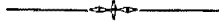


institutions, we shall exhibit Christian patriotism in its most resplendent form, and we shall have our share in the maintenance of the greatest Empire the world has ever known, and in the security of the most dignified and Christian of all thrones.

JOSEPH M'CORMICK.



ART. II.—"OUR UNHAPPY DIVISIONS"—III.

OUR object has been to show that, whilst our English theology is strong in support of Episcopacy, it is far from endorsing such a view of Episcopal succession as would make it absolutely essential to the being of a Church, and would therefore unchurch the Churches of the Continental Reformation.

For this purpose we have appealed to the names of English divines most commonly supposed to be the most uncompromising in maintaining the highest view of the Episcopal office.

But now let me be allowed to strengthen my position by reference to the authority of the great

BISHOP ANDREWES.

I take the following quotation from a letter to P. Molinæus, dated December, 1618:

"Id agimus, ut palam sit, et in confesso, eam esse apud nos Politicæ formam, quæ quam proxime accedat ad morem institutumque Ecclesiæ prisæ, sive (ut tu concedis) *Apostolis* proximæ, sive (ut semel scripseras, et nos contendimus) ipsius *Apostolicæ*. . . . Nec tamen si nostra *divini juris* sit, inde sequitur, vel quod *sine ea salus non sit*, vel quod stare non possit Ecclesia. Cæcus sit, qui non videat stantes sine ea Ecclesias: Ferreus sit, qui salutem eis neget. Nos not sumus illi ferrei: latum inter ista discrimen ponimus. Potest abesse aliquod quod *divini juris* sit (in exteriori quidem regimine) ut tamen substet salus: nec tu igitur *addices Tartaro, aut sententiam damnationis feres in gregem tuam*: Non est hoc damnare rem, melius illi aliquid antepone. Non est hoc damnare vestram Ecclesiam, ad formam aliam quæ toti antiquitati magis placuit (id est) ad nostram revocare; sed, ubi Deus dederit, et res vestræ ferent. De hoc si conveniat inter nos, cætera concordēs erimus" ("Opuscula," pp. 191, 192, A.C.L.).

Let me add the following important quotation from Spottiswood:

1610. “A question in the meantime was moved by Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, touching the consecration of the *Scottish* Bishops, who, as he said, must first be ordained Presbyters, as having received no ordination from a Bishop. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr. Bancroft, who was by, maintained ‘That thereof there was no necessity, seeing where Bishops could not be had, the ordination given by the Presbyters must be esteemed lawful; otherwise that it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches.’ This applauded to by the other Bishops, *Ely* acquiesced, and at the day and in the place appointed the three *Scottish* Bishops were consecrated” (Spottiswood, “History of Church and State of Scotland,” p. 514; London, 1677).

It should be well observed that this extract is important, not only in its testimony to Andrewes acquiescence: it is still more important in the witness it bears to the views of the applauding Bishops; and yet more in what it tells us of Bancroft,¹ who, on account of the views expressed in his well-known sermon of February 9, 1589, has been supposed to be a stanch upholder of exalted views of Episcopacy as a superior order to that of Presbyters *jure Divino* (see Cardwell’s “Doc. Annals,” vol. ii., p. 5).

But more important evidence still, if I mistake not, may be found in a declaration of Andrewes concerning the “*Harmonia Confessionum*.” This work had been published in Latin at Geneva, in 1581, under the title: “*Harmonia Confessionum Fidei Orthodoxarum et Reformatarum Ecclesiarum, quæ, in præcipuis quibusque Europæ regnis, nationibus, et provinciis, sacram Evangelii doctrinam pure profitentur.*” An English translation had been published at Cambridge in 1586.

In this publication the English Church is represented by Jewel’s “Apology.” The English translation had been stayed in printing by order of Archbishop Whitgift—desiring “that nothing be done more thereon, until you shall receive further direction from me.” Strype says: “No doubt the printing of

¹ Collier accordingly is severe upon Bancroft for thus “interposing in defence” of “the reformed churches” of the Continent (“*Eccles. Hist. of G. Br.*,” vol. vii., pp. 362, 363. London. 1840). And Dr. Elrington even goes so far as to reject the narrative as quite inconsistent with the opinions of Bancroft (“*Life of Ussher*,” p. 259). But in this particular Spottiswood’s account is confirmed by Neal (“*Hist. of Puritans*,” vol. i., p. 449. Ed. 1837). It would appear that another argument was also urged to the effect that “the Episcopal character might be conveyed at once” *per saltum*, as in the case of Ambrose, Nectarius, Eucherius, and others. And this suggestion is attributed to Bancroft by Heylyn (“*Hist. of Presbyterians*,” Lib. xi., p. 382. London, 1672), while Neal ascribes it to Abbot, then Bishop of London (vol. i., p. 449).

the book had the permission of the Archbishop, after some review or correction of it" ("Annals of Reformation," vol. iii., part i.). It had originated with the Churches of Zurich and Geneva, and appears to have been the work of Beza, Danau, and Salnar (chiefly, it is said, of Salnar, or Salvart). "In this 'Harmony,'" we are told, "the teachers of the Reformed Churches are wont exceedingly to glory" (Koecher, as quoted in Hall's "Harmony," Introduction, p. xii.)

And in his approval of this "Harmony" Andrewes identifies himself and the English Church with the other Reformed communions, regarding it as "*our* Harmony" (or, more accurately, as the "Harmony" of *our* confessions), and as testifying to a unity of doctrine among them all, saying: "Fidem autem unam retinere nos tamen Confessionum nostrarum Harmonia satis per se loquitur" ("Adv. Bellar.," cap. i., p. 36, A.C.L.).

We need not wonder, then, that, preaching before the Court Palatine, he included in the bidding prayer, "the Churches in Great Britain and Ireland, and the two Palatinates" (see "Opuscula," p. 80, A.C.L.).

But the position I am maintaining, and the distinction I am drawing, can hardly be shown more clearly than by referring briefly to the history and writings of the good and loving and humble-minded

BISHOP HALL.

The reader may very probably be somewhat startled, or, perhaps, greatly surprised to be told that among the divines of the Church of England there were very few, I believe, who took stronger ground, and more stoutly defended that ground, as to the claims of Episcopacy, than Bishop Joseph Hall. His treatise is entitled "Episcopacy by Divine Right asserted." And this "Divine right" is, indeed, clearly insisted on (see Works, vol. ix., Edit. Pratt, pp. 505, 510, 600, 705, 712), and unflinchingly maintained throughout the work. He claims for the Bishops, as of right, the power of governing and ordaining (see pp. 545, 547, 553, 713). He says also: "All the world of men, judicious and not prejudiced with their own interests, both do and must say this: and confess with learned Casaubon, Fregevil, and Saravia, that no Church in the world comes so near to the Apostolic form as the Church of England" (Works, vol. ix., pp. 516, 517). Yet he can say to those who in opposition could plead their conformity to other Reformed Churches: "We can, at once, *tenderly respect them*, and justly censure you" (p. 517). But this is not all. Hall's treatise should be read not only in view of

the circumstances under which it was written ; it should also be read in full view of the fact that it had to pass under the censure of Archbishop Laud, at whose recommendation it had been written,¹ and whose unhappy innovations were beginning to show themselves, especially in the matter of the attitude to be assumed in respect of the Reformed communions on the Continent.² And we know that in this way the treatise was made to suffer loss, especially as respects passages in which (after the manner of Bishop Andrewes) the writer had spoken favourably of the Reformed non-Episcopal Churches abroad. In his strictures on the first draft, we find the Archbishop complaining : " I conceive there is no place where Episcopacy may not be had, if there be a Church more than in title only " (Jones's " Life of Bishop Hall," p. 158). Again we are told : " His Grace disapproved of Bishop Hall's waiving the question, *Whether Episcopacy was a distinct Order, or only a higher degree of the same Order* ;³ and of his *advancing the Divine right of Episcopacy no higher than the Apostles* ; whereas he would have it *derived from Christ Himself*." And, again : " His Grace was not pleased with the sentiment, *that presbytery was of use, where Episcopacy could not be obtained* "⁴ (Jones's " Life of Bishop Hall," pp. 161, 162).

But this is not all. Not only did Bishop Hall, preaching before the Synod of Dort, say : " *Unum corpus sumus, simus et unanimes* " (see Goode, " Brotherly Communion," p. 19), but in a discourse addressed to his clergy he said : " Blessed be God ! there is no difference in any essential matter between the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation. . . . The only difference is in the form of outward administration, wherein also we are so far agreed as that we all profess this form not to be essential to the being of a Church, though much importing the well or better being of it according to our several apprehensions thereof ; and that we do all retain a reverence and loving opinion of each other in our own

¹ See Heylyn's " Cyprianus Anglicus," p. 398 *sqq.* (London, 1668), and Prynne's " Canterbury's Doom," pp. 229-238 (London, 1646).

² See Goode's " Brotherly Communion," pp. 24-28.

³ See Bishop Hall, pp. 553, 562.

⁴ While deeply regretting this unhappy tendency of Archbishop Laud, we must not do him the injustice of supposing that he was altogether out of sympathy with the doctrinal reforms of the Continental Churches. Witness his saying : " Nor yet speak I this as if other Protestants did not agree with the Church of England in the chiefest doctrines, and in the main exceptions which they jointly take against the Roman Church ; as appears by their several confessions " (" Conference with Fisher," p. 41 ; Oxford, 1839). See my " Vox Liturgiæ Anglicanæ," Preface, p. xvi. See also Durel's " Eccles. Angl. Vindiciæ," p. 355 (London, 1669), where we are told of Laud, that " Ecclesiam Anglicanam et alias Reformatas sorores esse dicit in iisdem œdibus Catholicis habitantes."

several ways, not seeing any reason why so poor a diversity should work any alienation of affection in us one towards another" (Works, vol. viii., p. 56; edit. Pratt). And elsewhere he affirms: "That there should be a power of lawful ordination and government in every settled Church it is no less than necessary; but that, in what case soever of extremity and irresistible necessity, this should be only done by Episcopal Churches which have no Bishops are thereby become very much defective in their government, . . . yet for the testifying of my communion with these Churches (which I do love and honour as true members of the Church Universal), I do profess that with like affection I should receive the Blessed Sacrament at the hands of the Dutch ministers if I were in Holland as I should do at the hands of the French ministers if I were at Charantone" (p. 23).¹

And all this while (let it be well observed) the Church of England was testifying in her ordinal that from the Apostles' times "there have been three Orders of ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." Not only so, but when the rule and practice was made strict in 1662, so that no one was afterwards to be accounted or taken to be a lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the Church of England but such as had received Episcopal consecration or ordination—this strict regulation being probably judged expedient on account of the previous disorders, and having reference no doubt especially to irregularities during the time of the Commonwealth²—we have still good evidence that the underlying principle of brotherly regard for Reformed Churches on the Continent was not regarded as thereby dishonoured, rejected, or brought to nought. For witness to this the reader may be referred to the remarkable correspondence of 1705 and 1706

¹ These words were written to correct a misapprehension, as if, while recognising a Church in France, he had questioned there being a Church in Holland. (See Elrington's "Life of Ussher," pp. 258, 259.) As to the views commonly connected with the name of Archbishop Ussher in consequence of the treatise entitled "The Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church," Dr. Elrington observes: "If the Primate did ever make such a concession, it must have arisen from the effect produced upon his gentle nature by the violent commotions which he witnessed." ("Life of Ussher," pp. 209, 210.) Bishop Gauden assures us that "before he died" Ussher's "earnest desire was that such a due succession of Episcopal authority might be regularly preserved in England, as might keep up the completeness and validity of Ecclesiastical and Catholic Ordination," and that he esteemed "Apostolic Episcopacy" to be "the great vein, which hath from the Apostles conveyed, in all ages, all Ecclesiastical Order, Power, Authority, and Jurisdiction" ("Eccles. Angl. Suspiria," pp. 649, 650; London, 1659).

² See Goode, p. 19.

between the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the University of Oxford on one side, and the pastors of the Church of Geneva on the other (p. 31).

But the following extract from a letter of Archbishop Wake, written to the pastors and professors of Geneva (*fratres charissimi*) in 1719, is specially to be noted: "The Reformed Churches, though differing in some points from our English hands, we never meant to affirm; it is enough that, regularly, it should be their act" (vol. ix., p. 691).

Certainly we have here another example to show that Episcopacy may be maintained as (in some sense) of Divine right, and yet not maintained as essential to the being of a Church.¹

Let these examples suffice. I cannot but think that they *do* suffice. I have chosen them because they seem to me to illustrate with singular clearness and establish very convincingly the point which I am desiring to insist upon. Moreover, their testimony is the testimony of those who, if I mistake not (with the exception of Bishop Hall), are very commonly regarded as adverse witnesses. And I have dwelt upon them the rather because (apart from a slight mention of Bishop Hall) they are not taken account of in the very valuable and important pamphlet of Dean Goode, which was published nearly fifty years ago (Cambridge, 1859) under the title "Brotherly Communion with the Foreign Protestant Churches desired and cultivated by the highest and best of the Divines of the Church of England." If any reader should desire further evidence on the point, I cannot do better than refer him to the pages of this brief tractate. He will find there an

¹ The following extract from Bishop Davenant is important, and specially valuable as explaining (and on true grounds defending) what seems to some to be an inconsistency in the teaching, on this point, of English divines. Alluding to the case of Colythus, the Bishop says: "Certum igitur est, potestatem ordinandi ex officio solis Episcopis convenire, Presbyteris inferioribus non convenire; quod manifestum est Episcopalis dignitatis et Presbyteralis inferioritatis argumentum. . . . Sed in ecclesia turbata ubi Episcopi omnes in hæresim aut idololatriam inciderunt . . . si orthodoxi Presbyteri (ne pereat Ecclesia) alios Presbyteros cogantur ordinare; ego non ausim hujusmodi ordinationes pronunciare irritas et inanes . . . Necessitas non inscite *lex temporis* appellatur: et in tali casu defendit id quod coegit. Armacheni opinio est, quod si omnes Episcopi essent defuncti, sacerdotes minores possent ordinare. . . . Hac freti necessitate, si Ecclesiæ quædam Protestantium, quæ ordinationes ab Episcopis Papistis expectare non poterant, consensu Presbyterorum suorum Presbyteros ordinarunt, non inde dignitati Episcopali præjudicasse, sed necessitati Ecclesiæ obtemperasse judicandi sunt" ("Determinaciones Quæstionum," Qu. xlii., pp. 191, 192; Cambridge, 1634). See also the valuable observations of Tyrrell in Elrington's "Life of Ussher," Appendix vii., p. cliv.

invaluable accumulation of evidence, and that not from one theological school alone, nor from one period of English history alone. The position taken by Cosin is well known. He was not ashamed to defend his willingness to communicate with the French Protestant Church (p. 29).

The following words of Archbishop Ussher are well worth reproducing: "Howsoever, I must needs think that the Church, I willingly embrace. I could have wished, indeed, that the Episcopal form of government had been retained by all of them. . . . Meanwhile, far be it from me that I should be so iron-hearted as to believe that, on account of such a defect (let me be permitted without offence to call it so), any of them ought to be cut off from our Communion, or with certain mad writers among us (*cum quibusdam furiosis inter nos, scriptoribus*) to declare that they have no true and valid Sacraments, and thus are scarcely Christians" (p. 32).

Other testimonies will be found from Archbishop Sancroft (p. 30), Archbishop Sharp, Archbishop Tenison, and Archbishop Secker, to which may be added weighty words of Bishop Compton and Bishop Tomlin (pp. 32, 33).

"From these testimonies," says Dean Goode, "it is quite clear that the original doctrine of the Church of England, the principles upon which our Church was founded, and the opinion of nine-tenths of her great divines, are all in favour of the cultivation of brotherly communion between that Church and the foreign Protestant non-Episcopal Churches" (p. 34).

This witness is true. I believe it will be acknowledged to be true by all who fairly examine the evidence; and it is impossible (I think) to gainsay the importance of this truth in its bearing on our present unhappy divisions.

With every desire, I trust, to do justice to the views of those who regard the matter from a different standpoint, we may not shut our eyes to historical facts.

If there is any one thing which the history of the English Church and of English theology (as it seems to me) makes abundantly clear as to the principles on which we should be guided and governed in all questions which have to do with attempts to restore "the unity of Christendom," it is surely this: that whenever we have to set on one side of the balance such matters as have to do with visible organization, and on the other side that which has to do with the essential doctrines of Christianity, we must hesitate not for a moment in recognising the far superior weight, the paramount claims, of the doctrine of Christ, the doctrine of the Cross, as restored to faith's view in the light of the Reformation. However highly we may value an Order preserved to us in the Church of England which we believe to be Apostolic, we must never

think of sacrificing the truth of the Gospel—the light which was lighted in the fires of Oxford and Smithfield—to any specious pleading for union with a "Catholic Episcopate," knit together in the visible Communion of an infallible Vicar of Christ upon earth, in which are taught the "dangerous deceits" of "the Sacrifices of Masses."

Certainly we have learned from our ancestors, and our Fathers have taught us (always excepting the *furiosi* of Archbishop Wake, and making allowance for individual eccentricities), to seek Christian fellowship and hold brotherly communion with imperfectly ordered Churches of the Reformation, much rather than with the most carefully guarded succession, and the most completely and perfectly organized system of ecclesiastical unity, held together and compacted by bonds of medieval error and scholastic superstition.

But a few additional words on this subject must be reserved for a future paper.

N. DIMOCK.

(To be continued.)



ART. III.—THE OBJECTIVE IN POPULAR EDUCATION.

IT is not so long since we were informed by Mr. Harold Gorst that our educational machinery turns out a uniform type of mind.¹ He reminded us "that the process of teaching, to which children are subjected at too early an age, succeeds in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred in merely checking their intellectual development." He pointed out that "England has never felt more acutely than in the past eighteen months the want of great men." This lamentable and admitted defect he attributed to the fact that the "idiotic" plan of class instruction merely develops "conventionally-educated, uniform-patterned, honourably-intentioned mediocrities." Doubtless there are various influences at work in the production of mediocrities. The frivolous and lying literature which, as Sterling said, infests our very chambers; the incessant calls entailed by ever-increasing population and frenzied locomotion; the agitating of men's minds by the wonders of modern discovery; the electric transmission of the world's news—all tend to foster a certain amount of mental feebleness induced by bewilderment and exhaustion. There is great weight in Mr. Gorst's indictment of our educational errors. Summing up his article in one word, we ought to leave young minds

¹ In the *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1901.