastical use calls Sacraments (by a word of art,) two only are generally necessary to salvation.”¹ The Bonn Conference of 1874 adopted the following as its eighth *thesis*:—“(a) We acknowledge that the number of Sacraments was fixed at seven first in the twelfth century, and then was received into the general teaching of the Church, not as a tradition coming down from the Apostles or from the earliest times, but as the result of theological speculation. (b) Catholic theologians (*e.g.* Bellarmine) acknowledge, and we acknowledge with them, that Baptism and the Eucharist are ‘*principalia, praecipua, eximia salutis nostrae sacramenta.*’ ”²

¹ Jeremy Taylor's *Dissuasive*, p. 240, edit. Cardwell.

² Dr. Liddon's English edition of the Report of the Bonn Conference of 1874, pp. 20, 21.

CHAPTER III

THE LEGAL AND SPIRITUAL CONTINUITY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH BEFORE AND AFTER ITS REFORMATION (PART II.)

I HAVE now dealt with all the Articles which I have time to discuss in this Course of Lectures. I have also said something about the other doctrinal formularies of the English Church, namely the doctrinal decrees of the General Councils, the Creeds, the Catechism, and the Book of Common Prayer, and I have explained to you how the Church of England draws her faith primarily from Holy Scripture; but I have pointed out that she uses as an authoritative help in the interpretation of Scripture the Holy Tradition handed on from the Apostles by the Fathers. So far as time has allowed, I have, I hope, made it clear that, when the Church of England was separated by the Pope from his communion, she not only maintained intact her legal continuity with her old self, as she existed before her breach with Rome, but she also maintained her adherence to the Catholic faith, as it was delivered once for all to the Saints; and therefore, so far as her faith is concerned, she has maintained her spiritual continuity and identity with the Church, as it was founded by our Lord. But in order to complete the demonstration of her spiritual continuity it is necessary that I should say something about her preservation of a validly ordained ministry.

This question has been very thoroughly discussed

by Professor Basil Sokoloff from the point of view of history and of Russian Orthodox Theology in his learned book entitled *An Enquiry into the Hierarchy of the Anglican Episcopal Church*, to which I have already referred. The tenth and eleventh chapters of this book have been translated into English by Mr. W. J. Birkbeck ; and Mr. Birkbeck has been kind enough to translate for me *vivâ voce* portions of other chapters, so that I am able, from a fair amount of knowledge of it, to recommend the book to Russian readers who wish to go fully into the matter. As, owing to my unfortunate ignorance of the Russian language, I have not been able to read the book from end to end, I cannot of course commit myself to an agreement with every statement and every argument put forward by Professor Sokoloff. But I am quite convinced that he has written on the matter with a very full knowledge of the facts, and in a scientific spirit which simply desires to find out and express the truth.

In itself the subject is in my opinion a very clear and simple one. But the Romanist enemies of our Church have done all they could during the last three centuries to make what is clear obscure, and to make what is simple appear to be complicated.

The point, at which they have all along mainly aimed their attacks, has been the consecration of Archbishop Parker of Canterbury. He was the successor of Cardinal Pole, who was Archbishop of Canterbury during the latter years of the reign of Queen Mary. But the Cardinal died on the very same day that Queen Mary died, that is to say on the 17th of November, 1558. Mary was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth ; and a few months after Elizabeth's accession to the throne,

the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury elected Matthew Parker, a learned priest, to be Archbishop in Pole's place. In due time this election was confirmed, and on the 17th of December, 1559, Parker was consecrated by four Bishops in the Chapel of the Archiepiscopal Palace at Lambeth; and all the details of what was done at that consecration were duly recorded in the beginning of Archbishop Parker's register by Anthony Huse, the principal registrar of Archbishop Parker, as he had previously been the principal registrar of Parker's predecessor, Cardinal Pole. The record of Parker's consecration is in the hand-writing of the period; and that hand-writing is the same as that in which Cardinal Pole's register is written.

The reason why the Romanists move heaven and earth to discover arguments for invalidating Parker's consecration is that all the existing Bishops of the Anglican Communion trace their spiritual ancestry to Parker; and, if no account is taken of assistant consecrators, and if we only pay attention to the Archbishops or Bishops who acted as principal consecrators, the validity of all existing Anglican Bishops will seem to depend on the validity of Parker's consecration. The theory that assistant consecrators are mere witnesses and have no real share in imparting the gift of consecration is an entirely untenable theory. But I cannot attempt in these lectures to prove its untenableness. For the sake of argument I am content to accept the theory maintained by some, at any rate, of the Romanist impugners of the validity of our Ordinations, and argue the case as if everything depended on Parker alone.

At one time the Romanists rested their case on what is called the Nag's Head fable. They said that Parker

was not consecrated solemnly in Lambeth Palace Chapel according to the rites of the Prayer-book, but that he and his consecrators came together in a tavern in London, called the Nag's Head tavern, and there he was told to kneel down, and one of the Bishops, Scory by name, laid a Bible on his head or shoulders, and said—"Take thou authority to preach the word of God sincerely." This absurd story was never heard of until forty-five years after Parker's consecration, when it was set forth by a Romanist named Holywood, and has been repeated over and over again until recent times. However, the more learned Romanists are now ashamed of it. For example the Romanist, Canon Estcourt, who about forty years ago published a painstaking book on the subject of Anglican Ordinations, says (p. 154):—"It is . . . very unfortunate that the Nag's Head story was ever seriously put forward; for it is so absurd on the face of it, that it has led to the suspicion of [Roman] Catholic theologians not being sincere in the objections they make to Anglican Orders."

It seems that some of the earlier Romanist writers who committed themselves to the truth of the Nag's Head fable, felt in their heart of hearts some doubts as to its having really happened, and so they provided themselves with a second string to their bow, and they declared that Bishop Barlow, who presided at Archbishop Parker's consecration, had himself never been consecrated. And there are Romanist writers who even to this day maintain this position. I shall not weary you by any attempt to set forth and then answer the various arguments used by Romanists to uphold this untenable theory. It will be enough if I quote the illustrious Lingard, who was an ardent Romanist, but who was also one of the

best writers of English history who has ever lived. Lingard, writing to the *Catholic Magazine*¹ in the year 1834 in reply to some of his less learned co-religionists, says:—"To begin with Barlow. Why, I will ask, are we to believe that, of all the Bishops who lived in the long reign of Henry VIII., Barlow alone held and exercised the episcopal office without episcopal consecration? He was elected, and his election was confirmed in conformity with the statute of the 25th of that reign; why should we suppose that he was not also consecrated in conformity with the same statute? Was Cranmer the man to incur the penalty of *praemunire* without cause? Or was Henry a prince to allow the law to be violated with impunity? The act had been passed in support of the King's supremacy, and to cut off all recourse to Rome. Most certainly the transgression of its provisions would have marked out Barlow and Cromwell as fautors of the Papal authority, and have exposed them to the severest punishment. For ten years Barlow performed all the sacred duties, and exercised all the civil rights of a consecrated Bishop. He took his seat in Parliament and Convocation, as Lord Bishop of S. David's; he was styled by Gardiner, 'his brother of S. David's'; he ordained priests; he was one of the officiating Bishops at the consecration of Dr. Buckley. Yet we are now called upon to believe that he was no Bishop: and consequently that no one objected to his votes, though they were known to be illegal; or to his Ordinations, though they were known to be invalid; or to his performance of the Episcopal functions, though it was well known that each such function was a sacrilege! But why are we to believe these improbable, these incredible suppositions?

¹ *Catholic Magazine*, vol. v. pp. 704, 705, Birmingham.

Is there any positive proof that he was no Bishop? None in the world. All that can be said is that we cannot find any positive register of his consecration. So neither can we of many others, particularly of Bishop Gardiner. Did any one ever call in question the consecration of those Bishops on that account? Why should we doubt the consecration of Barlow, and not that of Gardiner? I fear that the only reason is this: Gardiner did not consecrate Parker, but Barlow did." I will not spoil Lingard's trenchant and conclusive argument by adding any comments of my own.

Of course the Romanists, who maintain the truth of the Nag's Head fable, are compelled to assert that the whole account of Archbishop Parker's consecration which appears in the beginning of his register is a forgery. On this point again I will quote the words of the learned and candid Romanist historian, Lingard. He, writing in answer to the ignorant assertions of one of his fellow-Romanists, says:—"Your correspondent assures us that the Register contains 'so many inaccuracies, and points at variance with the history of the times, as manifestly prove it a forgery.' Were it so, there still remains sufficient evidence of the fact [*i.e.* the fact of Parker's consecration in the chapel of Lambeth Palace by four Bishops]. But what induces T. H. to make this assertion? Has he examined into all the circumstances of the case? or does he only take for granted the validity of several objections which are founded on misconception or ignorance that the Register agrees in every particular with what we know of the history of the times, and there exists not the semblance of a reason for pronouncing it a forgery?"¹

¹ *The Birmingham Catholic Magazine*, 1834.

These are grave words of remonstrance against the ignorant partizanship of some of his fellow-Romanists, written by another Romanist who has won for himself the renown of being one of the best English historians who has ever undertaken to write the history of England.

Other Romanists have admitted the historical fact of Parker's consecration at Lambeth, and the fact that Barlow was undoubtedly a validly consecrated Bishop; but they have propounded arguments with the object of showing that Parker's consecration was invalid. They have said that the service, which was used, was not a proper service; or they have said that the Church of England at the Reformation and since the Reformation has had no intention of continuing the three Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, as they were instituted by Christ; or they have said that the Bishops, who consecrated Parker, had some hidden intention which vitiated and invalidated all that they did when they consecrated him. These sorts of objections cannot be properly treated in a lecture. They can only be properly treated in a book, and they have been very fully discussed by our Anglican theologians in many books, where full and satisfactory answers have been given to all these Romanist objections. I might mention a book written in Latin entitled:—*De Hierarchia Anglicana Dissertatio Apologetica*, by Mr. Edward Denny and Mr. Thomas A. Lacey, and published in 1895.

I see that Professor Basil Sokoloff in his excellent book, to which I have already referred, has covered the whole ground of these objections in a very learned and conclusive way. He shows that the record of Parker's consecration in his Register preserved at Lambeth is

a genuine contemporary document which has accurately preserved the memory of what was done on that important occasion. He shows also that Barlow was a validly consecrated Bishop. He shows that no objection can be taken to the validity of Parker's consecration or of subsequent Episcopal consecrations in the Church of England on the ground of an absence of proper intention. And finally he shows that the Anglican rite of consecration, as it was worded during the reigns of Elizabeth and her two immediate successors, James I. and Charles I., and also as it was revised and improved in the reign of Charles II. and as it has been worded ever since his reign up to the present time, is a sufficient rite for validly bestowing the gift of the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop on any one who is consecrated in accordance with its directions.

I think that I have already quoted in one of these lectures a passage from Professor Sokoloff's book, in which after a long and learned argument he says:—"The extracts we have now given will, we think, suffice; they prove sufficiently convincingly that the Anglican Divines of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, down to the present time, have clearly proclaimed, and are still proclaiming, the same doctrine of the Divine institution and grace-giving significance of the hierarchy, that their Church has also always expressed in her religious formularies."¹

The only reason, apparently, which makes Professor Sokoloff hesitate in coming to the conclusion that Anglican Ordinations are undoubtedly valid, is the way in which the 25th Article of Religion is worded.

¹ Birkbeck's translation, p. 30.

He thinks that in that Article it is decisively stated that there are only two Sacraments, and that Orders, which is one of the other five, is not to be counted as such. But really there is a mistake here. The question of the number of the Sacraments depends on the way in which the word Sacrament is defined. And the Catholic Church as a whole has never defined the word authoritatively. The Holy Fathers used the word of great number of sacred things,—and it would be almost impossible to enumerate the things which they called Sacraments. I should think that there were at least forty or fifty. Among that large number of Sacraments the Fathers separated from all the others the two which are necessary for all who would live the Christian life, namely Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. On the other hand in the twelfth century Peter Lombard was the first to group together the seven which during the later middle ages were commonly called Sacraments. But this grouping, which was a complete novelty, was never imposed on the Church by any Ecumenical Council. It may be a convenient grouping; but those who adopted it did so because in their private judgement they thought it convenient. I have nothing to say against them. But the Church of England in the sixteenth century was not very devoted to the schoolmen, who had done their best to support on a very rotten foundation the exorbitant claims of the Papacy. The Church of England was appealing from the schoolmen to the Holy Fathers and the Holy Scripture; and she chose to revive for herself the patristic way of speaking about the Sacraments. She did not attempt to impose that way on others, but she revived it for herself and for her own children. She used the word, Sacrament, as the

Fathers used it in a wide sense and also in a narrow sense. When she used it in a narrow sense, she limited it, as the Fathers limited it, to the two necessary Sacraments,—the only ones the institution of which by Christ is recorded in the Gospel. In her phraseology those two were the only Sacraments of the Gospel. She nowhere in any of her formularies has ever said in an unqualified way that there were two Sacraments only. She always qualifies that statement. She says that there are two only which are generally necessary to salvation, or two only which were ordained by Christ Himself, or two only which are Sacraments of the Gospel. She proclaims that there *are* other Sacraments; but she says that those others are not of like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Holy Eucharist, because they are not necessary for all who would live a Christian life, and the record of their institution by Christ is not found in the Gospel, and therefore they are not Sacraments of the Gospel. They may be Apostolic Sacraments, they may be grace-giving Sacraments, but they are not in that select group which the Holy Fathers separated off from all the other Sacraments as being the two Sacraments out of which the Church is constituted,¹ and which were typified by the Water and Blood which flowed from the side of Christ. There is no contradiction between the 25th Article and the other formu-

¹ I see that in *The Great Catechism* of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Orthodox Church translated by Dr. J. T. Seccombe from the Greek edition published at Athens in 1857, with the approbation of the Holy Synod of Greece, and the subsequent MS. approval of the Patriarch of Antioch it is stated on p. 26 that "Our Church has seven Mysteries: Baptism, Chrism, &c. Two of these—namely, Baptism and the Eucharist or Communion—are the chief and distinguishing mysteries of the New Testament."

larities of the English Church. It is admitted that the other formularies testify to the fact that Orders is a grace-giving ordinance. It is an ordinance which not only gives authority and power, but also gives the Holy Ghost to enable the ordained person to use his authority aright. The 25th Article does not deny this, nor does it assert it. It is not concerned with giving a full description of the effects of the Sacraments. Its whole purpose is to proclaim the patristic doctrine that two of the Sacraments occupy a much higher position than the others.

If at any time hereafter the happy moment shall have arrived, when the Russian and the English Churches shall feel that the time has come for conferring together to see whether there is anything which need hinder these two great Churches from communicating together as sister Churches, I fully admit that the Russian Church will have the right to ask the English Church whether she holds that Ordination is a grace-giving ordinance which conveys the gift of the Holy Ghost to those who are being ordained. And I am quite sure that the English Church will answer in the affirmative. If she refused to answer in the affirmative, a thing which is to me unthinkable, she would have to tear up her Ordination services and anathematize all her great theologians. But while I fully allow that the Russian Church would have a right to be satisfied that the English Church holds that Ordination is a channel not only of official authority but also of Divine grace, I cannot admit that the Russian Church would have a right to exact a promise from the English Church that she will give up the patristic use of the word, Sacrament, and the patristic way of grouping some of the Sacra-

ments, and to adopt instead thereof the new way of using the word Sacrament, and the new way of grouping the Sacraments and numbering the Sacraments, which were invented in the twelfth century by the Latin schoolman, Peter Lombard. If hereafter an Ecumenical Council recognized as Ecumenical should give its high sanction to Peter Lombard's new ways, then the case would be altered. Then it would be our duty to submit to the ruling of the Council. But until that takes place Peter Lombard's ways cannot be made terms of Communion.

I have dwelt on this matter at some length, because it seems to be the only matter which makes Professor Sokoloff hesitate to recognize the validity of our English Ordinations. And I hope that in a peace-loving spirit, and with peaceable words, I have shown that he has no solid reason for hesitating.

If it is granted that, at the time of the breach between the Church of England and the Church of Rome in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, the Church of England retained her profession of the Catholic faith once for all delivered to the Saints, and if it is also granted that at the same time she retained a validly ordained hierarchy, then it follows that she not only kept up a legal continuity with her old self, as she was before the breach with Rome, but she also kept up a *spiritual* continuity with her old self. No doubt she dropped a number of things which depended for their justification on the papal claims, and she dropped some other things which she considered to be harmful or at any rate undesirable; but she has always maintained, and I believe rightly, that she retained all that was of Divine institution, all that was

intended by God to be perpetually observed and taught in His Church. And she has therefore always believed that she is a true and living branch of the one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, which is founded on the rock of the Apostolate and of the true faith, and against which the gates of Hades shall never prevail.

CHAPTER IV

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

LET me sum up the principal points which I have been trying to set before you.

The Church of England began to be founded in the year 597, when S. Augustine of Canterbury and his companions, who had been sent from Rome by Pope S. Gregory the Great, began to preach the Gospel in the Kingdom of Kent, a region situated in the South-east corner of England. In Kent S. Augustine founded the see of Canterbury, which has ever since been the primate see of the English Church.

The Northern and Central parts of England were evangelized by Celtic Missionaries from the great Monastic centre on the island of Iona. But in 664 it was decided that the Southern and the Northern Churches should unite, and that the united Church should be subject to the metropolitan jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

For a period of more than five centuries, although the Church of England was in communion with the Pope, it had very little to do with him. But during the four centuries which followed the death of Henry I. in 1135, the forged decretals were accepted in England as genuine documents which were supposed to have been written during the first three centuries of the Christian era, and the result was that the Pope succeeded in

obtaining a considerable increase of power over the English Church.

This state of things came to an end in 1534, in which year the Provincial Synods of Canterbury and York put forth Synodical Declarations affirming that the jurisdiction claimed by the Pope in England had no warrant of Scripture in its favour. Four years later, in 1538, Pope Paul III. issued a bull deposing King Henry VIII. and excommunicating all Englishmen who continued to acknowledge him as their King. The Church and the Nation paid no attention to this bull, and the Bishops and Clergy continued to offer the Holy Sacrifice and to administer the Sacraments without taking any account of the papal interdict.

From 1538 to the present time there has been no inter-communion between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, except during a few years of the reign of Queen Mary. But no new Church was founded. The old Church of England went on without any breach in either its legal or its spiritual continuity. It continued to profess the Catholic faith, which was once for all delivered to the Saints. It preserved without any break the Apostolical succession of its ministry; and by God's great mercy it is to-day full of spiritual life and vigour.

I do not mean that the history of the Church of England reveals an uninterrupted manifestation of vigorous life. There have been times of persecution; as for example, when in the days of Oliver Cromwell the Bishops were expelled from their sees and nearly all the parochial Clergy from their parishes, and Calvinistic dissenters took possession of the churches. This tyranny lasted for seventeen years, from 1643 to 1660. During that time

hardly any valid Eucharists were celebrated in public, and in most parishes baptism ceased to be administered. Nevertheless there were glorious martyrdoms. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, was martyred first, and King Charles was martyred later. Both of them died for their adherence to the Catholic faith and to the Catholic organization of the Church ; and numbers of the Clergy were spoiled of their goods, and lived in poverty and in some cases in exile.

But at last the tyranny came to an end. King Charles II., who had been living in exile, was restored to the throne of his ancestors ; and the Church recovered her status in the country, the Bishops resuming their jurisdiction over their respective dioceses, and the parochial Clergy returning to their several parishes.

Again in the eighteenth century after the death of Queen Anne, German kings from Lutheran Hanover, who knew nothing of the Catholic principles of the Church of England, inherited the crown of Great Britain and Ireland ; and through the working of various causes the Church seemed for a time to sink into a state of relative torpor. It is true that this phenomenon was not peculiar to England. A similar state of things existed during a great part of the eighteenth century in almost every country in Europe. But in England notwithstanding the general darkness there were some shining lights. It is enough to mention as samples Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man, Bishop Butler of Durham, and William Law.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the state of things improved. What is known as the Evangelical movement, although it was marred by its lack of theological knowledge, and its weak grasp of

Church principles, was nevertheless much blessed by God in its practical efforts to promote piety, and to reclaim sinners, and to establish missions among the heathen, and to help forward great philanthropic enterprises such as that which resulted first in the abolition of the slave trade, and finally in the complete emancipation of all the slaves existing within the bounds of the British Empire. In order to compensate the slave-owners for the loss of their property, the English Parliament voted a sum of £20,000,000, or in other words 200 million roubles for that purpose.

The Act of Parliament emancipating the slaves was passed in August, 1833. In July, 1833, another great religious movement was begun in England, which is sometimes known as the Catholic movement, sometimes as the Oxford movement, and sometimes as the Tractarian movement. This last name was given to it, because the first work, which those who started the movement undertook, was the publication of a series of Tracts entitled *Tracts for the Times*, the object of which was to recall to the memories of the members of the Church the Catholic principles which are professed by the Church of England, but which had fallen rather into the background during the sleepy times of the eighteenth century, and had been left in the background by the Evangelicals.

I will ask you to note carefully the way in which I have worded my last sentence. It must not be supposed that during the eighteenth century any change was made in the doctrinal formularies of the English Church, or in her Prayer-book, or in her hierarchical organization. Nothing was changed; but nearly everything was carried out in a negligent and inadequate

way. Faith and love seemed to have grown cold in most places, and even where, as among the Evangelicals, there was a real revival of spiritual life, little emphasis was laid on the corporate life of the Church and on the sacramental channels of grace, which have been entrusted to her guardianship.

But now in Oxford this new movement began to show itself. Men began in quite a new way to take interest in the Church, as a Divinely founded and Divinely organized society; and this newly awakened interest extended itself to everything connected with the Church, her sacraments, her worship, her Apostolical ministry, her history, her traditions, her doctrinal formularies, her literature, her synods, her canon law, her theology, whether dogmatic, moral, ascetic, or mystical. The writings of the Fathers were studied, as they had not been studied since the death of Queen Anne. New editions of the great English divines of the seventeenth century were published. And soon the movement spread from the university to the parochial clergy, whether in town or country, and to the laity. New churches were built; old churches were restored and beautified; great pains were bestowed on making the public worship of God solemn and beautiful; candidates for confirmation became much more numerous, and were in many places much more carefully prepared both spiritually and intellectually for the reception of that sacrament, than had been normally the custom, before the Oxford movement began; the religious life was revived first among women, afterwards among men; missions to the heathen were organized on a larger scale and more efficiently, and missionary Bishops were consecrated to superintend them; above all there was

an enormous multiplication of celebrations of the Holy Eucharist, so that in most churches the Eucharist is celebrated on all Sundays and festivals, and in many churches it is celebrated every day. It seemed as if the prophetic vision of the prophet, Ezekiel, was being fulfilled, and the breath of the Lord was entering into the dry bones, and they lived, and they stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army.

It will perhaps interest you and help you to realise the existing state of things in the Church of England, if I go a little more into detail in regard to some of the points which I have mentioned just now in a cursory way. I spoke of the careful way in which in many places candidates for confirmation are spiritually as well as intellectually prepared for the reception of that Sacrament. The spiritual preparation would include careful instruction on repentance, on the hatefulness of sin, on the need of self-examination, and of contrition and amendment of life; and in many cases the person under instruction is led to desire to make his confession to a priest with the view of receiving Absolution before he comes to the Bishop to be sealed by the Holy Ghost in the Sacrament of Confirmation.

And confession to a priest with a view to receive Absolution is practised not only in preparation for Confirmation, but also on many other occasions. Many people make their confession every month or every fortnight or even oftener. Others make their confession before the great festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. Others do so only when they have fallen into some grievous sin, which weighs upon their conscience, and hinders them from making their Communion.

There can be no doubt that the practice of Confession

has enormously increased in the Church of England during the last eighty years. On the other hand, during the sleepy times of the eighteenth century it had very much diminished. But before the eighteenth century the proofs of its being widely used abound. It was customary during the seventeenth century for the Bishops, when they made inquiries as to the state of religion in the several parishes under their jurisdiction, to put such questions as these to the Church-wardens:—"Whether the Minister exhorteth those troubled or disquieted to open their grief, that they may by the Minister receive the benefit of Absolution." And again:—"Whether the Minister have revealed any crimes or offences, so committed to his trust and secrecy, contrary to the 113th Canon?" In the Church of Ireland, which was in communion with the Church of England, there was a canon which required that, whenever there was to be a Celebration of the Holy Eucharist, a bell should be tolled on the afternoon of the day before, so that if any parishioners desired to make their confession before receiving the Holy Communion, they should know that a priest was at hand, who would give them an opportunity of doing so. This canon was passed in 1634.¹

One of the most popular books of devotion among the members of the Church of England has been in past days the *Practice of Piety*, compiled by Bishop Lewis Bayly, who was Bishop of Bangor from 1616 to 1632. In 1714 it had reached its fifty-first edition; and there have been at least twenty-one editions, perhaps more, since 1714, making at least seventy-two editions altogether. A whole section of the book deals with the subject of

¹ See canon xix. of the Synod of Dublin of that year (Wilkins's *Concilia*, iv. 501).

Confession and Absolution. From this section I will quote the following passage:—"If any sin therefore troubleth thy conscience, confess it to God's Minister; ask his counsel, and if thou dost truly repent, receive his absolution. And then doubt not, *in foro conscientie*, but thy sins be as verily forgiven on earth, as if thou didst hear Christ Himself, *in foro judicii*, pronouncing them to be forgiven in heaven."

There are a number of other English devotional writers of the seventeenth century who deal with this subject much in the same way as Bishop Lewis Bayly deals with it. I might mention the names of Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Cosin, and Bishop Wilson; and there are many more. But I feel no doubt that the practice of confession is very much more widely used at the present time in England and in the Anglican communion generally, than it was in England in the seventeenth century.

I pass now to another subject, the revival of the Religious or Monastic life in the Church of England. In the middle ages England was covered with Monasteries and other Religious Houses, mostly for men, but with a fair sprinkling also of nunneries for consecrated virgins. All these, amounting to more than six hundred in number, were suppressed, as Religious Houses, by King Henry VIII. A few of them were re-established as Cathedral or Collegiate churches with a chapter of secular canons headed by a Dean to minister in them; but nearly all of them ceased to exist in any form, and their property was confiscated by the rapacious king, and for the most part bestowed by him, as gifts to his greedy courtiers. Thus for three hundred years the monastic life in all its forms was stamped out of the

Church of England, not by any action of the Church, but by the sacrilegious act of a tyrannous king.

But one of the results of the Oxford movement was to give back to our Church that dedicated life of poverty, chastity, and obedience, of which she had been so wickedly robbed.

On Trinity Sunday, 1841, Miss Marian Hughes took a vow of holy virginity during the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist in S. Mary's Church, Oxford. After seventy-one years that lady is still alive, and in extreme old age she still rules, as Mother Superior, the Convent of the Holy Trinity at Oxford, which she founded about sixty years ago.¹

In process of time other Religious Communities of women have been established in various parts of England, and in the United States of America, and in Canada, South Africa, Central Africa, India, and elsewhere; so that there must be thousands of Religious *women*, dedicated to God under the vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, belonging to the Anglican Communion.

The revival of the Religious life among *men* began at a later date than the similar revival among women. The oldest among existing Religious Societies of men is the Society of S. John the Evangelist, to which I have the honour to belong. It was founded forty-seven years ago, that is in 1865, by Father Benson of Christ Church, Oxford. It is primarily a Society of Priests, who after a noviciate of two or three years have been professed under vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. The Mother-House is at Cowley St. John, a suburb of

¹ Since these words were written, the venerable lady, to whom allusion is made in the text, has fallen asleep in the Lord. *Requiescat in pace.*

Oxford; and its members are commonly called the Cowley Fathers. It has also a house at Westminster, and a house at Boston in the United States of America; it has two houses in India, and two in South Africa. Besides the Fathers of the Society there are Lay Brothers associated with them, who also after lengthened probation take the three vows, which I have just now mentioned.

Other religious Societies of men have been founded and are flourishing, such as the Community of the Resurrection which has its Mother-House at Mirfield in Yorkshire, and the Society of the Sacred Mission which has its centre at Kelham, and the Society of the Divine Compassion at Plaistow, the Benedictine Community at Caldey, a little island off the coast of South Wales, and in the United States of America the Order of the Holy Cross.

I will say a few words about the objects which the Society of St. John the Evangelist sets before itself. Its primary purpose is the cultivation in its members of a life dedicated to God according to the principles of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. Its members, when they are professed, part with any property which they may possess, and take life-long vows of celibacy, and promise to live in obedience to the constituted authorities of the Society in accordance with its Rule and Statutes. They daily recite together in their Chapel the offices of Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline, and they have other rules concerning times to be set apart for private prayer, and concerning fasting and silence and other exercises of the Religious life.

But the Society also aims at advancing the Kingdom of Christ in the world by missions both in England and

outside of England, and by using all suitable means for helping the members of the Church to grow in holiness. Abroad, the Society carries on Missions among the Natives of India, especially in the diocese of Bombay; and also among the South African Kaffirs, both in Kaffraria and at Capetown, the capital of South Africa. In England and in the United States of America we accept invitations from the parochial clergy to preach missions lasting ten days or a fortnight, to stir up and convert to God those who are living sinful or careless lives, and to move the devout to give themselves to God more completely. We also conduct many Retreats lasting three or four or five days, which are kept as days of prayer and silence, three addresses being given each day by the conductor. These Retreats are sometimes held in convents of nuns for the benefit of the nuns; sometimes in other places for the Clergy, or for lay-people, whether men or women, living in the world. Our Fathers also hear many confessions, and preach many sermons; and from time to time some of them write books dealing with spiritual or theological subjects.

But it must not be supposed that missions to the heathen and parochial missions and retreats in England and America are conducted only by members of Religious Communities. Foreign Missions among the heathen have been carried on by Bishops and Priests of the Church of England on an ever-increasing scale during the whole of the last century. At first the missionaries were mostly men who had been influenced by the Evangelical movement; but after the Oxford movement had begun and established itself, those who have been influenced by that movement have taken their full share in the great work. And there

are now very few parts of the heathen world where missions of the Church of England are not established.

There are two great Societies, which act as the principal hand-maids of the Church in carrying out the work of Missions to the heathen. The oldest is the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which carries on a double work, namely (1) the sending of missionaries to minister to the Christians of European descent, who live in the British Colonies in different parts of the world; and (2) the sending of missionaries to the heathen in whatever part of the world they are to be found. The other great Society of this sort is the Church Missionary Society which establishes its missions only among the heathen. The first of these two Societies was founded more than two hundred years ago, in the reign of William III., and it has always been very closely connected with the rulers of the Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being having always been its President. The Church Missionary Society was founded rather more than one hundred years ago by men who had been much influenced by the Evangelical movement. Its President has, I think, generally been a layman; and it has been less closely connected with the Hierarchy of the Church than its elder sister, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, although, as its name implies, it has always been a distinctly Church of England Society, and all its ordained Missionaries have been Bishops, Priests, or Deacons of the Church of England.

Besides these two great Missionary Societies there are other smaller Societies, which have been severally founded to evangelize the heathen in this or that particular part

of the world. Of these I will only name the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, which has done and is doing a noble work in a very trying and unhealthy climate.

I cannot go into details about the fruits of these Missions. All over the world thousands of heathen men and women have been converted to Christ our Lord, and have been admitted through Holy Baptism into His Church, and many of them have proved by their holy lives that they have really given their hearts to Christ. Many also have been ordained to the diaconate and the priesthood, and three have been consecrated to the episcopate. God has also set His seal on the missionary work of the Church by granting to some of the Missionaries and to many of their Native converts the grace and glory of Martyrdom.

There was for example Bishop Patteson, the first Bishop of the Melanesian Islands in the Western part of the Pacific Ocean, who, though he knew that there was great danger in landing on a certain island, the island of Nukapu, nevertheless determined to land in the hope that he might begin the work of God among the wild inhabitants, and they slew him. That was in 1871.

And there was Bishop Hannington, who was consecrated to be Bishop of Uganda, a country near the sources of the River Nile. He sailed from England, and landed at Mombasa on the East coast of Africa, and then journeyed on foot during four months until he reached the frontier of the kingdom of Uganda. There he was seized and bound, and kept in confinement for eight days, and after that, by order of the heathen king of Uganda, he was put to death, and fifty of his followers were also slaughtered. This was in 1885.

And eight months afterwards, in 1886, this same wicked king of Uganda, when he saw that the holy religion of Christ was spreading in his country, gave orders that a number of his Native Christian subjects, some of them belonging to the English Church and some to the Roman communion, should be cast alive into the flames and burnt. And many of them died in this way, singing hymns to Christ our Lord in the midst of the flames, very much as in old days the three holy children, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael praised the Lord in the fiery furnace at Babylon.

I have tried to describe to you some of the fruits of the vigorous spiritual life which God in His great mercy has granted to the Church of England, since she woke up from the state of somnolence and torpor into which she very largely sank, after the country began to be ruled by the German Lutheran kings from Hanover, whose dynasty succeeded to the throne of England after the death of Queen Anne in 1714. But I am not at all wishing you to think that everything is perfect in the Church of England. We have, I hope, corrected many things that were amiss, but there still remain things which we deplore, and which we hope and pray that, in His own good time, God will enable us to put right.

Perhaps the most serious of these things is the existence of strongly marked differences of opinion on important matters, which undoubtedly does exist in the Anglican Communion. There are what may be called three parties in the Church, which are commonly known by the names of the High Church party, the Low Church party, and the Broad Church party. I have sometimes been told by English people who have lived in Russia, that many Russians are very much puzzled by the names

which have been given to these parties. I have been told that some Russians suppose that the Church of England is a sort of confederation of three separate Churches, each with its own liturgy, its own doctrinal formularies, and its own separate hierarchy. This is of course a complete mistake. The Church of England is one Church, which uses one Prayer-book, and has one set of doctrinal formularies, and is ruled by one hierarchy, and has one system of ecclesiastical laws. Just as in the English nation there are different political parties; there is the Unionist or Conservative party, and there is the Radical party, and there is the Labour party, but all these parties belong to the same nation, they are under one King and one Parliament and under one set of laws, although they do not agree in everything; so it is in the Church. And surely the existence of parties within the Catholic Church is no new thing. In the latter part of the fourth century and in the first half of the fifth century there was one party which was very numerous in the patriarchate of Antioch, and which emphasized very strongly the great truth that there are two natures in Christ, but who had not so clear a grasp of the counter-balancing truth that there is only one person in Christ. I am thinking of theologians like Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia¹ and the Blessed Theodoret of Cyrus. These men all lived

¹ S. Chrysostom writing from Cucusus (*Ep.* 212, P.G. lii. 668) assures Theodore that "exile as he is, he reaps no ordinary consolation from having such a treasure, such a mine of wealth within his heart as the love of so vigilant and noble a soul."

John of Antioch (*Facundus, Pro Defens. Tr. Capitul.*, ii. 2) says:—"Theodore expounded Scripture in all the Churches of the East."

B. Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.*, v. 39) regarded Theodore as a "Doctor of the Universal Church."

and died in the communion of the Catholic Church; but they were strongly opposed by another school of theologians, such as S. Cyril of Alexandria, S. Rabbulas of Edessa, S. Proclus of Constantinople, and others who had a much clearer grasp of the unity of Christ's person and perhaps at times a less clear grasp of the duality of the natures of Christ. Ultimately the Church cut off the more extreme members of both of these parties. The Nestorians were cut off on the one side, and the Monophysites were cut off on the other side; but one or two generations had lived and died before these purgings took place; and a man like Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was the teacher of Nestorius, died in the peace of the Church, and he was not condemned as a heretic until the fifth Ecumenical Council in 553, more than 160 years after his consecration to the see of Mopsuestia. During all that long period his very voluminous writings had an immense circulation, and an immense influence, because they were the writings of a learned and highly esteemed Bishop of the Church, who during the space of five generations remained free from any authoritative censure. He was censured by individuals, and he was censured by a large party who had been trained in the school of S. Cyril of Alexandria, but until the year 553 the *Church* had not censured him.

I have called your attention to the existence of parties in the Church, differing from each other on important points touching the fundamental doctrine of the Incarnation, and continuing in the Church side by side for more than 160 years. And all this happened long before the breach between the East and the West. I have given it as one example out of many that might have been mentioned.

If we turn to later times and consider the Latin Church, think of the long antagonism which existed for centuries between the Gallican party and the Ultramontane party, who held contradictory views as to the nature of the primacy of jurisdiction claimed by the Pope, and as to the prerogative of infallibility also claimed by him. In 1870 Pope Pius IX. declared that the infallibility of the Pope was "the very fundamental principle of Catholic faith and doctrine,"¹ yet during the greater part of the eighteenth century every French Bishop-Elect had to deny that doctrine as the necessary condition of being consecrated to be Bishop of his see. And yet the Church of Rome and the Church of France were in communion with each other all that time.

As it was with the Catholic Church in the fifth and sixth centuries and also at other times; and as it was with the Latin Church from before the year 1400 to 1870 as well as at other times, so it is with the Church of England now. There are different parties within the Church. They all accept, or at any rate profess to accept, the same creeds and other doctrinal formularies; they all worship using the same Prayer-book; they are all subject to the same Bishops and the same Synods; but the High Churchmen lay very special stress on the corporate life of the Church and on her dogmatic faith and on her Sacraments and tradition and authority, whereas the Low Churchmen lay special stress on the Atoning Sacrifice of Christ and on subjective religion; and Broad Churchmen are apt to magnify the claims of reason and of criticism. There are good elements in each of these, but for myself

¹ Pope Pius made this assertion in a letter dated October 28, 1870, and addressed to the Archbishop of Munich (see Dr. von Döllinger's letter to that Archbishop, in Döllinger's *Declarations and Letters on the Vatican Decrees*, pp. 100, 101).

I think that High Churchmen adhere most faithfully to the doctrinal formularies and traditions both of the English Church and of the whole Catholic Church, and that their more intelligent and devoted members accept all that is good in the specially emphasized tenets of the other parties, but add to them a peculiar love for the great truths connected with the Church and the Sacraments, which makes their whole view of religion more coherent and more effective in maintaining the full revelation of Christ in its purity, and in promoting holiness among both clergy and laity.

I think also that in the Church of England party-feeling is diminishing, and that the majority among Low Churchmen and among Broad Churchmen are more and more absorbing into their system the truths which in the past have been specially dear to High Churchmen.

It must also be said that there are large numbers of English Churchmen who would refuse to call themselves members of any party, but who love the Church and use its means of grace, and live its life, without paying much attention to party controversy.

Looking at the existence of these parties within the Church in as dispassionate a way as I can, I think that their existence, so long as the divergence of opinion is restrained within limits, is almost inevitable and tends to keep in the foreground different aspects of the manifold wisdom of God, some of which might be obscured, if we all looked at Divine truth from exactly the same point of view. Even among the blessed Apostles, while all of them held the one faith, it is surely true to say that S. Paul, at any rate in some of his Epistles, emphasized one side and S. James another. Our Bishops certainly do feel the responsibility which lies on them to

act from time to time as befits the official guardians of the faith. Archbishop Thomson of York deprived a priest named Voysey of the cure of souls in the parish committed to him for denying the truth of the Incarnation. Bishop Gore, formerly Bishop of Worcester, now Bishop of Oxford, wrote a letter of expostulation to Mr. Beebee, a parish-priest under his jurisdiction who had published a heretical book, with the result that Mr. Beebee resigned his position as parish-priest and retired from the exercise of his ministry. Bishop Talbot of Winchester quite recently withdrew his licence from a Priest who had written a book which appeared to deny the Resurrection of our Lord's holy Body from the Sepulchre on the third day. I mention these cases as samples. Nevertheless it remains true that, partly owing to the difficulties connected with the cumbrous machinery of the ecclesiastical courts, partly owing to other causes, many persons escape censure who undoubtedly ought to be censured; and this lack of vigour in the enforcement of discipline in the matter of doctrinal orthodoxy is a weak point in the practical working of the Church of England. In time, if we are faithful, God will help us to find remedies for this disease.

In the meanwhile, though, as in the times of the blessed Apostles, "without are fightings and within are fears,"¹ yet we do not lose heart. God has wrought a wonderful work of renewal in the Church of England during the last 130 years; and that inward renewal has shown itself outwardly in many ways. I will speak now of only one of these ways, and that is the extraordinary extension of the organization of the Anglican hierarchy throughout the world.

¹ ii. Cor. vii. 5.

In 1786 there were only 57 Anglican diocesan Bishops in the whole world. Of these 27 occupied English sees; 22 occupied Irish sees; and 8 occupied Scottish sees. These fifty-seven Bishops were scattered over seven provinces, namely two English provinces, four Irish provinces, and one Scottish province.

On the other hand in 1907, five years ago, there were 249 Anglican diocesan Bishops. Of these 216 were scattered over fifteen provinces, two provinces in England, two in Ireland, one in Scotland, one in the United States of America, two in Canada, three in Australia, one in India, one in South Africa, one in New Zealand, and one in the West Indies, besides 33 dioceses which are not as yet included in any province. Thus during 121 years the number of provinces has more than doubled, and the number of dioceses has more than quadrupled.

I hope that I do not mention these figures in any spirit of pride. I mention them in order to give glory to God for what He has wrought among us, notwithstanding our unworthiness.

And now I must bring this lecture and my whole course of lectures to a close.

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