The Story of the Churches

The Episcopalians

Daniel Dulany Addison

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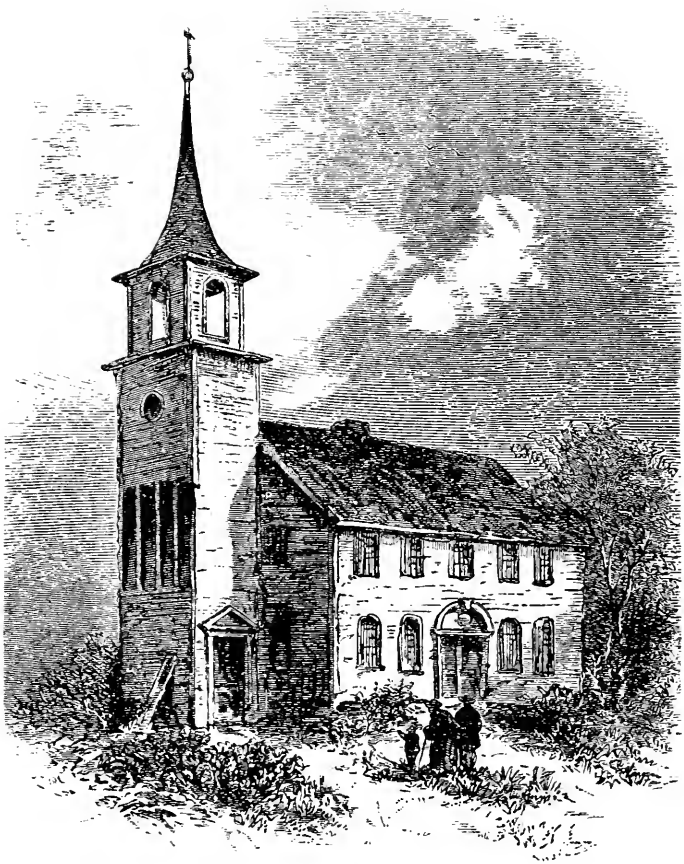

THE OLD NARRAGANSETT CHURCH.

The Story of the Churches

The Episcopalians

By
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Publishers' Note

The aim of this series is to furnish a uniform set of church histories, brief but complete, and designed to instruct the average church member in the origin, development, and history of the various denominations. Many church histories have been issued for all denominations, but they have usually been volumes of such size as to discourage any but students of church history. Each volume of this series, all of which will be written by leading historians of the various denominations, will not only interest the members of the denomination about which it is written, but will prove interesting to members of other denominations as well who wish to learn something of their fellow workers. The volumes will be bound uniformly, and when the series is complete will make a most valuable history of the Christian church.

Contents

The Episcopalians

CHAPTER I

THE EPISCOPALIANS

THE church of Christ is the visible representative of the kingdom of God on earth. There are many branches of the church of Christ, each drawing inspiration from him as the head and aiming to establish brotherhood among men in different organizations,—varied because of human history and character, and diverse by reason of race, training, and temperament.

The Episcopalian is a member of the church of Christ, and a follower of the Saviour, who tries to lead a Christian life. He has become a member of the church by

baptism, confirmation, and the acceptance of the Apostles' Creed as the rule of faith according to the authority and methods of the historic church of the English-speaking people; he is a member of the Anglican Communion, which in America has been called the Protestant Episcopal Church and belongs to the Catholic and Apostolic church founded by Christ which developed distinguishing characteristics in England from the earliest days, and was planted in America in the colonial period as a mission of the Church of England. The Episcopalian, through his visible church in America, shares the privileges and riches of the Church of England; and from this ancient church enjoys the benefits and sacred gifts which God bestows upon mankind in the continuous Apostolic Church, established by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

The church in America is called Protestant Episcopal, a name adopted after the American Revolution to indicate two elements of

its life: first, to distinguish it from the Church of Rome, against certain methods of which it protested; and second, to distinguish it from non-Episcopal churches, because it possessed the apostolical order of bishops. While no name can completely define an organization this title indicates the position of the church as independent of the Church of Rome and as being apostolic in continuing the form and polity of the primitive church of Christ. After the Revolution it was necessary for the scattered parishes of the Church of England to organize into a church and adopt a name by which it would be known in law; and this name, having been previously used both in England and America, was selected.

The Episcopal Church has three orders in the ministry: bishops, priests and deacons, because of the belief expressed in the preface to the Consecration Service that "it is evident unto all men diligently read-

ing Holy Scripture and ancient authors that from the apostles' time there have been these three orders of ministers in Christ's church." There is no dogma as to the origin of the Episcopate; but the bishops as successors of the apostles are considered to be their representatives and to witness to the truth, and, through the ordination of priests and deacons and the consecration of other bishops, to insure the perpetuity of the church and to give evidence of its historical continuity. The church has never adopted any theory of the grace of orders; individuals have their own theories. The fact of an unbroken line of bishops back to apostolic times is accepted; and this indicates that every bishop and priest and deacon, by prayer and the Imposition of Hands, is sent forth for his work by lawful authority. Jesus evidently intended to establish an organization. He selected a definite number of apostles, the twelve. When there was a break in the ranks other

men were especially set apart. The exegencies of the church soon gave rise to a more fully developed institution. The apostles appointed presbyters; and deacons, as assistants, were ordained. The germ of the threefold ministry is to be found in the New Testament. The first two centuries of the early church give ample proof that this system was universally adopted, and continued to be the unfailing method until the formation of Separatist Churches after the Reformation. The Episcopalian not only believes that the threefold ministry follows primitive practice; he also thinks it is a system well adapted for efficiency and for the well-being of the church. It provides a head and many members,—a centralizing force with indefinite power of extension.

As to the ministry of other churches: many Episcopalians hold that the orders are valid and that they have done and are doing work for Christianity which has been

greatly blessed, but they regret that schism and separation arose and look forward to the day when there will be union again. There are other Episcopalians who believe more firmly in the grace of orders and who hold that the ministry of the Separatist Churches is both irregular and invalid. It must be always remembered that there are these two interpretations among members of the church, but that the church has never stated that other ministries are invalid. The theories held by groups of men within the church must never be mistaken for the attitude of the church itself.

The bishop is the overseer and manager of his diocese like the president of a great corporation or the governor of a state. The diocese is a group of parishes, sometimes coterminous with the state in size; sometimes a state will be divided into two or more dioceses. The diocese has a constitution and a convention to which delegates both clerical and lay are sent from the dif-

ferent parishes. A union of the dioceses with their bishops makes up the church in America, just as the separate states uniting under the federal constitution constitute the nation. The church is thus a related and organic whole with power to legislate and govern in the General Convention which meets every three years, where each diocese is represented by the bishops and delegates from the clergy and laymen. This system is the opposite of that which maintains that the independent congregation has the sole right to legislate for itself as is the method with the Congregationalists. The polity of the Episcopal Church is more like that of the United States of America. It is representative government. Each parish is represented by the vote of the people in the diocese and each diocese is represented in the General Convention, which has two Houses, the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies, corresponding to the Senate and the

House of Representatives. This similarity in democratic methods between the church and the nation arose from the fact that many of the men who during the Revolution and after it were instrumental in organizing the church also helped to found the nation. A large majority of those who signed the Declaration of Independence were churchmen. Washington, Hamilton, Marshall, Morris, Franklin and many others who laid the foundations of the United States were Episcopalians. It was natural, therefore, that the men who were organizing two institutions at the same time should have constructed them on similar lines. The Episcopalian takes great satisfaction in the democratic and representative form of his government which corresponds to his national ideals.

The Episcopal Church is no more a bishop's church than a layman's church, for both have well defined duties and rights. The layman has great power in the manage-

ment of the parish and the calling of his minister. The Vestry, composed entirely of laymen, is the executive and prudential body in the parish. The layman's voice is heard in the diocesan convention, in the election of a bishop and in the councils of the general church. The influence of the layman is one of the most democratic elements in the polity of the church.

The faith of the Episcopalian is expressed in the Apostles' Creed. This is required of those who are baptized and confirmed. This creed is a positive statement of the great essential facts of Christianity. One learns from it as the Catechism explains: "First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world; Secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind; Thirdly, in God the Holy Ghost, who hath sanctified me and all the people of God." The creed is not a storehouse of doctrinal definition. It is a statement of the simplest facts of Chris-

tian truth for the development of the religious life. It is an expression of earnest Christian loyalty rather than a metaphysical analysis of intricate doctrine. The acceptance of the Apostles' Creed is an assertion of the individual that he believes in God, in Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary and suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and rose again from the dead to be the judge of humanity; and in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Spirit of God, in the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins and the life everlasting.

There are beautiful explanations and elaborations of these central truths to be found throughout the Book of Common Prayer, in the collects and different offices of the church, in the Nicene Creed and in the Thirty-nine Articles. None of these have to be formally accepted for membership in the church. The Apostles' Creed is the sole formula that must be accepted for

baptism and confirmation. By a study of these other aids to faith and the constant familiarity with them in the services of the church the spirit of devotion is deepened and the intellectual apprehension of truth is stimulated.

It is interesting to note that there are no creedal statements about many doctrines which some religious bodies have deemed necessary as requirements for membership. The doctrine of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture is not included. There is no reference to predestination or future punishment. The doctrine of the Trinity is treated in the broadest outlines. The facts of the Fatherhood of God and the Sonship of Christ and the Holy Spirit are stated, but no analysis is made. There are many theories of the Trinity, but no one of them is set forth in the Apostles' Creed. Many passages in the prayer-book reflect various phases of the doctrine. These assist in giving definiteness to one's thought and

help to make clear the mystery of God in the threefold revelation in nature, in the person of Christ and in the heart and conscience of man. This absence of reference to such doctrines, and the further omission of doctrinal definition, is an evidence that the church gives large liberty of individual interpretation. Such is the case. The growth and enrichment of the human soul come through the personal appropriation of the central Christian truths and the illumination of such truths by one's learning, meditation, temperament and devotion. The church brings to man the revelation, and man, receiving it, finds new beauties in its infinite depth.

The right of private interpretation and judgment is one of the most prized characteristics of the Episcopal Church, and marks its breadth and comprehensiveness. The church thus provides a religious home for many who differ in the interpretation of doctrine. They accept the same creed

and liturgy; and instead of being bound within narrow limits they enjoy freedom in their religious lives. Men of dissimilar training and temperament are sure to value differently certain aspects of truth. Shall they, therefore, separate and multiply sectarian bodies? or shall they reside within the one great church, and, giving a loyalty to the institution, pursue the trend of their natures in the appreciation of the revelation of Christ? The church, again, becomes like the nation, wherein the citizens accept the constitution, but often differ as to its meaning; yet all work for the good of the whole. In the church one hears of "High Church," "Low Church," and "Broad Church." These names stand in general for varied interpretations of Christian truth. They represent tendencies of thought rather than parties. The significance of these names is constantly shifting. It is one of the notes of a comprehensive church that there should be within the sheltering care of the

one institution those who represent the ideas which these names signify.

The worship of the churchman is stimulated and guided by the use of the Book of Common Prayer. The prayer-book is regarded by the Episcopalian as a rich treasury of devotion; and on Sundays, festivals, and holy days the services are repeated by minister and people as a worthy and adequate expression of their religious emotions. This book of offices and prayers contains the wealth of the devotional experience of saintly men. The reverent language helps to lift the soul of the worshipper to God. When using the liturgy the Christian feels that he is a part of the church of the ages, for the very words which he takes upon his lips have been used by worshippers in every period of the church's history. The book is a growth: it draws from the devotional literature of Israel; it is filled with Christ's own words; the evangelists and apostles have contributed to it; the earliest

liturgical forms used by the fathers are retained; services used by the Greek and Latin Christians, enriched and expanded by the British and early English Church, find a place; it bears the stamp of mediæval Christianity and reflects the spirit of the Reformation. Translated into English and drawn from many liturgical sources, the prayer-book has been one of the great gifts of the English Church to the Christian world. Adapted to English use and changed to suit American conditions it is now the constant companion of the whole Anglican Communion.

The worship is common worship. Ministers and people use it alike. In the responses and sections of the service repeated in unison the congregation is as important a part in the act of worship as is the minister, who leads the people in mutual prayer and praise. The use of a liturgy protects the worshipper from the eccentricities of the individual minister; and provides a

familiar and tried vehicle for religious devotion.

There is great variety in the prayer-book. A glance will show that the book contains numerous services and offices for all of the important crises of life. Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer, the Litany and Penetential Prayers, the Holy Communion, Baptism and Confirmation, Marriage and Burial, the Visitation of the Sick, Family Prayers, the offices of Ordination and Consecration, —all minister to the several needs of the Christian community.

The individual service also shows variety. While the services are built on the same groundwork there are always the different lessons from Scripture, the different Psalms, the Gospel and Epistle for the day, the special hymns and the message of the preacher. Morning Prayer, opening with the sentences from Scripture and the exhortation, followed by the General Confession, Absolution, and the Lord's Prayer, with the

Psalter, the Scripture Lessons, the Venite and Te Deum, and the Apostles' Creed and the Prayers, makes a rich and harmonious act of worship comprising confession of sin, forgiveness, praise and thanksgiving, instruction, the expression of loyal faith and the communion with God in prayer.

The teaching of the church year, also, takes the constant worshipper through almost every phase of Christian experience and rehearses anew the central facts in the life of Christ.

Beginning with Advent, rich in the thought of the value of the ministry, the power of scripture, and the world's preparation for the coming of Christ, the church year enters upon the sacred and joyful time of the nativity; and through the whole Christmas season leads men to think of the mystery of childhood, the duty of parents, and the dignity of human life as taught in the doctrine of the Incarnation. Epiphany reveals anew the universality of Christ's re-

ligion and its appeal to all men everywhere. Lent with its admonitions to a holy and righteous life, developing self-control and offering forgiveness for sin, proves its usefulness by increased meditation, prayer and worship. On Good Friday humanity stands by the side of the cross and witnesses the glory of sacrifice and learns the truth of the reconciliation between God and man. Easter Day stands for the triumph of good over evil, life over death, and brings to light immortality. Whitsunday celebrates the coming of the Spirit of God into relationship with the spirits of men and interprets God's power in history, in the church, and in the conscience of humanity. Trinity Sunday presents the supreme Christian philosophy of God, as Father, Son and Holy Spirit illustrating wisdom, love, and power.

In the Episcopal Church there are two sacraments, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. They were ordained by Christ him-

self. Baptism is the entrance into the church; and Holy Communion is the pledge of fellowship and the source of spiritual power. The water and the bread and wine consecrated by prayer are the outward symbols of inner spiritual grace.

In the administration of baptism the method, whether by immersion or by pouring, is not considered the essential element in the sacrament. It is the spirit, not the letter, that must be observed. By virtue of baptism one becomes a member of the church of Christ. In the case of an adult, repentance, acceptance of Christ, and the vow to lead a Christian life are the requisites for baptism. The baptismal formula, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," is invariably used. Infants also are baptized in recognition of their birth into the church through the Christian family, as by their birth they become members of the nation. In the commonwealth of Israel the child's

citizenship was recognized by a religious act, and the integrity of the family as a unit was taught. "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not," said Christ; and in his whole attitude towards children he showed that he had no intention of excluding them from the kingdom of God. There is no scripture injunction against the baptism of children. Primitive usage, following naturally the Old Testament ideal of the sacredness of the family and the religious training of the young, received the child as a member of the Christian community. Baptism as the open door into the church took the place of circumcision, the method of entrance into the commonwealth of Israel.

When the child is brought into the church and baptized at the font, it is offered unto the Lord. A pledge is also made by the parents and sponsors that it will be brought up to lead a godly and Christian life. The church claims it for its own, and endeavors

to surround it by Christian influences from its birth. The child neither selects its parents nor its country, and it is not necessary for it to select the church. There is a providence in the nationality and parentage of the child, and there is also a providence in the fact of the child being placed in the Christian family and becoming a member of the church through the act of baptism.

Infant baptism leads to confirmation when the child is old enough to ratify and confirm what its parents and the church did for it. It takes upon itself the vows that were made in its name and completes, by a personal act, conscious membership in the church of Christ. Through baptism the child is "born again," or becomes regenerate,—enters by a spiritual birth into the kingdom of God just as by natural birth it enters into the world. It is grafted into the body of Christ's Church and begins a career of nurture and development under

Christian influences. The ideal is the gradual training of the spiritual faculties of the child so that normally it grows into the full possession of the Christian heritage.

The celebration of the Holy Communion, or the partaking of the Lord's Supper has always been regarded as one of the most sacred services in the church. Instituted by Christ and enjoined upon his disciples by him in the words, "do this in remembrance of me," it has ever been celebrated with joy and thanksgiving. "For the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ," says the church, in referring to the establishment of the sacrament, "and of the benefits which we receive thereby," it was ordained. In the simple breaking of the bread and the pouring of the wine accompanied by the act of consecration and prayer, a feast is prepared for the children of God, which has always given inspiration and strength.

Christians have always had different ex-

planations of the power of the sacrament, and different views with regard to it. The memorial idea, the doctrine of transubstantiation, the conception of the real presence, the sacrificial idea and the presence of Christ in the recipient's heart,—all these views have from time to time been held by Christians, and have expressed for them the mystery and comfort of the sacrament. The Episcopal Church has repudiated transubstantiation, and the view of the continual offering of a sacrifice of Christ's body, because the sacrifice was once offered "full and sufficient." It is taught that the communion is a memorial; but more than this, that the presence of Christ is both in the sacrament and in the heart of the believer. The church recognizes that there will always be a difference among disciples as to the interpretation of the sacrament and urges them to partake of it worthily, not desiring to limit the freedom of the individual except where express laws have

been enacted. To the reverent worshipper the sacrament becomes a precious experience, and no formulated theory can explain the deep consciousness of Christ's presence, the subtle spiritual influences that arise and the satisfying of the hunger of the soul. It becomes truly the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace.

The church is an organization for the social salvation of mankind as well as for the saving of the individual soul. It is a brotherhood, the aim of which is to develop man's character through mutual service and to give inspiration to human society to live a true, normal, and unselfish life. Duty to God includes duty to God's children. Through loving witnesses and consecrated human agencies the church, following the teaching of Christ, seeks to build up society and to promote Christian civilization. Moved by these impulses, the church works through societies and organizations for improving the lives of men and women

and provides opportunities for genuine social service. The parish house, the hospital, the settlement, and the numerous societies for boys and girls and men and women, in connection with Episcopal parishes, indicate that the church is trying to fulfill its duty to all classes of society. The growth of great parishes which combine the elements of the rescue mission, the hospital and the college, is a movement in modern life to make the Master's influence dominant in the centres of population. Faith, worship, and service are becoming more and more the watchwords of the church.

The Episcopal Church in America having been planted as a mission of the Church of England draws its form and inspiration from the continuous history of English Christianity. The origins must be sought in the British, Keltic, Saxon and early English churches from which has come the rich and varied inheritance.

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH AND EARLY ENGLISH CHURCH

THE date of the first introduction of Christianity into England is unknown. There are some beautiful legends that tell how Joseph of Arimathea went to Glastonbury and planted the staff which grew into the Holy Thorn, how St. Paul himself preached in Britain, but the only authoritative statement is that of Tertullian, writing about 208, who says that the gospel had reached Britain. Whatever were the beginnings, and it is probable that Christians went from Gaul and brought with them the gospel, it is a well known fact that three British bishops were present at the Council of Arles in 314. Their names are known: Eborius of York, Rustitutus of London, and Adelfius of Lincoln. Also

there were bishops from England at the Council of Rimini in 359.

There were ancient churches at Glastonbury, Canterbury, St. Albans, Chester, Whithome and Evesham; and the foundation of the bishoprics of Llandaff and St. David's dates from this early period. These facts indicate that long before the coming of the Roman mission under Augustine in 597 there was a fully organized church in England with characteristics of its own and an independence strengthened by the isolation of its island home.

This early church is called the British Church to distinguish it from the later Saxon and English Church. The best account we have of its organization and history is given by Gildas, who wrote before 550. After the withdrawal of the Roman forces from Britain, in 410, the British Church developed along lines independent of the influence of the Continental churches. The picture that is drawn by Gildas shows that

the British Church had a diocesan Episcopate, many of the bishops being men of learning and force; it was governed by synods; there were monasteries where the celibate life was cultivated by men and women. However, clerical marriages were common. Among the differences to be noted between the Roman Church and the British Church were the date of the observance of Easter, the method of baptism and the form of the tonsure.

These differences were further accentuated by another influence which affected the British Church. The Irish or Keltic Church, through its missionaries, notably St. Columba, who established a celebrated monastery on the Island of Iona, came into close association with the Britons. Ireland was even more isolated than Britain. It refused to give up the date of observing Easter at the bidding of the Church of Rome. The Irish Church was a monastic church and lacked the diocesan features of

the British Church; but through the zeal of the missionaries it became an important factor in the growth of the church in Britain. As an indication of the native character and independence of the two churches, it is a suggestive fact that the whole ministry of St. Columba was exercised before the arrival of Augustine. Columba died in 597, the very year in which the Roman monk landed at Ebbsfleet, on the shores of Kent.

Before the coming of the Roman mission under Augustine, the British Church had suffered severely and had been driven into the west of Britain by the invasion of the Saxons, Angles and Jutes. These Saxon conquerors were nature worshippers and lovers of battle. In their attempt to exterminate the conquered and to uphold their own religious ideas they stirred up such a furious hatred in the breasts of the Britons that no attempts seem to have been made by the British Church to Christianize them.

A British abbot once said to his disciples on hearing a Saxon calling to his dogs, "Let us depart hence straightway, for this man speaks a language that is hateful to me; his nation has come to invade our land and will keep it forever."

No such prejudice existed in the mind of Gregory when in the Roman market-place, about 585, he saw the beautiful Saxon youths and made up his mind to go as a missionary to their people. "Alas," he said, "that the prince of darkness should claim such bright faces. What is their race?" "They are Angles," was the reply. "That is well," he continued, "for they have angel faces and should be fellow-heirs with the angels in heaven." But Gregory was elected pope in 590 and could not go on his journey to the Saxons. He, however, selected Augustine and a party of monks, and sent them. After many vicissitudes they landed on the Isle of Thanet in 597, and were fortunate in their

reception by King Æthelbert, whose wife Bertha was a Christian. Through the influence of this good woman they were treated kindly by the king, who was later baptized with many of his nobles. A suitable dwelling was provided in Canterbury for the missionaries; and an old church was restored and given to them, which they dedicated to Christ the Saviour. So Christianity gained a stronghold among the Saxons, and Augustine was made the first archbishop of Canterbury. The plan was soon formed for an extension of the church throughout the island. Two provinces were to be set up, one having the centre at London and the other at York; and twelve bishops were to be consecrated. These plans were not all carried out, but Augustine's influence spread through other principalities besides that of Kent.

As outlined by Gregory the policy to be pursued by Augustine was broad and intelligent. "It pleases me," wrote Gregory,

"that if you have found anything either in the Roman or the Gallican or in any other church which may be more acceptable to Almighty God you carefully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the church of the English which is as yet new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several churches." But Augustine was not free from conservative prejudices. With timidity and lack of sagacity he was sometimes overbearing in his attitude. This was especially the case when he came in contact with the bishops of the British Church. Augustine arranged for a conference between himself and the representatives of the British Church with the purpose apparently of getting them to acknowledge his authority. Two conferences were held and both were failures. The British bishops were not willing to surrender their independence or give up their customs and practices. This independence on their part resulted in further alienation and the two

churches lived apart until they were finally merged much later in the united English Church. The consecration of St. Chad to the See of Litchfield seems to have been one of the few instances where bishops of the two churches joined.

The results of the Roman mission were not all that had been anticipated, though it succeeded in organizing three dioceses, at Canterbury, Rochester and in East Anglia. Other parts of England were untouched. The conversion of the remaining groups of the Heptarchy was a long process, for the different states were continually at war; the kings at one time siding with the Christians and at another time driving them out of their kingdoms. Paulinus, an energetic and wise man, who joined Augustine in 601, carried on a successful work in Northumbria and planted Christianity there, building a church of stone at York. A great misfortune befell the church in Northumbria when King Penda of Mercia became

the champion of heathenism. Paulinus had to flee, and much of his work was destroyed.

The church in Northumbria made no progress until after the battle of Heavenfield in 634 which placed Oswald, who had been baptized in Iona, on the throne. This gave an opportunity for a new Christian influence from the North, the Scots coming as missionaries from Ireland and Iona to finish the work of evangelization in which Paulinus had failed. St. Aidan, a bishop sent from "the family of Columba" as the monks of Iona were called, began this noble work, and established the monastery at Lindisfarne which became a new centre of learning and influence. As the Roman mission gradually dwindled Aidan with his scholars at Lindisfarne developed a native ministry; and these disciples going far and wide helped to bring the other states of the Heptarchy into the fold of Christ. As Bede describes the character of Aidan it is not difficult to under-

stand his power, the winning quality of a holy and beautiful life of gentleness and piety. From Northumbria the missionaries went to Mercia. East Anglia had been converted by Felix of Burgundy and St. Fursey. The faith was revived among the East Saxons by Cedda, a disciple of St. Finan who was a Briton. Among the West Saxons the Gospel was carried by Birinus. Thus England had practically been brought to the Christian faith through three different channels: the original British Church, the Roman missions and the Scot missionaries from Ireland and the North.

In order to bring about some sort of uniformity a conference, or what might be called a national synod, was held at Whitby in 664. Representatives were present from the Keltic and Roman parties. Wilfrid upheld the Roman use and Coleman, a bishop at Lindisfarne, maintained the Keltic use. The question of tonsure was also discussed. The Roman custom was adopted. This

conference was of great importance not because of the questions in dispute but because it was the first step in consolidating into a national church the separate elements of English Christianity.

The success of the Roman party at Whitby decided the future relations between the English and Roman Churches. It brought the English Church into closer connection with the continent, and gave it a share in the progress of European civilization, and prepared the way for the acceptance on the part of the people, four years later of the authority of the See of Canterbury. The affection for Rome became strong; and though the church retained its independence and national character, which was asserted over and over again, it looked to Rome for guidance and inspiration.

The next step in the development of the national church was made under the direction of two strong personalities, Archbishop

Theodore of Canterbury, and Wilfrid of York. From the latter part of the seventh century into the eighth century the work of these two men was constructive. Theodore was a Greek monk, a native of Tarsus, a man of great executive ability and a strong partisan of Rome. However, he visited all parts of England and enforced discipline, preparing canons for the regulation of the monasteries and dioceses. Wilfrid, equally energetic, frequently came into collision with Theodore, and was one of the first of the English bishops to appeal directly to Rome. This was resented by the English people. The period of Theodore and Wilfrid was one of strong centralizing power. Dioceses were sharply defined, and parishes were set apart. The relations of the church to the state became clearer; church property was exempted from taxation, and Sunday was recognized. The state of the church in the eighth century is well illustrated by the decisions of

the Council of Clovesho, Cliff-at-Hoo in Kent, which took place in 747. It was ordered that bishops should give themselves to teaching God's people and visit the whole of their dioceses every year; that in ordaining men to the priesthood they should institute careful examination as to their ability and character; that the creed, Lord's Prayer and offices of the church should be explained in English; and that persons should prepare themselves for receiving the Holy Communion. Other rules were adopted which regulated monastic living, and enforced strict morals, especially temperance and chastity.

The teaching of the church was exemplified in the lives of many noble men and women. The Venerable Bede, 673–735, a priest living in the monastery of Jarrow, devoted his saintly life to sacred studies, and has preserved in his writings the early history of the English Church. "I have ever," he says, "found my pleasure in

learning, teaching or writing." He was looked upon as the "most beloved master" by his companions, who called themselves his "dearest sons." His other works of importance are the valuable "Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow," and his "Life of St. Cuthbert." Alcuin, the great scholar at the Court of Charlemagne, was a northern friar of noble birth and founded the library at York. Among those to be remembered as products of the church in this period are the missionaries who carried the gospel to other lands. St. Egbert, about 687, formed the purpose of preaching to the people from whom the Angles and Saxon of Britain were known to have derived their origin; and it was through him that a mission was undertaken to Frisia. St. Willibrod, an earnest evangelist, who afterwards became Archbishop of the Frisians, carried on this work. St. Boniface, called the Apostle of Germany, was a native of Britain, and educated in the

Abbey of Nutsall, near Winchester. His success in Thuringia and the founding of four bishoprics in Bavaria, together with his preaching and martyrdom have endeared him to the German Church. Oldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, was a man of forcible character who enriched the abbeys of Abington and Glastonbury. Benedict Biscop was a great traveller who brought from the continent valuable manuscripts.

During the period in the history of the church from the Viking invasion, 803, to the Norman Conquest, 1066, the church made steady progress at times, and then again was much disturbed through the confusion of the times. In the main, however, it was through the example and influence of the church that the idea of national unity was evolved. Through all the differing elements of the Heptarchy, the one factor common to them all was the Christianity which they had accepted. While each

kingdom had its own legislative assembly, it was the church which had a national assembly. The clergy and laymen moved freely from kingdom to kingdom, and the bishops were often not natives of the kingdom in which they held their sees. The Archbishop of Canterbury was at one time a West Saxon, then again a Mercian, and at another time a native of Kent. This practical unity of sentiment and organization was not without effect upon the kingdoms warring against one another. When something like national unity was gained by the success of King Alfred against the Danes, and his acquisition of the central power in England, his labors were strengthened by the existing ideals of unity which the church had upheld. The church contributed largely to the growth of the national idea in England and helped to weld together the scattered forces of disunion and separation.

At the beginning of the Danish invasion

the church suffered the loss of many monasteries and churches. The clergy were slain and the bishoprics were vacant. The invaders were seeking the ringing gold, the "fire-red hoard," and they despoiled the religious houses; but when the Northmen settled in the land which they had invaded many of them embraced Christianity and gave up their heathen magic.

It was not until King Alfred's reign, when the dominant power was held by the kingdom of Wessex, that the church began to develop as a national institution. Alfred, 871 to 901, one of the greatest names in English history, after seven years of fighting with the Danes, won the battle of Ethandune, which proved to be one of the turning points in the fortunes of England. He was now enabled to care for his people, and to strengthen the church for its work of ministry and preaching. He prefaced his code of laws with the Ten Commandments; and though his laws as a whole were some-

what deficient ethically, there was a strict observance required of truthfulness in oath and covenant. For the education of the people he translated into English Bede's "History," the "Soliloquies of St. Augustine," Bœthius' "Consolations of Philosophy," and other books of importance, as well as some parts of the Bible. "When I thought of them all thus," said Alfred, in explaining why he desired to have these books translated, "then I thought also how I saw it before it was all spoiled—burned; how the churches throughout all the English nation were filled with treasures and books, and also the great multitude of God's servants, and yet they knew very little of the truth of the books, because they could understand nothing of them, because they were not written in their own language."

Alfred was less insular than many of his predecessors, and established closer relations with Rome. Contributions similar

to Peter's Pence were sent; embassies from Rome arrived in England, and in one instance at least Plegmund went to Rome to get his Pall. Though Alfred's affection for Rome was strong, he was not subservient. His work in the main was untrammelled, and the English Church continued its labors without external influence.

During the period from the death of Alfred to the Norman Conquest, the Church strengthened itself by a revival of religious interest in the monasteries, which resulted in a beneficent influence on ecclesiastical institutions, on morality and education, and stimulated intercourse with foreign churchmen and scholars, and promoted the application of the arts to religious needs. The great names that stand out are those of St. Dunstan, 925 to 988, and Archbishop Odo, who did much to strengthen the moral and spiritual forces of the nation. Dunstan at times was tyrannical, but he secured some excellent laws, especially those against idol-

atry. He encouraged preaching, and the teaching to children of the Lord's Prayer and Creed. King Cnut, 1016 to 1035, though he succeeded in practically dividing England in half, through the continued struggle between the English and the Danes, encouraged the Christian religion. After his death, Edward the Confessor ascended the throne. He had been reared in Normandy, and was interested neither in the independence of the church nor of the nation. There were the foreign and the national parties, and the struggle was fierce between them. Roman influence increased, and signs were beginning to appear which were to mean the temporary defeat of the independence of the English Church, and bring it into subjection to the Pope.

From the planting of Christianity in Britain to the Norman Conquest there were four important stages in the growth of the church: those indicated by the names, the

British Church, the Keltic Church, the Saxon Church, and the English Church. The British Church was the first to be founded; then came the missions of the Irish and Scotch Church; and then the missionary efforts on the part of the Roman Church to Christianize the Saxons, which gave rise to the Saxon Church; and from the combined influences derived from these different sources, the English Church emerged as an increasingly organized body, closely related to the national life, growing in independence in both ritual and government, uplifting the people by its educational methods and moral purposes, and uniting in something like harmony the tribes and the kingdoms into a nation. During this whole period the relations of the English Church to Rome are very clear: relying upon the sympathy and interests of Rome, at times accepting its advice and decrees, and at other times refusing to do either, the church regarded itself as an independent

authoritative body. The Papacy during this epoch had not asserted extreme claims, nor had it reached the climax of its power, so that the normal freedom of an island church was not unnatural. There were constant attempts on the part of Rome to interfere, in some cases successfully, but frequently without effect. Wilfrid appealed to Rome, but the decree was set aside in 704. The clergy protested in 805, and Rome yielded, against the custom of the archbishops going to Rome to receive the badge of office. Only twice since the coming of Theodore did legates interfere in the affairs of the church. Even Dunstan with little compunction set aside a Papal sentence.

The increasing power of Rome, however, was to tell in the end. Gradually the sway of the Pope, helped by political conditions, became to be recognized more and more in England. During the time from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation, Rome at-

tained the highest control, but not without continued struggles wherein both the nation and the Church asserted their independence, until the foreign yoke was cast aside in the sixteenth century.

CHAPTER III

THE NORMAN CHURCH

THE history of the Church in England from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation in the sixteenth century, may be divided into two periods: the first, from William the Conqueror to the accession of Edward I, which took place in 1272; and second, from Edward's reign to that of Henry VIII, who ascended the throne 1509. The first period is characterized by the dominance of the Norman element in church and state, and the gradual success of the Pope in asserting his supreme authority, and gaining his greatest control in the affairs of England. The second period gives ample evidence of the growth of the spirit of nationality and the continued rise of those forces both in the nation and the

church which finally resulted in the defeat of the Papacy and the reassertion of the independence of the Church of England.

At the battle of Hastings, William carried a banner which had been blessed by Pope Alexander, giving the invasion the character of the holy war against the religious freedom and liberties of the English people. The invasion succeeded in both directions. The land was taken from its English owners; a French nobility took the place of prominent Englishmen; the bishoprics were filled with foreign ecclesiastics; and an Italian, Lanfranc, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. The English people were reduced to the position of underlings and the church for the most part became the possession of foreigners. An unaccustomed sight was witnessed in 1070, when three papal delegates placed a crown on William's head, indicating that his position was confirmed by the Papacy. Fortunately both William and Lanfranc gave less submission

to Rome than was expected. When Gregory VII desired him to do fealty the conqueror replied: "To do fealty I have not been willing during the past, nor am I willing now inasmuch as I have never promised it." Lanfranc also refused a papal summons.

Gregory VII, Hildebrand, was one of the greatest popes. By his wisdom and ideals of universal supremacy of the church, he made possible the almost complete control of Christendom to which he aspired. He desired to separate the church from the state, and give the church more definite spiritual authority. Celibacy of the clergy was enforced, so that having no family interests, their devotion might be more complete. This law was very generally enforced in England. What was known as the Investiture Controversy was precipitated by Gregory, and was another step towards securing power for the church. The question was whether the bishops and other

ecclesiastics should be looked upon as vassals of the king, their land belonging to him, and he having the right of investing them with the ring and the staff as symbols of their homage. Hildebrand regarded the land as the property of the church, and contended that no bishop should receive investiture at the hands of a layman. This controversy continued through the reigns of William Rufus and Henry I. It involved in a prolonged struggle Anselm successor of Lanfranc to the See of Canterbury.

Anselm, an Italian like his predecessor, was one of the most learned theologians of his time, an author of many works, and a man of great determination and zeal. His quarrels with William Rufus caused him to leave England for a time, but after his return, he gained his point when an agreement was reached at the council of London, 1107, that henceforth no bishop or abbot should be invested by staff and ring at the hands of the king.

The church thus asserted its spiritual power; and by the withholding of absolution and the teaching of transubstantiation, it was in a position to assert its prerogatives. The greatest triumph of the Roman power in England was when King John gave his kingdom to Pope Innocent III. The interdict against John went forth in 1208. The king's superstitious fears made him an easy prey to the threats of the pope; and, in 1213, "he freely and voluntarily granted to God and his holy apostles, Peter and Paul, the Holy Roman Church, and his Lord Pope Innocent, and his rightful successors, the whole kingdom of England and the whole kingdom of Ireland."

But even in King John's reign there was evidence of the rise of a new spirit of independence. The combined power of John and the Pope could not overthrow the liberties of the people. Magna Charta was secured after John's defeat in 1215, and the foundation of English freedom was laid.

The Great Charter was "the consummation," says Freeman, "of the work for which unconsciously kings, prelates, and lawyers had been laboring for a century, the summing up of one period of national life, and the starting of another." In this instrument the king promised that the church should enjoy its rights and liberties without interference.

The national revival was helped forward by many patriotic men, notably by Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The church had grown corrupt; the purchase of livings, called simony, was rife; and the papal impositions and demands for money were excessive. Against these abominable methods both Grosseteste and Langton protested as at a later day did John Wyclif. The cause of true religion seems never to have been without a witness.

During the greatest influence of Rome

the church still had a salutary effect upon the lives of the people. The parochial clergy often performed their duties with devotion; the vicars, archdeacons and bishops were sometimes men of learning and character. During the early enthusiasm of the followers of St. Francis and the Dominicans, examples of sacrifice and devotion to the faith were constantly seen. The Franciscans by their preaching instructed the people and inculcated temperance and the other teachings of the moral law. The decline of the famous order is a sad story, when its members became idle gossips and lazy beggars. Beautiful church buildings were erected in the Norman, the Lancet and early English styles; and many of the great cathedrals owe their origin to the religious faith of these times. Norman work is to be seen in St. Albans, Ely, Winchester, Romsey Abbey, Durham, and many others. The early English style still exists in Peterborough, Salisbury, and Wells, later flower-

ing into the decorated or geometrical style, which is to be seen in perfection in the Angel Choir of Lincoln Minster. The universities became centres of culture, and kept alive the debates of the schoolmen, and expounded the philosophy of the Realists and the Nominalists. There were many notable scholars like William of Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, Henry of Huntingdon, and John of Salisbury. The monasteries also in their best days provided a retreat from the evils of the world to those who sought industry and inward peace. In the thirteenth century, the mediæval church in England was at the height of its greatness.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries signs of great changes began to multiply. The forces were slowly but surely preparing for English independence. Edward I was an English monarch, and under him the constitutional system of the kingdom became more firmly entrenched. Normandy was lost; and the people began to develop

their own resources and to work for national prosperity. Two significant laws were passed, the Statute of Provisors in 1351, and the Statute of Præmunire in 1353. The Statute of Provisors decreed that the preferments to which the Pope had appointed men, should be forfeited to the crown, and Præmunire provided that those who appealed to the Papal Court should be deprived of their lands, and either banished or imprisoned. The Papacy was further weakened by the removal of the Pope from Rome to Avignon, and the long period of what was called the Babylonian captivity of the church, during which the spectacle was presented to Europe of two and sometimes three Popes claiming the office and denouncing one another. The reenactment of the Statute of Præmunire in 1393, was one of the most powerful measures against Rome and closely connects what were called the Constitutions of Clarendon with the Reformation. "It is well to remember

such statutes as these," writes the present Bishop of Ripon, "for they constitute a clear and changeless witness to the claim that the Church of England, however much and how often its rights have been infringed, has ever been regarded in the constitution of the country as a National Church."

A herald of the new spirit that was rising in England was John Wyclif. Undoubtedly the greatest man that the English Church has ever had, a foremost Oxford scholar, and a prolific writer, he early was recognized as a commanding figure. He was a student of the fathers, especially Augustine and familiar with the Aristotelian philosophy and the writings of the schoolmen. The Bible, however, was the great source of his inspiration. With perfect fearlessness he attacked the evils of his time, and demanded the purification of the church, and condemned the customs, doctrines and rights that had grown up with-

out the authority of Scripture. He made the Bible the sole standard of faith and practice; the Papal Court and the whole hierarchy and ecclesiastical system were attacked, including bishops, monks and canons. "No custom in the church," said Wyclif, "confirmed by Popes or observed by saints, is to be praised save in so far as Jesus Christ confirms it." He considered confession and penance and transubstantiation as mechanical and unreal. In many respects the greatest work of Wyclif was the translation of the Scriptures into the English language. Up to this time the Latin Vulgate was the only version, though portions of the Bible, especially the Psalter, had been put into early English some time before. The reception of Wyclif's Bible is thus characterized by an old chronicler: "Wyclif translated the gospel from Latin into the Anglican, not the Angelic tongue . . . and thus the gospel pearl is scattered and trampled upon by swine."

Though condemned by bishops and provincial councils, this translation opened to the English people the rich treasures of Scripture and provided weapons which were to be used with such fatal effect on the superstitions and corruptions of the church. Gregory XI, in 1377, issued five bulls against Wyclif, directing that he be placed on trial. He was tried, but was never put in prison.

The sentiments of Wyclif spread throughout the kingdom, and gained the sympathy of all classes. Men freely began to criticise the wealth of the clergy, and to examine for themselves into the sources of their authority. The peasant's riots began; convents were attacked; there was violence against the monks; these disturbances were connected with Wyclif's teaching. The most direct outcome was the Lollard movement. Many Lollards were persecuted, and at times the agitations ran into fanatical extremes, but the total result was

that men were made to think along new and independent lines of action.

Other men who contributed to the broadening of the thought of churchmen, were Chaucer and Langland. The "Canterbury Tales" and the "Vision of Piers Ploughman" and other popular poetry appealed to the people, by picturing vividly the real conditions and enforcing truth by homely sarcasm. William of Ockam, an English scholar, attempted the overthrow of scholasticism, while Roger Bacon drew attention to the study of Greek and Hebrew. These men were followed later by the group of Oxford humanists, Erasmus, Colet and More, who were free in their criticism of the existing order and preached reform; they were Greek scholars, and by their comments on Scripture, showed the absolute necessity of a study of the original languages in order to obtain the truth of the gospel.

Continental influences were also felt in

England. John Huss the Bohemian reformer, preached the necessity of correcting the abuses in the church and condemned indulgences, for which he was burned at Constance, 1415. Savonarola's preaching in Florence became known in England. The Renaissance, with the revival of classic learning and a new impulse in art and literature, made its way in England. A spirit of inquiry and freedom was abroad. The invention of printing made possible the diffusion of learning and the interchange of ideas. What are known as the Reforming Councils of the fifteenth century were very explicit in asserting that a General Council of the church was superior in power to the Pope, that the voice of the universal church should be the final resort in determining policy and doctrine. The Council of Constance forced upon the Pope the acceptance of the principle that he must be guided by its decisions. The famous decree announced "that every lawfully con-

voked Œcumenical Council representing the church derives its authority immediately from Christ; and every one, the Pope included, is subject to it in matters of faith, in the healing of schism, and the reformation of the church." The Council of Basle took the same position.

A larger outlook characterized the times. The Copernican system of astronomy gave expansion to the thought of the universe and the discovery of new continents filled the imagination with new wonders. The coast of Guinea was discovered in 1460; the south of Africa in 1486; and a little later Vasco da Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope reaching India. Columbus made his first voyage in 1492.

These various influences prepared men to break away from long-accepted customs and to inquire freely into the origin and stability of the old order. Doctrines which had been accepted on authority were now rationally examined, and false claims and

palpable corruptions were fearlessly challenged. Such was the attitude of thinking men prior to the Reformation; and the restlessness of the English people under Papal interference, and the growth in the church and nation of the national spirit, made possible the transformation which was soon to take place. Great events in history never occur without long preparation. The crisis may be suddenly precipitated, but the causes that give rise to it have been age-long in generating.

In the period just before the Reformation, the Church of England was thoroughly organized with archbishops, bishops, cathedral chapters, archdeacons, and clergy. The appointment to these positions did not come from Rome, for the Statute for Provisors prohibited it. The crown virtually selected the bishops. The increase in the power of the crown was everywhere discernible. Edward IV strengthened his prerogatives, and Henry VII added to the dig-

nity and honor of the Royal House by his accumulation of wealth. The growing independence of the English monarchy made it unnecessary to seek the favor of the Pope; and, backed by the consciousness of strength on the part of the people, the crown was fast approaching the moment when it could bid defiance to the Papal Court, and free itself and the people from the authority and the exactions of Rome. The continuity of the English Church from the earliest times was maintained, and the eclipse of its independence after the Norman Conquest was fast disappearing. Englishmen for the most part occupied the positions of importance; and the leaven of dissatisfaction with foreign control was working everywhere.

In addition to the stately cathedrals, beautiful parish churches dotted the land, and the abbeys and monasteries were numerous and rich. Hospitals had been founded, like St. Bartholomew's and St.

Thomas' in London; new colleges had been added to the universities, and great schools, like Winchester and Eton, had been founded. The services in the churches were in Latin according to various liturgical forms. The liturgies in use in the English Church were of slow and of varied growth. Augustine brought with him the Roman use, but with the consent of Pope Gregory, he modified this by the introduction of certain features from the Gallican ritual; thus the creation of a distinctive national liturgy was begun, both in saying the mass and the daily offices. Further changes were made when the French influence was dominant during the Norman period; and uniformity in the important religious centres was not always maintained. The custom of the diocese in the arrangement of services, the method of chanting, and the introduction of new collects, was designated a distinct "use." These "uses" were known by the name of

the diocese where they originated, the most notable being those of York, Hereford, Lincoln, and Sarum. In 1085 Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, after building his Cathedral, put forth his "custom-book," which became known as the Sarum Use; this became a model, and was followed in many parts of the kingdom.

Before the Reformation the different offices were contained in separate books, used as the occasion demanded. The four chief books were, "The Breviary," "The Missal," "The Ritual," and "The Pontifical." "The Breviary" contained the offices of the Canonical Hours, Matins, Lauds, Vespers, Compline, and others, and was used for the daily service in the monasteries. "The Missal" was the mass-book, and contained the order for the celebration of the Eucharist, or Holy Communion. Special offices, like Services for Baptism, Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, were contained in "The

Ritual." In "The Pontifical" only those offices which the bishops performed were included. There were also other liturgical books in use: "The Hymnarium" "The Psaltarium," "The Legenda," containing passages to be read from Scripture, from the writings of the Fathers, or the Lives of the Saints.

These various offices when translated into English, and condensed and changed in parts, formed the basis of the Book of Common Prayer, which was one of the distinctive gifts of the Reformation to the English people.

CHAPTER IV

THE REFORMATION

THE necessity for the reformation of the church was felt by the keenest minds of Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Papacy had become a mere political machine, playing kingdom against kingdom, in the hope of gaining more temporal power; the monasteries had become places of corruption; the doctrines taught and the practices enjoined were questioned by men of learning; and it was seen that if the spiritual power of the gospel of Christ was to be upheld, the appeal must be made from the traditions of men to the pure sources of Holy Scripture.

Martin Luther began his great work of reform in Germany against the sale of Indulgences, and other practices, in 1517,

when he nailed ninety-five theses "in explanation of the power of Indulgences" to the door of the church in Wittenberg. Later, at the Leipsic Disputation, in 1519, for fourteen days he debated the question of the Pope's primacy, repentance, and purgatory. The movement took on a European significance and rallied to the standard of Luther thoughtful men in every land. By his numerous writings and bold activity, he became the head of one of the greatest revolutions in the history of Christendom. Melancthon, that gentle scholar, reinforced many of the positions taken by Luther, and as his fame grew exercised great influence in Europe. In Switzerland, Zwingli began the Reformation which was continued by the master mind of Calvin. The desire for reform was neither local nor national: it was wide-spread in every Christian centre.

In England, Luther's books were read, many of them being smuggled in merchan-

dise. His treatise "On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church," in which he declared against the Pope's authority, and asserted that four of the seven sacraments were of human origin, became universally known because of the reply written to it in 1521, by King Henry VIII. Henry's book, the "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum," gained for him the title conferred upon him by Papal Bull, of Fidei Defensor. England, in many respects, was as ready for reformation as other parts of Europe. There were many men being almost unconsciously prepared to play the parts of such leaders as Tyndale, Cranmer, and Latimer, just as in the state the national spirit had grown so strong that Parliaments were ready to assert the independence of the English people.

Henry VIII ascended the throne of England in 1509, and reigned until 1547, and thus lived during the period of the acute stages of church reform. It was natural that he should be a conspicuous figure in

the discussions of the time; and in the strange way that providence often acts the personal desires of this man made him co-operate with the forces that were everywhere making for reform and freedom.

Henry was designed by his father for the priesthood, for his brother Arthur was the heir apparent, and had been married to Catherine of Aragon to secure a close alliance with Spain. Henry's interest in theological matters was therefore strong from the first, rather on the polemical than on the spiritual side. After Arthur's death, the need for an alliance with Spain being as great as ever, Henry was married to his brother's widow. A papal dispensation was necessary to permit the king to marry his deceased brother's wife. This was granted, and Henry married Catherine in 1509, he then being about eighteen years of age, and having succeeded to the throne about six months before. For almost eighteen years, until 1527, he lived with Catherine, having as

issue one child, Mary. Then he began to agitate the question of a divorce, partly because he desired a male heir, and partly because he had become infatuated with Anne Boleyn, whom he wished to make his queen. Through intrigue and pressure the king tried to get the consent of the Pope to the annulment of the marriage with Catherine; and the reasons for its dissolution were discussed in many of the leading universities of Europe. Henry really had canon law on his side; though his scruples may have originated in impure motives, he was determined to have his way. Wolsey fell because he was not active enough in the king's cause; and Henry, seizing the opportunity given by the growth of English nationality, determined to free himself and his kingdom forever from the Papacy.

The first step taken in this process of defiance by the English Church, was the compliance in 1531 by the convocations of York and Canterbury, to the king's request for a

large sum of money and the acceptance of the words "of the English Church and Clergy, of which the king is alone protector and supreme head," with the change "as the law of Christ permits, even the supreme head." This was a practical abjuration of the papal supremacy. This was followed by the great Statute of Appeals passed in 1533 which prohibited appeals to Rome and contained in preamble these significant words: "The English Church which always hath been reputed and also found of that sort that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of numbers, it hath been always thought and also at this hour sufficient and meet of itself without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts and to administer all such offices and duties as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain."

After convocations had already acted, the king then put forth in 1534, his "Proclama-

tion for the Abolishing of the Usurped Power of the Pope." So with other necessary acts of convocation and Parliament, the English nation and church attained what they had been struggling for during the whole Norman period, an independent organic life continuous with the British, Saxon, and Keltic Churches.

There are few apologies to be made for the character of Henry VIII. He sacrificed righteousness to personal pleasure, and his policies were dictated by arrogance rather than by wisdom. "He is a prince," said Wolsey, "of a most royal courage: sooner than miss any part of his will, he will endanger one-half of his kingdom." Whatever may be said of his various marriages, the most important to England was the divorce of Catherine and the alliance with Anne Boleyn, for this act was the occasioning cause of a new epoch in English history.

Through Henry's reign there was comparatively little done in the direction of the

actual reform of the church in doctrine and practice. Though Cranmer was ready for decided changes and the king himself encouraged heresy, his reign was preparatory for further modifications. There was the struggle between the reformers like Latimer, and the anti-reformers, like Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Thomas More, who lost his head in standing up for the old order. The suppression of the monasteries inaugurated by the king was as much prompted by avarice for their great wealth, as by a desire to purify them. The ruined monasteries and abbeys of England are a standing evidence of the decay of monastic life, which disappeared with the withdrawal of the Roman influence. The beautiful remains of Tintern, Fountains Abbey, and others, indicate that progress was not unattended by loss; and though the gain in the end is greater, it will always seem unfortunate that truth could not be vindicated without less sacrifice.

Signs of doctrinal reformation soon became evident. Tyndale's New Testament was read eagerly by the people, and Latimer's sermons against image worship and purgatory were popular. For the guidance of the people "the Ten Articles," containing a few reformed ideas was sanctioned in 1536, and the manual called "The Institution of a Christian Man," prepared carefully by the clergy, was published in 1537. This book was not radical, yet it clearly affirmed the rights of the national church. The free right to the study of the Bible was conceded, when by royal decree it was ordered in 1538, that the Great Bible, or Cranmer's Bible, should be placed in every church. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments were also taught to the people in English.

Controversies continued, and neither priest nor people could tell in the perplexity of the change, what doctrines they could hold. Some were for the whole Papal

system except the Papacy, others hoped to bring back the power of the Pope; and still others like Cranmer, and Thomas Cromwell, desired to bring the teaching of the church more in accord with Luther's ideas. Henry VIII never forgot his controversy with Luther, and later awoke to the importance of doctrinal discussion. He probably agreed with the famous six articles put forth in 1539, which marked a triumph of the anti-reforming party. In these, transubstantiation was affirmed; the two elements, bread and wine, were declared not necessary; the clergy were not allowed to marry; masses were to be continued, and confession was required.

The changes in the church service were few in Henry's reign, though they were important. The Litany was made into English and a lesson from the Old Testament and one from the New, read every Sunday, took the place of extracts from the legendary lives of the saints.

Henry's reign was a period of fermentation. The mere casting off of the Papacy did not reform the church. The whole Roman system of doctrine and worship was still intrenched. Many in England were opposed to change, and others were determined to go back to the primitive methods of Apostolic doctrine and practice. The accretions of centuries were to be swept away, and the gospel must be made to emerge in beauty and simplicity. There were strong men on both sides; and neither king nor Parliament could decide until the people of England decided, and the Reformation became a universal movement. When Henry died, the reform had started, and it was not to be completed until after many of his successors had passed away. He, however, succeeded in casting off the foreign influence, and rescued the church from Papal captivity. To say that Henry VIII founded the Church of England is as absurd as to claim that he founded

the English nation. He was one factor in the long process of the development of both the English Church and the English nation; and during his reign the crisis was precipitated which assured the independence of the church and of the nation.

Edward VI, a boy of nine, the son of Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour, succeeded to the throne in 1547. Somerset was elected Lord Protector. He was in sympathy with the Reformation; and Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, a learned and moderate man, who was also a reformer, became the great ecclesiastical power. The church now took in hand the purifying of itself, and most of the important acts were due to the initiative of churchmen rather than the decree of the monarch. The action of the great synods of the English Church was a strong bulwark for reform. The cup was restored to the laity in 1547; and a joint committee of the two convocations of Canterbury and York was selected to compile the

first English Communion Service. The committee met to "consult about one uniform order for administering the Holy Communion in the English tongue, under both kinds of bread and wine." With the king's sanction the Order of Communion was published in 1548. After convocation had acted, Parliament then accepted the decisions and made them the law of the realm.

The three most important events in the history of the church, in the reign of Edward VI, were the putting forth of the First Prayer-book, and the Second Prayer-book, and the Forty-two Articles. The need for liturgical forms in the English language, was apparent to all, and a greater uniformity of usage was demanded. A commission was appointed to compile the First Prayer-book, which came into use in 1549. It retained many of the prayers and forms which had been in use before, but there were important additions. It had many Protestant ele-

ments in it, for the influence is to be traced in its pages, of a book called "The Consultation of Archbishop Herman" which had largely been the work of Melancthon and Bucer, and drew from Luther's Nuremburg services. On the whole it was conservative, but distasteful to the Romanizing party. The explanatory directions which were issued also in 1549, indicate how far the anti-Roman influence had progressed. The Mass was forbidden; no sacring-bells were to be used, nor were lights allowed upon the Lord's Table; purgatory, prayers to the saints, images and holy water were not sanctioned.

The First Prayer-book was simple in tone, and more congregational than the Latin services. The eight services of the Breviary were reduced to two, Matins and Evensong. The Litany was arranged by Cranmer and is drawn from the Sarum Use. The Baptismal Office and the Order of Confirmation followed the Sarum Office. The most im-

portant service was "The Supper of the Lorde and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Masse." Much of the controversy of this period centred on the interpretation of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. There were practically three views: that of Zwingli who taught that it was merely a commemorative feast; that of Luther, who held to the Doctrine of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, taken together with the Elements; that of the Roman Church, which taught that the essential bread and wine were actually changed into the Body and Blood of Christ. Transubstantiation had been the cause of gross superstitions, so it was eliminated from the First Prayer-book, as also was the commemorative idea, though this is partly represented. The Real Presence is not denied; and those who believed in this doctrine were able to use the office, though the Elevation of the Host was forbidden. A genuine religious service was thus provided which en-

abled the worshipper to receive Christ into his heart, through his receptive faith, and by means of the Sacrament to enter into oneness with his Saviour.

The First Prayer-book was not radical enough. It was seen that further changes must be made. Certain foreign reformers, Martin Bucer, John a Lasco, and Peter Martyr, had come to England; and their criticism of the Liturgy, together with the growing desire to carry reform to its utmost, was the cause of the putting forth in 1552 of the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI.

In the Second Prayer-book Cranmer and Ridley had a free hand. Its existence was due to the initiative of the English Church and was undoubtedly accepted by convocation, though doubt has been cast upon its synodical authority. The evidence, however, seems to be conclusive that it expressed the mind of the church at the time it was promulgated. The numerous vest-

ments were reduced to one, the surplice being the only ecclesiastical garment to be worn by the clergy. The words in administering the Holy Communion were changed to read: "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee." In what is called the Black Rubric of the communion service it is declared that kneeling does not mean "that any adoration is done or ought to be done, either unto the Sacramental bread and wine, there bodily received, or unto any real or essential presence there being Christ's natural flesh and blood. For, as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were idolatry, to be abhorred of all faithful Christians." The Forty-two Articles of Religion, which afterwards were the basis of the Thirty-nine Articles were published in 1552, and they mark a decided advance in the Reformation.

After the death of Edward VI, in 1553,

Queen Mary, sometimes called Bloody Mary, succeeded to the throne. As she was a strict adherent of the Roman Church the tide of reaction set in, and Papal influence returned with a rush. She prohibited preaching without a royal license, and meetings of convocation were not allowed. England was humiliated when the two houses of Parliament bowed down before the Cardinal, the representative of the Pope, and were absolved for their previous acts of independence. Many of the clergy, especially those who were married, were driven from their parishes, and the bishops who had sympathized with reform were deprived of their sees. By consistent persecution it was determined to root out the heresy of freedom. The fires of Smithfield were lighted and a continuous procession was marched into the flames. Dr. Rogers, Prebendary of St. Paul's, was burned in 1555; Bishop Hooper was burned at Gloucester, and Dr. Roland Taylor met the same

fate in Hadley. The three most conspicuous men who fell victims to Mary's persecutions were Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley. Cranmer had taken a leading part in the reform from the beginning; and though he may have made mistakes and been governed at times by mixed motives, he had in the main been earnest and progressive. Latimer, a bold and truthful man, had won the hearts of the people by his eloquence and homely wit. Ridley was a learned and refined man, a keen antagonist to Roman claims, and a preacher of primitive Christianity. Ridley and Latimer were tried at Oxford, and were burned together in front of Baliol College. "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley," said Latimer, "and play the man, for we shall light this day such a candle in England as by the Grace of God shall never be put out." At first when pressed, Cranmer recanted. He was hysterically afraid of a violent death, but later his courage stood by him, and as he went

to the stake, he held his right hand in the flames because with it he had signed his recantation.

The policy of Mary was a sample of what the English people might expect if Rome were once more in control. The nation learned a lesson, and never forgot the martyrdom of its leading bishops. Mary's death, in 1558, made way for Elizabeth, whose reign was marked by an increasing conflict between the rapidly crystallizing parties in the church.

During the reign of Mary many of the bishops and clergy sought refuge on the continent, and settled in such towns as Basle, Zurich, Geneva, and Frankfort. Here they came in contact with the theology of Calvin, and listened to the criticisms that were made on the English Reformation and the prayer-book, which Calvin said contained "tolerable fooleries" and "popish dregs." The troubles at Frankfort, resulting in violent discussions between John

Knox and Dr. Cox as to the use of the Liturgy, and the attempted substitution of the service approved by Calvin, were the early signs of the rise of the Puritan spirit which was destined to exert such a great influence on the history of the English Church. On the return of these churchmen, many of them afterwards bishops, a desire for a radical departure from the old customs was fostered, and a demand for further change grew insistent, and the long struggle became acute between the Papists, the English churchmen, and the Puritans.

Only one of the Marian Bishops, Bishop of Llandaff, remained in his see when Elizabeth ascended the throne; the others were vacant either by death or deprivation. Matthew Parker was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and he was consecrated December 17, 1559, in Lambeth Chapel. The other bishoprics were filled in due course. A foolish tale was believed by some, that Parker and the other bishops

had not been properly consecrated, but had met at the Nag's Head, an inn in Cheapside, and, with no religious ceremony, proceeded to consecrate one another. This story is called the Nag's Head Fable, and was designed by certain Romanists to show that the English succession was imperfect. Few intelligent Roman scholars hold it today, for it has been shown over and over again to be a clumsy falsehood.

One of the first subjects that Elizabeth took up was the setting forth of the prayer-book; and the question was, which prayer-book, the first or second of Edward VI. The second book contained many more reformed ideas than the first. The basis of the Elizabethan prayer-book was the Second Book of Edward VI, and a modified Church of England service became the law. The act of uniformity required that this service should be used. During the Elizabethan period the Church of England was compelled to hold its

way between the two extremes that were threatening it; those who were scheming for a return to Rome, and those who were eager for the destruction of the Church's distinctive marks. Secret intrigues and political dangers, culminating in the Spanish Armada, were not able to cause revolt against the queen, nor to make any headway against the church. On the other hand, the Puritan movement gained force both within the church and without, and prepared the way for the greater conflict which was to come when the church was temporarily overthrown during the period of the Commonwealth.

The Puritans not only objected to many portions of the prayer-book, but also to the use of the surplice which was often referred to as a rag of Popery. They objected to the sign of the cross in Baptism, the requirement of sponsors, and the act of kneeling at Holy Communion. Others desired to discontinue the use of the prayer-

book. There were great varieties of views, and different movements sprang up of a more or less revolutionary character. The rights of the crown were called in question, as well as the whole constitution of the government; and the necessity of having bishops was discussed, and the right of officiating without episcopal ordination was hotly debated. "The Book of Discipline" set forth by Cartwright and Travers, based on a Geneva model, became a guide to many who, though Puritan in sympathy, did not leave the Church. Richard Hooker's book "Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity" was a strong bulwark of defense of the Church of England, showing that it is "Protestant because it is Catholic and Catholic because it is Protestant."

The intellectual activity of the Elizabethan epoch with its spirit of adventure and outlook into new fields of discovery and thought, gave zest to all of these conflicts.

New ideas began to ferment. Men losing grip upon the past were extravagant in their boldness to seek the new. The Puritan movement was a logical development from the principles of the Reformation, and if treated with more sanity and judgment by those in power it would not have resulted in dividing the allegiance of English Christianity into the Church of England on the one side and non-conformist bodies on the other. The Brownists, holding that each congregation was a law unto itself, the Anabaptists, and the other Separatists, began the actual schism which widened into movements of national importance. It was strange that such a fierce controversy should have raged about the use of the surplice in public worship, but this white linen garment became to the opponents a symbol for Roman teaching, and they were determined not to use it. Many would not conform to the prayer-book; and Elizabeth who never liked non-

conformity, permitted severe measures to be used against the Separatists. Persecutions began again, and the fires of Smithfield were once more lighted. After the death of Archbishop Parker, 1575, Grindal succeeded him, but fell into disfavor because he permitted prophesyings, that is, a free expression of opinion on theological matters, by means of preaching and debates. Archbishop Whitgift who became primate in 1583, however, was a determined enemy of the Separatists, and his rigorous policy intensified the spirit of partisanship.

As a distinctly religious movement Presbyterian Puritanism made strides in the reign of Elizabeth, but after this it became as much a political as a religious agitation. The reaction set in and a strong loyalty to the Church of England was developed by such men as Andrews, Overall, and Harsnet. Robert Brown, the founder of the Independents, whose followers sailed for

New England in the *Mayflower*, returned to the Church of England and died in communion with her. Thomas Cartwright, called the Father of Puritanism, also submitted to the church, and when dying expressed "his sorrow for the unnecessary troubles he had caused the church by the schism he had been the great fomenter of."

Though Elizabeth was determined to guard the religious peace of her realm, and set herself against Puritanism, she was governed by a well-considered policy of compromise. She could not stem the rising tide of inquiry and the dissatisfaction on the part of the people with whatever seemed like a return to mediæval practice or teaching. There were many causes which led to the growth of Puritanism. The universal activity of the Renaissance, and the intellectual virility that resulted from it, helped to deepen men's religious convictions and made them less content with forms and ceremonies, and more responsive to per-

sonal piety. The familiarity with the Bible, made possible through the translations of the Scripture by Tyndale and Coverdale, and the small Geneva Bibles which came into general use in the churches and the homes, was an important factor in the development of freer thought. The influence of the book on Englishmen was felt in many ways. Every-day speech was moulded by it; and the character of the people was changed through its power. They were brought face to face with the great problems of life, and a moral intensity was created which brought with it seriousness and spiritual force. The Spanish attempt to bring England back to Rome only intensified the Protestantism of the realm. The soldiers who went to fight for the Huguenots in France returned bringing with them Huguenot theology. The teachings of Calvin helped men to realize the dignity of their lives and their equality before God. It must not be supposed that the influence

of genuine Puritanism was confined to those who left the Church of England, or founded Scotch Presbyterianism; it entered fully into the life of the church, and was one of the many forces cooperating to develop the religious life of the Church of England. If it had not been for the extravagances of Puritanism on the one side, and the lack of elasticity on the part of the church, there might not have been the development of sectarianism which was the outcome.

But political causes were partly responsible for the tension that existed during the reign of James I. The king, being a foreigner, never understood the English people. He asserted the rights of the crown and curtailed the power of Parliament to such an extent that an open rupture between the Parliament and the monarchy seemed inevitable. The constitutional rights of England had developed too far for them to be set aside at the caprice of a sovereign. The Church of England was an ally of the

crown, and thus was placed for the time being in a position of antagonism to the growing liberties of the people. When the contest came between the personal will of the sovereign and the rights of the people, there was only one result, that of the victory of the people, and the church suffered with the dethroned monarchy.

When James, the Scotch King, succeeded Elizabeth it was generally expected that coming from a Presbyterian kingdom he would uphold Calvinism in England. But James had seen too much of the dominating influence of the kirk and been told his duty too often by the vehement preachers, like Andrew Melville, to make him wish to strengthen a cause which threatened his authority. He was afraid as he once said that "no bishop" meant "no king." No sooner had James entered England than a petition signed by about eight hundred clergy called "the Millenary Petition," was presented to him, asking that the supersti-

tions in the Book of Common Prayer be removed. It was arranged that there should be a conference at Hampton Court in 1604, when the archbishop and eight of his bishops should meet four of the leading Puritan ministers, and discuss their grievances. James, who was a pedant and prided himself on his theological leaning, was present at the conference and entered into the discussion, and, by his jocularity and contempt, insulted the Puritan divines, and ended the conference with the threat: "I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land."

The conference at Hampton Court lasted three days. The Puritan objections were fully presented. They dealt chiefly with such questions as the confirmation of children, the cross in baptism, the use of surplice, private baptism, kneeling at communion, the reading of the Apocrypha, and subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, and the Articles. Other objections were

made to the phraseology of the prayer-book. The conference resulted in some minor changes in the Liturgy, but on the whole the objections did not seem very weighty, the surplice being called "a garment worn by the priests of Isis." The bishops were delighted by the attitude of the king, and were more ready to uphold him, in the extreme assertion of his prerogatives. Other discussions soon arose about the forms of church government. There were extremists on both sides; those who asserted that Episcopacy was anti-Christian, and those who held that there could be no church without bishops. The great Elizabethan divines took neither of these positions. They held that Episcopacy was primitive and lawful; but now it was freely asserted in a party spirit, which widened the breach between the Church of England men and the Puritans, that no church could exist without the Episcopal form of government, and that those who did not accept

this government could not be followers of Christ.

The Court of High Commission, given new power by Elizabeth, was another factor in the growing alienation of the church. At first it was merely a temporary board, but it soon became an almost unlimited power; and, though there were forty-four commissioners, questions were left practically in the hands of the archbishops. Almost at will clergy were deprived of their benefices; heresy was dealt with, and nonconformity punished. This gave the Archbishop of Canterbury greater power than ever had been exercised before by any one holding the office. In many instances Whitgift, Bancroft, Abbot, and Laud used this authority despotically, governed almost solely by their personal will. A conflict soon arose between the commission and the judges; and the question of the source of authority in the realm was raised. It was said that the judges were only the king's dele-

gates, and that they were to decide the causes which he permitted. The growth of despotic power was seen in the statement: "As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or to say that a king cannot do this or that." When Parliament was called upon to decide, and showed that on such a question it would not accept absolute monarchy, the king simply dissolved Parliament, and thus stirred up greater opposition. James, through his love for favorites, and his personal rule, ran counter in every way to the constitutional forces of the English people; and by his vanity and ignorance of national conditions was leaving a legacy to his son Charles I, which meant the overthrow of the royal authority.

Though there were many good men in the church during the reign of James, men like Dr. Donne, and the saintly Bishop Andrews, there were others who flattered

the king and secured preferment by bribery. There were many pluralists, a bishop sometimes holding a rich deanery. Parliament protested, but the arrogance of the king and the servility of many of the clergy made impossible the peaceable adjustment of differences. Many men within the church felt as keenly the usurpation of power as the most extreme non-conformists.

One of the greatest achievements of the reign of King James was the setting forth in 1611, of the Authorized Version of the Bible, which has since practically become the authority wherever the English speech is known. The simple and stately English of the King James Bible, its vividness and epigrammatic power, the homely parables and stories, the truth about God, and the Revelation of Christ, have woven this book into the thought and character of those who use the English language. In spite of the blundering of James, and his unwise poli-

cies, his part in the publishing of the Authorized Version may be considered in a measure to atone for his acts of usurpation and intolerance.

From the very beginning of the reign of Charles I, it was apparent that a serious conflict was arising between the throne and the people. The young king commenced by deceiving his friends abroad and at home. He made promises to the King of France, when he married Henrietta, the sister of the French King, that the harsh laws against Romanists should be repealed; and he made no attempt to carry out his promise; he also accepted the laws passed by Parliament, and then annulled them by granting dispensations. His nature was reserved and almost shy, though in the main he was conscientious. It may be said that when he broke his word to Parliament it was because he considered his kingly rights above Parliament; but all his promises were made with a reservation. When he was

forced to yield, as in the case of the "Petition of Rights" which demanded that no one should be imprisoned without proper cause, he dissolved Parliament, and it did not meet for eleven years.

The leaders of the church sided with Charles; and the king looked upon them as his strong allies. When Parliament refused money, many of the clergy turned their churches into places of tax-gathering for the king. Sermons on the divine right of kings were common; and Dr. Mainwaring declared that kings were above angels and participated in the power of God. The fear of Rome again became strong, for the king appointed to the highest offices those who were suspected of Romanist error. Montague, who was condemned by Parliament, was appointed Bishop of Chichester; and Laud, greatly distrusted, was made Bishop of London, and later Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud, called "a lawyer in a rochet," was a man of great industry, but

with a narrow mind, who was eager to press the most extreme claims of the church and would tolerate no divergence of opinion. Neither he nor the king foresaw that the course they adopted was soon to lead to open rebellion and civil war. Many intelligent and patriotic churchmen felt a melancholy dread at the progress of events, but they were powerless to prevent the catastrophe. The extreme party were in control and fast bringing disaster upon themselves.

The Long Parliament met in 1640, and it was flooded with petitions asking for the abolition of prayer-book worship and the destruction of Episcopal government. Representatives of the people took matters into their own hands. They resisted the taxes which had been imposed by the king, without their sanction; they sent Strafford to the block, and Laud was sent to the Tower, charged with high treason; the Courts of High Commission were abolished.

The Westminster Confession was put forth in 1643, and the Directory, a new service book, was authorized. Presbyterianism was beginning to triumph. The prayer-book was prohibited, in 1645, and many of the churches were mutilated. This was revolution and war. Marston Moor and Naseby, battles of supreme importance in the history of England, settled the fortunes of the king; and Cromwell's growing power was the death-knell of the Royalist claims. Laud was executed in 1645; and four years later Charles stood upon the scaffold.

The Commonwealth with Cromwell as Protector, lasted until his death in 1658; and after an interval of two years Charles II ascended the throne, and the period of the Restoration began. During the Commonwealth the clergy of the Church of England suffered greatly. Though in the main Cromwell was tolerant, the same passion for uniformity persisted, and those

who could not accept the changed order were driven into exile. The prayer-book service, however, continued to be used in secret and men were occasionally ordained.

But the Commonwealth could not last. The constitutional victory had been won, and permanent achievements of political liberty had been gained. The English people, however, were never really Presbyterians at heart, and they longed for the church again, purified through the flames of civil war. Cromwell's aim of building up a kingdom by the sword was doomed to failure. The difficulties and mistakes of the Commonwealth were so great that a reactionary movement set in, and Puritanism as a militant force fell; but Puritanism as an influence, including under this name the many forces in English life and thought making for liberty, righteousness, and personal religion, did not die, with the failure of the Puritan state; it continued to bear fruit in English government and in the

church, which became stronger, more comprehensive, and more spiritual, because of the ideals wrought into its life, derived from the very forces which produced the true spirit of Puritanism.

CHAPTER V

EARLY DAYS OF THE CHURCH IN AMERICA

THE discoveries in North America made by the Cabots in 1497 opened the way for English colonies. With the coming of the English immigrants there were brought into the new land the political and religious institutions in which the people had been reared. It was only a question of time when the controversies that agitated the mother country were to begin afresh in the new world; and through these, with the added experience of new conditions, were to be fought out the problems of American social and religious progress. The Separatist, the Baptist, the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, and the English Churchman met in the colonies that were founded, and with varying fortunes, each made a place

for itself, transplanting and modifying the ideas that they brought with them, and erecting out of the confusion of pioneer life the foundations of noble institutions forming part of American Christianity.

The first services of the English Church held on American soil of which we have a record were conducted by the chaplains of ships engaged in exploration. There was a prayer-book service held on the shores of Hudson Bay in 1578, and on the coast of California by Francis Fletcher, the chaplain of Sir Francis Drake in 1579. This latter event has been commemorated by the erection of a cross, fifty-seven feet high, in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. Sir Humphrey Gilbert received the first colonial charter from Elizabeth in 1578, and it was his intention to plant the English Church in his colony, the instrument directing that the settlement "be, as near as conveniently may, agreeable to the laws and policy of England, and also that they be not

against the true Christian faith and religion now professed in the Church of England." But unfortunately this expedition came to naught, as did those of his successor, Sir Walter Raleigh. In the attempt to found a colony on the island of Roanoke, in 1587, of which John White was governor, two episodes of interest occurred: the first Indian convert Manateo was baptized August 13, 1587, and a little later was also baptized Virginia Dare, the first child of English parents born in America.

Other expeditions that did not result in permanent settlements but which brought the Church of England services to the new country, were those of Martin Pring, acting under Raleigh, with the *Speedwell* and the *Discoverer*, who landed at Plymouth, in Massachusetts Bay, seventeen years before the Pilgrims, and during the six weeks that he remained used the Book of Common Prayer; and of Sir Fernando Gorges, which landed on the shores of the Sagadahoc, or

Kennebec River in 1607, and gave the opportunity to Sir Richard Seymour, a clergyman of the Church of England, to preach and offer prayers.

The first colony in which the church was made a permanent institution was in Virginia. The first charter of Virginia given by James I declared that provision should be made "that the Word and service of God be preached, planted, and used, not only in the said colonies, but also, as much as might be, among the savages bordering among them, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England." Virginia was reached in 1607; and the Rev. Robert Hunt, "an honest, religious and courageous divine," became the first colonial clergyman. "Wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile)," wrote Captain John Smith, "to three or four trees to shaden us from the sunne, our walles were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut plankes; our pulpit a bar of

wood nailed to two neighboring trees. This was our churche till wee built a homely thing like a barne." From these small beginnings, as the colony grew, churches began to be erected as they were needed. When the charter was enlarged there was much enthusiasm in England over the idea of strengthening the church in Virginia. Master Burke was sent over; and soon Alexander Whitaker, known as the "Apostle to the Indians," came as a faithful missionary, and was the clergyman who converted Pocahontas and baptized her. Whitaker's "Good Newes from Virginia" set forth the attractions of the colony and was the means of inducing many to try their fortunes in the new world.

It is an interesting fact that the first representative body of legislators that ever met in America was the House of Burgesses of Virginia, and they held their meeting in the chancel of the church at Jamestown, July 30, 1619. They considered ecclesi-

astical matters, and established the Church of England in the colony; the clergy were provided with a glebe of a hundred acres each; and later the salary of a clergyman was placed at fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco and sixteen barrels of corn. At this time there were five clergymen. As the colony extended the council applied to the Bishop of London for new ministers, and these were sent from time to time. From this early application to the Bishop of London his jurisdiction in the colony became gradually recognized; and doubtless because of the position of his see in the heart of England and a traditional interest in the colonies of America he became the authority to which the colonial churchmen turned for advice and guidance.

The relations between the colonists and the Indians were at first cordial; missions were founded and efforts were made for their education, but after the unexpected massacre of 1622 hatred sprang

up and armed force was constantly used. When a few Puritans found their way into Virginia they were treated with respect until there was a change in the government, the charter being annulled in 1624 and the king assuming personal control. Then laws were adopted expelling the Puritans. When in 1642 a number of persons in Virginia appealed to the General Court of Massachusetts "to send ministers into that region" and three Congregational ministers were actually sent, they were forbidden to officiate. Thus were the old world controversies introduced into the new, Sir William Berkeley being sent over by Charles I to keep out religious innovations from the colony. During the Commonwealth, the services in the churches for the most part were given up, except for one year when they were permitted, "provided that those parts which relate to the kingship and government be not used publicly." The churches suffered more by

neglect than by actual persecution, so that at the Restoration, though there were fifty parishes there were not more than ten ministers in the colony. Later, however, the church became much stronger and during the eighteenth century rendered good service to the colony.

Before Lord Baltimore secured in 1623 his charter for Maryland, there were English churchmen living on the Isle of Kent and among them religious services had been held. When the town of St. Mary's was founded a chapel was erected and services according to the Church of England were performed. Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic; and in order to gain tolerance for his coreligionists he adopted a policy which would permit them to enjoy the freedom of their consciences. In order to secure this privilege it was necessary for him to grant religious freedom to all. "I will not by myself or any other directly or indirectly," ran the governor's oath which

Lord Baltimore required, "trouble, molest, or discountenance any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion." This policy was put into formal enactment by the Assembly of Maryland when it passed in 1649 the "Act of Religious Freedom,"—one of the earliest instances in the world of a state accepting religious toleration. And it is strange above all things that this method of dealing with religious differences should have been inspired by a Roman Catholic, to whom uniformity was always a watchword, and heresy a detestable crime. Protestants were in the majority in the colony; and without taking away honor from Lord Baltimore for what he did, it is to be remembered that unless he had adopted this course of toleration Roman Catholics might not have been permitted to remain there.

The Church of England does not seem to have increased very rapidly in Maryland at the beginning. There were only three

clergymen in the colony in 1676. There were no legal means provided for their support, but later a number came over, and not altogether of the best quality, and they assisted in what has been called the "Protestant Revolution." This was caused more by political conditions in England than by those in the colony. James II, a Roman Catholic, had fled from his kingdom, and William aided in the ascendancy of the Protestants. The immediate outcome of this revolution in Maryland was the establishment of the Church of England. Parishes were laid out; vestries appointed; and a tax of forty pounds of tobacco upon each poll was levied to support the clergy and the churches. When Sir Francis Nicholson became governor in 1694, being an ardent churchman and always generously upholding the cause of his church, he vigorously proceeded to help in the work of erecting church edifices and settling ministers in the parishes.

One of the most important events for the growth of the church in Maryland was the appointment of Dr. Thomas Bray as commissary to the province. Dr. Bray was a man of great devotion and activity, with a constructive mind, who formed important plans for the sustaining and extension of the church. Before he came to Maryland he sent over libraries of valuable books to the parishes and inspired suitable men to become missionaries. He started movements in England that resulted in the founding of two celebrated and beneficent institutions: The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This later society, founded in 1701, played a part of supreme importance in the planting of the church in America. Dr. Bray did not remain long in Maryland, but during his short stay he succeeded in encouraging the missionaries who were on the ground, in rebuking those who were unworthy, and

in forming plans for the enlargement of the work in America. When he returned to England he made it evident to all that the best clergymen were needed in the American missions and men who for one reason or another had failed at home were totally unfit for the pioneer work of the colonies. Would that his advice had always been followed!

The starting of the church in New England was under entirely different circumstances from those either in Virginia or Maryland. The Pilgrims landed at Plymouth in 1620; and, having come out from the Church of England as Separatists, they were hostile to it. The Puritans who arrived at Salem, though bidding an affectionate farewell to "our dear mother, the Church of England," soon discarded her tenets and set up a Puritan commonwealth. Churchmen were not welcome. Wherever they appeared and tried to enjoy their privileges of worship, they were

treated as aliens and either exiled or suppressed. In the Plymouth colony Rev. John Lyford, a clergyman of the church attempted, 1624, to celebrate "the sacraments by his Episcopal calling," but he was soon banished. Thomas Morton, also a churchman, formed a colony at Wollaston. He used the prayer-book service, but also set up a May-pole and lived rather a free life. His house was burned and he was sent away to England. The Brown brothers tried to hold their services in Salem, but they were immediately exiled. There were other cases of the same kind. William Blaxton, a clergyman of the church who wore his "Canonicall Coat" in the wilderness was the first resident of Boston, but he found that he must seek a freer air elsewhere and went to Rhode Island. Individual churchmen scattered through the colony sometimes held services privately in their houses. There was no public ministration until 1686, when Rev. Robert Ratcliffe

landed in Boston, and acting under the charter which Governor Andros received, conducted services in the town house.

The Puritan commonwealth of Massachusetts gave the freedom of citizenship only to members of its churches. All others were either treated with indifference or actively persecuted. Charles II had sent a command to the General Court that "we require you that freedom and liberty be duly admitted and allowed; so that such as desire to use the Book of Common Prayer and perform their devotions after the manner established here, be not denied the exercise thereof." The only answer to this was that "the use of the Common Prayer-book would disturb their present peace and present enjoyments."

Encountering much opposition, Mr. Ratcliffe held further services in the South Meeting-house, especially on Good Friday and Easter Day, 1687. Money, however, was soon collected for the erection of a

church, and King's Chapel was begun in 1688. After Mr. Ratcliffe left, Rev. Samuel Myles took charge and later had as his assistant the Rev. Christopher Bridge. Thus regular services of the Church of England were instituted in Massachusetts; and from King's Chapel as a centre new missions were begun. Mr. Bridge preached in Braintree and succeeded in organizing there a parish with wardens and vestry in 1704. The church in Newburyport was added in 1711; and St. Michael's, Marblehead, in 1714. These additional churches were made possible by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, which sent out, as its paid missionaries, clergymen where the work seemed encouraging. The Puritan divines preached against the formation of these churches, Increase Mather publishing a pamphlet on "The Unlawfulness of Common Prayer Worship." In Newburyport churchmen were imprisoned and had their goods taken from them because they refused to pay for

the support of the Congregational minister, preferring to pay for their own clergymen. But in spite of intolerance, the church became firmly rooted and prepared the way for the development which came later.

Through the zeal of Sir Francis Nicholson services were held in Newport in 1698; and in 1702 Trinity Church was erected, the Rev. James Honeyman becoming its first minister and serving for almost fifty years. Families of wealth and social position were members of this church in Newport. In a few years, 1707, a second church was added in Rhode Island, that of St. Paul's Church, Kingston, known as the Narragansett Church. The original building is still standing and is one of the oldest church buildings in New England. A firm foothold was not secured by the Episcopal Church in New Hampshire until 1732 when efforts where made to build St. John's Church, Portsmouth, and later another parish was

established at Claremont where one share of glebe land was given to the church.

Shortly after the founding of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, the special aim of which was to extend the church in the colonies, a special agent, the Rev. George Keith, was sent in 1702 to travel through the country and find out the religious conditions and the need. Keith was accompanied by Rev. John Talbot, and they made journeys through New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina. Keith's journal is full of interesting information: he preached in many places, baptized persons, and encouraged the Episcopalians to have settled missionaries. "In all places where we travelled and preached," he wrote, "we found people well affected to the doctrine which we preached among them, and they did generally join with us decently in the Liturgy and Public Prayers, and administration of the Holy Sacraments, after the

usage of the Church of England." Through the labors of Keith and Talbot many parishes eventually were founded. Their visit to New London was almost the earliest attempt to introduce the church in Connecticut, though there was already a group of churchmen in Stratford, and a petition had been sent to the General Assembly in 1665 asking that children be permitted to be baptized and complaining of certain grievances. Though the parish in Stratford was organized in 1707, the real growth of the church in Connecticut dates from the conversion of Dr. Timothy Cutler and his friends in 1722 from Congregationalism to the Episcopal Church.

Timothy Cutler, a learned man of admirable character, when president of Yale College, from motives of conscience and because of extensive reading, felt some doubt of the validity of his ordination as a Congregational minister, and determined to seek orders in the Church of England. He was

not alone in this feeling. A group of ministers in the neighborhood had discussed with him the questions involved in such a decision. They decided to act; and in 1722 startled New England by sending a signed communication to the trustees of the college informing them "that some of us doubt the validity, and the rest of us are more fully persuaded of the invalidity, of Presbyterian ordination in opposition to Episcopal." Among those associated with Cutler in this change of relations were Samuel Johnson and Daniel Brown. A prayer-book which Johnson received as a youth greatly attracted him; and while in charge of his church in West Haven he frequently committed to memory prayers and collects taken from the book and used them in his Congregational services. The three friends set sail for England where they were ordained by the Bishop of Norwich in 1723. Brown died of the smallpox a short time after his ordination; the others returned home.

Cutler became the first minister of Christ Church, Boston, where he had a conspicuous and useful ministry. Johnson went to Stratford where he completed the church building; and by his enthusiasm, kindliness and wisdom helped to spread the church in other parts of Connecticut and finally became the first president of King's College (now Columbia) in New York.

When New York was wrested from the Dutch by the English in 1663 the way was opened for the introduction of the church. Though Peter Stuyvesant was intolerant to Lutherans, Baptists and Quakers, a service according to the English usage was permitted in the Dutch Church in the fort at New Amsterdam. After the capture of New York the different chaplains of the English garrison were allowed to conduct services. It was not, however, until Governor Fletcher was appointed that the church took root. He was an ardent churchman and succeeded for a short time in having the

church practically established and its clergyman supported out of the public funds. This temporary dominance of the church resulted in the founding of Trinity Church in 1697, which was built upon the same site that it now occupies. Rev. William Vesey called to be "Minister of the City of New York" was the first rector, though the Bishop of London was nominal rector. For the building of the church the citizens were taxed, though private subscriptions were also received. Unused funds collected for freeing slaves brought from Algeria were given for this purpose. In 1705, the corporation was enriched by the gift of the Queen's Farm, a valuable tract of land in the neighborhood of the church, which since those early days has become the principal source of the great wealth of Trinity Church.

At the request of Mr. Vesey, a man vigilant for the growth of the church, six missionaries were sent out to New York by the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. They soon organized churches in Westchester, Jamaica, Oyster Bay, Staten Island and Rye. At Albany a chaplain was appointed in 1709. He proved to be Rev. Thomas Barclay; and in 1716 he finished St. Peter's Church. Barclay particularly felt his duty to the Indians, whom he instructed and to whom he preached in Schenectady and elsewhere.

In New Jersey services were first held in a primitive way in a dilapidated court-house at Perth Amboy, but the earliest building erected was that of St. Mary's Church, Burlington, which was occupied in 1704. John Talbot, who accompanied Keith on his missionary journeys, became the minister. He soon saw the necessity for a fuller organization of the church in the colonies if progress was to be made, and he was anxious that a bishop be appointed. He went to England bearing a petition that the queen send a suffragan bishop, but this was not

granted. So eager was Talbot to have a bishop that the report spread that he himself had been consecrated by the non-jurors when on a visit to England. The evidence for his consecration is not strong; and it is not known that he ever exercised the duties of the office, though he recognized with the other colonial churchmen the great importance of perfecting the Episcopal system.

In the charter granted to William Penn for his colony in Pennsylvania there was a clause which read that "on the petition of twenty persons a preacher or preachers might be sent out for their instruction by the Bishop of London, and should be permitted to reside in the province without any denial or molestation whatever." Penn encouraged religious tolerance, though the Quakers first predominated in numbers, and there was a short-lived opposition to the introduction of the Church. The first building was erected in 1695, and this became the foundation of Christ Church,

Philadelphia. "Parson Evans," a missionary of the venerable society helped to establish the church firmly not only in Philadelphia but in Chester, Concord, Montgomery, Oxford and in other places.

The Carolinas had a ready made constitution given to them by John Locke the philosopher; many of its provisions were visionary but it contained a clause which practically established the church. No efforts were made at first to carry out this injunction, because in both the northern colony, the Albemarle, and the southern colony, the Ashley River colony, there were many varieties of religious belief represented among the inhabitants. There were dissenters who had come over from Virginia, Dutch who had left New York, Huguenots who had emigrated from France, and Scotch-Irish who found their way to the colony. When the church gained an entrance into Charleston through the efforts of a Christian family named

Jackson, who out of their private means gave a site for a church building, the provision of the original charter was remembered and the assembly passed an act in 1698 for the support of a minister of the Church of England, also voting him "a negro man and woman and four cows and calves." The first church in South Carolina was St. Philip in Charleston. After the beginning excellent ministers were sent out by the society in England and the Goose Creek parish was established which ministered to the Indians and negroes as well as the whites.

In North Carolina no efforts were made to introduce the church until the society acted in 1704 and commissioned the Rev. John Blair as missionary. He was succeeded by Gordon and Adams who in spite of unfavorable conditions did much good work. Up to the time of the separation of the two colonies in 1729 into North and South Carolina, thirty-eight missionaries had been at work in this field.

CHAPTER VI

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

In the early part of the eighteenth century the church had taken root in all the colonies with the exception of Georgia, where it did not enter until about 1732. When the first body of emigrants arrived with Oglethorpe, they were accompanied by the Rev. Henry Herbert. He was succeeded by Mr. Quincy; then John Wesley was appointed by the society in 1736, and he did a noble work for Christianity in Georgia in the short time that he stayed. Though he adopted novel methods and felt a desire for greater freedom and was the founder of the Methodist Church, he was always until the end a member of the Church of England.

The founding of the Church in the

different centres of importance was the beginning of a quiet and steady growth. Other towns were soon reached and these in turn became missionary centres. In the South the church was established by law, but on the whole this was a misfortune because it constantly brought the clergy into conflict with the ruling powers and interfered with their spiritual work. In the Middle and Northern colonies the church steadily won its way in spite of opposition, and through the personal influence of individual clergymen, it won a place for itself. Sometimes unnecessary controversies were stirred up and old prejudices against the church revived.

During the colonial period up to the Revolution the church was a conservative power for righteousness. The orderly services with the celebration of the sacraments and the recurrent teachings of the church year developed a refined and loyal type of Christianity. The children were

reared to love and respect its teachings, and in many families of influence the church was regarded with the same reverence as the home. In the agricultural districts of Maryland and Virginia, the parish church was the social and religious centre of the community, and it became a sacred place through its constant ministry in the different crises of life. The cultured and the ignorant met side by side within its walls and learned the simple virtues of a Christian's duty. In the North where the population lived more in large towns and cities the churches became the centre of the more educated and wealthier classes, though its mission was to all who responded to its teachings. King's Chapel, Boston, and Christ Church were stately edifices, often filled with many of the leading merchants of the town; and the colonial governors often worshipped there. Trinity Church, Newport, and St. Michael's, Bristol, and the old Narragansett Church exerted a wide in-

fluence among the leading people of Rhode Island, where families of intelligence and influence were devoted to the church. Trinity Church and St. Paul's, New York, have a rich and honored colonial history, and trained many of the men famous in the annals of the state. In Philadelphia, Christ Church and St. Peter's occupied a similar position.

The church through its services and creeds and sermons set forth an ideal of good citizenship, of duty to the community and the home, of dignified and restrained life and devotion to the essential teachings of Christianity. The movements of theological thought in England were reflected in the colonies; and through the libraries of books that were accumulated here and there in the different parishes these ideas were spread abroad. The church was a steadying influence through the excitement of the "Great Awakening," when George Whitefield went up and down the land

preaching his fiery discourses, and people were led to see that Christian conversion was not only a swift emotional experience but a quiet growth of faith in which the emotions were controlled by the reason; that daily acts of kindness and unselfishness and duty to the home and to one's friends were more important than the excitement of overwrought enthusiasm. Because of this lack of sympathy with the teachings of Whitefield, churchmen were often called "unconverted men," and "dumb dogs that will not bark"; but the spiritual influence of the church was apparent in the lives of consecrated laymen and faithful ministers.

Until after the Revolution the organization of the church was imperfect. It was an Episcopal Church, but without a bishop. The Bishop of London, across the sea, had jurisdiction in America, but he never visited his distant diocese. He was represented by commissaries, clergymen ap-

pointed to have oversight in certain districts. They visited missions and consulted with parishes, but were able to exercise very little authority. The absence of a bishop was a serious obstacle to the growth of the church. Young men seeking the ministry were compelled to take the dangerous and expensive journey across the ocean to be ordained in England. Many of them died of smallpox or were lost at sea. The rite of confirmation could not be administered; and as this public confession of the baptized person was a ratification of baptism and a necessary element in the educational scheme of the church, the inability to receive it at the hands of a bishop, was in every way unfortunate. Neither could churches be consecrated. But one of the most serious results of not having a bishop was the lack of discipline. Unworthy ministers sometimes found their way into the colonies: men whose reputations were damaged at home often thought

they would try a new field. Virginia and Maryland suffered most from this evil. To remove such men from their parishes consumed much time, as lengthy correspondence with the authorities in England was necessary before matters could be set right. A bishop was also needed to plan for an extension of the work and to lay down some principle of action for the clergy when they became involved in controversy with either the government or other religious bodies. It is remarkable that the church maintained itself so well and exercised such a wholesome influence without the presence and aid of a bishop, an officer most necessary to the normal life of an Episcopal Church.

This need of an Episcopate in the colonies was early recognized both by the colonial churchmen themselves and by their friends in England. Letters were constantly being sent by individuals and by conventions asking that a bishop might be conse-

crated for America. Archbishop Laud as far back as 1638 had a plan of sending a bishop to New England. His object doubtless was to exercise control over the Puritans; and they never could forget that this was his object. When the times had completely changed they still always associated the idea of having a bishop among them with the theories and discipline of Laud. In 1709 the Venerable Society formulated a plan for a colonial bishop and submitted it to Queen Anne; and if it had not been for her death success might have attended these efforts. Archbishop Tennison in 1715 left a thousand pounds "towards the settlement of two bishops, one for the continent and the other for the isles of America." Bishop Butler, the author of the "Analogy," worked out an elaborate plan for sending a simple Apostolic bishop without revenues drawn from taxation, but this like all other schemes came to naught.

In the meantime, memorials were drawn

up by the clergy in different sections of the country setting forth the needs of Episcopal supervision. "For want of Episcopacy," stated one of the documents, "our churches remain unconsecrated, our children are grown up and cannot be confirmed; the vacancies which daily happen in our ministry cannot be supplied for a considerable time from England, whereby many congregations . . . become desolate."

The reasons for this failure were many. America was far away and interest in colonial religious affairs was confined to a few. Besides, the church in England, being connected with the State, was compelled to gain the consent of Parliament; and pressure was brought by the non-conformists to prevent any act which might permit the sending of a bishop. Then the conception of the office of a bishop with his dignities and revenues and his position as a peer could not easily be modified: a bishop of the English type seemed out of

place in the plantations. A traditional bishop would have been out of place, but a spiritual bishop, a leader of his clergy, living without ostentation and supported by the voluntary offerings of the people would have been a power in the new land rather than a cause of discord.

It was against the idea of a bishop as a minister of state that the greatest opposition grew. This was evident in the controversy on this subject between Dr. Chandler of New Jersey, a vigorous churchman and Dr. Chauncey, a Congregational minister of Boston. Just before the Revolution the question of an Episcopate in America was discussed at great length in the newspapers and in pamphlets; and the fear of a bishop was one of the minor causes that led to the growing alienation between England and the colonies. "The fear of the Church of England," said John Adams, "contributed as much as any other cause to arrest the attention not only of the

inquiring mind but of the common people, and urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of Parliament over the colonies." It was stated: "What is to hinder him (a bishop) to claim all the powers exercised by Archbishop Laud and his ecclesiastical courts?" That this apprehension of the political powers of a bishop was the real cause of the antagonism is clear, because after the Revolution when the tie with England had been severed the bishops who were then consecrated for America were received without any outcry and in many places with welcome.

The most important factor in the progress of the church was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, founded by Dr. Bray who, when in Maryland, had seen the need of such an organization. It contributed large sums of money to build churches and support ministers. The reports from its missionaries are among the most valuable of colonial documents, and give very inter-

esting details concerning the life of the people. Archbishop Secker, speaking in 1741, said: "Near a hundred churches have been built; above ten thousand Bibles and prayer-books, above a hundred thousand other pious tracts distributed; great multitudes, on the whole, of negroes and Indians brought over to the Christian faith; many numerous congregations have been set up which now support the worship of God at their own expense, where it was not known before, and seventy persons are constantly employed at the expense of the society in the further service of the gospel." The total work of the society during its jurisdiction in America seems to have been the support of three hundred and ten missionaries and the maintenance of over two hundred central stations at an expenditure of considerably over a million dollars. In its results it may be said that no missionary organization has ever been so successful in building the foundations of

what was to become a great and powerful church.

The character of the clergy who ministered in the colonies was on the whole excellent. They were men of learning and sacrifice; many of them of such strong personality that they became widely known and were respected everywhere. Their lives and their teaching made directly for righteousness. There were exceptions, of course, notably in Maryland and Virginia, but in North Carolina, and South Carolina and Georgia there were few instances where the clergyman was not a spiritual leader. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and the other colonies the clergy were faithful preachers of the gospel whose influence was the equal of any in piety and manhood. Many of them were Englishmen who had come in the spirit of genuine missionaries, and they soon adapted themselves to the new conditions. A large number were born in

America, and after their ordination in England they were accepted as missionaries by the Venerable Society. Some of these young men came from church families, but others had been Presbyterians and Congregationalists, and even ministers in these denominations.

In Massachusetts the names will always be remembered of Samuel Myles, an early minister of King's Chapel, an earnest and thoughtful man, and of Henry Caner a successor in the same church; Matthias Plant the beloved and venerable minister of Newburyport; Timothy Cutler the learned and vigorous rector of Christ Church, Boston; Edward Bass who served in Newburyport for many years and afterwards became the first bishop of Massachusetts; and of East Apthorp the refined and able rector of Christ Church, Cambridge. In Rhode Island there were such men as James Honeyman, the friend of Dean Berkeley, who served with rare faithfulness

in Newport for almost fifty years; Dr. McSparran, a quaint and individual character who wrote "America Dissected" and had rather a love for controversy; and John Usher of Bristol of whom it was said that "he made the welfare of the church the whole business of his existence and was called to suffer deprivations and hardships." Connecticut was especially rich in worthy ministers: Samuel Johnson was a fearless leader and a man of singular sweetness of character, with the outlook of a statesman and the consecration of a humble disciple; Samuel Seabury, the father of the future bishop of Connecticut; Solomon Palmer who planted the church in several new communities in the colony; John Beach who answered the attacks on the Venerable Society made by Jonathan Mayhew; and Jeremiah Leaming who was thought worthy to be considered a candidate for the bishopric.

The Church was represented in New

York by a distinguished body of ministers. William Vesey the first rector of Trinity Church was a man of parts and a good preacher. His successor, Dr. Barclay, built up the church so successfully that it became necessary to build St. George's Chapel in 1752. Dr. Auchmuthy won the respect of all. Charles Inglis afterwards became the first bishop of Nova Scotia. Samuel Provoost was a man of strong personality who sympathized with the patriot cause in the Revolution and was elected the first bishop of New York. The work of the church in this important colony was greatly promoted by a number of ardent laymen: Lord Cornbury, one of the early governors, and Colonel Heathcote; and such illustrious men as Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey and Sir William Johnson.

The church in Pennsylvania was well served by Archibald Cummings and Robert Jenny, Jacob Duché, Richard Peters, and

William White who became the most distinguished clergyman of the church after the Revolution, being consecrated first bishop of Pennsylvania. In Maryland the two Commissaries, Christopher Wilkinson and Jacob Henderson, were men of unimpeachable character and faithful to every duty. Added to these should be mentioned Henry Addison and Jonathan Boucher. Virginia had a succession of worthy men, from the time of Dr. Blair, who labored amidst many difficulties: the names of Jarratt and Madison, Griffith, Davis, Bracken and Muhlenberg will always be remembered with pride. The Virginia families of the Washingtons, Pendletons, Lees, Meades and Randolphs reared strong laymen who were always devoted to the church. In the Carolinas Commissary Garden was one of the most earnest representatives of the Bishop of London in any of the colonies; and Robert Smith and John Hodges, Clement Hall and Alexander

Stewart were the equal of any of the colonial ministers.

The church did not neglect the educational interests of the people. Many of the clergy received scholars into their homes and gave them regular instruction. Institutions of learning were also founded. The first suggestion of the founding of a college in Virginia was made in 1662. Dr. Blair acted upon this when he arrived in 1685, and later sent a petition to the queen for a charter. This was granted, and two thousand pounds were given by the king, which supplemented the twenty-five hundred pounds already given by the merchants of London for this purpose. The college was called "William and Mary." It was built at Williamsburg and received its support from a tax on tobacco and a gift of twenty thousand acres of land. This institution educated many notable men, and in the days of its prosperity was of great service to the state as well as the church.

An impetus to collegiate instruction in the colonies was given by the visit of Dean Berkeley, who came to America in 1729, with the plan of founding a college in the Bermuda Islands. His reputation as a scholar and philosopher prepared the way for his favorable reception. His friendship and advice were of the greatest benefit to the church. Because of political conditions at home his plans for his college were unsuccessful, but he took deep interest in the colleges that had already been established and was instrumental in starting new ones. He contributed a library of books and landed property to Yale, where his name is held in grateful remembrance. Gifts of importance were made to Harvard. After his return to England he was made Bishop of Cloyne, but he kept in touch with American educational affairs through correspondence. When the College and Academy of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, was founded in

1749, through the efforts of Philadelphia churchmen, prominent among whom was Benjamin Franklin, the suggestions of Dr. Berkeley were most valuable. It has been also said that Berkeley was the true spiritual founder of King's College, now Columbia University, New York. He was an intimate friend of Samuel Johnson, the first president, and the trustees followed the model which Bishop Berkeley constructed. The site for King's College was given by Trinity Church, with the condition that the president should always be a churchman and that the religious services should be from the prayer book.

Many of the church buildings were of considerable dignity, being built in the colonial style of architecture. They were often of stone and brick, and patterned after the models of Sir Christopher Wren; others were of wood, and planned in rectangular shape with a slight chancel. The pews were generally square, called

"box-pews," with high backs and sides, designed for the use of the whole family. The clergy sometimes wore the surplice, but more often a black gown with bands. Beneath the pulpit the clerk sat and made the responses. The organ was introduced and at times the musical part of the service was effectively rendered. On special occasions in such churches as King's Chapel, Boston, Trinity Church, New York, and Christ Church, Philadelphia, the congregations were striking in appearance: the men in their velvet coats of different colors, the officers in their uniforms and the ladies in their silks and satins. When the governors were churchmen a pew was usually set apart for them and their coat-of-arms was placed in a conspicuous position. In the county districts of Rhode Island, Maryland and Virginia the parishioners often drove to church in their coaches and four with attendant grooms. Galleries were provided for the slaves.

The parson was a welcome guest in the homes of the people. By his accessibility and intimate knowledge of family matters he ministered to those who needed him as truly through social intercourse as in his sermons. If in the South the clergy sometimes became convivial and were known to go fox-hunting, in many instances this was the social custom of the community and did not interfere with the more serious work, and would not have been made a scandal had it not been for the strictness of a severe Puritanical spirit.

As the Revolution approached and the War of Independence broke out in the colonies, the people were divided in their interests. There were two well defined parties: the Tories who were opposed to a break with England, and the patriots who believed in absolute independence. The loyalists were not confined to any section of the country, or to any religious creed. They felt that the differences with England

could be peacefully settled, and that the prosperity of the colonies depended on their continued union with the mother country. In New York alone 40,000 Tories joined the king's forces, and thousands left Boston for Canada. There were Congregational ministers among the Tories.

The same variety of sentiment was found among the churchmen. There were both extreme loyalists and ardent patriots among them; and while many, for reasons of conscience, opposed the Revolution, others because of their devotion to independence gave their lives and their fortunes to the patriot cause. The question of duty pressed very hard on the clergy who were missionaries of the Propagation Society; their stipends came from across the water; and when they had been ordained they had taken an oath of allegiance to the British Government. Had they any right to break this oath? Many were in a great state of perplexity, especially since they did not feel

that they had any power to change the Liturgy and substitute prayers for Congress in the place of those for the king. In the North, with few exceptions, the clergy were loyalists, while in Pennsylvania and the South almost two-thirds of them were patriots.

The test came when days of thanksgiving and prayer were set forth by Congress. Many knew that it would be fatal for them, on such occasions, to read prayers for the king; but in many instances they did this and had to suffer for it. While Mr. Inglis, in Trinity Church, New York, read the entire service, a company of one hundred and fifty armed men entered the church beating drums, and with bayonets fixed. Speaking of the clergy whom he knew, Mr. Inglis wrote, "Some have been carried by armed mobs into distant provinces; some have been flung into jail by committees for frivolous suspicions of plots, of which even the persecutors afterwards acquitted them.

Some have been pulled from their reading desks because they prayed for the king."

The sufferings of the loyalist clergy were severe. Their churches were shut up, and often used as barracks for troops or stables for horses; their houses were ransacked; they were imprisoned and beaten, and in some instances they died from the treatment which they received. They were looked upon as enemies and traitors, and their property was confiscated. Samuel Seabury was arrested and taken to Hartford, but made his escape and became a chaplain to the king's forces in New York. Henry Addison, of Maryland, was banished and his estates valued at thirty thousand pounds were confiscated. Jeremiah Leaming, of Connecticut, was left to suffer from cold and nakedness and became lame for life. John Weeks, of Marblehead, was exiled and died of poverty and exposure. Many other instances could be given to show how tenaciously these men held out

for what they considered right. Though they may have been misled they gave an example of high devotion to their principles.

In considering the attitude of the clergy towards the Revolution, it must be remembered that a very influential body of them were active patriots. They risked everything for independence. The first Continental Congress was opened with prayer by Jacob Duché. "As many of our warmest friends," wrote Samuel Adams, "are members of the Church of England I thought it prudent . . . to move that the service should be performed by a clergyman of that denomination." After this, William White was chaplain of Congress for many years, and in his sermons and addresses upheld the cause of independence. Charles Thurston, a clergyman in Virginia, entered the army and attained the rank of colonel in the American forces; and Peter Muhlenberg, another Virginian, raised a regiment from among his parishioners,

preaching to them in a gown covering his soldier's uniform. He afterwards became a brigadier-general. In South Carolina, out of twenty clergymen, five only were loyalists, and Robert Smith, the first bishop of South Carolina, was a soldier for some years. Two-thirds of the clergy in Virginia were patriots; among them was Madison, who became the first bishop of Virginia. In New Jersey, Croes, who afterwards was bishop, was a non-commissioned officer in the army. In New York, Samuel Provoost was a patriot. In Massachusetts the two men who became bishops of the Commonwealth kept their churches open during the war.

The laymen of the church without any question became the most distinguished officers and statesmen of the Revolutionary period. Not being bound like many of the clergy by solemn vows of allegiance to England they were free to act; and their love for independence was not inconsistent

with their regard for the church. "The men of the established Church of England," wrote Joseph Warren, "are men of the most just and liberal sentiments and are high in the esteem of the most sensible and resolute defenders of the rights of the people of this continent." A large majority of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were churchmen. A list of names of those who were pillars in upholding the new Republic will include many Episcopalians: General Washington, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, Robert Morris, John Marshall, Richard Henry Lee, John Randolph, and many who were not so famous. The attitude of the Loyalist clergy has sometimes been overemphasized as if it was the characteristic of churchmen as a whole. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is more than probable, though the facts have not yet been completely ascertained, that, taking the clergy and laity

together a very large proportion of the Episcopalians in the colonies were upholders of the Revolution.

CHAPTER VII

AFTER THE REVOLUTION

AFTER the Revolution the church was in a weakened condition. As the state was separated from England, so was the church; and what remained of it were the scattered fragments without any bond of union or any centralizing authority. It was an English church without any connection with England; it was an Episcopal church without a bishop; it was a Christian church with few ministers and most of the church edifices closed. Few religious organizations have had to face a more serious problem of threatened extinction.

Fortunately there were men of faith and ability who soon turned their attention to the saving of what was left, and the making of preparations for a future of re-

newed life. William Smith in Maryland, a Scotchman, who had been provost of the academy in Philadelphia, a preacher of note and a statesman of keen vision, rendered faithful service in this formative period. William White in Philadelphia, who kept his church open during the war was in a position to help in the organization of the scattered parishes. The clergy in Connecticut with Samuel Seabury were eager to begin afresh; and in Massachusetts, Samuel Parker, a practical and judicious man, with his friend Edward Bass, was ready to cooperate in adopting whatever seemed to be the wisest plan.

The first movements for revival were independent, confined to the different sections of the country. Clergy here and there met to consider the requirements of their locality and made independent changes in the liturgy. The earliest efforts were in Maryland under the guidance of Dr. Smith. He saw the importance of retaining for the use

of the church the property which had been owned before the war. Soon after the Declaration of Independence, a Declaration of Rights had been issued by the Assembly, giving the Vestries and Wardens power to raise money and restore church property. In order to make this declaration effective, and to secure new legislation, Dr. Smith and others held a conference at Chestertown, Kent County, Maryland on November 9, 1780. There were three clergymen and twenty-four laymen present. The most important act of this conference was the giving of a name to the church, which might be known in law and thus become a body capable of holding property. It was moved by Rev. James Jones Wilmer "that the Church of England as heretofore known in the province be now called the Protestant Episcopal church." Thus formally was given the name which was afterwards adopted by the whole church in America.

It has been sometimes said that this name

was originated by Dr. Smith and was accepted without due consideration. Its adoption later, however, by the whole church is an evidence that it peculiarly described the church that was struggling for existence. It was distinctly a Protestant church, and it was an Episcopal church. It was marked off from Rome by the use of the word Protestant, and it was distinguished from other bodies by the term Episcopal. The name did not originate with Dr. Smith. It had long been in use in England for the English Church was both Protestant and Episcopal. It was not the formal name used to describe the church in England but it was a subsidiary title, appearing more or less in writings and letters of churchmen. When the question of having a bishop in America had been discussed the term Protestant bishop had been constantly used. Maryland first formally adopted the name and later proceeded to make it effective by electing Dr. Smith to

the office of bishop, recommending him to the Bishop of London for consecration. For various reasons he never was made a bishop, though he continued to be one of the most active clergymen in the reorganization of the church.

In Pennsylvania William White seriously considered the best plan for reviving the churches. Before independence had been acknowledged he wrote a pamphlet which caused a great deal of discussion; it was called "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered." Feeling that it would be impossible for a long time to secure a bishop and knowing that all authority from England had been withdrawn, he advocated an immediate organization without waiting for a bishop. He suggested the ordaining of a presiding presbyter who should act as a bishop until one could be secured, thus insuring the ordination of ministers and the supervision of the whole field. This was a provisional

proposition made necessary because of the requirements of the times. It was never acted upon, for independence was soon achieved and it became possible to apply to England for the consecration of American bishops. The most important parts of White's plan were afterwards adopted by the church, and it is remarkable that he was thus early able to outline the constitution and organization of the church. He advised Diocesan Conventions to which delegates, both lay and clerical, should be sent from the separate parishes; and that a General Convention with delegates from the Diocesan Conventions should represent the whole church. His plan for the church was like the plan being discussed for the nation, and doubtless arose from his constant intercourse with the men who were guiding the affairs of the new nation. As we have seen, many of them were churchmen and their influence was as strong in the councils of the church as in the deliberations of the

patriots. It was due in no small measure to White and his statesmen friends, that the church in America in its organization proceeded along national lines and became a representative body with Diocesan Convention similar to the State Legislature, and a General Convention with two houses, similar to Congress with Senate and House of Representatives. An essential element in this plan, which was afterwards adopted, was lay representation. The church was to be no autocracy of bishops and clergy, but a democracy in which every member had a place and a vote. In the colonial period the laymen had exercised considerable power in the management of parochial affairs, and it was natural that they should continue this influence in the new structure that was to be built up. White was a thorough American; and he was determined that the church should be wholly American in organization and spirit.

Important action was soon taken in Con-

necticut. A secret meeting of ten of the clergy was held at Woodbury in the last week of March, 1783. No laymen were present. The clergy had been loyalists and they had not been able as yet to adopt the American point of view. They were opposed to any suggestions of a provisional organization, they wanted to have the whole system at once if possible. They elected Samuel Seabury to the office of bishop and instructed him to proceed at once to England for consecration. Seabury had been a chaplain in the British army; he was a staunch churchman; and by his character, learning and persistence was fitted to undertake the mission to England. Armed with satisfactory testimonials he sailed for London in June, 1783. He was received kindly by the ecclesiastical authorities. They did not however give him much encouragement. An act of Parliament was necessary to dispense with the customary oath of allegiance, and the consent must be

obtained from the State of Connecticut allowing a bishop to reside there. This consent was easily obtained, but no act could be secured from Parliament. So after waiting a year Seabury decided to go to Scotland and try to obtain consecration from the non-juring Scotch bishops. They were the successors of the English bishops who refused in 1688 to take the oath to William III. They were Jacobites and loyal to the House of Stuart. They had kept alive their succession in Scotland, and, though forming a feeble church, they had a regular ecclesiastical organization.

After much correspondence and no little opposition Robert Kilgour, Primus of the Scotch Church, wrote that he was ready to consecrate Seabury and "to clothe him with the Episcopal character, and thereby convey to the western world the blessings of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy." Accordingly on November 14, 1784, at Aberdeen in a little upper-room

Seabury was consecrated by three Scotch bishops. It was an impressive and significant event destined to have a lasting influence on the church in America. The example of the Scotch bishops made it easier for the English bishops at a later period to consecrate others to the Episcopate; and the beautiful Scotch communion office through Seabury's efforts was accepted by the church in America. When the newly made bishop returned to Connecticut he was warmly received by all in his diocese and especially in New England where he performed many Episcopal acts. He was not accepted so cheerfully in the Middle and Southern states partly because he had been a loyalist and partly because the leading churchmen desired to have the succession purely Anglican. Fortunately these objections after a time were overcome and he was cordially received and given a fitting place in the councils of the church.

Up to this time sections of the church in the late colonies had acted independently and on their own initiative. It, however, soon became apparent that there must be a concerted movement if anything was to be accomplished in the direction of a permanent and united organization. At a meeting held at New Brunswick, New Jersey, May 11, 1784, a group of clergymen from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York discussed very thoroughly the need of a general meeting and the adoption of fundamental principles. A committee of correspondence was appointed; and it was decided to hold a general meeting in October following. In the meantime a convention of a local character was held in Philadelphia and certain principles were then adopted which greatly influenced the larger meeting. The hand of William White was seen in them. There were six principles laid down; that the church ought to be independent of foreign authority; that

it ought to regulate its own concerns; that the doctrines of the Church of England be maintained with as much uniformity of worship as possible; that there be three orders in the ministry; that the authority to make laws and canons be vested in a representative body of clergy and laity; and that no powers be delegated to a general ecclesiastical government except those that could not conveniently be exercised by the clergy and laymen in their congregations. Here was the germ of a National Church, governed by representative bodies, giving local freedom under centralized authority.

The meeting in October in New York practically affirmed the Philadelphia principles, though adding to them and going more into detail. There were present at this conference Samuel Parker from Massachusetts, John Marshall from Connecticut and William Smith from Maryland, thus giving it a semblance of a general conven-

tion. It was not a general convention, because many of the delegates represented only parishes, not local conventions. However from this limited synod there was a movement set on foot which resulted in holding the first general convention of the Church on September 27, 1785, in Philadelphia. There were sixteen clergymen and twenty-four laymen present. The most important acts of this body were the setting forth of "A General Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America"; the appointment of a committee, the leaders of which were William Smith and William White, to recommend appropriate changes in the Liturgy which were finally embodied in what was called the "Proposed Book"; and an address to the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England asking for the consecration of bishops.

After other conventions and serious correspondence with England in which it was

shown that the Americans did not contemplate radical departure from the mother church, an act of Parliament was secured enabling the English bishops to consecrate bishops for America. There was great rejoicing at the receipt of this news. On November 2, 1786, William White, bishop-elect of Pennsylvania, and Samuel Provoost, bishop-elect of New York, embarked for England. Mr. Adams, the American minister, accompanied them on their visit to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and smoothed the way for them as much as possible. They were presented to the king who took an interest in their mission. Formalities having been concluded, on February 4, 1787, the consecration took place in the little Chapel of Lambeth Palace, and that which had long been sought through the whole colonial period was at last secured and the church in America was ready to begin its independent life drawing its succession from England but ready to face its own

problems in the new world. Dr. John Moore, the archbishop, was the consecrator, and Dr. William Markham, Archbishop of York, acted as precentor; the others joining in the service were Dr. Charles Moore, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Dr. John Wickliffe, Bishop of Peterborough. At a later date, 1790, in the same chapel James Madison, Bishop-elect of Virginia, was consecrated, thus making complete in the persons of the three bishops the line of Anglican orders.

On the return of Bishop White and Bishop Provoost to America, an important question arose whether they should join with Bishop Seabury in the consecration of an American bishop. After a good deal of controversy and after the consecration of Bishop Madison this union was accomplished when the three bishops of Anglican orders and Bishop Seabury with his Scotch orders laid their hands on Thomas John Claggett, September 17, 1792, and made

him Bishop of Maryland,—this being the first consecration of a bishop on American soil.

One of the most important conventions of the church was that held October 5, 1789. The House of Bishops was organized; and changes were made in the prayer-book. The "Proposed Book," which had been prepared by Dr. Smith and Dr. White was considered too revolutionary; it made radical alterations; and in many respects was the setting forth of a new Liturgy rather than the amending of the English book. Various alterations, however, were made. The verbal changes were mostly of a political nature; and additions were made in the selection of Psalms. An office for the Visitation of Prisoners was taken from the Irish Prayer Book, and an Order of Family Prayer was added. The Athanasian Creed was omitted. Certain rubrics were also omitted, especially the Ornaments Rubric and the Black Rubric.

Through the influence of Bishop Seabury the Consecration Prayer of Oblation and Invocation taken from the Scotch office and originally in the First Prayer-book of Edward VI was introduced in the service for Holy Communion, thus enriching the service. The spirit of these changes was later set forth by a convention which declared that "the church conceives herself as professing and acting on the principles of the Church of England; but it would be contrary to fact were any one to infer that the discipline exercised in this church or that any proceedings therein, are at all dependent on the will of the civil or ecclesiastical authority of any foreign country."

Through the strife of the revolution a new nation was born; and through the independence secured, a church, national in feeling and scope, was created. While it is true that there are unmistakable signs of inheritance from England and thus the church in America belongs to the great Anglican Com-

munion, it is nevertheless true that there are many differences and a new line of development was begun. The dissimilarities soon began to appear. In America there is no connection between church and state, and the church is supported by the voluntary offerings of the people. This gives a sense of responsibility and fosters loyalty and devotion. The bishops are not peers of the realm supported by vast endowments, but plain men devoting their time to the spiritual interests of their dioceses. The laymen, representing the parishes, have power in all financial matters, in the calling of the clergy, in voting at the conventions; and are a strong regulative force in the management and development of religious work.

The growth of such a church was made possible by the separation from England, which at first seemed to mean extinction. Owing, however, to the generosity and wisdom of the English Church in allowing

the church in America to perfect itself in all essential particulars, there was an opportunity given under the new conditions for a great religious body to rise, ancient in form, apostolical in doctrines and usages, and democratic in methods, suited to minister with increasing efficiency to the people of a great continent.

CHAPTER VIII

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AFTER the period of organization and almost up to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the progress of the church was slow. For this feebleness there were many reasons. The prejudice against the church because of its English associations was still strong. The Methodist movement which began within the church had gradually broken away, taking with it great numbers of churchmen. It is needless to say that if the significance of the Methodist movement had been understood, and if there had been more sympathy and elasticity within the church, it is possible that some basis of union could have been found. Various opportunities were lost for retaining the Methodists. If there has been an

American Episcopate before the Revolution it is doubtful whether John Wesley would have appointed superintendents for his work in America; and Asbury and Coke would not have set themselves up as bishops, much against the will of Wesley. When Coke and Asbury proposed to Bishops White and Seabury that they be consecrated "as bishops of the Methodist Society in the United States (or by any other title, if that be not proper), on the supposition of the union of the two churches, under proper mutual stipulation," a chance was given to forge a bond of cooperation. It was not to be; and the Methodist Church began its great career of independent existence. In common with other churches the Episcopal Church felt the influence of French infidelity. Tom Paine's "Age of Reason" had a widespread circulation. People began to prophesy that Christianity was doomed; and in many places religion and morals were at a low ebb. The immi-

grants that came into the country, and the adventurous pioneers who pushed out into the West, were not partial either by nationality or training to the Episcopal Church. Life in the new nation was primitive and unrelated; and the church reflected the feebleness that often attends the birth of new movements.

However there were three men who stood out conspicuously, Bishop Griswold in New England, Bishop Hobart in New York, and Bishop Moore of Virginia. They were typical of different tendencies and represented the forces that were working for the vitalizing of the spiritual growth of the church. Griswold was a Low-churchman, Hobart, a High-churchman, and Moore a decided Evangelical. Griswold was a saintly man of gentle manners and earnest piety. He was elected Bishop of the Eastern Diocese in 1810, a diocese formed by the union of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire

and Vermont. The Eastern Diocese, by its combination of different states was an experiment in the adoption of the provincial system, made necessary by the desire to support a bishop. There had been no bishop in this entire section for six years, Bishop Parker, of Massachusetts, having died without performing an Episcopal act. The territory was so large that it was difficult for Bishop Griswold to cover the whole of it, but for twenty-five years he travelled from Vermont to Rhode Island and ministered to the churches. Wherever he went he carried the gospel of love. Through the respect that he won everywhere he commended his church and his office of a bishop to the Puritans of New England, and did more to counteract the rise of Unitarianism by his character than by controversy. King's Chapel had been lost, when after the Revolution, its lay reader, Mr. Freeman, had been ordained by the senior warden, and it became the first Unitarian

Church in America. In spite of this, Bishop Griswold, assisted by the Boston clergy, was able to hold many of the church families, and endeared himself to them by his example and teaching.

John Henry Hobart had rare intellectual gifts. He was a student, a thinker, and at the same time a man of affairs. Force, energy and devotion characterized him. The church as an institution for the cultivation of Christian character early seized upon his heart and imagination. His books illustrate his point of view: "Companion for the Altar," and "Apology for Apostolic Order." He has been described as "a larger Seabury touched with emotion, awake to the necessities and responsive to the spirit of his time." He was consecrated bishop at the same time with Bishop Griswold on May 29, 1811, and immediately began his distinguished work in New York. It was due to his suggestion and efforts that the General Theological Seminary was es-

tablished in New York, and for a time he was a professor of pastoral theology. His missionary interests were keen. At one time he confirmed eighty-nine Indians and at another ninety-seven. Bishop Hobart was on the whole a conservative in thought but progressive in action.

A very difficult problem confronted Richard Channing Moore when he went to Virginia after his consecration in 1814. He was unfamiliar with the conditions, only knowing that the church was moribund and that he was determined to infuse new life into it. Ardent by temperament and endowed with social charm he was especially fitted to deal with the churchmen of Virginia. His evangelical emphasis on personal religion was both needed and appreciated. He was eloquent and possessed personal magnetism. As rector of the Monumental Church in Richmond, a position he was forced to accept because of the needed financial support, he exercised a

wide influence through his preaching. He was surrounded by some strong men among the clergy and they helped him in his efforts to build up the church. There was Wilmer of Fairfax, Dunn of Loudon County, and William Meade, that remarkable man who afterwards became his successor. He soon increased the number of clergy and aroused old parishes into life. He encouraged lecture-room services and prayer-meetings. Believing in the need of an educated ministry he was active in founding the Virginia Theological Seminary, which began its career of great usefulness in 1823. He also assisted in the publication of the *Southern Churchman*, which has ever since ably expressed the views of the church in the South. His work for the negroes was constant; and his last words in the General Convention of 1841 were in relation to the sending of a missionary bishop to West Africa.

The recuperative power of the church was manifested in other sections. Strong

men were selected as bishops, and their lives told. Theodore Dehon began his work in South Carolina in 1812; James Kemp was consecrated for Maryland in 1814, and Bishop Brownell took up his labors in Connecticut in 1819. The journal for the General Convention for 1820 describes the condition of the church very fully. In Maine the church was growing; in Vermont three new churches had been built; in Rhode Island it is stated that "there is a decided and increasing attachment to the peculiarities of our communion"; in New York twenty-four priests were ordained; in North Carolina there was a large increase in the number of communicants; and even from Ohio it was reported that churches at Dayton and Miami had been started.

In many respects the most important consecration was that of Philander Chase, the missionary of the Northwest. He possessed the spirit of the pioneers, and rivalled the energy of the Methodist circuit riders.

He saw the great opportunities of the West and believed in being early in the field as a representative of the church. He was consecrated in 1819. Often in the midst of great hardships, he travelled from village to village and from log cabin to camp. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College and was of good Yankee stock. It has been said of him that he laid more foundations than any other man in the church. In 1817 he went on horseback to the "Western Reserve," and he surprised his hearers by saying in one of his informal sermons that "the proper attitude when we pray is upon our knees, as did Solomon, Daniel, Stephen, and Paul." He founded Kenyon College, named after Lord Kenyon, who assisted him in the collection of money when he was in England pleading his cause. The English people were charmed by his rugged simplicity and the story he had to tell. On a second visit to England he received enough money to found Jubilee College. From

Ohio, Bishop Chase went to Michigan and then to Illinois, where he was again elected bishop. He was not always practical, and sometimes given to contention, but his extensive work in the newer parts of the country enlarged the horizon of churchmen and made them see the imperative demand for an intelligent expansion.

Another pioneer bishop was James Harvey Otey, a tall, raw-boned man, with muscles large enough and combative spirit sufficient to win him the title of "the fighting bishop." "Before you try to throw me out of the window," he once said, pointing to his biceps in the presence of a pugnacious gambler, "please feel that." But his spirit was placid, and his aim in life the spread of Christ's kingdom. He came in contact with the strange and disorderly inhabitants of Tennessee and Mississippi, and with one consent was made their bishop. He was interested in education, having once been a teacher in

Franklin, Tennessee; and he promoted the public schools, and founded schools for boys and girls, dreaming, meanwhile, of a university for the South which was realized at Sewanee years later.

The missionary impulse was beginning to be felt throughout the church which by this time was firmly rooted in the thirteen original States. Missionary societies had been started in Philadelphia as early as 1812. The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was founded on November 21, 1821. This was to be the missionary society of the whole church and was to work both at home and abroad. The idea of winning the world to Christ, and that the duty of every Christian was to help in the spread of the gospel, was constantly presented by all types of churchmen. The watchword was that "The church is the missionary society and every Christian in terms of his baptismal vow a member." The bishops and the deputies of the Gen-

eral Convention, represented by a board of directors, formed the central organization. Auxiliary societies were established; in 1836 there were thirty-two such societies.

An important change in policy was adopted in 1835. It had been the custom up to this time to recognize the State as the diocesan unit, and to think of the church as a federation of the different states. No bishop was sent until he was asked for. The growth in the West was so great that it was soon evident that the waiting for statehood before the formation of a diocese would delay progress. It was seen that waiting for the demand for a bishop was not the true method, and that the most effective way was to send the bishop, and let him build up his work. A division of the state into several dioceses was also accepted as a good working principle. Jackson Kemper was the first missionary bishop sent out in 1835 to Missouri and Indiana, and by his apostolic labors justified

the new plan which has been followed with fruitful results ever since.

The earliest foreign missionary work fell to the lot of Joseph Andrews who went to Liberia in 1820 as an agent of the Colonization Society. This beginning was soon followed by the mission to Greece where in 1830 in Athens John R. Hill and his wife established two successful schools for boys and girls. The mission in China was begun in 1834 and Bishop Boone became the first foreign missionary bishop when he was consecrated for China in 1844.

The impulse for missionary work and the deepening of the religious life of the church sprang from the two spiritual tendencies that were growing side by side. The fervor of the Evangelicals, and the devotion of the High-churchmen, both contributed important elements to the increasing activity of the church. As in England various schools of thought representing

different parties had given rise to new religious sentiments and institutions, and the common life of the church had thereby become enriched, so in America the same tendencies expressed themselves. The books of the English theologians were eagerly read and similar works were written by American churchmen.

Drawing their inspiration from Simeon, Bishop Proteus and Thomas Scott, the author of the famous Commentary, the Low-churchmen emphasized the subjective and emotional side of religious experience. Personal piety, the need of conversion, the salvation of the individual and ardent love for the Person of Christ were their main themes. There was a strain of Calvinism and Puritanism in the make up of these men. They labored to save souls from lasting punishment. The most important thing was the spirit not the form; and their attitude towards the church was governed by their conception of the supreme value of

the intercourse with God and Christ through prayer and personal communion. The organization of the church was not necessarily divine; bishops were for the well-being of the church not needed for its existence; Apostolical Succession was an historical fact, but the grace of God was not limited by a theory; Christians of other names were just as good Christians; any one who had accepted Christ must be a friend. The real efficacy of ordination and the Sacraments was in the spiritual state of the believer. The words, "altar" and "priest" were objectionable; and outward forms and genuflexions were distasteful. Prayer-meetings and revivals were employed to stimulate devotion.

Among the Evangelicals were some of the noblest men of the church. Bishop Meade of Virginia was a stalwart champion. Bishop Burgess of Maine, one of the most scholarly of men, Bishop Eastburn of Massachusetts, Eliott of Georgia, Polk of

Louisiana, Bedell of Ohio, Alonzo Potter of Pennsylvania, and Stephen Tyng and Dr. Milnor were all representatives of this movement. The Alexandria Theological Seminary sent out men of this type.

On the other hand High-churchmanship, while insisting on genuine spiritual experience, gave a much greater place to the institution than the Evangelicals. It emphasized the individual as part of the organization and that religious life must flow from the channels of grace provided in the divinely ordered church. The three orders of the ministry were considered necessary to the existence of the church; and the external act of ordination and consecration imparted the grace and power. There was an exclusiveness and unreadiness to acknowledge the validity of orders or sacraments outside of the church. The fasts and feasts of the church were rigorously observed. Baptismal regeneration and the Real Presence in the Elements of the

Eucharist were taught. The visible and definite institution of the church was magnified, its interests guarded and its extension planned for.

Bishop Hobart was an exponent of this interpretation. The work was carried on by such men as Bishop Otey, Bishop De Lancey and Bishop Whittingham. Bishop Doane, of New Jersey, was also in sympathy with the general trend of High-churchmanship. After the Oxford movement had stirred up new life in the Church of England its influence was felt in America and greatly aided those who were eager for more elaborate ritual and a return to doctrines and practices of the pre-Reformation times. It was supposed that many would follow the example of Newman in going over to the Roman Church. Dr. Kenrick, the Roman bishop, appealed to the Episcopal bishops to enter the Roman Communion on the ground that the "Tracts for the Times," had yielded, one by one, almost

every ground of dispute, "and he proposed" to reconcile the Articles with the Council of Trent. Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, a learned controversialist, answered this proposal in a vigorous negative. One bishop, however, responded to it affirmatively. Bishop Ives who had succeeded Bishop Ravenscroft, the dignified and zealous bishop of North Carolina, felt a doubt as to the validity of his consecration, and, having for many years studied Roman Catholic books, he was finally convinced that the logical outcome of his thought was submission to the Roman Church. "I am called upon, therefore," wrote Bishop Ives, from Rome, in 1852, to his diocese, "to do an act of self-sacrifice, in view of which all other sacrificing acts of my life are less than nothing. . . . I hereby resign into your hands my office as Bishop of North Carolina; and further, that I am determined to make my submission to the Catholic Church."

The Evangelicals and the High-churchmen were often brought into collision. Controversial writings multiplied. The General Theological Seminary became the recognized source of the Catholic revival, and the Alexandria Seminary was the stronghold of the Evangelicals. The Low-churchmen were deeply interested in foreign missions, and it was generally agreed that they should have this field to themselves; the High-churchmen claimed the domestic field and sent out their bishops to the great regions west of the Mississippi. While there was constant friction there was no rupture; and the enthusiasm and activity of both parties helped to advance the interests of the church. Enrichment came through the hymns of Doane, Muhlenberg, Croswell, and Coxe. Literary activity was stimulated by the writings of Bishop Kip of California, John Henry Hopkins of Vermont, and Bishop McIlvaine, who opposed the new views in his "Oxford Theology."

Services were multiplied; and there were more frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion. It was inevitable that there should be such divergences of views; and to many these various opinions were a new revelation of the breadth and comprehensiveness of the church.

Uniformity of opinion is not necessary for spiritual growth. The church was not a sect circumscribed by inflexible boundaries, but hospitable and Catholic in its wide-reaching sympathies. This became increasingly clear. There were certain men within the church who began to realize it fully. Of these Dr. Muhlenberg was the leader.

William Augustus Muhlenberg was a man of singular sweetness of character, noted for his unselfishness and charity. The Church of the Holy Communion in New York, which he founded, was the first free church in the country, and St. Luke's Hospital which he started was the earliest

hospital established by a church in America. He was a poet and hymn-writer as well. He called himself an Evangelical Catholic, wishing to combine the best elements of both terms. Seeking to inspire the church with a full sense of its exalted mission in America, he desired to see it assert its comprehensiveness and act as a great unifying force to the Protestants of the land. With these motives, he presented with others a "Memorial" to the General Convention of 1853, in which he called attention to the need of the church's adapting itself to the conditions of the time, and he asked pertinently "whether the Protestant Episcopal Church, with only her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed and invariable modes of worship, and her traditional customs and usages is competent to the work of preaching and dispensing the gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, and so adequate to do the work of the Lord in this land and age?"

The request was made that a wider door be opened for admission to the ministry, and that men of other churches be ordained without requiring them to give up their distinctive views or work. A desire was expressed for greater variety and flexibility in the use of the Liturgy, and that there be adopted "some ecclesiastical system, broader, and more comprehensive than that which you now administer."

These were revolutionary proposals. They aimed at nothing less than a complete reorganization along the lines of freedom and church union. They called for a deliberate recognition of Christianity outside of the church and suggested a way to bring about Christian union without the sacrifice of cherished beliefs. The acceptance of the cardinal truths of Christ was sufficient. It is surprising how much sympathy was awakened by this plan, but the time was not ripe for it. Liturgical elasticity was the immediate result. The main features

were not adopted, but it held up an ideal which has never been forgotten and made men familiar with the thought of comprehension and of larger duties to the state and the nation. In the subsequent history of the church it played an important part and was directly responsible for the spirit which put forth the Chicago articles on church unity called popularly the Quadrilateral, endorsed in 1888 by the Lambeth Conference of all the bishops of the Anglican Communion.

The differences of opinion in the nation, both North and South, concerning slavery and the rights of the individual state, were naturally to be found in the church. The causes that led to the Civil War were embedded in the total life of the people. Before the war burst upon the country, house was divided against house and community against community. Among the Methodists there had been the great secession which divided the church in 1845. The

Southern Presbyterian Church was organized in 1861. Formal fellowship had already ceased between the Southern and Northern Baptists and other congregational bodies. In the Episcopal Church there was great forbearance on both sides. Differing radically as many of its members did, they cultivated self-restraint so as not to increase the growing alienation. While many pulpits were thundering forth political orations the Episcopal clergy for the most part refrained from violent utterance; and the church officially did not take sides until it was evident that peace was impossible.

This policy preserved the friendly relations between churchmen North and South; and each entered sympathetically into the problems that the other was called upon to face. At the General Conventions every three years they met in friendly counsel. Correspondence was kept up between Bishop Meade and Bishop McIlvaine, and Bishop

Whittingham and Bishop Hopkins. Bishops, taking different sides, agreed to pray for one another every Sunday morning by name. There was sorrow and sympathy rather than antagonism and hatred.

Many of the Southern bishops opposed secession at first. Bishop Meade did all he could to avert the storm. "It is God alone," wrote Otey of Tennessee, "that can still the madness of the people! . . . What can we expect, other than violence among the masses when the fathers of the land openly avow their determination to destroy the work which their fathers established at the expense of their blood?" When secession was recognized as the policy of the state and the rupture had come, the Southern churchmen felt it a duty to act loyally with their state. Thus the church in the South was separated by political causes from the church at the North. It was "a separation, not division, certainly not alienation," wrote Bishop Polk. It soon

became necessary, however, for the church in the several Southern states to organize the separate dioceses into the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate states. "This necessity," wrote Polk and Elliott, "does not arise out of any division which has occurred within the church itself, nor from any dissatisfaction with either the doctrine or discipline of the church. We rejoice to record that we are to-day, as truly brethren as we have ever been, and that no deed has been done, or word uttered, which leaves a single wound rankling in any breast."

The organization of the church in the Confederacy took place at a convention held in Montgomery, Alabama, on July 3, 1861. Constitution and canons were adopted to suit the new conditions; and the prayer-book was changed principally by the substitution of the words "Confederate States" for "United States." Various other conventions were held during the war. A

bishop was elected for Alabama; and accordingly Bishop Wilmer was consecrated in 1862. Also, a new diocese was erected, that of Arkansas. Many of the clergy became chaplains of regiments on the Southern side and ministered to the needs of the troops in the field. One bishop, Leonidas Polk, of Louisiana, left his diocese and became a general in the Confederate service. He was a graduate of West Point, having determined to enter the ministry of the church shortly after his graduation. Against his will, at the suggestion of Jefferson Davis, he lay down the crozier for the sword. Men of military training were sorely needed. Pressure was brought to bear upon him and he yielded. In camp and on the field of battle he never performed any ecclesiastical act, but was again the soldier, trained and brave. "I took the office only to fill a gap," he wrote to one of his clergy; "only because, the president, as he said, could find no one on whom he

could with satisfaction devolve its duties." Polk was killed in battle, the little prayer-book in his left breast pocket being dyed with his blood.

The Southern clergy frequently came into conflict with the Federal authorities whenever the Union forces were in control of southern cities. General Butler in 1862 sent out an order that the "omission, in the service of the Protestant Episcopal Church in New Orleans, of the prayers for the President of the United States, would be regarded as evidence of hostility to the Government of the United States." The churches were forthwith closed. Dr. Wingfield of Portsmouth, Virginia, was severely handled because he prayed for the President of the Confederate States. He was condemned "to work for three months cleaning the streets of Norfolk and Portsmouth, thus employing his time for the benefit of that government he has abused," so ran the order of General

Wild, "and in a small way to atone for his disloyalty and treason." Fortunately General Butler remitted the order of his inferior officer. Bishop Wilmer wrote a personal letter to President Lincoln and General Butler's persecution ceased.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States was loyal to the Union. It never faltered; though the strange spectacle was presented, by Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, of one leader who upheld slavery and refused to read the pastoral letter, written by Bishop McIlvaine, for the General Convention of 1862, because of its sentiments of loyalty to the government. At this convention a resolution was passed expressing the sense of duty on the part of the members of sustaining and defending the country in the great struggle and pledging to the national government "the earnest and devout prayers of us all that its efforts may be so guided by wisdom and replenished with strength that they may

be crowned with speedy and complete success, to the glory of God and the restoration of our beloved Union."

No Southern delegates were present at this general convention. The name, however, of every Southern diocese was called in roll-call. Secession could not be recognized in the church any more than it was in the nation. The vacant places were kept waiting for the return.

The most conspicuous service rendered by any one churchman was that of Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, a noble man of dignity and force. President Lincoln selected him to go to England with Henry Ward Beecher, Archbishop Hughes, and Thurlow Weed, as an informal ambassador to influence Englishmen and show them the true causes of the war. Beecher by his wonderful speeches in English cities did much to win to the Northern side the sympathies of the people. McIlvaine, appealing to a different class among the nobility and

ecclesiastics of England, exercised almost as great an influence and helped to enlighten the rulers concerning the aims and policy of the United States in the suppression of secession. He was well received everywhere, and succeeded in his undertaking when it looked as if England would recognize the Confederacy.

When the war was over and there were no Confederate States the way was opened for a return of the southern churchmen. At first the secessionists did not know how they would be received. The general convention of 1865 soon made it plain to them. Two southern bishops appeared at the opening service held in Philadelphia. They were recognized. The Bishop of North Carolina was urged by his brethren to join the bishops in the chancel. He yielded and took his place at the altar. Then an inquiry was sent to the House of Bishops asking on what terms they could be admitted. The answer was a recom-

mendation to them "to trust to the honor and love of their assembled brethren." All obstacles were removed and the church soon became united again.

CHAPTER IX

PROGRESS

SINCE the nation became united again and all the citizens have worked harmoniously for the development of the country, the growth of the United States in population, resources, and power has been wonderful. The increase of every form of activity, the new inventions, the creation of new business, the extension of commerce, the multiplication of educational institutions, the fresh literary impulses and the deepening of the consciousness of national usefulness, have created a spirit of energy which seeks an outlet in innumerable channels of progress. The church has been quick to respond to the revival of national life; for its members are made up of the men and women of the day who draw from the

church the ideals of living, and endeavor to carry them out in the midst of the conditions in which they find themselves placed. The preparation for the expansion had long been slowly perfecting. The church had organized itself in the new nation in harmony with the national institutions. It had spread itself gradually until it had become coterminous with the national domain. There were bishops in every state and territory, with the beginnings of diocesan life. The war left the church united. The movements towards organization at home and missions abroad had already started; and now the church was ready for the strengthening of the foundations and the extension and concentration of the work.

Early among the signs of an enlargement in the conception of the church's duty has been the foundation of institutions of learning. The training of an effective ministry was soon seen to be a matter of the first im-

portance. Preachers and pastors, the peers of educated men, with spiritual earnestness, are always needed for leadership. In colonial days the young candidate for orders was trained in the household of some wise parish minister. There was a simplicity about this method which often produced excellent results. Theological learning, however, requires system and the sympathetic contact with men who are specialists and expert in some department of religious thought. Seminaries of sacred learning have become a necessity. The Virginia Seminary and the General Theological Seminary of New York had already been established; and they have grown greatly in effectiveness and usefulness. Others were also needed. The Philadelphia Divinity School under the wise oversight of Bishop Alonzo Potter was founded in 1862. It was provided especially for those students who because of the war could not go to Virginia. It has had a distinguished history

and has sent into the ministry many strong men. The Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge, Massachusetts, came next, being really founded by Mr. Benjamin T. Reed in 1867, although efforts had been made before to start it on a successful career. In the same city with Harvard University, the students have always had the advantage of close association with the intellectual life of the great university. The school has been independent of all parties, and has stood for truth, Christ, and the Church. In scholarship it has been fearless; in spirit it has been Catholic; and in practical Christianity the aim has been to produce above all things else manliness in the ministry of the church. Elisha Mulford was a lecturer here. George Hodges, an authority on social questions in relation to Christianity, is the present Dean. The Berkeley Divinity School at Middletown, Connecticut, began in 1850; and under the influence of Bishop Williams it trained students in devout and conserva-

tive churchmanship, making them human and responsive to the best thought of the time. Nashotah, founded in 1842, has continued its work. The men prepared there have been versed in certain aspects of church history and have been ready to minister to the growing demands of the West. The Seabury Divinity School at Faribault, begun in 1857 by Bishop Breck, has grown in importance under the guidance of Bishop Whipple, the "Apostle to the Indians," and seems destined to be a place of spiritual inspiration and modern scholarship. Chicago also has a school in the Western Theological Seminary, which has good prospects. To prepare negro clergy there have been provided Hoffman Hall in Nashville, King Hall in Washington, St. Augustine's in Raleigh, and the Bishop Paine Divinity School in Petersburg.

Of colleges there have been also a goodly number. St. Stephen's, Annandale, the

child of Horatio Potter, has furnished many students for the ministry. Its date is 1860. A new career of greater usefulness seems to be opening before it. Racine College owes its greatest effectiveness to Dr. De Koven, who always had ambitions for its success. Lehigh University was endowed by a churchman, Asa Parker, and as one of the small colleges, has always maintained a high standard and continues to make a place for itself among American institutions. The University of the South, at Sewanee, conceived first by Bishop Polk in 1856, has grown to be a university of the first rank. The professors have been chosen with rare foresight; and the spirit that animates the place is scholarly and scientific. In its numerous departments it will increasingly minister to the South. "The University of the South," says one of the professors, "was conceived in the most Catholic spirit and is designed to be in the truest sense broad and comprehensive."

Of schools there have been a great abundance. These have been for boys and girls; they have both prepared for college, or fitted for immediate entrance into life. They have had their own traditions, and the students have become as devoted to them as men are to their colleges. Church influence, surrounding young people at an impressionable age, has left an impress upon them which can never be obliterated. St. Paul's school, Concord, New Hampshire, made famous by Henry Augustus Coit, has been one of the most important boys' schools in America. Infused with the spirit of the church it has prepared young men for college and given them a lasting remembrance of high ideals and religious earnestness. The high school at Alexandria has done the same for its many students. At Groton, Massachusetts, Dr. Endicott Peabody has created an institution which combines the best traditions of the English schools with the progressiveness of Amer-

ican ideas. Educated himself at Cambridge, England, he saw the chance in America of welding together the best ideals of Anglo-Saxon scholarship and character and the impulsive and strenuous characteristics of the new Republic. He has succeeded in creating an institution which while intensely democratic in spirit cultivates refinement and gentleness and the spirit to serve. St. Mark's, Southborough, is a school of the same kind. The head master, Rev. William G. Thayer, trained in the methods of Groton, is carrying out the best ideals of what a school should be and deserves the success which is being attained. There are other schools for boys too numerous to mention. In almost every diocese the value of early training is recognized and many of the bishops are proud of the schools which they have established.

Girls' schools have been especially successful. St. Mary's, Garden City; St. Agnes', Albany; St. Mary's, Burlington, New

Jersey; the Cathedral School at Washington; and the schools in many of the missionary dioceses have reared young women to make the best of their lives and have fitted them for motherhood and womanly influence.

Organizations of the general church have grown in great numbers and have done effective work. The Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions has systematized the women's interest in missions. By having branches in every diocese and in most of the parishes the Auxiliary has been an important means of disseminating information concerning missionary work and has contributed large sums of money to its support. The American Church Building Commission, founded in 1880, has the worthy object of raising a fund for the building of churches and rectories. The Church Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews has labored with success in leading many Hebrews to accept the New Testa-

ment as well as the Old Testament and become followers of Christ. The Commission for Church Work among the Colored People, created on the recommendation of the General Convention in 1886, has faithfully dealt with the Negro problem in its relation to the church and has had the oversight of many missions in the South. The General Clergy Relief Fund is striving to provide suitable pensions for aged and infirm clergy and to give annuities to the widows and orphans of deceased clergymen.

The activity and vitality of the church are shown by the establishment of numerous other organizations dealing with varied phases of American life. Many of these societies sprang from individual initiative, but soon grew to such proportions that they are characteristic of the church as a whole. One of the most significant of these societies is the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the object of which is the spread of Christ's Kingdom among men. It is a

laymen's organization, and stands for prayer and service; and has succeeded in a variety of ways, by conventions and chapter meetings and personal work in deepening the religious life of men in large numbers of parishes. It has spread to Canada and England. There are over seventeen hundred chapters with a membership of twelve thousand. The St. Andrew's Cross is the official organ. A society which has done a similar work among young women is the Girls' Friendly Society, started in America in 1877. It binds together church women as associates and young women as members for mutual help. As an agency for stimulating young women in devotion to the church and cultivating the best in their natures it has been successful. There are over twenty thousand members. Labor questions have been dealt with by the Church Association for the Advancement of Interests of Labor; and it has been valuable in bringing many of the working people to

understand the ideals of the church. Discussions between labor leaders and churchmen have helped to bring about harmony between them. The American Church Sunday-school Institute has earnestly labored to make the Sunday-schools more effective and to make the religious instruction of the young conform to the best methods of modern pedagogy. The Guild of St. Barnabas for Nurses has enrolled in its membership many trained nurses who have been led to see the religious ideals of their profession, and who have been conspicuous in their devotion to the sick in the hospitals and homes of the people. The Guild has branches in twenty-five cities, with a membership of seventeen hundred. The Free and Open Church Association has increased the hospitality of the churches; the Church Mission to the Deaf Mutes has provided these unfortunate people with religious services in the sign language; the Church Temperance Society and the Total

Abstinence League have taught self-control; and through coffee-houses and settlements have fought the drink evil. Other movements that have done good work are, The Actors' Church Alliance of America; the Parochial Missions Society; the Order of the Daughters of the King; the Church Periodical Club; the Guild of the Holy Cross, and the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament.

The missionary work of the church has been done through the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society and the American Church Missionary Society. In the extension of the work at home new missionary jurisdictions have been erected, and many of the older missions have become self-sustaining dioceses. In the domestic field, including Alaska, the Philippines, Porto Rico, and the Sandwich Islands, there are twenty missionary bishops at work with an excellent corps of clergy and laymen. In the expansion of the church in America through the Western and Southern States,

some of the noblest men have given their lives. Randall of Colorado, Clarkson of Nebraska, Hare of South Dakota, first bishop appointed for the Indians, Whipple of Minnesota, Elliott of Western Texas, Wingfield of Northern California, and many others are names that will be remembered with honor. Some of the newer missionary jurisdictions are, Boise, Ashville, Olympia, Laramie, Spokane, Oklahoma, Duluth, and Salina. The church often has preceded the flag, but it always follows the flag. The duty was quickly realized of planting the church in the newly acquired territory. Bishop Rowe soon began his heroic work in Alaska where he has ministered not only to the natives, but to the great numbers of Americans drawn thither by the discovery of gold. When Hawaii was acquired by the United States there was already an English church and bishop there. Soon, however, an arrangement was made by which a transfer of the

church was made to the church in America and Bishop Restarick was consecrated for the missionary district of Honolulu in 1902. Bishop Brent was sent to the Philippines in 1901. He has succeeded in laying the foundations of his Cathedral Church in Manila, and has begun vigorous work for the community in his church settlement, and Dispensary of Luke the Beloved Physician. Missions have also been founded in Bagnio, Bontoc and Iloilo. In the missionary district of Porto Rico, Bishop Van Buren, consecrated in 1902, having charge also of Cuba, has made progress by building the Church of St. John Baptist at San Juan, and sustaining missions at Ponce, Vicques, and Puerto de Tierra.

In foreign missions the church has been no less active. Beginning with the mission in Liberia, missionaries were sent to China in 1844, and to Japan in 1859, to Mexico in 1868, to Haiti in 1874, and to Brazil in 1899.

The church in Liberia has had four

bishops, the present one being Bishop Ferguson. The influence of the church in the Negro Republic has always been considerable, especially in the Cape Palmas district. Boys' and girls' schools have been successful. The church in China has steadily grown in effectiveness through the successive administration of the two Boones, Bishop Schereschewsky, whose translations of the Bible for the use of the Chinese have been of the first importance, Bishop Graves of Shanghai, and Bishop Ingle of Hankow. The development of a native ministry and the founding of educational institutions and medical missions have been the aim of the missionaries as much as the preaching of the gospel. St. John's College, Shanghai, has educated the sons of many leading Chinese. St. Luke's Hospital has grown to be an institution of great value. In the Hankow district, the Boone Memorial School, St. Hildas' School and St. Peter's Hospital express the wise and comprehen-

sive plan for the extension of the church in China. There are two missionary districts in Japan, that of Tokyo and Kyoto. With the growth of the Japanese in modern culture and scientific methods, an opening has been made for their acceptance of Christianity. Here as in China a native ministry has been trained; and the church has ministered to the people through colleges and schools and hospitals. Bishop McKim, of Tokyo, has in his diocese, Trinity Divinity School, St. Paul's College, St. Margaret's School, the Good Samaritan Dispensary, and St. Luke's Hospital; and Bishop Partridge has similar institutions in Kyoto: St. Agnes' School for Girls, Nara School for Boys, St. Barnabas' Hospital, and other schools and orphanages. In Brazil, Bishop Kinsolving has established important stations at Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Rio dos Sinos and at other places.

In carrying on the work at home and abroad, in the dioceses and the missionary

districts the church, in 1903, had the assistance of five thousand, two hundred and twenty-three clergy, and over two thousand lay-readers; there were seven thousand parishes and missions; and communicants to the number of seven hundred and eighty-one thousand, representing over three million baptized persons and adherents. The total contributions were over fifteen million dollars for the year. There were eighty-seven dioceses with ninety bishops. In comparing these figures with the statistics of the church at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when there were only eleven dioceses and a little over two hundred clergy, with seven bishops, it becomes clear that the church has kept pace with the growth of the country.

With the expansion of the church at large there has come a development of diocesan consciousness. Compactness and systematic work characterize the life of the diocese. The growth of diocesan mis-

sions has been marked; and in many instances the archdeaconry system has been introduced, dividing the diocese into sections with an archdeacon as superintendent over each. Diocesan boards of missions have also become an important element in the planting and sustaining of the church in new localities within the limits of the diocese. The establishment of the cathedral, not only as a bishop's church but as an expression of the life of the diocese as a whole, making it a centre of religious and philanthropic work has become recognized as a strong agent in efficiency and loyalty. There has also grown an enlarged conception of the bishop's office. He is no longer a mere ecclesiastic but a leader in all civic affairs. He now has the opportunity to become a publicist and a statesman, as well as a guide in morals and religion. Much of this wide-spread influence comes from the personality of the bishop. A tradition has

been created by the ability and character of many of the American bishops so that the office easily lends itself to the highest uses, winning the respect of all classes of men. A diocese, presided over by a bishop who is a clear minded executive with spiritual force, sustained by a body of loyal clergy and supported by generous laymen, soon becomes a power for the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God.

Since the civil war a noticeable change has also taken place in the ideals of parochial administration. The parish has become more highly organized with its various societies for doing missionary and social work. The laymen have been given more to do, and greater responsibility has been put upon them. The services have become more popular in character since the Liturgical revision and enrichment which were authorized in 1892, together with the adoption of the new hymnal. Music has become more of a feature in

the services through the aid of educated organists and choirmasters. Boy choirs and chorus choirs have been substituted for the quartette. More frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion have become the rule. Short services with vital preaching have been multiplied. The parish house has also become as much of a necessity as the church. The rector, aided by a group of assistant ministers or curates, has been able to do important institutional work. The gymnasium, the men's club, the boys' club, night schools, manual training schools, mothers' meetings, employment bureaus, and loan societies have multiplied the usefulness of the parish. Dispensaries and hospitals are connected with many parishes. The aim has been to touch the total life of the people. The great city churches are beehives of activity. The smaller parish has caught the spirit and often does the same kind of work on a smaller scale. The ideal is not

that the parish should be a club for a few people who can support it, but a religious home for the whole community. The conception of what an Episcopal parish should be has become deepened in two directions, worship and work, both of which are essential in the idea of a Christian's duty.

The intellectual life of the church had been greatly stimulated since the years of the Rebellion. For some years there was a sharp discussion, sometimes called the Ritualistic Controversy in which there was a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of certain phrases in the prayer-book and as to the right to use in the church in America certain forms of ritual which from time to time had been permitted in the English Church. The discussion was precipitated by the publication in 1866 of Bishop Hopkins' book "The Law of Ritualism." In 1867 twenty-four bishops declared that, "No prayer-book of the Church

of England, and no law of the Church of England, have any force of law in this church such as can be justly cited in defense of any departure from the express law of this church." The Oxford movement had given rise to a party which claimed that customs and ceremonies in use before the Reformation or allowed by Edward VI were permissible in the church in America. The action of the bishops was intended to show that the laws passed by the church in America were binding, and that no others were to be accepted. This decision ruled out all previous enactments. The question was agitated in different General Conventions and at last in the Convention of 1874 a canon was adopted which condemned "ceremonies or practices not ordained or authorized in the Book of Common Prayer, and setting forth or symbolizing erroneous or doubtful doctrines." The erroneous doctrines were especially the elevation and adorations of the elements in the Holy

Communion. The rise of the Catholic party of whom Dr. DeKoven was a leader, was due to the earnest conviction of a group of men that the church needed to draw more freely from the riches of its historic life, and adapt them to the requirements of the present. This contention was plausible enough. It, however, failed to recognize that a distinctive church in America had been established, capable of passing its own laws and dependent upon no other church for its enactments and canons. The Catholic party, urging the acceptance of mediæval methods and magnifying the mass as a true expression of the church amid modern conditions fails to note the signs of the times and desires to turn the clock backwards. It is fighting against the trend of thought, and seems not to realize that each epoch has its new inspiration and that the past must bury its dead. The men who represent this tendency are full of zeal for the Kingdom of Christ as they understand it, and, by

their earnestness and interest in earlier days, contribute an element of interesting reminiscence to the secularity of modern times.

The doctrine of Evolution and the growth of Higher Criticism made an impress on many men. There had been Low-churchmen and High-churchmen, and now the Broad-churchmen came to the front. They were the followers of Frederick Robertson, Frederick Denison Maurice and Dean Stanley. They believed in facing the facts of life and of history in the light of human reason; they considered that God's revelations were confined to no special century; his revelations were continuous and suited to the conditions in which humanity found itself in the varying needs of different centuries. Their cry was "back to Christ." They obliterated the intervening centuries and tried to discover what the Master had taught. Christ's message to modern life was more important than the church's message. It was no new party

that was created, but an attitude of mind among many earnest thinkers, who sought to appropriate and sanctify for spiritual purposes the latest results of scholarship and the new light that had been received. Dr. Edward A. Washburn was a leader in this movement, and Phillips Brooks brought it to the climax. The revelation of God in contemporary life was the watchword, and the intense union with Christ through the doing of Christ's work, in following his example and living in his spirit had almost the force of a dogma.

Phillips Brooks, one of the greatest of American personalities, a preacher of unique power and a theologian of epoch-making force, who was known as well in England as America, was the embodiment of the Broad Church movement. The doctrine of the Incarnation was his main theme. God in humanity, in history, in the new century, and in each man's life, was the burden of his thought. As to the church,

he was willing to recognize the numerous currents of thought and to give them all a place within the comprehensive institution. He stood for abundance of life; and never desired to limit the church to the control of any one set of men. In Boston and throughout the country, he always urged freedom of thought and variety of belief as the best way of attaining the unity of faith. Broad-churchmen, while they upheld the catholicity of the church, never ceased to advocate the simple following of Christ, without any historical additions, as the surest way to help humanity, and to make the church an indispensable factor in the redemption of the world.

The sermons of Phillips Brooks, and his "Lectures on Preaching" and "The Influence of Jesus," were important books in impressing the church with the ideas of personal loyalty to Christ. Dr. Washburn's "Sermons" had the same purpose. Prof. A. V. G. Allen's, "The Continuity of

Christian Thought," and Elisha Mulford's two books, "The Nation" and "The Republic of God," were designed to show that there had always been liberal thought in the church, and that the spiritual interpretation of civic and religious life was a primary element in the teaching of Christ. "The Church Idea," by William Reed Huntington, Rector of Grace Church, New York, and "The Relation of Christianity to Civil Society," by Bishop Harris, and "The Primary Truths of Religion," by Bishop Clark of Rhode Island, were successful attempts to show that the fundamental conceptions of Christ were applicable to the needs of the individual and to the requirements of society. This intellectual fermentation has given the church balance and directness; and has increased mental acumen on the one hand, while it has prompted seriousness and devotion on the other.

The church in America may now be con-

sidered to be an institution, directly descended from apostolic time, bearing the impress of Anglo-Saxon Christianity and drawing its inspiration from the original Church of Christ, modified by British, Saxon, Norman, and English influences. Founded in America it has a message to the energetic and dominant spirit of the age. By intelligent conservatism and consecrated modernity it seeks to lead men to both the ancient revelation, the preserved truth of the past, and the new light which God is shedding upon the progress of the world. In the presence of materialism the church proclaims the reality of spiritual forces; in contrast to the worldliness of society the church holds up the ideals of Christ; as a leaven in society the church emphasizes the eternal truths of righteousness; and hopes to lead men to God and eternal life. The means may be inadequate; many errors may have been committed, and the selfish human element may have entered in. With

all imperfections, the church still stands as an historic institution which points men to moral living, to duty to fellow men and duty to God and to eternal life in the world to come. As one traces the history of the church, one soon perceives that there is the unchangeable connection with Christ even through alienation and apostasy. He is the motive power; and he has never been left without a witness. The Episcopal Church must always make its appeal to those who love history in its fullness, who regard primitive order, and who seek for the truth beneath the outward confusion, and who find the spirit of the Englishman and the American united in the Catholic Church of their forefathers.

Date Due
