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THE
CHURCHMAN

JUNE, 1896.

ART. I.—RUSSIA AND THE ENGLISH CHURCH.¹

AMONG symptoms of the "reunion" movement may be reckoned the formation of an "Eastern Church Association," for promoting mutual acquaintance and intercourse between the Anglican and Eastern communions. One of its modes of operation has been the publication of books bearing on the general subject. A translation of "The East Syrian Daily Offices" is one of these; the first volume of a work entitled "Russia and the English Church during the last Fifty Years" is another, and a second is in preparation. Interesting as this first volume is, if the second is not more encouraging to the hopes of reunionists, we gravely doubt the value to their cause of the publication of either; if (which is probable) it is, we think it would have been wise to issue both together. For the impression left on an average reader by the volume under review by itself will assuredly be that reunion with the Russian section, at any rate, of the Eastern Church, looks even more hopeless than with Rome!

The book opens with a copious introduction by the editor, Mr. Birkbeck, of Magdalen College, Oxford, but consists mainly of some twenty letters on Church questions exchanged during the years 1844-54 between William Palmer, of Magdalen (brother to Lord Selborne, and well known as a prominent figure in, as well as a chronicler of, the "Oxford Movement"), and a distinguished Russian layman and leading "Slavophile," M. Khomiakoff (pronounced Hōmiäkoff). Not the least valuable section, however, consists of the closing chapters, which contain Palmer's justification of his surrender to Rome in 1855, and Khomiakoff's *précis* of the position and teaching of the "Orthodox" Church, approved as correct by

¹ "Russia and the English Church," vol. i. Rivington. September, 1895.

the Russian ecclesiastical "censura," and printed in 1863, three years after his decease.

It will be seen that the contents of the book are for the most part half a century old, but a great compensating advantage is found in the tests which events thus enable us to apply to the views and prognostics contained in M. Khomiakoff's letters.

Palmer's share in the correspondence is melancholy and disappointing. The interest of his personality, his learning, perseverance, and scrupulous love of truth, are beyond question, and his portraiture by Newman, in his "Visit to the Russian Church," only whets one's appetite for the fuller account of him from the pen of the late Lord Selborne, announced for early publication. But a staunch English Churchman feels dissatisfied almost to indignation with Palmer's apologetic, faint-hearted championship of the Anglican position in these letters, interpreted ere long by phrases like the following: "I can contemplate without any sense of absurdity the admission that the Anglican Church should have erred even fatally—nay, I even think the *primâ facie* probability runs that way." "A reformed Church (if the word be understood of any essential point of faith) must certainly be heretical." "The Anglican Church has gone very near heresy by taking away the law of Confession as a pre-requisite to Communion." "So long as my father lives, I am unwilling to do anything which my conscience does not absolutely require that might give him pain, as showing dissatisfaction with the Anglican Church." After seeking in vain enduring terms of reconciliation with the Easterns, he writes: "I may go and study in Rome." The end of that might easily be anticipated; but it is truly painful to read the sinuous explanations of his final submission: "Father Passaglia informed me of an 'opinion' which served to facilitate my conviction, namely, that I could be received into the Roman Catholic communion by merely suspending my private judgment, and making up my mind to affirm nothing contrary to the known dogmas of the Roman Church. I followed his advice, for it seemed unjustifiable to pass my life in judging Churches without belonging to any of them. . . . My intellectual opinion has remained almost without change, only . . . I find it much more agreeable to be on the side of the stronger than on the side of the less strong." Again: "It may be objected that, as 'he who comes to God must believe that He is,' etc., so he who comes to any community (as the Roman) as to the true Church with unreserved submission . . . must be persuaded that it is really the whole Catholic Church, exclusive of any other. . . . Still, in the case of one who needed valid absolution, it seemed safest to submit himself to

the undoubted Primate of the Apostolic College, so as to take from him, upon trust, even the definition of the Church itself . . . on which particular doctrines depend." So the fly walked into the spider's parlour.

To turn from this to M. Khomiakoff is refreshing. The loyal inflexibility of his faith and Church allegiance is magnificent; it commands one's admiration of itself, as Dean Burgon's did the American's "I like you, you're so beastly positive!" Yet some of Khomiakoff's Burgonisms almost take one's breath away; and one can hardly help smiling, in 1896, at the havoc history has made with his vaticinations of 1846. A laughable and significant incident is told in connection with an engine which Khomiakoff (who was an inventor) sent to the Great Exhibition, under the name of "The silent motor," confidently expecting it to work in perfect silence. When put together on trial, it made such an appalling noise that the neighbouring lodging-houses sent to know the cause of the horrible sounds, threatening legal proceedings if they did not cease. Khomiakoff might re-christen his engine, but to restore faith in his forecasts must have been less easy; and his estimates in other matters besides engines were nowise infallible. Here are some of his views in 1848: "Every Englishman is a Tory at heart. . . . I am not speaking of peers and professors, but of mechanics and cab-drivers; there is quite as much Toryism in the common people as in the upper classes of society." "Anglicanism is dying, and it has not long to live. . . . Romanism has received the deadly blow from its own child, Protestantism; indeed, I defy anybody to show me the man, with true theological and philosophical learning, who is still at heart a pure Romanist. Protestantism has heard its knell rung by its most distinguished teachers. The Gorham question is a point of mere curiosity . . . but the decision admits that dogmatic doubts in the Church may be set aside by civil authority. . . . Protestantism is the death of religion." Again: "The hand of decay is on Germany, notwithstanding its apparent progress." Then, on the eve of the Crimean War: "The Russian people are not thinking of conquest; that never had any seduction for them. They think of duty; they contemplate a holy war. We need not conjecture to whom the true victory will fall; it has already been secured irrevocably by Russia." Yet again: "The general aspect of things in matters of religion is very favourable in our country." Yet it is curious to read, only five lines lower down, of "the innumerable heresies of the worst description which are constantly spreading their deleterious influence in the ranks of our common people!" Khomiakoff casts the horoscope of England thus:

“ Albion, Freedom’s darling daughter ! gracious land ! what gifts are thine !
 How with life thy streets are teeming ! how thy fields with harvests shine !
 But—for this, that thou art wicked ; but—for this, that thou art proud,
 That thou settest worldly greatness higher than the throne of God :
 That with sacrilegious daring thou Christ’s Church hast trampled down,
 Chaining her unto the footstool of a fleeting earthly throne—
 There shall come, O Queen of ocean, there shall come, and soon, a day,
 That thy glory, gold and purple, as a dream shall pass away.”

Was the intense State-Churchism of Russia forgotten by our poet in this prophecy of England’s ruin through her “ Establish-ment ” ?

Then he takes up his parable and speaks of his own country :

“ Lo ! before thy sovereign splendour nations quail with timid eye,
 And seven seas, in one rough chorus, hymn ceaseless thy supremacy ;
 Where is Rome ? where are the Mongols ? Albion, empress of the main ?
 She, too, ’mid gathering signs of vengeance, hides in her breast a deadly pain.
 Lo ! for this, that thou art humble, childlike, and simple to believe,
 That in thy heart’s deep silent treasure thy Maker’s word thou didst receive,
 To thee He gave a heavenly calling, to thee He gave a glorious meed,
 To keep this heritage for nations, high sacrifice and holy deed !
 Attend to it ! and so, embracing all nations with affection true,
 Tell them of God’s mysterious freedom, pour faith’s bright beams upon
 their view !”

To those who recall the shamelessly unscrupulous diplomacy of “ Holy Russia ” in the past, and have learned during the last few decades to tremble for the early future of the country, as a stronghold of administrative corruption, religious intolerance, arbitrary and cruel punishment, and a shackled press, the home of popular ignorance, intemperance and penury ; perched over a seething volcano of deadly and desperate revolutionary forces, the image of a child-like Russia, the affectionate evangelist of spiritual freedom to a benighted Europe, is not easy to conjure up.

The correspondents we have thus introduced discuss the possibilities of re-union with unusual frankness. Palmer seems to admit the soundness of all Eastern doctrine, but cannot accept the pretensions of the Easterns (of which he doubts the full sincerity) to be the whole of the true Church, deplores their want of vitality and missionary zeal, and is scandalized by the inconsistency of their discipline, the Greeks exacting re-baptism from him as a condition of recognition, which the Russians would dispense with (the Greeks have given way on this point of later years), while he regards the excessive State-Churchism of Russia as an enormous difficulty.

Khomiakoff's lance is always in rest to do battle for "the Orthodox Church" (a name, by the way, which can only be conceded under protest, as it begs all questions), but he is happier in attack than in defence. It has to be conceded to him that the "Filioque" should never have been added to the Nicene Creed without an Œcumenical Council; in this, as in other matters, we suffer to-day for the unbrotherly arrogance of Papal ages, yet the wisdom and possibility of its formal excision now are puzzling questions indeed. The intense feeling still inspired in the Easterns by this ancient controversy is extraordinary. They hold that the "Filioque" absolutely differentiates the Western Creed from the Nicæo-Constantinopolitan Symbol, making them contradict each other. Scholars know that such contradiction can be extracted from the Greek, but disappears in the Latin and English versions altogether. Yet the acceptance of the "Filioque" by the English Church, says our writer, has constituted it "schismatical for ages and ages. . . . No community which accepts the inheritance of sin can be considered a real part of the Church of God!" One wonders, by the way, how far the faith and practice of a single Christian has ever been directly and appreciably affected by his standpoint in regard to the mysterious dogmatic detail in question. The issue is thus stated by M. Khomiakoff: "The Church does not deny that the Holy Spirit is sent not only by the Father, but also by the Son; the Church does not deny that the Holy Ghost is communicated to all rational creatures, not only from the Father, but through the Son; what she does reject is, that the Holy Ghost had the principle of His procession in the Godhead itself, not merely from the Father, but also from the Son." Not only do we accept this statement of the issue, but for ourselves we willingly adopt the Eastern view of it, yet entirely fail to see that doing so involves the duty of condemning the "Filioque" as heretical in itself. And if it is not, and the question is really one of the significance to be attached to words, and of discourtesy shown by Church officials who died over a thousand years ago, could not some registered explanation, disowning the obnoxious interpretation, be accepted, and "bygones be bygones"? Surely this is Christian common-sense; but the East (if Khomiakoff correctly represents her) demands an absolute self-condemnation from the West, which would stultify all her true Church life for centuries past, and is practically unthinkable. Khomiakoff feels this, yet his only inference is, "Hope for unity (where it exists) turns rather to the Nestorians, Eutychians, and so forth. They are farther from orthodoxy than the Churches of the West, but not withheld from a return by feelings of proud

disdain." One is reminded of the juryman's complaint of his eleven "obstinate colleagues."

Khomiakoff's strictures on Papal arrogance are natural enough ("it is the true plague of humanity," he says), and we feel no call to rebut them; and there is some truth, no doubt, in his complaint of the supercilious, unsympathetic attitude long maintained by Western Christendom towards that of the East, as well as in his remarks on party extremes in the Church of England.

But when he comes to repel Palmer's criticisms, it is done with an air of confidence not warranted by the strength of his arguments. If missionary zeal was scant in the East, he pleads, its abundance is no sign of doctrinal purity, for the Nestorians displayed it, and Mahomedans and Buddhists, while Romanist zeal produced more persecutors than martyrs. Nor had the East been without missionary conquests, though eschewing the Latin instruments of sword and fire. (The editor mentions in a note that the missionary work done within the Russian Empire during the last forty years need fear comparison with no other for zeal and success.)

As for rebaptizing Christian proselytes, it need not be an error (only a ritual difficulty) any more than re-marrying heathen couples on conversion would be, though the Church admits married heathen (as St. Paul's words suggest) without it. "The discipline of a whole local Church cannot be expected to be altered for an individual."

The State control of the Church in Russia was not essential, he continues, only due to the weakness of the "higher representatives" of the latter; no dogmatical error had ever been submitted to for want of protestation.

As for Mr. Palmer's discouraging reception, it was due to his not having approached the Synod with a document admitting that the orthodox Church was true and right in every respect, and any changes made in the West were false.

Behind all his defences, however, Khomiakoff has a reserve argument to fall back upon which he evidently regards as impregnable. "There *can* be no sin in the Church of God, the holy, elect and perfect vessel of His truth and grace. . . . Local errors are not errors of the Church, but errors into which individuals fall; the Church herself stands blameless and pure, never in need of a reform. No error, even the slightest, can be detected in the whole Eastern Church . . . and without this doctrine the idea of a Church becomes an illogical fiction. The possibility of error being once admitted, reason stands as a lawful judge over the work of God, and unbounded rationalism undermines faith." Let an evil or abuse be pointed out (and M. Khomiakoff incidentally, in the

most naïve way, admits very many), the reply is always ready: "It is an accidental error of persons—not of the Church; it is a historical, not an ecclesiastical fact," the latter being one of those explanations which to some plain minds seem to need explaining. "It is impossible there should have been a time when the Church could have received error into her bosom, or laity, presbyters and bishops submitted to instructions inconsistent with the teaching and Spirit of Christ. A man living within the Church does not submit to false teaching; he will not follow false rites. The Church does not err, for she is the truth; she is incapable of cunning or cowardice, for she is holy. And of course she does not acknowledge that to be error which she has at any time acknowledged as truth. Within her members false doctrines may be engendered, but the infected members fall away, and no longer defile her sanctity. . . . The Church does the works of God and has written the Scriptures (!). Every writing which the Church acknowledges as hers is Holy Scripture. Such are the creeds of the General Councils. The writing of Holy Scripture has gone on up to our day, and yet more will be written. . . . In the Church there have not been, nor ever will be, any contradictions, either in Scripture, or tradition, or works, for in all three is Christ, one and unchangeable. . . . Communities of Christians which broke away from the Holy [Eastern] Church preserved the external form of faith, but lost the inner meaning and the grace of God; as in their confession, so also in their life. . . . There neither was, nor could have been, nor ever will be a time when the Church's sacraments will be mutilated, holiness dried up, or doctrine corrupted. She never could err for want of understanding, for the understanding of God dwells within her; or submit to false doctrines for want of courage, for within her dwells the might of the Spirit of God. Her rites, even if not unchangeable, can never in any case contain any, even the smallest, admixture of error or false doctrine. By the will of God, the Holy Church, after the falling away of many schisms, and of the Roman Patriarchate, was preserved in the Greek Eparchies and Patriarchates; and only those communities can acknowledge one another as fully Christian which preserve their unity with the Eastern Patriarchates, or enter into this unity. For there is one Church, and within her there is neither dissension nor disagreement."

That all this is an "end of controversy" must be admitted. Unfortunately, the argument, resting on an assertion merely, can be appropriated by others! That the Church in its ideal is free from error, no one will deny; but that the ideal is embodied in the Russian Church, for instance, is assuredly

matter for argument and proof! The Church of God was to be found in Corinth and Galatia, in Ephesus and Sardis; yet, if St. Paul and St. John are to be trusted, they were by no means free from error. To claim orthodoxy is not enough. "Try the spirits," "By their fruits ye shall know the prophets," say the Scriptures. A profound fallacy, as Dr. Salmon has shown, lurks under this claim of infallibility for "the Church," when thus used to repel all criticism of particular Churches. And, whether we wish it otherwise or no, our ultimate appeal on Church questions can only be to the individual conscientious judgment, guided by the prayerful study of the inspired Scriptures of the apostolic age, and not without respectful deference to the conclusions of historic Christendom. Of course, that is Protestantism; but whether it is "the death of all religion," *pace* M. Khomiakoff, we take leave to doubt.

One asks with interest, What security or pledge of unchanging truth is relied upon by the "Orthodox" Church? It is not an infallible Pontiff, it seems, nor Scripture. Where is it to be found? In the Church's own "inward knowledge," is the answer given. "The Church has not, like the Protestants, to search for Christ [!], for she possesses Him, by the inward action of love, without requiring an external phantom of Christ, such as the Romans believe in. . . . We have no sort of sacred direction, but are united only in the bond of love and zeal for our common mother. . . . We alone can give the assurance of truth; but no hierarchical order or supremacy is a guarantee of it; it is guarded by the totality, by the whole people of the Church; the knowledge of the truth is given to mutual love. It would be difficult to ask for explanations more positive or more clear [?]. In this tradition of the Church a unity is to be found more authoritative than the despotism of the Vatican, for it is based on the strength of mutual love; a liberty more free than the licence of Protestantism, for it is regulated by the humility of mutual love. There is the Rock and the Refuge. Humanity has only one choice: 'Orthodoxy,' or infidelity; all middle terms are but preparatory steps to the latter. . . . Everyone who seeks proofs of the truth of the Church either shows his doubt, and excludes himself from the Church, or preserves a hope of proving the truth, and arriving at it by his own powers of reason; but powers of reason do not attain to the truth of God." Very true! yet an Apostle says "Prove all things," "Judge ye what I say," "Be ready to give a reason for the hope that is in you."

Our readers will be able by this time to judge how far proposals for a "Reunion" of the Anglican Church with a

communion taking up the attitude attributed to the Russian Church by its authorized expositor, M. Khomiakoff, have much promise of success in them. Yet that they exhibit so little is to be deplored, for it must frankly be owned that doctrinally the Eastern Church seems singularly free from vital error. A glance at M. Khomiakoff's *précis* of her teaching may fitly close our notice of the book before us.

The "Orthodox" Church repudiates as uncatholic and unscriptural the Papal Supremacy, the Immaculate Conception and sinlessness of Mary, Purgatory, Works of Supererogation, Extreme Unction at the point of death, the veneration of images, the denial of the cup to the laity, and Transubstantiation in the Roman sense; while she seems to draw a wise distinction between "the two higher Sacraments" and their five inferior companions. Her language on Transubstantiation is scarcely Protestant: "We dare not," writes Khomiakoff, "sympathise with a Church which gives Communion to those who declare the bread and wine to be mere bread and wine." But the Eastern Church "does not assign to the word 'transubstantiation' the material meaning assigned to it by the Churches which have fallen away." "It is not to be taken," say her four patriarchs, "to define the manner in which the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of the Lord; for this none can understand. Let it suffice thee to be told that it is by the Holy Ghost. The word of God is almighty, but its manner of operation unsearchable." All this is true enough, and is far nearer Anglican doctrine than that of Rome, albeit Articles XXVIII. and XXIX. of the Church of England would hardly be accepted in the East. Again, "The Church knows nothing of salvation by outward means, or of bargaining with God." And here is sound teaching as to faith and works. "It is not works which save, but faith. Both those who say that faith alone does not save, but that works are necessary, and those who say that faith saves without works, are void of understanding. If there are no works, faith is shown to be dead and untrue, that is, mere external knowledge. If it does works, what works are still required? When we ask, Can true faith save without works? we ask a senseless question, or, rather, no question at all . . . but we must understand that neither faith, nor hope, nor love, saves of itself: it is the Object of faith which saves."

On two points of difference between Anglican and Eastern teaching, M. Khomiakoff is worth hearing, viz., prayers to and for the departed, and veneration of icons. "To ascribe to the prayers of living Christians a power of intercession refused to Christians admitted into glory would be absurd. Well aware that we want no intercessor but Christ, we give vent to our

love and earnest longings for mutual prayer and spiritual communion, not only with the living, but with the dead. Those alive on earth, those who have finished their earthly course, those who have not yet begun it [!], are all united in one Church and grace of God. The whole Church prays for all her members; if any one prays, he is in the communion of [this] prayer. As each of us requires prayers from all, so each owes his prayers on behalf of all. All the members of the Church, living and departed, are being perfected incessantly by mutual prayer. And if we are permitted to pray of God that He will glorify His name and accomplish His will, who will forbid us to pray Him to glorify His saints and give repose to His elect? Mutual prayer is the blood of the Church. True prayer is true love."

The argument, it will be perceived, is *à priori*. The Communion of saints and oneness of the whole Church makes it presumable that mutual prayer between living and departed is possible; if so, the silence of Scripture on a point on which revealed guidance seems called for (which Protestantism urges) may after all be due to its lawfulness being assumed; and thus the absence of a prohibition should weigh more than that of a command. We know this is held as a "pious opinion" by many Protestants; it is not taught by the Church of England, but neither is it expressly condemned. Pre-Reformation times furnish a terrible object lesson, no doubt, of the peril of perversion waiting on the tenet, yet it is possible that recoil from Rome may have made us forget, in some cases, the maxim "Usum non tollit abusus."

On icons (sacred pictures) Khomiakoff argues thus: "If a man expresses his love for God by a visible representation, will the Church condemn him? If a man's love does not require an icon, he will be saved without one; but if a Christian dare not listen without reverence to a prayer or spiritual song composed by his brother, how dare he look without reverence on the icon which his love has produced? The Lord has deigned more than once to glorify a Psalm; will a man forbid Him to glorify an icon? The Old Testament has forbidden the representation of God, it is said, but it allowed Cherubim, and the brazen serpent, and the writing of the name of God. It was not a representation of God it forbade, but to make a god in the similitude of any object in earth or heaven. If a man paints an icon to remind him of the invisible and inconceivable God, he is not making an idol; an icon—the name of God painted in colours—made by love, is not forbidden. The Spirit of Christ which preserves the Church is wiser than man's calculating wisdom. A man may indeed be saved without icons. but he must not reject icons. The Church

accepts every rite which expresses spiritual aspiration towards God . . . she accepts prayer and icons." It must be allowed that all this is ingenious; also that there is a subtle but somewhat real difference between the images of Rome and the icons of the East.

We have quoted freely, abbreviating, in order to make this possible, but scrupulously careful to take no liberties with the sense. But we must quote no further. It will hardly be denied that our utter (virtual) estrangement from an immense and most ancient communion that can speak for herself as above, is lamentable. "The Russian Church," it is remarked in the volume before us, "is in many ways the most vigorous and powerful of all Christian bodies, with a very clear and definite theology. In numbers it contributes four-fifths, in learning at least nine-tenths, to the whole Eastern Orthodox Communion. It is by far the most important national Church now existing [?], and, next to the Roman, the largest Christian body on the earth's surface. It must be patent to all intelligent observers that the Reunion of Christendom will not be brought about without her."

The remarkable volume of which we have now given some account, if it makes us realize afresh the enormous difficulties in the way of that happy consummation, will certainly stimulate our yearning for it, and we wish there existed some petition in our Prayer-Book equivalent to the third clause of the "Great Ectene" said at Communion, Matins and Vespers in the Eastern Church: "For the peace of the whole world, for the welfare of the Holy Churches of God, *and for the union of them all*, let us make our supplications unto the Lord. *Kyrie eleison.*"

S. BALLARAT.

ART. II.—DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE.¹

IS marriage dissoluble? Can a marriage be annulled for adultery? Can divorced spouses during their joint lives marry others? Are ministers of the Churches of England and Ireland under any obligation to solemnize such remarriages?

¹ BISHOP COSIN'S Argument. Thirteenth State Trials. MACQUEEN, "Practice of House of Lords."

DEAN LUCKOCK'S "History of Marriage in relation to Divorce."

LORD GRIMTHORPE, "Marriage of Innocent Divorcees," *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1895.

Charge of DR. KING, BISHOP OF LINCOLN, 1895.

"The Present Aspect of the Controversy on Divorce," *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1896.

According to the law of England and Ireland, these questions must be answered in the affirmative. A marriage may be legally dissolved when a wife has committed adultery and incest cruelty or desertion. In such cases the decree of a civil court as regards English persons, and a special Act of Parliament as regards Irish persons, declares marriages dissolved and void, and enables remarriage during their joint lives. They are made by the divorce unmarried and free to marry others.

The ecclesiastical law of the Churches of England and Ireland is not inconsistent with the law of the State. There is a formal law of the Churches which forbids the marriage of persons within the prohibited degrees of kinship as defined by the State, but there is no law which declares divorces for adultery invalid or prohibits such remarriages. Neither are such divorces or remarriages opposed to the doctrine or discipline of our Churches. I accept Holy Scripture as the doctrine of our Church on every subject on which God in Scripture speaks; but I repudiate the authority of any other Church in this matter, whether it be a true visible Church of Christ or a corrupt pretender. Kindness and gentleness, love, respect, Christian fellowship, with communion when possible, are due to all Christ's visible Churches, but there is no bond of allegiance to any, whether ancient or modern. Canon Knox Little, lately speaking on this subject, said well: "What did the Church of England say? *that is the point.*" Our concern is with the voice of the Churches of England and Ireland, not with the alleged utterances of any indefinite, unknown, inaudible body.

It must not be forgotten that the law of the State is legally and morally the supreme authority, binding clerics and laymen,¹ except in a case, if such there be, in which the civil law is plainly repugnant to the law of God as revealed in Scripture.

The discussions of this paper are limited to divorce for adultery, and remarriage after such divorce.

Marriage is a contract between a man and a woman to live together in matrimony during their joint lives (Lord Stawell, Lord Campbell, Willes, J.). It is a Divine institution. Romanists allege that it is a sacrament. It is frequently solemnized by a religious ceremony, but it is not, therefore, the less a contract to be interpreted according to its terms, and subject to the incidents of other contracts, including liability to be rescinded. This contract is the essence of marriage. But the particular terms in which the contract is expressed,

¹ Rom. xiii.; 1 Pet. ii.

the form of ceremonial, whether ecclesiastical or secular, the impediments to marriage, and all its incidents, are subject to and depend on the laws of each Christian State. France requires a purely secular ceremony, conducted by a State official. England and Ireland permit a mere secular marriage, or, at the option of the parties, a religious ceremony conducted by an authorised minister. There is, however, no difference as regards the validity or effect of these marriage contracts. No ceremonial can protect a marriage from possible dissolution. What contract more solemn than that between a sovereign and his subjects, made sacred by the oaths of consecration and allegiance? Yet this contract is voidable, and may be dissolved by the misconduct of the ruler. Many other cases might be mentioned in which contracts of a permanent character, absolute in terms, have been voided by the conduct of one party, wholly at variance with the spirit of the bond—cases in which the refusal of one contracting party to observe the contract entitled the other party to rescind it when the acts of the defaulter showed an intention on his part to abandon and repudiate the contract.¹ Does not a wife by adultery abandon and repudiate the marriage contract? Does it not thereby become voidable? May not the proper tribunal declare it rescinded and void?

What is the form of the special Acts of Parliament by which marriages are annulled? In a recent case (1886) it was proved that the wife had committed adultery; the preamble of the Act recited that the wife had by her adulterous conduct dissolved the bond of marriage on her part, and that the husband was liable to have spurious issue imposed upon him unless the marriage be declared null. It was then enacted "that the bond of matrimony between W and X, his wife, being violated and broken by the manifest adultery of X, shall be, and the same is hereby from henceforth wholly dissolved and made void, and it shall be lawful for W at any time thereafter to contract matrimony, as well in the lifetime of X as after her decease," etc. The statute proceeded on the proved fact of adultery, and on the principle that thereby the bond of marriage had been broken and the marriage made voidable. The Act of the Legislature was in form and substance declaratory; according to English law the husband of a guilty wife cannot divorce himself; he is not in the position of a Jew under Moses' law, free of his own mere motion to annul the voidable marriage and put away his wife; the law requires a statute or decree by a judge as a condition precedent to divorce, lest men should put away

¹ Law Reports, 9 C. P. 213, 538, 2 Exch. 340, 8 Ch. D. 298.

wives for alleged adultery when, in fact, the wife was not guilty, making themselves judges in their own case. Burnet, writing on Lord Northampton's case, reports a series of questions, and the replies of learned divines in 1549: "Quid dirimit matrimonii vinculum?" "Ad primam respondemus: ipso adulterii facto matrimonii vinculum dirimi. Nam alioquin obolum adulterium non liceret viro uxorem repudiare; voluntas viri sollicitat iudices; iudices palam faciunt ecclesiæ virum licite talem repudiare uxorem." So also Corvinus: "Apud competentem iudicem."¹

The argument of Bishop Cosin in Lord Roos's case (1688) proves conclusively that, according to the opinion of many of the Fathers, and in conformity with the opinions of almost all the Reformed divines, adultery works a dissolution of marriage. If there were no civil law on the subject, it would be lawful for a man by a solemn act of his own, such as the Mosaic bill and consequent expulsion of the wife, to put away, *i. e.*, divorce, the wife guilty of adultery and to marry another. Just as St. Chrysostom: "After the wife's fornication, the husband is no longer a husband; marriage is dissolved by adultery, and the husband *after he has put her away is no longer her husband.*" The civil law is not a law enabling or facilitating divorce, but a law restraining divorce, by forbidding it unless sanctioned in each particular case by an act of legislation or a decree of a lawful tribunal. An analogy will be found in suits for nullity of marriages, voidable but not actually void, except by virtue of a decree made in the lifetime of the parties.

Canon Little says, "The question is, what does the Church of England say?" (The voice of the Church of Ireland is the same.) He refers to the Marriage Service. He is reported to have alleged that the Church declared *many* times in that service it should not be lawful to put man and wife asunder! This I deny. I contend that there is nothing in the service which proves that the civil law of divorce for adultery by the act of the State or its tribunal is repugnant to the law or doctrine of the Church. The Order of Matrimony expresses the terms of the contract four times, in slightly varied words, in the questions proposed by the minister and the plighting of troth by the parties. The man and woman contract to live together in matrimony, including the rendering of due benevolence, to love, comfort, honour, the woman on her part adding to obey and serve, and forsaking all other, to keep them only to one another, and then they agree that the duration of this contract is to be so long as they both shall live.

¹ See Note A at end.

Such is the declared duration of the whole contract and of every stipulation thereof. The agreement to live together in matrimony has the same expressed duration as that to forsake all other. There is not a word in the service to suggest that any one stipulation, positive or negative, might, according to the doctrine of the Church, be repudiated or rescinded more freely than another. On the contrary, "keep thee only unto him" immediately precedes the declaration of duration and immediately follows the covenant to forsake all other. Therefore, according to the terms of this contract, if it is dissoluble as regards the positive stipulation, it is also dissoluble as to the rest, *i.e.*, and may be rescinded. If, notwithstanding the words "till death us do part," the CHURCH permits, nay, sanctions, nay, legalizes, the refusal of a man to live in matrimony with an adulterous wife, it is absurd to say that by virtue of these words of the service, the Church declares marriage indissoluble by the adultery of the wife. What, then, is the doctrine of the Church as regards this contract? There are two species of divorce—that which rescinds the marriage contract, technically called a divorce *a vinculo*; and that which, without dissolving the marriage, separates the spouses, technically named in Ireland, and until 1857 in England, a divorce *a mensa et thoro*. The latter terminates the positive part of the marriage contract. It separates the parties so that they shall no longer live together in matrimony, shall no longer keep to one another, shall not be obliged to comfort, love, honour, cherish, obey or serve. It annihilates all conjugal rights. It rescinds the whole bond except the provision to forsake all other. Is Church doctrine repugnant to these judicial separations? The jurisdiction to decree these judicial separations was not civil, but ecclesiastical. As Cosin says, it was "devised only by canonists and schoolmen of the Latin Church (for the Greek Church knew it not) to serve the pope's turn the better till he got it established in the Council of Trent. Bed and board belong to the essence and substance of matrimony, which made Erasmus and Bishop Hall say that the distinction of these two from the bond is chimerical and fancy."

The invention was adopted by the Churches of England and Ireland, and the jurisdiction was ecclesiastical. The spiritual courts had "sole and exclusive jurisdiction" exercised in England until 1857, and in Ireland until 1870, not by civil courts, but by the tribunals of our Churches, and their jurisdiction was recognised and regulated by the Church Canons of 1603 (extended to Ireland by the Act of Union), Nos. 105, 106, 107, and 108, long subsequent to the forms of our Marriage Service, which in 1549 was adopted from the

Sarum Office. Thus we have the Churches of England and Ireland, by their courts and canons declaring, notwithstanding the terms of the marriage contract, that for adultery all its positive stipulations may be set aside; a proof that for sufficient cause and by proper authority the whole contract may be annulled, for there is no dictum of our Churches to the contrary, the use of the word "only" in Canon 107 distinguishing between such decrees for separation and divorces *a vinculo* which extend in terms to the whole bond.

The principle involved in the action of the Church Courts was this: that as contracts in general may be rescinded and declared void by the proper authority, when one party has been guilty of such a violation of its terms as in the opinion of the court amounts to a repudiation of the contract,¹ so also the marriage bond is made voidable by the adultery of the wife, which is a manifest repudiation of the whole contract, and then the court may declare the contract dissolved and null. According to the civil law, adultery makes the marriage voidable, not void. There may be condonation or forgiveness. There may be collusion or adultery by the husband, which bar his right to a divorce, and a man cannot put away his wife without the express sanction of the law given in the particular case.

The other words in the marriage-service, said to prove that marriage is indissoluble according to Church doctrine, are the quotation, "those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder." The observations already made upon the action of the Church courts show that the Church does not interpret these words as forbidding divorce for adultery. Do not decrees for judicial separation put *asunder* those whom God has joined in matrimony? Do they not forbid cohabitation? Observe these words are addressed by the minister to the spouses; they are not spoken to any third person, or used with reference to the action of civil or ecclesiastical tribunals. They mean this exhortation by the minister: "Man and woman, take heed, observe your marriage vow; love, honour, obey, as you have promised in this holy ordinance, keep to one another, and forsake all other. Man and woman, dare not by adultery to break this bond. You are knit together in the closest of bonds, being made one flesh; beware and destroy not that bond by becoming one flesh with another" (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 16, Gen. ii. 24). The words quoted do not refer to or forbid sentences of divorce, whether *a mensa et thoro* or *a vinculo*, by lawful tribunals. No; they forbid the misconduct, the adultery, by which the guilty party breaks the bond, repu-

¹ *Ante*, p. 461.

diates the contract, makes the marriage voidable, and on account of which the court declares the marriage null or separates the spouses, according to the circumstances of the case brought before it.

Dr. King, Bishop of Lincoln, who is not suspected of much sympathy or prejudice in favour of the doctors or doctrines of the Reformation, *i.e.*, of the Church of England, wrote thus in his Charge, mentioned at the head of this paper: "More than one writer has lately appealed with confidence to the high and beautiful language of our Marriage Service as deciding the question as to the teaching of the Church of England; now it may be conceded at once that they are right in referring to the service as one of the chief causes, or as the chief cause, of the widespread belief in the indissolubility of marriage, and yet the argument is really of no value as a proof that the Church intended to teach the absolute indissolubility in all cases, as a comparison with the Marriage Service in the Greek Church will show." This utterance of Bishop King is discussed in "The Present Aspect of the Controversy," where we find the admission "that so far as the English Church is concerned there *might be something* in the Bishop's plea if the Prayer-Book stood alone; there are difficulties in estimating the exact force of the language used in services unless there is evidence of some kind from another source," and having made this admission, the writer falls back upon the Canons of 1603, but the argument from the canons is altogether in favour of the position of Dr. King.

These formal recognitions of divorces *a mensa*, as we have seen, are wholly inconsistent with a literal interpretation of the Marriage Service, and Canon 107, by the use of the word "only," distinctly limits the restrictions on remarriage thereby imposed *upon the spouses* to such separations, not suggesting the unlawfulness, nay, implying the lawfulness, of remarriage when the divorce was not only or merely a judicial separation. And such seems to be the view of the Bishop, who says: "I submit that, taken in their literal and simplest meaning, they only express the mind of the Church with regard to separation *a thoro et mensa*, in which security is to be taken for the parties not marrying during each others' lifetime. But at the time when these canons were passed there were other forms of procedure besides those of the spiritual courts." The use of the word "only" points to a divorce *a mensa* in contrast to a divorce *a vinculo*, and these Canons of 1603 were amended, and, therefore, ratified, in 1865, after the Divorce Act of 1857 had become the law of England.

As we have seen, dissolution of marriage for adultery is permitted and effected by our civil law and not forbidden by our

Church law ; nor is it inconsistent with our Church doctrine, unless, indeed, it is forbidden by Scripture, which is the supreme Church law. It lies upon those who allege that the law of the land is repugnant to Scripture to give plain proof in support of their contention.

Is dissolution for adultery forbidden or sanctioned by Scripture ? The answer is contained in the words of our Lord in St. Matthew. In chap. v. (speaking to His disciples) He says : " Whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for fornication, causeth her to commit adultery ; and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery," and in chap. xix. (addressing Jews) our Lord says : " Whosoever shall put away his wife, except for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery ; and whoso marrieth her which is put away doth commit adultery." Some doubt has been critically raised as to the conclusion of verse 9 (chap. xix.), but none of importance exists as to the rest of our Lord's words quoted (see Revised Version and notes) ; they are certainly genuine, and express a Divine law.

What was the Jewish law ? The definite written law is to be found in Deut. xxiv. 1, 2 : " When a man hath taken a wife, and it come to pass that she find no favour in his eyes, then let him write her a bill of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of the house, and when she is departed out of his house she may go and be another man's wife." This was the Jewish law of divorce, a divorce dissolving the marriage, for the divorced woman might then be another man's wife. The form of the bill was, " Be expelled from me, and free for anyone else," an expression derived from a Hebrew root, which signifies " to break," " to cut off the marriage."

Our Lord, dealing with the law of Moses as to divorce *a vinculo* submitted to His judgment by the Pharisees, does not say that marriage may not in any case be lawfully dissolved, or that a man, when divorced, may not lawfully marry another wife. No ; he limits the lawfulness of those acts to the case of adultery, and declares that in other cases, except this case of adultery, or saving for the cause of fornication, a man shall not divorce his wife. He distinguishes and separates this particular cause from " every cause." Here, then, we have an undisputed text and a clear interpretation. Bishop Cosin says of the exception recognised by our Lord : " It is alike with others His exceptions, viz., ' except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish,' upon which text, if I or any Bishop were to preach, I believe we should not discharge our duty unless we should tell the people, that if by the grace of God they did repent they should not perish. The exception ' unless ' is parallel with 1 Kings iii. 18."

Curious arguments are urged against the effects of our Lord's exception. It is said that our Lord was speaking to Jews, and not laying down the law for His Church. The Sermon on the Mount was delivered to His disciples, "the salt of the earth," the representatives of the Church. This argument admits the true meaning of the exception as regards Jews; and did Christ mean that Jews might lawfully divorce their wives for fornication but that Christians might not? The argument is inconsistent with the reasons given by our Lord for His rule—reasons quoted from Genesis when there were neither Jews nor Christians, reasons which apply to the whole human family. Did not Jewish husbands and wives become one flesh?

Again, the words of St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. Paul are contrasted with the more full report of St. Matthew, as if the former, and not the latter, was the exposition of God's law. The view of the wise Churchmen given by Burnet was this: Question V. "*An exceptio illa etiam in Lucæ, Marci et Pauli locis est subaudienda? Exceptio ista viz nisi causa stupri est subaudienda in Lucæ, Marco et Paulo: alioquin manifeste repugnantia inter Matheum et eos.*"¹

And Bishop Cosin observes as regards St. Mark and St. Luke, "The words are not to be taken absolutely, but to be supplied and understood by His words in St. Matthew as in many other cases." The four Gospels are memoirs to be read together, constituting one biography; and as to St. Paul, Cosin argues: "The Rhemists and College of Douay urge for the Popish doctrine Rom. vii. 2, the woman which hath an husband is bound by the law to her husband as long as he liveth; but (1) this place is to be expounded by Christ's words; (2) St. Paul hath no occasion here to speak of divorce, but of marriage, whole and sound, as it stands by God's ordinance; (3) he speaks of a woman who is under her husband, so is not she that is divorced. St. Paul useth this to his purpose of the law being dead to which we are not bound; nor is their doctrine more favoured by 1 Cor. vii. 10, Let not the woman depart, as being in her choice whether she would depart or not, but in the case of fornication she was to depart, or, rather, be put away, whether she would or not." The learned Bishop Bethell said in the House of Lords, as quoted by Lord Grimthorpe, that this passage had no more to do with the case of an adulterous wife than the millennium!

Another device to explain away our Lord's exception is the contention that fornication is not post-nuptial but ante-nuptial

¹ The Gospel of St. Matthew was written long after the Epistles of St. Paul.

sin. But our Lord was speaking of putting away of *wives*—married women—and this distinction abandons the principle that marriage is without exception indissoluble, for it concedes that marriages of wives may be dissolved for *πορνεία*, whatever that may be. But, in truth, though fornication is not adultery in the case of an unmarried woman, adultery is always fornication. The meaning of *πορνεία* is not limited to ante-nuptial sin, either in the writings of the Fathers or in the New Testament. St. John in Rev. v. 20, 21, 22, and St. Paul in 1 Cor. v. 1, used the word in the sense of adultery, and as expressive thereof.

Dean Luckcock, in his Preface, page xix, apologises for the use of an argument of which he is evidently ashamed: "I only put forward the ante-nuptial interpretation of the word in St. Matthew as a *possible* solution of what is necessarily a very great difficulty." If the argument was sound it would not solve this great difficulty.

The *Church Quarterly Reviewer* says: "We do not think it easy to adopt any of the interpretations of the passages in St. Matthew, which have been suggested either by the advocates or the opponents of the indissolubility of marriage." Is not this a pregnant admission that such advocates cannot find a solid foundation in Scripture to justify resistance to the law of the land?

It is faintly suggested that *απολύω*, "put away," does not mean so to put away as to dissolve the marriage, and Hermas is quoted; but not only are the dictionaries against the suggestion (Scapula, 1546, Liddell and Scott, "set free"; see also Selden "Uxor Hebraica," chap. xxii.), but our Lord spoke of the putting away by the bill of divorcement, and this, as we have seen, was a divorce *a vinculo*—a separation other than by dissolution was not known in the days of Moses or our Lord. We see, then, that on the side of the civil law which assumes the power to make marriages void for adultery, and in harmony therewith, there are:

1. Our Lord's plain words, and the utter failure of all attempts at any reasonable interpretation of His words of exception, except that which candidly recognises the exception as an exception.

2. The absence of any law of the Churches of England or Ireland in conflict with the civil law.

3. The conduct of the Church in its spiritual courts, recognised by canons, making decrees for divorce *a mensa et thoro*.

4. The contemptible and unfair arguments sometimes urged against the civil law. Let me here quote Lord Grimthorpe.

"It will be enough," he says, "to give one specimen of the

Dean's 'candid examination' of Cosin's later authorities, and it shall be the most celebrated of them, Chrysostom, who, arguing against divorces for 'impiety,' like Origen, said, 'After the wife's fornication the husband is no longer a husband; but in the other case, even if she be an idolater, the right of the husband is not lost.' And again, 'Marriage is dissolved by adultery, and the husband, after he has put her away, is no longer her husband.' Thereupon he calmly asks, 'Now, what did St. Chrysostom mean?' The reporter saw so clearly what he meant that he tries summarily to dispose of it as 'rhetorical,' as if 'rhetorical fathers' employed their eloquence in writing 'permission' when they meant 'prohibition.' After five more pages of indescribable conjuring, and omitting two more passages containing '*except for fornication*,' the Dean concludes that the saint must have meant the contrary of what he said. Lactantius, Basil, Epiphanius, and Augustine, are all similarly treated, the first by quoting somebody who called him also 'a rhetorician, with little more than an elementary knowledge of Christian doctrine'; the second by quoting a general statement of his as a contradiction to his specific one on this point; the third by pronouncing his dicta only reconcilable by 'an omission which would greatly simplify the argument.' So would the omission of those two awkward sentences in the Gospel. Finally, Augustine, we are told, was seriously misrepresented by Cosin as saying that 'the lawfulness of divorce for adultery admits of no doubt,' which Lord Lyndhurst, from his own reading, when nearly eighty-five, reminded Bishop Wilberforce of in the debate on the Divorce Bill, who had only quoted his other saying, that 'he had great doubts about re-marriages'; but the doubt of a writer of the fifth century is not worth much, and later he doubted about his doubt."

The sin against God's ordinance of marriage is *adultery*, not divorce. Adultery is the act of rebellion against the command "Cleave to one another"; and that sin, not subsequent divorce, is the act which rescinds and destroys the sacred bond described as "unity of flesh." We do not dispute that, according to God's ordinance, marriage cannot be dissolved except by death or by that which in its very nature is the rupture of the marriage contract, namely adultery.

ROBERT R. WARREN.

(To be concluded.)



ART. III.—WAS THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH
INDEPENDENT OF ROME?

THE present attitude of the Church of Rome towards Wales cannot fail to revive our interest in this question. Not that, even if history answered it unequivocally in the negative, we should therefore necessarily deem ourselves under obligation to submit to the authority, or recognise the claim of the present Church of Rome to jurisdiction over us. Far from it. The changes which that Church has undergone since the beginning of the seventh century, both in doctrine and ritual, are such as almost to have obliterated its identity. If, however, the question be decided in the affirmative, if the British Church was ignorant of any claims to supremacy on the part of the Roman Church till the mission of Augustine, and if the British Bishops of that time refused to recognise the rights of that missionary monk to rule over them, it is not likely or reasonable that we should submit to such absolute and enlarged claims as those that are preferred by his present successors of the Italian mission.

When, however, a special effort is being made by the Roman Church to set forth its claims before the Welsh people, and to advance its interests among them, it is both respectful to those who make such claims, and safe for ourselves, to examine as carefully as we can the historical grounds upon which they are advanced.

A Vicar Apostolic for Wales was consecrated in Birkenhead on September 14 of last year, and the occasion was naturally and very properly used for setting forth the nature and the necessity of the Apostolic Vicariate. We have no reason to complain of this manifestation of the Pope's solicitude for Wales; it was natural, if not inevitable, since we are told¹ by Dr. Hedley, Bishop of Newport and Menevia, that "the Catholic Church in England persists in claiming to be the one true Church, outside of which, unless there is the excuse of pardonable deficiency of information, there is no salvation. It is in this light that we offer ourselves to the English and Welsh people. . . . It cannot be denied that this attitude on the part of the Catholic Church does imply a severe judgment on the Christianity of the English and Welsh people. It implies that she considers their Christianity defective and inadequate." This being the deliberate opinion of the authorities of the Church of Rome, we cannot complain of their efforts in doing what they can to enlighten our ignorance, and to supply our "deficiency of information," whether it be pardonable or not; nor must we complain of the tardiness of the

¹ *Catholic Times and Catholic Opinion*, September 20, 1895.

Bishop of Rome in sending us a Vicar Apostolic for these vital purposes. All these tokens and assurances of goodwill, however; will not restrain us from using the right of private judgment, assisted and guided by whatever means we possess, in order to arrive at historical truth, and to form just conclusions of both our own position and the pretensions of the Papal representatives.

Bishop Hedley¹ tells us that "there are two great features of Scriptural and historic Christianity which are virtually non-existent in English and Welsh Protestantism." The first of these is "the principle of authority in doctrine and government," and the second is "the Sacramental system." We might observe in passing that, if we were to go in search of a better "Sacramental system" than the one we possess, we should probably look elsewhere than to a Church which offers its faithful a mutilated Sacrament, and thereby daringly contravenes the explicit words of our Saviour. The Bishop asks pathetically: "Is it a dream to think that these missing elements in their Christianity can be restored to the Welsh people? And are we who pray and labour for this object mere benighted missionaries who feed our fancy upon visions of the past? We do not think so." Although a subsequent orator, Father Sykes, is reported to have said that the "Welsh people looked upon the appointment of the Vicar Apostolic as a compliment to them, and recognised that it was not for purposes of aggression or proselytism that he came among them, but to guard and advance the spiritual interests of his own flock," it is yet hoped that the day is not far distant "when they would behold the spectacle of a great and noble nation gathered together again into one fold and under one shepherd." If the Roman Church is meant by the "one fold," it is difficult to see how such an end is to be accomplished without "aggression" or "proselytism."

On the same day as the consecration at Birkenhead, the Vicar Apostolic issued his first Pastoral letter, dated from Wrexham, in which he refers to the relation which he assumes to have existed between the Welsh people and the Roman Church in old times. And here we notice with interest that both Bishop Mostyn and Father Sykes are at some pains to inform us that the Pope recognises the distinct nationality of Wales, while they refer in barely complimentary terms to the relation that existed in times past between the Welsh and the English people and the English Church. Bishop Mostyn says that the Pope has recognised Wales as a community by itself, and "that the Church of England, although established by law in their midst, had never succeeded in gaining the affections of

¹ *Catholic Times and Catholic Opinion*, September 20, 1895

the Welsh people." Father Sykes says that the "Pope had wisely recognised the signs and the needs of the times, and therefore had sent among the Welsh people a Welshman to study the spiritual necessities of Wales"; and he adds that "he was perfectly sure that even those who did not believe in Episcopacy would yet, if they were to have Bishops among them, prefer one who had no doubtful claims."

This is somewhat ungrateful towards the Saxon and the English Church, when it is remembered that it was to their repeated and prolonged efforts, under the direction of the Pope, that the final submission of the British Church to the See of Rome was due. "In spite of being driven from their country," the Bishop says, "they [the Welsh] still preserved their ancient faith in Brittany even to the present day, and in Wales for many centuries after their defeat by the Saxons. It was long after the troublesome times of the sixteenth century, after many years of cruel persecution, that the Welsh, being deprived of priests, gave up the faith of their forefathers." The Vicar Apostolic apparently claims that the Welsh Church was in union with Rome from its alleged establishment in this country in the time of Lucius, about A.D. 177, till long after the Reformation. Let us examine this assumption in the light of history.

It goes without saying that the origin of British Christianity is involved in much obscurity. We have no authentic native documents which reach further back than the declamatory fragments of Gildas, who wrote about A.D. 550, and who says that he had no British sources of information to rely upon, "which (if there were any)," he adds, "have perished in the fires of the enemy or accompanied my exiled countrymen into distant countries."¹ Gildas further tells us that he would be guided by references which he found in foreign writers, "which, being broken up by frequent interruptions, are by no means clear." By these he doubtless means those references to the British Church found in the writings of Continental divines and historians of the first four centuries, which, however, afford us little assistance in arriving at a definite conclusion respecting the origin of that Church. They merely include Britain among other countries in illustration of the rapid progress of the Gospel among the nations of the earth. We may take as a fair specimen of these references the oft-quoted words of Tertullian, who wrote about A.D. 208. In his work against the Jews he uses the following words: "In whom, but in Christ Himself, who is already come, do all the nations believe? Parthians, Medes, Elamites, etc. . . .

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils," etc., vol. i., p. 2.

may, the different tribes of the Gætulians, and many territories of the Moors, all parts of Spain, the different peoples of Gaul, and parts of Britain, untraversed by the Romans, but subdued to Christ . . . in all these reigns the name of Christ, who has already come." Similar testimonies might be cited from the writings of Origen, who was a contemporary of Tertullian; of Eusebius, the Church historian, who wrote about A.D. 315, and whose words are adopted by Gildas in the well-known passage where he is supposed to assign the introduction of Christianity into Britain to the reign of Tiberius; of Sozomen, who wrote later in the same century, and of others. The allusions of these writers to Britain are, for the most part, general and rhetorical, and afford us but little aid in tracing the origin of British Christianity, though they establish the conclusion that the Gospel had found its way into this island before the end of the second century, and that it had then penetrated into places where there were no Roman settlements. Whence it came is a disputed point. Arthur West Haddan, who had made the history of Celtic Christianity his special study, inclines to the opinion that it was derived from Gaul, "most probably through Lyons." Mr. Warren enters into a careful argument on the subject, and concludes in favour of an Eastern origin—at least, in a modified form. His words are: "The most probable hypothesis is that Christianity reached the British Isles through Gaul, and that, whatever traces of Eastern influence may be found in the earliest Liturgy and Ritual of Great Britain and Ireland, they are not due to a direct introduction of Christianity from the East, but to the Eastern character and origin of that Church through which Christianity first reached these shores."¹ "There is strong circumstantial evidence in favour of the immediately Gallican origin of the British Church, and for fixing the date of its foundation between A.D. 176 and 208."² Neander says: "The peculiarity of the British Church is evidence against its origin from Rome, for in many ritual matters it departed from the usage of the Roman Church, and agreed much more nearly with the Church of Asia Minor."³ Palmer writes: "I do not see that there is any proof or strong presumption that the British Bishops originally derived their orders from Rome. It is infinitely more probable that they were ordained in Gaul."⁴ Professor Stokes writes: "British Christianity existed here for ages before Augustine, and must have been derived immediately from Gaul."⁵ Again: "Gallic was immediately connected with Oriental Chris-

¹ "The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church," p. 57.

² *Ibid.* ³ "Church History," i. 117.

⁴ "Origines Liturgicæ," vol. i., p. 180.

⁵ "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 4.

tianity." These eminent authorities seem to be unanimous in the conclusion that British Christianity was originally derived from Gaul in the latter half of the second century. Who the agents were we have now no means of ascertaining. The Vicar Apostolic of Wales, however, in his Pastoral, attributes its introduction to missionaries sent by Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, at the request of a British King named Lucius, somewhere about A.D. 177. He accepts the testimony of Bede apparently without hesitation. Of King Lucius Haddan says that, "forced by the stern canons of evidence, we pronounce him a mere Roman invention of the fourth or fifth century, first dressed up into shape in Wales in the eighth or ninth."¹ And even the Roman Catholic historian Lingard acknowledges that "the story itself is liable to suspicion, for we know not from what source Bede, at the distance of five centuries, derived his information."²

The fact that the Bishops and clergy of the British Church took part in the Councils of the fourth century is a proof that it was recognised as a portion of Catholic Christendom.³ There are also references to British Christianity in the writings of St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, and other eminent Christian apologists of the same period, which testify to the important fact that the representatives of the British Church at the Councils and otherwise gave their influence and suffrages in favour of the orthodox party. These facts, however, have been adduced by Romish controversialists as evidence in favour of the Pope's supremacy over the British Church of that date. "From the presence of British Bishops in foreign synods, and from the occasional remarks of foreign writers, we may conclude that the British Church, as long as the island remained under the dominion of Rome, was in Catholic communion with the other Western Churches."⁴ It need hardly be said that "Catholic communion," in the mouth of a Roman Catholic of the nineteenth century, means "submission to the Pope's supremacy." This involves the wider question, namely, Was an acknowledgment of the Pope's universal supremacy an essential condition of communion with Rome, or of Catholicity, in the fourth century? We can only touch in passing on a few salient points in this controversy. Those who wish to see

¹ "Remains," 227; *vide* also Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils," etc., vol. i., pp. 25, 26.

² "Anglo-Saxon Church," vol. i., p. 3.

³ British Bishops were present at the Council of Arles, A.D. 314, and Ariminum, A.D. 359, and possibly also at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, and of Sardica, A.D. 347 (Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils," etc., i., p. 8).

⁴ Lingard, "Anglo-Saxon Church," i. 11. See especially Note E, p. 338.

it treated exhaustively, and by a masterly hand, may consult the work of Dr. Salmon on the "Infallibility of the Church."¹

That the See of Rome, situated as it was in the capital of the Empire, was held in special honour by the Early Church is doubtless true; but that its occupants held universal supremacy over the Bishops and Churches of Christendom is a widely different thing. The claims of the Bishop of Rome as we know them to-day are the growth of centuries. A primacy of honour, sometimes acknowledged by the Early Church, gradually developed into a claim for supremacy of jurisdiction over Christendom, and eventually into the dogma of Infallibility. It was by an evolutionary process that this was brought about, as is virtually acknowledged by the late Cardinal Newman. The Church of the third and fourth centuries knew nothing of the Pope's universal supremacy or his infallibility. The sixth canon of the Council of Nice laid down this rule: "Let the ancient customs prevail; with regard to Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria should have authority over all these, since this is also customary for the Bishop in Rome; and likewise in Antioch and the other provinces, that the prerogatives of the Churches be preserved; so if any be made Bishop without the consent of the Metropolitan, the Council adjudges him to be no Bishop." It was enacted in the ninth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, which was convoked by the Emperor Marcion A.D. 451, that, "if any Bishop or cleric has a controversy against the Metropolitan of the province itself, let him have recourse either to the Exarch of the 'diocese,' or to the throne of the imperial city of Constantinople, and there let the cause be decided." It is of importance to remember that these canons were passed, not by provincial synods, but by General Councils. "The decrees of the ancient Councils on questions of faith had full power, and were everywhere accepted without a confirmation of them by the Pope being considered necessary, and even before such a confirmation had ensued. Of a Papal confirmation of the Nicæan Decrees nothing is known—as, indeed, no appeal at all was made to the judgment of the Romish see during the whole Arian controversy."² Gregory the Great, in his vigorous protest against the appropriation by John the Faster, Bishop of Constantinople, of the title of "Ecumenical Bishop," says that even St. Peter, with all his prerogatives, was not called Universal Bishop, and "brands the Faster's assumption as blasphemy, which detracts honour from the whole priesthood

¹ The question is also lucidly and powerfully handled by Bishop Moorhouse in his two pamphlets on the Roman claim. Heywood, Manchester.

² Döllinger "On the Vatican Decrees," p. 8.

in being madly arrogated by an individual."¹ As we have already intimated, even Dr. Newman, whose intellectual subtlety was equal to the task of reconciling the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England with the doctrines of the Roman Church, was content, nevertheless, to follow Barrow on this question "without reluctance, except in his imputation of motives,"² and to explain the dogma of Papal supremacy on the development hypothesis, which he elaborated on a basis broad enough to include within its scope the rankest rationalism or the wildest fanaticism, as Professor Archer Butler showed in his masterly work on Newman's "Theory of Development"—a work which the late Bishop Thirlwall said "ought to be in the library of every student of divinity." To Dr. Döllinger "it was clear and certain that the whole edifice of Papal omnipotence and infallibility rested on cunning and deceit, on compulsion and violence in manifold forms, and that the building-stones with which this edifice has been raised were taken from a series of forgeries and fictions, with the conclusions and consequences founded on them—a series which stretches through all the centuries since the fifth."³

So much for the general question of the Pope's supremacy. Let us now revert to our immediate subject. As a proof of the Pope's supremacy over the British Church, the mission of the Gallic Bishops Germanus and Lupus in A.D. 429 has been adduced, which is asserted by Prosper Aquitaine to have been undertaken by the authority of Pope Celestine at the request of British Bishops, in order to confute Pelagianism, which had then begun to rear its head in Britain. But Prosper Aquitaine was a secretary probably of Celestine, certainly of Pope Leo afterwards, and was given to exaggerate the temporary power of the Pope, and his assertion respecting this mission of Germanus to Britain may well be taken as evidence of his anxiety to magnify his spiritual power over the British Church. Constantius, a presbyter of Lyons, on the other hand, in his *Life of Germanus*, with whom he was a contemporary in the Church of Gaul for many years, writing about A.D. 473, expressly tells us that a mission was sent to the Gallican Bishops direct from the Britons, soliciting their aid in suppressing the Pelagian heresy. This is also the account given by Bede, a vigorous partisan of Rome and an opponent of the independence of the British Church.

When we come to the mission of Augustine in the beginning of the seventh century, the evidence for the independence of the British Church becomes indisputable. The case between

¹ Soames, "Saxon Church," p. 48.

² "Development of Christian Doctrine," second edition, pp. 164-170.

³ "Vatican Decrees," p. 147.

that date and the middle of the fifth century is described by Haddan: "Meanwhile, the really instructive portion of Celtic Church history—that which follows the Saxon invasion—and the real body of evidence which that portion of it affords, not, indeed, to an opposition to Papal supremacy—such an anachronism in controversy would defeat itself by implying the existence of the claim to which an opposition was necessary—but to a simple unconsciousness of it."¹ In the time of Augustine and his successors, however, the claim was made and resisted. We find British Churchmen stoutly refusing to recognise their authority on the one hand, and on the other we find the Archbishops and Bishops of the "new Church," as Bede calls the Church of Augustine, doubting and denying the validity of the orders of the British clergy, and practically declaring them outside the pale of the Church. The history of the controversies carried on between the two Churches in those early days, as related by Bede, is highly instructive in the light of the present attitude of the Church of Rome towards the English Church. The Italian mission of the seventh and eighth centuries behaved towards the Celtic Churches in pretty much the same spirit, and almost in identical terms with those in which the Italian mission of the nineteenth century deals with the Church of England. In Gregory's instructions to Augustine, as given by Bede, he makes no mention of his own or his predecessors' supremacy over the British Church; and though we are expressly told² that the Bishop of Arles had received the pall from Rome in ancient times, this is not said of the British Bishops—an omission altogether unaccountable had that been the fact. The Pope commits all the Bishops of the Britons to the care of Augustine, "that the ignorant may be instructed, the weak strengthened by persuasion, and the refractory corrected by authority." Augustine, in A.D. 603, with the aid of King Ethelbert, drew together to a conference the Bishops of the next province of Britain, and by brotherly admonition sought to persuade them to Catholic unity, to observe the customs of Rome in the celebration of Easter, and to join with him and his associates in preaching the Gospel to the Saxons. But the Britons held stubbornly to their own customs and independence. A second conference served to confirm the British Bishops in their determination, and drew forth a threatening answer from Augustine.³ Laurentius succeeded Augustine in A.D. 604. He not only attended to the care of the "new Church," but regarded with paternal solicitude the

¹ Haddan's "Remains," p. 215.

² Bede, i. 27.

³ Bede, ii., c. 2.

old natives of Britain, as well as the Scots of Ireland. These "Scots," as the Irish were called in those days, no less than their British kinsmen, differed from the Roman order, especially in their time of observing the solemnities of Easter. And not only so, but Bishop Dagan refused to eat with Laurentius and his companions, and even to take his repast in the same house. More than two hundred years after this we find that the Council of Celchyth (A.D. 816), under Archbishop Wulfred, passed a resolution questioning the ordination of certain Irish clergy and the efficacy of their Sacraments.¹ Laurentius, having failed to persuade the British Bishops to acknowledge his authority, had recourse to the plan of trying to induce some of the priests of the Britons, in disregard of the authority of their Bishops, "to conform to Catholic unity," "with what success the present times still declare," Bede querulously adds, writing nearly one hundred and thirty years subsequently.

About thirty years after this attempt of Laurentius we find Pope Honorius, and after him Pope John, making other similar attempts at bringing the "Scots" into ecclesiastical unity, but apparently with no better results. The Synod of Whitby was held in A.D. 664, when the Celtic Bishop Colman defended his Church against the charges of Wilfrid, when King Oswy, the murderer of Oswini, decided in favour of the latter. This Wilfrid went to France to be consecrated to his Northumbrian see, refusing consecration at the hands of those not in communion with Rome. Pope Vitalian wrote to Oswy promising to send him an Archbishop who would weed out the tares, meaning by this expression the Celtic clergy. This Archbishop was Theodore, who refused to acknowledge the validity of Celtic orders, and therefore consecrated St. Chad anew after the Catholic manner, because that prelate had received his consecration at the hands of Wini, assisted by two British Bishops, and further in his Penitential treated the Britons as schismatics, and regarded their orders, and even their baptism, as of doubtful validity. "It is certainly strange, in view of facts such as the above, the curse pronounced on the Britons by St. Augustine, their treatment as schismatics by St. Cuthbert, the denial of their orders and of the validity of their baptism, and the refusal to them of chrism and the Eucharist by Archbishop Theodore, their denunciation as tares by Pope Vitalian, and their classification as heathen and heretics by Pope Gregory III., that some controversialists attempt to minimize the dispute between Wales and Rome, and even have the audacity to claim the Welsh saints as orthodox Roman Catholics.

¹ Haddan and Stubbs, iii., p. 581.

Those who so argue go perilously near to incurring the charge of heresy themselves, for they cannot be sincere believers of Papal Infallibility, seeing that they give the lie to their own Popes, Vitalian and Gregory III. Cardinal Baronius, in a former age, did not venture upon so unhistorical a paradox, but classed the Britons and the Irish alike as guilty of schism for their breach of unity with Rome."¹

About A.D. 705 we have another instance of the double proof we have already given of the independence of the British Church. The Abbot Aldhelm, who was afterwards Bishop of Sherborne, was authorized by a General Synod of the Saxon Church to write a treatise against the Paschal cycle and the form of tonsure in vogue among the Britons. He wrote an epistle to Gerontius, King of Damnonia, which is still extant, and affords conclusive evidence of an entire separation of communion between the two Churches. It also proves the orthodoxy of the British Church of that date on the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion. In Aldhelm's letter a British Church disputant is made to say, in defence of his own position, that he venerates the Old and New Testament; that he confesses the Trinity in Unity, and the Unity in Trinity; that he sets forth the Incarnation, the Passion, and the Resurrection of our Lord; that he diligently proclaims the Last Judgment; and that, by virtue of this faith, he is numbered among the company of Catholic Christians without doubt or hindrance. Aldhelm's reply is that, though all this be true, it avails the poor Briton nothing as long as he holds aloof from the unity of the Roman Church. There is a striking similarity between the form and substance of Aldhelm's argument in the eighth century and of Cardinal Vaughan's in the nineteenth. The latter said in his address at Preston that "the kernel of the question of reunion of Christendom consisted in the admission of the Roman claim that the Pope had received by Divine right authority to teach and govern the whole Church, as defined, for instance, in the Councils of Florence, Trent, and Vatican." As to validity of orders, Cardinal Vaughan says that it has "really nothing to do with reunion." Here, then, we have the highest authority of the Roman Church in this country assuming, at the close of the nineteenth century, an attitude towards the English Church which is virtually identical with that of a Roman Abbot towards the British Church in the beginning of the eighth century. If the English Church is independent of the Roman to-day, so was the British Church in A.D. 705. Apparently not even the slavish imitation of

¹ "A History of the Welsh Church," by Rev. E. J. Newell, p. 125.

Romanism in usages and doctrines by a section of the English clergy can serve to bring them any nearer to the pale of the Church, except in so far as it tends to break down the "insular prejudices" of the English people, and habituate their minds to Roman ritual and teaching, and so prepare the way for a full surrender of the Church of England to the supremacy of the Pope, as a preliminary to its inclusion within the Catholic Church, which will be finally completed by the wholesale reconstruction of our Christianity, involving the rebaptism of our Bishops, priests, and deacons, as well as of our laity, the abandonment of our time-honoured Liturgy and our beautiful version of Holy Scriptures, and the lustration of all our cathedrals, churches, and chapels. Cardinal Vaughan, however, to do him justice, is too shrewd a man to base his hope for corporate reunion on this method; he relies on the other alternative suggested, namely, the individual "conversion" of the English people by the present Italian mission. The success of this method in the past among the clergy and the laity of the higher classes may not unnaturally inspire him with some confidence as to the future. There are some among us, it seems, so eager to be at one with Rome as to assert their rights of communion with the Roman Church abroad. This is evidently a little premature. Cardinal Vaughan has administered a severe rebuke to these ardent souls for "daring to go so far as communicate in Catholic churches on the Continent, and even attempt to say Mass at our altars in Catholic countries." Even Roman divines can be sometimes ungrateful. They go perilously near to flattering the Welsh people at the expense of the Saxons, though these latter were instrumental in bringing the ancient British Church into at least partial submission to that of Rome, and they openly censure their Anglican admirers of to-day, who, according to Cardinal Vaughan himself, have succeeded in making "the greatest conversions to the Catholic Church—for instance, of Cardinals Manning and Newman, and thousands of others." But all are spurious Catholics, mere imitators, until they acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, "the keystone of the arch," "the one great grace they need." "Aut Cæsar aut nullus." It is somewhat rough on Lord Halifax, who longs so ardently¹ to make his "confessions and communions" in the Roman churches abroad, to be virtually told by Cardinal Vaughan that his lordship's Catholicism is every whit as spurious and fictitious in the eyes of the Roman Cardinal as is that of Bishop Cabrera in the eyes of the President of the English Church Union.

¹ *Guardian*, February 20, 1895, p. 295.

The foregoing imperfect sketch shows that, when the British and Roman Churches came in contact in the seventh century, there were differences between them in customs and observances; that the Celtic Churches tenaciously clung to their own usages, and refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the Papal emissaries and nominees; that the Roman authorities considered such an attitude as involving the guilt of schism—a breach of Catholic unity; and that they deemed the Orders and Sacraments of the Celtic Church of at least doubtful validity. It was then as now. As Cardinals Manning and Newman had to be rebaptized and re-ordained before they could be admitted to the Roman Catholic Church and Priesthood in the nineteenth century, so had St. Chad in the seventh. The submission of the British Church to Rome began in the eighth century; but it was not completed till the twelfth, and was brought about by means of the Saxon Church, as will be seen from some of the following quotations, which deal with both the general question of the Pope's supremacy and the independence of the British Church.

Palmer says: "The customs and canons of the Church gave the Bishop of Rome, who, like other Bishops, was a successor of Peter and the Apostles, a primacy of *honour*, and a patriarchal jurisdiction over the suburbicarian provinces in Italy and Spain. His jurisdiction did not extend to any part of the Eastern Church, nor to Africa, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Ireland, as Du Pin and others have admitted and proved. Britain and Ireland were independent of Roman jurisdiction when the Council of Nice was held, A.D. 325, as we are informed by Barnes."¹ The late Dr. Döllinger wrote: "There are many national Churches which were never under Rome, and never even had any intercourse by letter with Rome, without this being considered a defect, or causing any difficulty about Church communion. Such an autonomous Church, always independent of Rome, was the most ancient of those founded beyond the limits of the Empire, the Armenian, wherein the primatial dignity descended for a long time in the family of the national Apostle, Gregory the Illuminator. The great Syro-Persian Church in Mesopotamia, and the western part of the kingdom of the Sassanidae, with its thousands of martyrs, was from the first, and always remained, equally free from any influence of Rome. In its records and its rich literature we find no trace of the arm of Rome having reached there. The same holds good of the Ethiopian or Abyssinian Church, which was, indeed, united to the See of Alexandria, but wherein nothing, except perhaps a distant

¹ "Origines Liturgicæ," ii. 26.

echo, was heard of the claims of Rome. In the West the Irish and the ancient British Church remained for centuries autonomous, and under no sort of influence of Rome."¹ Thierry wrote: "The ministers and envoys of the Pontifical Court, thanks to the religious dependence in which they held the powerful Anglo-Saxon kings, gradually, by means of terror, subdued the free spirit of the British Churches. In the eighth century a Bishop of North Cambria celebrated the festival of Easter on the day prescribed by the Catholic Councils; the other Bishops arose against this change, and on the rumour of this dispute the Anglo-Saxons made an irruption into the southern provinces where the opposition was manifested. To obviate foreign war and the desolation of his country, a Welsh chief attempted to sanction by his civil authority the alteration of the ancient religious customs; the public mind was so irritated at this that the chieftain was killed in a revolt. However, the national pride soon declined, and weariness of a struggle constantly renewing brought a large portion of the Welsh clergy to the centre of Catholicism. The religious subjection of the country was thus gradually effected; but it was never so complete as that of England."² "The ancient British Church," says Blackstone, "by whomsoever planted, was a stranger to the Bishop of Rome and all his pretended authorities."³ "The Britons told Augustine," writes Bacon in his "Government of England," "they would not be subject to him, nor let him pervert the ancient laws of their Church. This was their resolution, and they were as good as their word, for they maintained the liberty of their Church five hundred years after his time, and were the last of all the Churches of Europe that gave up their power to the Roman Beast, and in the person of Henry VIII., that came of their blood by Owen Tudor, the first that took that power away again."

In her repudiation of the Pope's supremacy, as well as in other points, the *Ecclesia Anglicana* of to-day is the descendant, not of the Church of Augustine and his Roman mission, but of the British Church of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. The Church of England at the Reformation utterly repudiated the claims of the Pope of Rome, and allowed him no vestige of right, whether ecclesiastical or Divine, over the Christianity of this country, and in this she reverted to the position held by the Bishops and priests of the ancient British Church. The present Anglican Church in its expansive power, with its numerous branches and offshoots, its missionary spirit and enterprise, as well as its autonomy, represents the wonderful vitality and self-reliance of the Celtic Church of the

¹ "Janus," 84.

² "Norman Conquest," i. 48, Bohn.

³ "Comm.," iv. 105; ed. 1795.

sixth and seventh centuries, which had then become "the Church, not only of the people and land of all the British Isles, including gradually within the sphere of their influence almost the whole of Saxon as well as Celtic England; but they are now the leading Churches of Northern Europe, the great centre of learning, the prolific hive of missions, and the focus of national feeling for all Christians north of the Alps, except where Italy still kept an opening for herself through the southern portion of France, and by the help of the Catholic Franks. They have assumed from the outward tonsure to the inward spirit a substantive and vigorous character of their own. It is dangerous to speculate upon the issues of contingencies that have not happened. Yet Church historians cannot be far wrong in saying that a mere turn of the scale, humanly speaking, prevented the establishment in the seventh century of an aggregate of Churches in North-Western Europe, looking for their centre to the Irish and British Churches, and as entirely independent of the Papacy as are the English-speaking Churches of to-day. The Celtic skull and the Celtic temperament, we are told by naturalistic ethnologists, are perforce Romanist. We commend the fact to notice that the largest and most powerful combination of European orthodox Churches not paying obedience to the Roman see at any period anterior to the Reformation consisted of the entire aggregate of the Celtic Churches existing at the time, with the addition of a body of Celtic missions among Teutonic tribes."¹ English Churchmen are often effusive in their gratitude to Gregory and Augustine for their zeal and success in the conversion of their Saxon ancestors to Christianity, but have seldom a word to say in acknowledgment of the service which Celtic missionaries rendered. And yet Augustine's mission narrowly escaped being a total failure, while the conversion of Saxon England was chiefly due to Celtic Christians. "The technical transmission of Apostolical Succession may be through Augustine. The living stream of Gospel truth mainly passed to us through British channels. Even the 10,000 converts of the report that reached Gregory seem to us to clash with any reasonable idea of the then probable population of Kent. But of one thing there can be no doubt—that had it not been for British missionaries and for the independent mission of Birinus, there would not have been one Christian Saxon fifty years after the mission was planted outside the boundaries of the Kentish kingdom. The Apostle of the English is as much entitled to his fame as Amerigo Vespucci is to the discovery of America."² We may be forgiven for valuing "the living stream

¹ Haddan's "Remains," 218.

² *Ibid.*, 316.

of Gospel truth" above the "technical transmission of Apostolical Succession," and consequently for maintaining that the British Church conferred higher and greater blessings on this country and on the world than did the Church of Augustine.

DAVID JONES.



ART. IV.—MATTHEW ARNOLD IN HIS LETTERS.¹

IT is perhaps a natural and pardonable instinct which prompts us, in the case of a man who has played some distinguished part in public life, to get for a moment behind the scenes, and scrutinize the appearance of this or that actor on the stage of contemporary history, when, his stage-trappings cast aside, he steps down at the close of the act into the circle of home-life. "There is a divinity that doth hedge," not the king only, but every acknowledged leader of thought or action in our midst; yet we wish to watch him as he lived and moved in the sphere where "divinity" hedged him not; we wonder what his familiar words in the everyday occurrences of life may be; how the current of ideas flows during the solitary hours, in the portions of his history that are screened from public notice; what the letters may be like which he indites to the members of his own fireside—after what fashion, in short, he reveals himself when the eyes of the busy world are withdrawn.

A more than usual interest will doubtless attach itself to the family letters of a public man, if he have chanced to be a great writer, whose published words have passed into current coin of the intellectual world, or have become woven into the fabric of men's thoughts. Such letters will be invested with a peculiar pathos, for they show us "the very pulse of the machine" throbbing and working; they can alone have power to unfold the hidden movement and being of those spiritual fires which burnt so brightly through the "winged utterance" unfolded in the printed page. If the writer happen to be a *poet*, then will our interest be all the keener; we have a passion to know something more of the common days and hours wherein the poet lived his round; what (we ask) was the source of that immense zest in life which he felt so supremely, of that ineffaceable love which all things noble and fair stirred within him, of his inalienable enthusiasm for humanity, of his profoundly subtle insight into the mysteries of time? His secret

¹ "Letters of M. Arnold, 1848-1888." Collected and arranged by G. W. E. RUSSELL. In two vols. London: Macmillan and Co., 1895.

was only half unveiled, we fancy, in the lines which have sung themselves into our hearts' core; we are full of reverent curiosity to behold the fountain of this guarded treasure-house of light and joy. Surely we may hope, in these spontaneous, unelaborated outpourings of his nature which we call his "private letters," to learn something both of the love and of the mystery.

The appearance, therefore, of the family correspondence of a man like Arnold, eminent alike as critic and poet, is an event in the literary history of the year—all the more so as we learn that no formal biography of him is to be written. Expectation beats high as we open the volumes. All the more keenly disappointing is the general effect left on one's mind by a continuous perusal of the book. Not that there are wanting many things of real and lasting interest in its pages; for the naturalness which lies in every letter here reproduced constitutes, of itself, an abiding charm. But (speaking personally) I must confess that the *tout ensemble* is not what one had looked for. Matthew Arnold, with his childlike delight in Nature, his singular refinement, his poise of judgment, his fine and cultured taste, is indeed set before us—how could it be otherwise? But it is Arnold with a difference. We miss those magical flashes of intuition lighting up a difficult problem, or clearing the darkness away from some intricacy of thought, which characterize great letter-writers. Evidently he does not belong to that little band of letter-writers to which Cicero, Horace Walpole, Cowper, or Newman (in his own inimitable way), belonged; he lacks the abandon, the exquisite ease and urbanity, which reveal themselves in the hundred little unstudied attentions to detail which indicate the writer who is, in a manner, born to it. One learns to love the writer for the kindly and affectionate interest he displays in the concerns of his friends, and for many another grace of character; but throughout there remains an uneasy consciousness that we are only viewing the surface of things, without ever having set foot within the penetralia of the poet's mind and soul. After all, Arnold, if he ever wholly revealed himself, did so in his poetry; outside this he rarely, if at all, unfolded his true self. His poems have generally been regarded as the most unclouded mirror of his thought, and rightly; for by a peculiarly happy conjunction of circumstances it was in this medium that he—I will not say chose, but alone seemed able, to move with perfect precision and ease. Hence the illuminating character of his best work, which is destined to outlive much of the more pretentious, but less really vital, poetic work of our period. In poetry we perceive his directness, both of idea and sentiment, portrayed to the fullest extent; in his other writings—and these letters may be taken

as part proof of the statement—he was less spontaneous (and therefore less delightful), more the critic than the seer, rather the professor of poetry than the poet.

One had hoped to find in the eight hundred pages occupied by these letters some really valuable references to contemporary literature, and specially poetry; but here again disappointment awaits us. What his letters do seem very clearly to indicate is that, with all his sanity of mind, and oftentimes his shrewd discernment in touching the weak points in an opponent's harness, as well as his unfailing knack of so grouping his ideas together as to bring the central thought embodied in them into due prominence, he not seldom lacked the power to appreciate the work of his contemporaries. His range of vision was strictly limited, albeit within the magic circle it was singularly searching, and, in accuracy, microscopic.

It is, then, to Arnold's poetry that we must turn if we would have the pure essence of his best and highest thought distilled into the fairest moulds. Not pregnant in fruitful ideas, not too "hopeful" of mankind and his prospects in the vulgar sense, and sternly alive to the pathos and the fallacy of much to which we pin our credence too readily in this world, he set in his poetry one fixed ideal before him—the beauty of right living, right thinking, and the love of whatever is of pure and fair report. He had drunk deep of the spiritual culture of Greece, and he cast into classic form those ideals that haunt and those doubts that vex, the heart of modern civilization.

In the five stanzas dedicated to the memory of de Senancour, Matthew Arnold has given utterance to thoughts which, when we think of the poet himself, rise spontaneously to our minds; for, though he never paraded the fact, nevertheless in his secret heart he had felt the sting of the world; while that haunting sense of the pathos of human life, at once so stately and so reserved, kept no slender hold of his imagination.

Like children bathing on the shore,
 Buried a wave beneath,
 The second wave succeeds before
 We have had time to breathe.
 Too fast we live, too much are tried,
 Too harass'd to attain
 Wordsworth's sweet calm, or Goethe's wide
 And luminous view to gain.
 And then we turn, thou sadder sage,
 To thee! we feel thy spell!—
 The hopeless tangle of our age;
 Thou too hast scann'd it well!

Indeed, whenever the poet contemplates the picture of our human life, all so manifold and marvellous in its sombre setting of physical necessity, there comes in, like a faintly-

heard echo, "the eternal note of sadness," mysterious, not to be repressed. But from that other Voice, speaking to us in the hushed and holy silences of life, his ear was turned away; nor did he seem able to recognise the majestic claims of Him who, through suffering, brought joy and immortality to the weary and the heavy-laden. And one cannot resist the conclusion that, precisely because he shut himself off from those channels of divine influence which bring into men's lives all that is most gracious and most ennobling, he was condemned to pay the penalty which is inseparable from the Higher Paganism of our time—he sorrowed as one without hope; and the iron of the world cut deep into his very soul.

References, as has been noted, to contemporary thought and thinkers are all too few in these pages; the pity of it therefore is that these few are all but impossible to discover, as the book has been provided with nothing in the shape of an index. To atone in some degree for such an omission, I venture to append the following selected list of references, which may possibly prove useful:

- SELF-CRITICISM, vol. i., pp. 11, 30, 32, 41, 47, 51, 57, 59, 60, 107, 108, 139, 156, 199, 201, 207, 219, 226, 229, 233, 243; vol. ii., pp. 9, 11, 20, 38, 45, 114, 117, 120, 197, 316.
- GOETHE (whom he brackets with Wordsworth as one of the greatest, if not the greatest, force in modern literature), vol. i., pp. 10, 63, 127. WORDSWORTH, vol. ii., pp. 157, 165.
- CARLYLE, vol. i., pp. 4, 7; vol. ii., pp. 139, 144, 191, 218-220, 221, 358, 369. Evidently thinks him of less permanent value than EMERSON, for whom he had a sincere regard (*cf.* his lecture on Emerson in his "American Addresses and Letters,") vol. i., p. 7; vol. ii., p. 220.
- RENAN, vol. i., pp. 111 (where Arnold remarks the points of difference between himself and the Frenchman), 203; vol. ii., p. 159.
- TENNYSON, vol. i., pp. 127, 158, 239; vol. ii., pp. 38, 168. He is singularly obtuse to the greatness of Tennyson's genius, and his remarks on him have an ungenerous savour about them. BROWNING he scarcely alludes to, but of Mrs. BROWNING he speaks contemptuously (vol. i., p. 61).
- RUSKIN, vol. i., pp. 51, 196, 200; vol. ii., p. 141. Arnold quite failed to appreciate him, as he failed to appreciate most contemporary writers.
- KINGSLEY, vol. ii., pp. 43, 121.
- SWINBURNE, vol. ii., pp. 43, 200 (where he alludes to Swinburne's "fatal habit of using one hundred words where one would suffice").
- SAINTE-BEUVE, vol. i., pp. 106, 134, 194, 218 (*cf.* *Encycl. Britannica*, *s.v.*).
- POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS REFERENCES, vol. i., pp. 10, 96, 109, 113-115, 221 (an interesting account of Disraeli); vol. ii., pp. 13, 17, 39, 41, 48, 76, 84, 112, 131 (interesting remark on Church of England and its connection with Protestantism), 137 (where he writes—1877—"I am sincerely sorry a charlatan like Dizzy should be Premier"), 141, 149, 187 (where he remarks that the country would be all the better for "a different system of Government—an *état de siège*, in

short—humanely carried out”), 191-193, 201, 268, 281 (criticising “Natural Law in the Spiritual World”), 316.

The Times (a paper which he did not like), vol. i., pp. 113, 122, 206-208; vol. ii., p. 268.

It may be mentioned that the first occurrence of the now hackneyed sobriquet “Philistines” occurs in vol. i., p. 207, and the phrase “sweetness and light” in vol. ii., p. 23.

E. H. BLAKENEY.



ART. V.—WHAT IS MEANT BY AN ESTABLISHED CHURCH?

THERE is a great deal of talk about the Established Church, and we ought to see exactly what we mean by the words.

1. *What is an Established Church?*

It means a Church which is settled; which has received a certain amount of help from the law in arranging its affairs.

2. *Does not the word apply in some degree to the Nonconformist Churches?*

Yes, though in a less degree than to the National Church, because they are much smaller individually, and their history much shorter.

3. *In what way does it apply to them?*

(a) From the time of William III. (that is, during the last two hundred years) Acts of Parliament recognise and legalize their existence as organized religious bodies, in the same way that in earlier days Acts of Parliament recognised the old National Church, and still recognise it when occasion arises.

(b) Acts of Parliament protect their property and worship.

(c) Acts of Parliament give exceptional privileges to the Nonconformist chapels and ministers. Their chapels are relieved from paying rates and taxes; their ministers are excused from serving in the militia and on juries.

(d) The courts of law enforce the fulfilment of the trust-deeds of the Nonconformist churches and chapels, and interpose to decide their internal disputes.

4. *When did this word “establishing” and “established” begin to be used?*

By the Church of England itself, in the Canons of 1603, in the reign of King James I. The Canons, or Book of Church Rules, assert that the Papal supremacy has no *establishment* in this country—that is, is not a fixed legal principle; that the worship of God in the Prayer-Book, the Thirty-nine Articles agreed upon by Convocation, and the rites and ceremonies of the Church, are by law *established*—that is, settled and con-

firmed. But they do not speak of the Church of England as by law established, or use the phrase "Established Church."

5. *When did the word begin to be used in Acts of Parliament?*

(a) The first use is in the Act of Uniformity of Edward VI. (5 and 6, cap. 1), in which the word "establishing" is applied not to the Church itself, but to the revised Prayer-Book: "The establishing of the Book of Common Prayer now explained and hereto annexed." That is, in the sense of "giving legal confirmation."

(b) In the Act, 1 Elizabeth, chap. 1, the word "established" is used in setting forth the claims of the Crown ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

(c) In the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the Liturgy of the Church of England is described "as is now by law established"—that is, settled and legally confirmed.

(d) It was not till the reign of William III. that the Church itself is described as "established," and then it is not in any statute, but in an address presented by the Houses of Parliament to William. It means settled, recognised, confirmed.

6. *The use of the word, then, in Acts of Parliament began in the sixteenth century, and was continued in the seventeenth. When did the Church begin?*

Christianity was preached to the Britons in this country by missionaries from Gaul about the year 250 A.D. In the year 314 three British Bishops were present at a Council in the South of France (Arles); in 347 British Bishops were present at the Council of Sardica, and in 360 at that of Ariminum. In the fifth century the heathen Anglo-Saxons came to this country, and gradually drove the British Christians to Wales, Cornwall, Devon, Strathclyde, and Cumbria.

7. *When was another beginning made?*

In the year 596 Augustine and his companions were sent to convert the heathen Anglo-Saxons by Gregory, Bishop of Rome. They were partly successful; but the greater part of the Christianity of the country came from Scotland, which had been evangelized by British and Irish missionaries.

8. *Who was it that consolidated the Anglo-Saxon churches and dioceses into one great body for the whole country?*

Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the Synod of Hertford, in 673.

9. *When did the first Parliament meet?*

In the reign of Edward I., about the end of the thirteenth century (1297), six hundred years after the consolidation of the English Church. Previously the Saxon kings had had an Assembly of Wise Men, and the Norman kings a Council of Barons, whom they sometimes consulted; but Edward I.

called together the first representative Parliament. The English Church was thus consolidated six hundred years before the English Parliament.

10. *What does Professor Freeman, the great historian, say about this?*

"We have to get rid of the notion that there was some time or other when the Church was established by a deliberate and formal Act. . . . There was no moment when the nation or its rulers made up their minds that it would be a good thing to set up an Established Church, any more than there was a moment when they made up their minds that it would be a good thing to set up a Government by King, Lords, and Commons."

"The popular notion clearly is, that the Church was 'established' at the Reformation. People seem to think that Henry VIII., or Edward VI., or Elizabeth, having already 'disestablished' an older Church, went on of set purpose to 'establish' a new one. . . . In all that they did, Henry and Elizabeth had no more thought of 'establishing' a new Church than they had of founding a new nation."

11. *What is the best way of describing the Church of England historically and constitutionally, questions of theology being for the moment omitted?*

It is the English people organized for the purposes of Christianity, according to the model of Apostolic and primitive times, and with adaptations to modern circumstances.

12. *What were the chief splits from this national organization?*

(a) In 1568 a Church of England clergyman named Brown founded the Independents, or Congregationalists, in a small way, with a single congregation in London.

(b) In 1570 the Roman Court abandoned the hope of reconciling England, and the Bull was issued which excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, and dispensed her subjects from their obedience. This was the beginning of the Roman Catholics in this country as a separate body from the old National Church.

(c) In 1633 the Baptists broke off from the Independents on the subject of baptism, and became a separate body.

(d) From 1642-1649 the Presbyterians were established by the Long Parliament, and in conformity with the form which the Reformation took in Scotland. The Presbyterians were in their turn superseded by the Independents, under Oliver Cromwell.

(e) The Wesleyan movement began as a High Church revival within the Church in the earlier part of last century, and gradually diverged into a schism from the Church. The schism reached its consummation when the Wesleyan Con-

ference authorized its preachers to administer Sacraments in 1795.

13. *Does the legal recognition, protection, establishing, and settling of these different Christian communities, offshoots from the older organization, necessarily imply that what has been done to settle the older body must now be undone?*

It is difficult to see any reason why this should be so. The settling consisted of enactments made at different times, as occasion arose, for the better governing of the ecclesiastical body. As long as these do not interfere with the liberty of conscience of the other bodies, there is no more reason why they should be undone any more than the Acts of Parliament which have been passed for the benefit of Nonconformists and Roman Catholics.

14. *What are the chief peculiarities which the old national establishment has inherited from ancient days which do not belong to the smaller, younger, and more modern bodies?*

(a) The Sovereign and the Lord Chancellor must be members of the Church of England, and the Sovereign must be crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury or his representative. These are precautions against the Church of Rome.

(b) The chaplain of the House of Commons is a minister of the Church of England, and the chaplain of the House of Lords is a bishop.

(c) The Bishops have seats in the House of Lords.

(d) The Archbishops and Bishops are appointed by the Crown as representing the laity.

(e) The State recognises the Church as representing the historical Church of Christ in this country.

(f) The State gives coercive jurisdiction to the Ecclesiastical Courts.

(g) No change in the laws of the Church is of legal force unless it is ratified by the State.

15. *Are these peculiarities essential to the well-being of the Church?*

They are interesting survivals of old times, when the whole nation belonged to the old Church of England. And the Church of England, comprising still more than half the people of the country, is so much larger than each of the other bodies that there is no reason for destroying these peculiarities. Some of them are certainly useful, and none of them inflict any grievance on the other bodies.

The first is, as we saw, to ensure that the Sovereign should not be a Roman Catholic. A Christian service at a coronation seems right, and there is no minister more suitable than the chief one of the old Church.

Prayers in Parliament are right, and the larger number of members in both Houses belong to the Church of England.

If it be thought a grievance that the Bishops should continue in the House of Lords, there would be no difficulty in appointing representatives of the other great religious establishments as life peers. There is no sufficient reason for turning them out.

The appointment of the Bishops by the Crown is rather an encroachment on the rights of the Church than a privilege for the Church. But, on the whole, it works well.

As to recognition by the State, I think we should be glad that the State recognises Christianity. The ancient historical Church of this country naturally inherits this recognition. But on all public occasions the representatives of the other religious bodies are invited to come forward.

With regard to the ecclesiastical courts, it is a great convenience to the country that a vast organization such as the Church should have courts of its own, for otherwise its business would overload the already congested law courts. It has been often suggested that there should be special magistrates for hearing London School Board attendance cases for the same reason. But these courts are not the least essential to the Church, and her business could be done, though not so well, in the lay courts.

As to changes requiring the ratification of the State, this is also true in a minor degree of the trust deeds of the Nonconformists.

None of these seven points are essential to the Church, but they have grown up through the experience and practice of past ages. They are convenient and useful, and even if some people do not care about one or another of them, there seems no reason for disturbing what has continued as the outcome of the earliest times.

As far as Disestablishment is concerned, these seven points are those that would be reversed. In my humble judgment, the State would lose more by the reversal than the Church. And there is no other religious body of sufficient proportions to step in and take the place of the Church. The only religious body that would gain by the transaction would be the Roman Catholics. Their immense prestige, their unbroken tradition, their vast European and world-wide organization, would be much more impressive in this country if it were not for the place occupied by the Church of England.

16. *Did not the State endow the Church ?*

There is no such corporation known as the Church of England. If you wished to leave money to-morrow to the Church of England as such, you could not do it. The Church

consists of innumerable small bodies or corporations, like colleges or companies, and you would have to leave it to one of them. These small bodies are the bishoprics, the cathedral chapters, and the rectories or vicarages. Each of these has its own property, handed down from ancient times.

17. *Is there no tax on behalf of the Church?*

None whatever. You would look in vain in the annual Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for any such tax.

18. *Is there no rate on behalf of the Church?*

In a few instances the ancient tithe has been changed into a rate on account of inconvenience in collecting the tithe. But that is the exception which proves the rule, that the Church is not supported out of the rates.

19. *What do most people mean when they talk about Dis-establishment?*

Disendowment; that is, the confiscation or secularization of the ancient property given from time immemorial to these bishoprics, cathedral chapters, and rectories or vicarages.

20. *What was the property of the ancient British Church before it was driven to Wales, Cornwall, and Cumberland by the heathen Saxons?*

The records were all destroyed by the invaders; but it was like the Church in Gaul, from which the British Church came: the property was partly from the donations of individual benefactors, partly from the custom of the bishops bequeathing their private estates to their churches.

21. *What was the property of the Anglo-Saxon Church?*

First of all, lands. St. Paul's Cathedral, for instance, owns an estate in Essex called Tillingham, given it by King Ethelbert in the year 609. When a king, lord, or other landowner became Christian, he set apart lands for the support of a Christian ministry.

22. *What was the tithe?*

Besides the Church lands, it became a custom to imitate the example of the Jews, and give a tithe of the produce of the rest of the land to support a Christian ministry. Some gave more, some less; but the custom was universal.

23. *When was this custom recognised by law?*

In the eighth century, both on the Continent and in England. In the year 787 it was made binding by the Legatine Council of Chelchythe, which was attended and confirmed by the Kings of Kent, Mercia, Wessex, and Northumbria, and their Aldermen. Almost all the laws issued after the death of King Alfred in 901 contain some recognition of tithe.

24. *What vast ecclesiastical estates were there besides those of the bishoprics, chapters, and parishes?*

Those of the monasteries and the chantries.

25. *What were the chantries?*

Endowments for saying masses to get the souls of the dead out of purgatory.

26. *What became of these estates of the monasteries and chantries?*

They were taken away by King Henry VIII. and given to his courtiers, and also for purposes of education. Wherever you find a great family living at an abbey or a priory, they or their predecessors received their estates in this way from King Henry VIII. or Edward VI. The Church of England possesses absolutely none of the property given for getting souls out of purgatory.

27. *Did not the monasteries receive tithes?*

Yes; and the amount of these tithes, confiscated from the Church by Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and paid to laymen, is now the enormous sum of £767,205 a year.

28. *What is the Ecclesiastical Commission?*

After the Reform of Parliament in 1832, the Church was reformed. Many of the bishoprics and chapters were far too rich. A fixed sum was settled for bishops, deans, and canons, and the rest of their estates were handed over to Church Commissioners for the benefit of poor parishes or the endowment of new ones. At that time the bishops were receiving £160,000 a year amongst them, and the cathedrals £272,000 a year. The bishops now receive £87,000 a year, and the cathedrals £192,000. The Commissioners receive from these episcopal and cathedral estates about a million a year, and spend it all on poor parishes.

29. *What is Queen Anne's Bounty?*

The property of the Church restored by Queen Anne. When a Bishop, dignitary, or incumbent was appointed in old days, he had to pay first-fruits and tenths to the Pope; at the Reformation Henry VIII. annexed these to the Crown. Queen Anne determined to give them back to the Church. These sums have been capitalized, and amount to about 4½ millions, used as a fund for building parsonages and helping the clergy in other ways.

30. *Did Parliament ever grant money to the Church?*

Parliament has made grants on special rare occasions to the Church as thank-offerings, just as it made for a long time regular grants (the Regium Donum) to Nonconformists.

There was a thank-offering of £500,000, after the battle of Blenheim, for building churches.

There was a thank-offering in 1818, after the great peace, of a million for the same purpose, supplemented in 1824 by another half-million.

31. *Is there anything peculiar in the Church of England having endowments?*

Not in the least. The Roman Catholics, Congregationalists, Baptists, Wesleyans, and other Nonconformist bodies, all have buildings, lands, and money benefactions, though on a smaller scale, being smaller in numbers, and having split off in recent times.

32. *How many parishes are there now in England ?*

13,979.

33. *How many of these have been founded since 1832 ?*

About a third of the whole—nearly 4,000. The number in 1832 was 10,701.

34. *What is the whole settled revenue of the Church ?*

(1) Bishoprics	...	...	£87,827
(2) Cathedrals	...	...	192,460
(3) Parishes	...	...	3,941,057
(4) Commissioners	...	...	1,247,826
(5) Queen Anne	...	...	_____

£5,469,170

35. *How much comes from pew-rents and fees ?*

About £282,000 a year.

36. *What do the members of the Church contribute for voluntary purposes ?*

During the last twenty-five years they have contributed as follows :

(1) Theological schools	...	...	£528,653
(2) Church building and restoration	...	...	35,175,000
(3) Home missions	...	...	7,426,478
(4) Foreign missions	...	...	10,100,000
(5) Elementary education	...	...	21,362,041
(6) Charitable institutions	...	...	3,818,200
(7) Charities for poor clergy	...	...	2,103,364

£80,513,736

37. *What is there besides all this ?*

The daily relief of the poor.

38. *What complaint is sometimes made about enclosures ?*

That the land brought into cultivation by Enclosure Acts ought to have remained common land.

39. *What was common land ?*

Land on which cattle and poultry could wander and feed.

40. *Why were these lands enclosed ?*

Because population was increasing enormously, steam was not invented, we were engaged in great wars, and we had to depend chiefly on home produce for food. Had there been no Enclosure Acts, the people would have starved.

41. *By whom were the Enclosure Acts promoted ?*

By the reformers, Progressives, and Liberals of those days.

42. *How much land has thus been brought into cultivation since 1760 ?*

7,000,000 acres.

43. *By how many Enclosure Acts ?*

3,867.

44. *Among whom were these new lands divided ? and who brought them into cultivation ?*

The landowners of the neighbourhood, large and small, to provide food and wages for the people.

45. *How did any of these lands become Church property ?*

In the same way as they became the property of anybody else—because the Church was one of the landowners.

46. *Could these lands have become cultivated in any other way ?*

It is difficult to see how at that time it would have been possible.

47. *What would justify the confiscation of the old Church property in tithe and glebe, of bishops, cathedrals, or parish clergy ?*

If the property was being improperly used, or to the hurt of the people generally, or if the great majority of the people had ceased to believe in Christianity.

48. *Is that the case now ?*

There is probably no class of property which is being used so thoroughly for the social benefit of the people.

49. *Is the Church of England since the Reformation the same body as it was before ?*

The various corporations forming the Church of England were the same before as after. The Reformation was no single Act, but a long process of casting off harmful customs and superstitions. It consisted chiefly in throwing off the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, and in bringing back doctrine to what it was in the New Testament, and the institutions of the Church to the standard of the earliest days, particularly the first two centuries. No one ever doubted that it was the same Church.

50. *What other Churches have been reformed ?*

The whole Western Church, in the eleventh century, by Pope Hildebrand or Gregory the Great; and the Church of Rome at the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. But every Church all through history has had changes made in its constitution and regulations by councils and in other ways. There was nothing in the least peculiar in the fact of the Church of England being reformed.

51. *What were the principal statutes by which Parliament helped the Church to reform herself, and gave many of the changes made in Convocation the force of law ?*

1529. Prohibition of licences from Rome for pluralities.
1533. The restraint of appeals to Rome.
1534. Declaration of the royal supremacy and abrogation of that of the Pope.
1534. Act for the nomination of Bishops by the Crown to the cathedral chapters.
1534. Papal dispensations illegal.
1534. Annexation of first-fruits and tenths to the Crown subsequently converted into Queen Anne's Bounty.
1536-1539. Acts for the suppression of the monasteries.
1544. The Litany remodelled and authorized in English.
1547. Reception at Holy Communion ordered in both kinds.
1549. Authorization of the first Prayer-Book of King Edward VI.
1549. Right of marriage restored to the clergy.
1552. Act of Uniformity enforcing the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI.
1558. Queen Elizabeth's Act restoring the Reformation statutes, which had been abrogated by Queen Mary.
1559. Act of Uniformity enforcing the Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth.
1571. The Articles of Religion reduced to thirty-nine and authorized.
52. *Should any other Acts be mentioned affecting the status of the Church?*
1662. Charles II.'s Act of Uniformity, restoring the Church after its overthrow by Cromwell.
1800. The Church of England united with that of Ireland on the union of the two kingdoms.
1818. The first general Church Building Act, to enable persons voluntarily to build and endow new churches.
1835. Constitution of the Ecclesiastical Commission.
1836. Tithe Commutation Act.
1836. Authorization of the erection of the new dioceses of Ripon and Manchester by voluntary contributions.
1840. New Church Discipline Act.
Many others of a similar character might be mentioned. Similar Acts have from time to time been passed for Non-conformists at their own request.
53. *What has been said by Liberal statesmen on the blessings of the present settlement of religion in this country?*
(1) *Mr. Gladstone*: "The Church of England has not only been a part of the history of this country, but a part so vital, entering so profoundly into the entire life and action of the country, that the severing of the two would leave nothing but a bleeding and lacerated mass. Take the Church of England

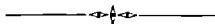
out of the history of England, and the history of England becomes a chaos, without order, without life, and without meaning.”—HOUSE OF COMMONS, *May 16, 1873.*

(2) *Lord Hartington*: “I oppose disestablishment, because I believe that the Church is an institution firmly rooted in a great number of the hearts of the community, and that it could not be disestablished or disendowed without a prolonged conflict, without compulsion, which would bring the country nearer to civil war than its opponents would conceive.”—ACCRRINGTON, *October 30, 1885.*

(3) *Lord Selborne*: “If sacrilege was to come upon this land, let the clergy, at least, have nothing to do with it. Let them not be persuaded to think that a better state of things would exist if the Church were free from State control than that under which they now lived. Let them not for one moment imagine that a better state of things would be arrived at by their helping the enemies of religion and of the Church, who were striving to take away from men their churches and their endowments. They might depend upon it that those who were discontented, and wished to pull the Church down about their heads, would find themselves no better off in any point of view if it were done. They would rather be very much the worse; while, with respect to the State, he trembled as a citizen to think of the consequences that might result from the breaking of those ties that entered so deeply into the whole national and social life of the country, and were so entwined around existing institutions.”—ALTON, *December 23, 1874.*

(4) *Mr. W. E. Forster*: “For the destruction of the parochial system, I dare not make myself responsible. I say that in this England of ours, in which you and I have a share of the government, there are so many influences for evil, that I dare not make myself responsible for destroying this influence for good. What I maintain is this—that the clergy of the Church of England do exercise a wide and powerful influence—wide and powerful by the very fact that they are an Established Church—and believing as I also do that this wide and powerful influence is in the main exerted for good, I dare not make myself responsible for destroying it.”—BRADFORD, *January 7, 1878.*

WILLIAM SINCLAIR.



Short Notices.

Sanctuary and Sacrifice. Eyre and Spottiswoode.

WE strongly recommend those who have not done so, to read, mark, and inwardly digest the "Sanctuary and Sacrifice," Eyre and Spottiswoode. It is a "reply" to the theory of Wellhausen that the Old Testament is all topsy-turvy, and that the Prophets never knew the Law, but wrote long before the pseudo-Moses. The book aspires to be a "reply," and it is not easy to determine what it can be if it is not; for out of his own mouth Wellhausen is convicted not only of a habitual disregard of evidence, which was known to be his besetting sin, but yet more of actual falsification and misrepresentation of what evidence there is. If anything, the book errs on the side of triumph, and abounds, moreover, with that kind of humour which is peculiarly distasteful to sedate and scholarly "critics"; but it is, nevertheless, a potent factor with the world at large, which will doubtless judge for itself, as we advise our readers to do.

Reminiscences of Seventy Years of Life, Travel, and Adventure. Vol. II. Civil Service in Royal Dockyards. By R. G. HOBBS, F. Imp. Inst., etc., etc. Pp. 571. Price 15s. Elliot Stock.

The second volume of Mr. Hobbs' very interesting autobiography comprises the period of national development between 1846 and 1886.

It is of special value as giving the history of a revolution in naval architecture and its bearing upon public events from an internal point of view, as the author was a permanent dockyard official. He has watched contemporary national history with a keen eye and an intelligent mind; and his record, besides being agreeable to the general reader, will be important to those interested in naval construction. It would be well if all public servants took as lively and patriotic an interest in the varied concerns of their marvellous country.

Leaders of Thought in the English Church. By Archdeacon SINCLAIR. Pp. 378. Price 6s. Hodder and Stoughton.

The "Leaders" are: Cranmer, Latimer, Laud, Hooker, Butler, Waterland, Wesley, Simeon, Newman, Pusey, Arnold, and Tait. The Preface says: "The twelve whom I have taken seem to me typical of the various aspects of the Church of England since the Reformation. . . . I have tried as far as possible to understand the point of view of each, and, when criticism could not be avoided, to touch such points with no unfriendly hand. . . . The general result, I think, illustrates the great width of the Church of England, which, while it is capable of exaggeration and abuse, ought always to be acknowledged and maintained."

A Catechism on the Chief Points of Difference between the Church of England and the Church of Rome. Pp. 47. Price 2d. Elliot Stock.

This invaluable manual has been prepared by a syndicate of learned men. Its judiciousness, temper, and learning could not be surpassed. Besides showing historically the mistakes of Rome, it is one of the best expositions of true Church of England doctrine. It should be circulated in every parish in the kingdom. One hundred copies can be had for 10s., or a dozen for 1s. 6d.

A Manual of Prayers for Missionary Meetings, Conferences, and Services. By the Rev. J. B. WHITING. Sutton and Goodchild.

At gatherings outside the Church people most often have felt that some of the collects used were stiff and inappropriate. This little manual

will be a real help in the right direction, especially for those who are unaccustomed to extemporary prayer.

A Cluster of Quiet Thoughts. By FREDERICK LANGBRIDGE. Pp. 47. R.T.S.

This is a series of short original aphorisms in verse, full of suggestions, and very useful for quotation.

The Papal Attempt to Re-convert England. Pp. 142. R.T.S.

The writer is one born and nurtured in Roman Catholicism; so he is acquainted with Romish teaching in a way that is possible to no one outside. It is a very complete historical exposure of Romish pretensions and contradictions. Her claims are refuted in words from her own mouth. It is a most wholesome handbook for those who are brought in touch with Roman controversy.

Ryle's Expository Thoughts. Vol. I. Pp. 414. Price 4s. Hodder and Stoughton.

The publishers are to be congratulated on producing a popular edition of this well-known and valuable work. The present volume contains St. Matthew; six more volumes are to appear. The amount of good which this commentary has already done is beyond calculation.

Prayers and Promises. By Principal MOULE. Pp. 153. Seeley and Co.

This consists of nine short devotional addresses by the eminent head of Ridley Hall. The first five are on forms of intercourse with God; the last four on different utterances by our Lord of the words "I come." They all breathe the deepest and truest spirit of sincere and genuine piety.

Unity in Christendom. By G. E. TARNER. Pp. 42. Elliot Stock, 1895.

This useful monograph points out that internal reformation in the Church of Rome is a necessary antecedent to any possible scheme of Reunion. He is not hopeless about it, and urges it as an object for prayer and effort.

Socrates. By A. D. GODLEY. Pp. 230. Price 4s. 6d. Seeley and Co.

A very sympathetic and discriminating account of the great Athenian teacher. Mr. Godley, who is a Fellow of Magdalen, Oxford, describes Socrates as a historical character, as he appears in Plato, and in Xenophon. He gives a series of charming sketches and glimpses of the meaning of the different teachings and dialogues. The book will stimulate its readers to a deeper study of the great Greek.

East London. By HENRY WALKER. Pp. 192. R.T.S.

Everybody should read this very interesting account of Christian effort amongst the masses. In one sympathetic view it describes the work of the Church of England, Nonconformists, and so-called undenominationalists. So much needs still to be done for London that this most attractive series of sketches ought to serve a very useful purpose in drawing new efforts to this extremely difficult and long-neglected field of Christian work.

There are forty-eight admirable illustrations.

Three Reply Lectures. By the Rev. C. H. H. WRIGHT, D.D. Pp. 34. Protestant Reformation Society.

Dr. Wright's Kensington Lectures were attended by crowded audiences, among which were many Roman Catholics. Many questions were put to him, and he was held to have answered them clearly. Dr. Wright is a learned, competent, and experienced controversialist, and treated his subjects with great good humour and fulness of illustration. At the

present day good-tempered controversy is essential to the preservation of truth ; and such lectures might well be delivered in every part of the kingdom, both town and country.

The latest numbers of the S.P.C.K. wonderful penny Pocket Library Series are those old favourites "The Borderers," by Fenimore Cooper, and "Poor Jack," by Captain Marryat. The Society in these publications is admirably furthering the movement for purer literature for our young folks.

MAGAZINES.

We have received the following (May) magazines :

The Religious Review of Reviews, The Review of the Churches, The Anglican Church Magazine, The Church Missionary Intelligencer, The Evangelical Churchman, The Church Sunday-School Magazine, Blackwood, The Cornhill, Sunday Magazine, The Fireside, The Quiver, Cassell's Family Magazine, Good Words, The Leisure Hour, Sunday at Home, The Girl's Own Paper, The Boy's Own Paper, Light and Truth, The Church Worker, The Church Monthly, The Church Missionary Gleaner, South American Missionary Magazine, Light in the Home, Awake, India's Women, Parish Magazine, The Bible Society's Gleanings for the Young, The Bible Society's Monthly Reporter, The Cottager and Artisan, Friendly Greetings, Little Folks, The Child's Pictorial, Our Little Dots, The Child's Companion, Boy's and Girl's Companion, The Children's World, On Service, Church and People, Dawn of Day, Day of Days, Home Words, and Hand and Heart.

The Month.

ANNUAL MEETINGS.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

THE ninety-seventh annual meeting of the C.M.S. was held in Exeter Hall, under the presidency of Sir John Kennaway, M.P. There were eight meetings during the day, the total attendance being estimated at over 10,000. The Rev. H. E. Fox (honorary secretary) read the general review of the year, in which were noted three marked events : (1) the Ku-Cheng massacre, (2) the development of the Uganda Mission, (3) the commencement of the three years' enterprise. The receipts for the year were as follows : General, £230,696, of which £159,126 was from associations, £35,934 from legacies, and £27,519 from benefactions ; appropriated, £30,457, of which £8,868 was from associations ; total, £261,153 :

The year began with a deficit of	£1,422
The expenditure of the year was	279,732
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Making a total to be met of	£281,154
The funds applicable to this expenditure have been :					
(a) General contributions	...	...	...	£230,696	
(b) Appropriated contributions (including part balances of previous years) applicable to this year's expenditure	...	...	...	33,139	
(c) Drawn from contingency fund	...	...	...	250	
				<hr/>	264,085
Leaving a deficit on March 31, 1896, of ..					£17,069

The Chairman said that the report told them of help given and progress made. It was certain that the majority in the Church did not take an interest in missionary work ; it was the few who supported it. With regard to the deficit, it might be said they had gone to meet it. They had their orders eight years ago that no candidate who offered himself, and was well fitted, should be rejected. He was not in distress as to this deficit ; he was sure it would be provided without diminishing the ordinary income. On two former occasions large sums had been asked for ; at one, Bishop Tucker asked £15,000 to save Uganda. It was forthcoming. Two years ago there was a deficit of £12,000, and an appeal was put forth that it might be wiped out before the annual meeting ; on the morning of the meeting £12,900 had been given. It might be said that this had swept the country, but, as a matter of fact, £11,500 had been given by eleven persons, so that very few had taken part in the effort, and there was plenty of room for a new one. Already some £800 had been promised. It was sometimes said there was no money in the country, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement showed that the country was never richer.

BISHOP OF LONDON'S FUND.

The annual conference of clergy and churchwardens in promotion of the objects of the Bishop of London's Fund was held in Sion College, Thames Embankment, the Bishop presiding. After prayers by the secretary (the Rev. H. Kirk), the Bishop said that last year they received £22,243, the year before £24,541, a diminution to the amount of £2,298. This diminution did not arise from a diminution of their regular income, but they had not had so many legacies. The amount received by legacies was only £655, whereas in the year before it was £5,136. This was always a very fluctuating source of income. But at the same time he was obliged to reiterate what he had said on many previous occasions—what he supposed he was to go on saying year after year—that he did not think that London was sufficiently sensible of the duty that properly fell upon it of providing for the spiritual needs of the enormous population, which went on growing in this most extraordinary rate. He did not know to what this was to be ascribed, but for a considerable number of years, as they were aware, they had just kept up to something like the same figure year after year ; they could not get beyond it.

WAIFS AND STRAYS.

The annual report of the Waifs and Strays Society for 1895 shows that the total receipts, including value of freehold premises given for special purposes, amounted last year to £64,390, as against £58,692 in the previous year. The total value of the freehold premises and land and invested funds was £54,279, after deducting mortgages, as against £43,618 in 1894. The larger portion of these are held in trust for specific purposes, and cannot therefore be considered as available assets. The number of children under the society's care has increased during 1895 from 2,128 to 2,253. There are sixty-three homes belonging to the society in various parts of England and Wales, besides two in Canada.

POOR CLERGY RELIEF CORPORATION.

The annual service in aid of the Poor Clergy Relief Corporation was held at St. Edmund's Church, Lombard Street, and was attended in state by the Lord Mayor, who was accompanied by the Lady Mayoress and Mr. Sheriff Cooper. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Lincoln, who strongly urged the claims of the poor clergy to support

in view of the unexpected and undeserved distress which had fallen on many of them. In the past year, he stated, 1,238 applications for assistance were made to the corporation, and 976 cases were relieved with money grants, while 38 were helped with gifts of clothing. The corporation, of which Dr. R. T. Pigott is secretary, gives immediate assistance in money and clothing to the poorer clergy of England, Wales, Ireland, and the colonies, their widows and orphans, in times of sickness, bereavement, or other temporary distress. Since its establishment in 1856 the corporation has given aid in about 16,000 cases of clerical distress. The income for 1895 was £17,651.

FRIEND OF THE CLERGY CORPORATION.

The anniversary festival of the Friend of the Clergy Corporation was held at the Grand Hotel, Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland, M.P., in the chair. The chairman, in proposing the toast of the evening, said the Friend of the Clergy Corporation was an old and successful charity, and during forty-seven years had done a vast amount of good. Its objects were twofold—it granted permanent annuities in the shape of pensions to the widows and orphan unmarried daughters of clergymen, and afforded temporary assistance to necessitous clergymen and their families in England and Wales. In cases of illness and transference from one benefice to another, this temporary assistance was often of the greatest value. Speaking roughly, there were upwards of 20,000 clergymen of the Church of England, and of these 500 received less than £50 per annum, 4,000 received less than £150, and half that number under £200. The depreciation in tithes and stipends showed a very serious state of things; and one that required amelioration. He looked upon it with amazement, admiration, and respect, that such an enormous body of men should give their services almost gratuitously to fostering what they considered to be the best for the nation. And yet there were men who talked in the House of Commons and said the Church of England ought to be done away with, although the clergy were spending their own substance on their people. It was a recognised fact that the country was made great by the virtue and moral character of its citizens, and this was largely due to the teaching of the clergy. The homes of the clergy were homes of thrift and sobriety, of purity, truth, and honour. Some sixty candidates came up every half-year at the elections to pensions, and on the last occasion the average income of the sixty candidates was only £15 per annum. At the present time there were 176 pensioners on the books of the society, and to meet this expenditure, added to the grants for temporary assistance to clergymen, their income was only about £7,000 a year. He earnestly appealed for increased support. The secretary (the Rev. H. Jona) announced a list of subscriptions and donations amounting to upwards of £900, including fifty guineas from the chairman and £5 from Lady Dixon-Hartland.

CHURCH ARMY.

The annual meeting of the Church Army was held at St. James's Hall, the Archbishop of Armagh presiding. Mr. Edward Clifford stated that the revenue for 1895 had been £71,000, against £54,000 in 1894.

COLONIAL AND CONTINENTAL CHURCH SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Colonial and Continental Church Society was held in Sion College. Mr. F. A. Bevan presided. Canon Hurst presented the report, which showed a home income of £20,876, or £2,000 less than last year, but legacies alone were £7,000 less. Adding the sums raised and spent in the Colonies and on the Continent, the income was

£42,276. The debt had been reduced to £2,000. The chairman moved the adoption of the report. The Bishop of Ballarat, in seconding the motion, said he would be ashamed to take a penny of the society's money if his diocese were as rich as it was said to be. The Bishop of Algoma expressed his deep gratitude for the aid rendered to his missionary diocese. The motion having been agreed to, the Bishop of Quebec said that in parts of Quebec, where the Protestant minority was not large enough to claim the establishment of a dissentient School Board, the society's grants made a Protestant school possible. The resolution was seconded by Bishop Hellmuth, supported by the Bishop of Honduras, and carried.

INCORPORATED CHURCH BUILDING SOCIETY.

The annual general court of the Incorporated Society for Promoting the Enlargement, Building, and Repairing of Churches and Chapels was held at the Church House. The Bishop of Salisbury presided. The report, which was adopted, showed that the income had risen from £4,481 in 1894 to £9,760 in 1895. Legacies alone increased from £506 to £5,886. The society was the trustee of 363 church-repair funds, amounting to £103,798.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL INSTITUTE.

The annual meeting of the Church of England Sunday-school Institute was held in Exeter Hall. The Bishop of Bath and Wells presided, and the Bishop of Stepney gave an address insisting on the need of preparation in Sunday-school teaching. Mr. John Palmer, the secretary, presented the annual report, which showed that 2,862,061 scholars were now attending the Church of England Sunday-schools and Bible classes, the year's increase being £56,856; and the teachers numbered 206,598. The entries for the teachers' examination last year numbered 619, and 24 came from Canada. There were now 396 associations in union with the institute. Of these 39 were in London, 338 in other parts of Great Britain and Ireland, and 19 in India and the Colonies.

ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The statement of collections and contributions to the schemes of the Church of Scotland for the year ended December 31, 1895, has just been issued. It appears that the total sum raised for all the schemes of the General Assembly from parishes and chapels amounted to £54,918 18s. 5d., as compared with £57,597 6s. in 1894. Of this sum £14,676 was contributed in aid of foreign missions, £6,994 towards home missions, £3,496 towards colonial missions, £3,408 towards Jewish missions, £7,062 towards the endowment fund, £3,719 towards small livings, £2,468 towards the aged and infirm ministers' fund, £1,960 towards Church interests, and £6,902 was raised by the Women's Foreign Missions Association.

UNITED PRESBYTERIANS.

The papers of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland have been issued. They report 577 congregations, with a membership of 191,881, and a total income of £410,848, being an increase of £19,241 as compared with 1894, and larger than the income of any of the ten preceding years.