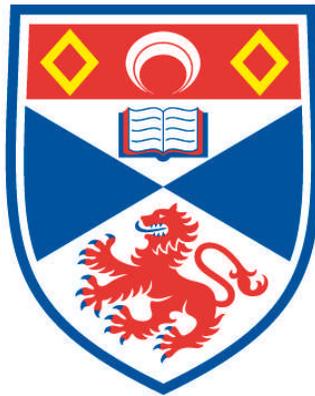


**THE BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF
'EVANGELICAL CATHOLICISM' AND ITS EXPRESSION IN
THE MINISTRY OF WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG**

Francis Marion Cooper

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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THE BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF
'EVANGELICAL CATHOLICISM'
AND ITS EXPRESSION IN THE MINISTRY OF
WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG

The Reverend Francis Marion Cooper IV, B.A., M.Div.

Thesis Presented for The Degree Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of St. Andrews

Whitsunday Term, 1981



THE BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF 'EVANGELICAL
CATHOLICISM' AND ITS EXPRESSION IN THE
MINISTRY OF WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG

ABSTRACT

William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796-1877) is considered by many historians of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America to have been its most significant leader of the nineteenth century. During the course of his ministry Muhlenberg expressed an understanding of the Christian faith which he called 'Evangelical Catholicism', the many expressions of which provided the basis for reforms and innovations affecting every aspect of the Church's life. Although many studies have been made of the many aspects of Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism they have overlooked a valuable resource in the background and development of this ideal. This research traces the origins of Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism to this primary source by examining the various expressions of Muhlenberg's ideal in the areas of Christian ethics, Church History, Christian Worship, Church Unity and Biblical Studies. The result of this study has been the discovery of the origins of Muhlenberg's ideal in the canonically prescribed theological curriculum known as the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies of 1804', or more commonly, the 'Bishops' List'.

The method involved in tracing the background and development of evangelical catholicism has been to examine Muhlenberg's innovations and reforms in the light of the works he read in preparation for ordination as well as to consider the influence upon him of contemporary movements in nineteenth century Anglicanism. This research shows

that evangelical catholicism is expressed by Muhlenberg as a synthesis of the authors included within the highly eclectic, comprehensive, and often contradictory, 'Bishops' List', thus identifying the primary sources of Muhlenberg's concept of evangelical catholicism and establishing a valuable means for the examination of the ideas which influenced William Augustus Muhlenberg and have had an enduring effect upon the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

The Rev. Francis Marion Cooper IV.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the research carried out by myself, and that the work of which it is a record has not been previously submitted for a higher degree. I was admitted as a candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy under Ordinance General No.12, with effect from October 1978 under the supervision of Professor James K. Cameron.



The Rev. Francis Marion Cooper IV.

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Francis Marion Cooper IV has fulfilled the conditions of the Regulations and Resolutions of the Ordinance General No.12, and that as a candidate is qualified to submit this Thesis in application for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in Ecclesiastical History.

Professor James K. Cameron
St. Mary's College
University of St. Andrews

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family, particularly that of my wife, Martha and our children, Joshua and Sarah. They have shared in all the joys and frustrations that have been part of this creation and have been for me all that I could ever hope for. What is of value in this work is dedicated to them in humble response to their love and understanding.

F. M. Cooper IV
St. John's House
Centre for Advanced Historical Research
St. Andrews, Fife

April 8, 1981
Being the Commemoration of William
Augustus Muhlenberg, Priest.

To

Martha Virginia Magnon Cooper

Joshua MacNeill Cooper

Sarah Elise Cooper

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLEWILLIAM AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG

- September 16, 1796 - born, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Great grandson of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787). Baptized in St. Michael and Zion Lutheran Church.
- 1805 - begins attending the United Parish of Christ Church and St. Peter's Episcopal Church. Enters Dr. James Abercrombie's Philadelphia Academy.
- 1806 - begins attending St. James Episcopal Church built on property sold to the United Parish by his mother.
- 1808 - enters the grammar school of the University of Pennsylvania.
- 1812 - graduates from the grammar school and enters the college of the University of Pennsylvania.
- 1815 - graduation from the University of Pennsylvania and the beginning of theological education under Bishop William White and the Reverend Jackson Kemper.
- September 21, 1817 - ordination to the diaconate by Bishop White. Appointed assistant to the Bishop in the United Parish.
- October 22, 1820 - ordination to the priesthood by Bishop White. Appointed co-rector of St. James Episcopal Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
- 1827 - resigns post at Lancaster, Pa. Muhlenberg moves to Flushing, Long Island, New York to establish the Flushing Institute as an Episcopal preparatory school.
- 1835 - 'Hints on Catholic Union' published.
- 1836 - St. Paul's College founded by Muhlenberg, Flushing, Long Island.
- 1843 - travels to England, visits both Pusey and Newman.
- 1844-46 - resigns both St. Paul's and Flushing Institute and begins efforts to establish the Church of the Holy Communion, New York city.
- 1845-65 - William Augustus Muhlenberg, rector of the Church of the Holy Communion.
- 1845 - receives Anne Ayres as a Sister of the Holy Communion. Regularly organized the Protestant Sisterhood of the Holy Communion in 1853.

- 1850 - begins efforts to establish St. Luke's Hospital.
Hospital opened 1858.
- 1851 - 'The Evangelical Catholic' published as a religious
newspaper 'above party'.
- 1853-56 - The 'Muhlenberg Memorial' submitted to the American
House of Bishops, the restored Convocation of the Church
of England and the General Convention of the Episcopal
Church in the United States.
- 1853 - Muhlenberg visits England, meets F. D. Maurice.
- 1859 - becomes part-time rector of the Church of the Holy
Communion and becomes full-time chaplain to St. Luke's
Hospital.
- 1864 - begins efforts to establish St. Johnland as an experiment
in Christian socialism and ecumenism.
- 1865-77 - resignation from the ministry of the Church of the Holy
Communion. Full-time involvement in the affairs of St. Luke's
Hospital and St. Johnland.
- April 8, 1877 - William Augustus Muhlenberg dies at St. Johnland.

INTRODUCTION

William Augustus Muhlenberg has been called 'the greatest single figure in the history of the Episcopal Church [in America] in the nineteenth century'.¹ He has been the subject of several articles² and biographies³ which have all presented him as a leader in the diverse fields of education, ecumenical relations, Christian socialism, healthcare, the development of the institutional parish in urban centres, movements for liturgical reform and the development of religious communities and lay ministries in the nineteenth century. It has been said that:

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1. Edward Roche Hardy, 'Evangelical Catholicism : W. A. Muhlenberg and the Memorial Movement', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XIII (June, 1944), p.192.
 2. The most significant of which, including Hardy above, are:
 - Richard G. Becker, 'The Social Thought of William Augustus Muhlenberg', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XXVII (December, 1958), pp.307-323.
 - Henry E. Jacobs, 'A Commonplace Lutheran', Lutheran Church Review, XXI (April, 1890), pp.117-129.
 - John F. Woolverton, 'William Augustus Muhlenberg and the Founding of St. Paul's College', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XXIX (September, 1960), pp.192-218.

See also fn.
 3. The definitive biography of Muhlenberg is that by Alvin W. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities : William Augustus Muhlenberg (Philadelphia, 1971). Other biographies valuable to any study of Muhlenberg are:
 - Anne Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg (London, 1881). Ayres' biography was the only one prepared using Muhlenberg's private journals and papers. Unfortunately these were burned by Miss Ayres following the publication of the work in keeping with Muhlenberg's wishes. 'Preface', p.4.
 - William Wilberforce Newton, Dr. Muhlenberg (New York, 1890).

For details of Muhlenberg's ancestry and relationship to Henry Melchior Muhlenberg see Paul A. Wallace, The Muhlenberg's of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1950). Cf. John C. Schwab, The Descendants of Henry M. Muhlenberg [single sheet folio of Muhlenberg genealogy] (New Haven, Conn., 1911).

every movement of spiritual life within the Episcopal Church [in America from 1827-1877] may be traced back in some way to Dr. Muhlenberg as its point of departure.¹

Muhlenberg's many 'innovations', institutions and reforms are all facets of a single ideal he sought to express in his ministry which he called 'Evangelical Catholicism'. This study seeks to examine the background and development of this ideal and to suggest some primary sources which may be considered vital to an understanding of the life and ministry of William Augustus Muhlenberg.

Many attempts have been made to trace Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism to its source and may be reduced to three identifiable points of view. Some scholars have emphasised Muhlenberg's Lutheran heritage as the primary source of his ideas² although little or no evidence is given in support of this assumption and to the apparent disregard of Muhlenberg's continuous association with the Episcopal Church from the age of nine.³ Their case for the Lutheran origins of evangelical catholicism is not proven. Others, the sufficiency of whose evidence will be considered later, have looked to his personal acquaintance with leaders of the Oxford Movement, the developing Broad Church Movement in England, the Mercersburg Theology of his friend Philip Schaff and to his friendship with Quakers, Roman Catholics, and leading High and Low churchmen of the early nineteenth

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1. Newton, Dr. Muhlenberg, p.195.
 2. Cf. Hardy, 'Evangelical Catholicism : W. A. Muhlenberg and the Memorial Movement', pp.160-161; Raymond W. Albright, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church (New York, 1964), p.246; Henry Jacobs, 'A Commonplace Lutheran', pp.117-129.
 3. Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, p.12.

century.¹ These authors have presented evangelical catholicism as an eclectic movement originating from many Christian traditions but fail to identify the genesis of Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism apart from his personal associations. Still others have defended Muhlenberg's ideal as simply another way of stating the Anglican via media to which he was, in their rather defensive view, entirely loyal.² These authors also fail to cite any direct evidence to support their claims concerning Muhlenberg's ideas apart from his personal association with contemporary Church leaders and movements. Perhaps the safest, and in some ways the most accurate, analysis of evangelical catholicism in the ministry of Muhlenberg is that of Alvin Skardon and others who suggest that the movement, although being highly eclectic, is more a product of Muhlenberg's unique personality and therefore properly understood as a 'state of mind' rather than an identifiable movement with tangible roots under Muhlenberg's leadership.³ Each of these attempts to trace Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism to its source has done so solely on the basis of the similarities between his ideal and contemporary movements of the nineteenth century.

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1. Cf. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.262-263 and 176-183; William W. Mauross, A History of the American Episcopal Church (New York, 1935), p.285; James Hastings Nichols, Romanticism in American Theology : Nevin and Schaff at Mercersburg (Chicago, 1961), p.309.
 2. Cf. R. G. Becker, 'The Social Thought of William Augustus Muhlenberg', pp.307-323; John F. Woolverton, 'William Augustus Muhlenberg and the Founding of St. Paul's College', pp.199-200.
 3. Cf. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, p.197, although Skardon emphasises the eclectic nature of Muhlenberg's ideas. Frederick Cook Morehouse, Some American Churchmen (Milwaukee, 1892), pp.124-138; Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, pp.171-172 and 237-248 for Muhlenberg's own statements regarding evangelical catholicism; Newton, Dr. Muhlenberg, pp.75-77.

The purpose of this study is to identify the primary sources of evangelical catholicism as it was understood and expressed by William Augustus Muhlenberg throughout his ministry. This research concentrates on Muhlenberg's expression of evangelical catholicism within the areas of Christian ethics, Ecclesiastical History, Christian worship, Church unity and the authority of the Bible. This study seeks to show that Muhlenberg's understanding of evangelical catholicism becomes clear when his innovations and reforms are examined in the light of his theological education and other sources previously overlooked. What emerges is a remarkable similarity between the main tenets of evangelical catholicism and certain material prescribed by canon law for the education of candidates for Holy Orders prior to the establishment of seminaries in the United States and contained in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies of 1804'.¹ Although several studies of the development of theological education exist there has been no attempt to examine the content of theological curricula and its effect upon Christian ministry and the history of churches within the Anglican

1. William Stevens Perry, Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal in the United States, 1785-1835, Vol.1, 1785-1821 (Claremont, New Hampshire, 1974), pp.351ff. See appendix IV.

Communion.¹ This research seeks to establish that the standardised theological curriculum of Muhlenberg's day is a valuable resource in the study of ideas shaping the Episcopal Church in the United States

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1. Cf. Clifton H. Brewer, History of Religious Education in the Episcopal Church to 1835 [Yale Studies in the History and Theory of Religious Education, 2] (New Haven, 1924).
- Mary Latimer Gambrell, Ministerial Training in Eighteenth Century New England [Studies in the History, Economics and Public Law, ed. by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, No.428] (New York, 1967).
- Frederick William Bagshawe Bullock, History of Training for the Ministry of the Church of England and Wales from 1800 to 1874, with an introduction from 1539 to 1799, and an appendix of notes on training for the ministry of the Anglican Communion outside England and Wales from 1539 to 1874 (St. Leonard's on Sea, 1955).
- Kathleen W. MacArthur, 'Theological Education Among the Dissenters', Journal of Religion, XXI (July, 1941).
- H. McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts, being the history of the Nonconformist Academies, 1660-1820 (Manchester, 1931).
- William Wilson Mauross, The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840. A Study in Church Life [published Doctoral dissertation in the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University] (New York, 1938).
- Irene Parker, Dissenting Academies in England. Their Rise and Progress and their Place among the Educational Systems of the Country (New York, 1969).
- David Bogue and James Bennett, The History of Dissenters, From the Revolution to the Year 1808 (2 vols., London, 1833).
- E. A. Payne, ed., Studies in History of Religion, 'The Development of Non-Conformist Theological Education' (London, 1942).
- W. O. Shewmaker, 'The Training of the Ministry in the United States Before the Establishment of Theological Seminaries', Papers of the American Society of Church History, Second Series, Vol.6 (New York, 1921).
- Christopher Wordsworth, Scholae Academicae, Some Account of the Studies at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century (Cambridge, 1910).

and that it, and previously overlooked materials are the primary sources of many of his most startling expressions of evangelical catholicism.¹

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1. Other works discussing Muhlenberg's unique contributions to the life of the Episcopal Church in the nineteenth century and his reforms and innovations which had a far wider effect are:

Aaron Ignatius Abell, The Urban Impact on American Protestantism, 1865-1900 (Cambridge, Mass., 1943).

Raymond W. Albright, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church (New York, 1964).

Anne Ayres, Thoughts on Evangelical Sisterhoods, by a Member of One, ed. by W. A. Muhlenberg (London, 1872).

Louis F. Benson, The English Hymn, Its Development and Use in Worship (New York, 1915).

Robert Bremner, From the Depths : The Discovery of Poverty in the United States (New York, 1956).

E. Clowes Chorley, Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church (Hamden, Conn., 1961).

Henry Wilder Foote, Three Centuries of American Hymnody (Cambridge, Mass., 1940).

Charles N. Glaab and A. Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York, 1967).

Sister Mary Hillary, Ten Decades of Praise. The Story of the Community of St. Mary During its First Century, 1865-1965 (Racine, Wisconsin, 1965).

Charles H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism (New Haven, 1940).

John T. McNeill, Unitive Protestantism, A Study in Our Religious Resources (New York, 1930), although Muhlenberg is mistakenly referred to as a bishop, p.316.

M. Adelaide Nutting and Lavinia L. Doch, The Development of Nursing in America, A History of Nursing, Vol.II (New York, 1907).

William S. Perry, et al., The Genesis of the American Prayer Book : A Survey of the Origin and Development of the Liturgy of the Church in the United States (New York, 1893).

William S. Perry, The History of the American Episcopal Church, 1587-1883 (2 vols., Boston, Mass., 1885).

Ruth Rouse and Stephen C. Neill, eds., A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948 (Philadelphia, 1967).

Massey H. Shepherd, The Reform of Liturgical Worship (New York, 1961).

1. continued

As well as the following articles:

Winifred Douglas, 'Early Hymnody of the American Episcopal Church', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, X (June, 1941), pp.202-218.

H. M. J. Klein, 'St. James Church, Lancaster, Pa.', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XIII (March, 1944), pp.26-35.

Clifford P. Morehouse, 'Origins of the Episcopal Church Press from Colonial Days', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XI (September, 1942), pp.199-318.

Sister Mary Theodore, 'The Foundation of the Sisterhood of St. Mary', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XIV (March, 1945), pp.38-52.

Edward N. West, 'History and Development of Music in the American Church', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XIV (March, 1945), pp.15-37.

Thomas J. Williams, 'The Beginnings of Anglican Sisterhoods', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XVI (December, 1947), pp.350-372.

CHAPTER ONE

EVANGELICAL CATHOLICISM AND CHRISTIAN ETHICS

The Influence of Joseph Butler upon
William Augustus Muhlenberg

In spite of Sir Leslie Stephen's criticism that, 'It does not seem, so far as I can judge, to have materially affected ... contemporary currents of thought',¹ there can be little doubt that the works of Joseph Butler contributed a great deal to contemporary thought in the development of eighteenth and nineteenth century theology.² The influence of Butler's thought can be seen in the acceptance of his Fifteen Sermons Preached at the Chapel of the Rolls Court and The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature as standard texts in the education of ministers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Butler's Sermons was 'actually or virtually acknowledged' as a text book at Oxford and Cambridge as early as 1730,³ and it was only shortly after the publication of the Analogy in 1736 that it also became an accepted text in the education of clergy in both the established church and the dissenting Christian traditions in England. Both works are valuable resources in examining the background and development of William Augustus Muhlenberg's understanding of 'Evangelical Catholicism'.

Evidence of the popularity of Butler's natural theology and philosophical ethics is found in the lists of books prepared by tutors, colleges and ecclesiastical authorities to assist students in preparing for the ministry. One of the earliest of these lists which includes the works of Butler is one prepared by Daniel Waterford, dean and tutor at

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1. Leslie Stephen, History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century (2 vols., first published in 1876, Harbinger Books edition, New York, 1962), II, p.237.
 2. Ernest C. Mossner, Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason. A study of the History of Thought, (New York, 1936), pp.205ff.
 3. Christopher Wordsworth, Scholae Academicae. Some Account of the Studies at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century, (Cambridge, 1910), p.121.

Magdalene College, between 1706 and 1740 entitled, Advice to a Young Student, With a Method of Study for the First Four Years.¹ Although Waterford's extensive list was not prepared exclusively for students entering the ministry, the portions pertaining to theological education provide the basis for lists which, in some cases, became the foundation of a standardised theological curriculum. The influence of Waterford's list is seen in a work prepared expressly for candidates for ordination by George Pretyman Tomline, Bishop of London, in a two volume work published in 1799, titled, Elements of Christian Theology.² Butler's work appears in Elements of Christian Theology along with many other books 'designed principally for the use of young students in divinity'.³ Butler's Analogy is also found in the theological curriculum of the dissenting Regents Park College, London, as late as 1841⁴ and is an example not only of its popularity, which transcended the differences

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1. Ibid., pp.330-337. Cf. Frederick William Bagshawe Bullock, History of Training for the Ministry of the Church of England and Wales from 1800-1874, with an introduction from 1539-1799, and an appendix of notes on training for the ministry of the Anglican Communion outside England and Wales from 1539 to 1874, (St. Leonard's on Sea, 1955), pp.15-17. Many such 'lists' exist and indicate a concern for standards in theological education dating from the seventeenth century up to, and including, the twentieth century. Cf. Henry Dodwell, Two Letters of Advice. I - For the susception of Holy Orders; II - For Studies Theological, especially such as are Rational, 3rd ed., (London, 1691); Thomas Bray, Bibliotheca Parochialis (London, 1697); Thomas Bennet, Directions for Studying. I - A General System of Divinity; II - The Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, etc., 3rd ed., (London, 1727); Edward Bentham, Reflexions on the Study of Divinity, 2nd ed., (Oxford, 1774); Cotton Mather, Student and Preacher (London, 1781); 'Training for the Ministry', Final Report of the Archbishops' Commission, as presented to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, February 1944 (London, 1944); et seq. citations from Tomline, et al. See also, [n.a.] 'Theological Studies', being lists of works recommended for candidates for the ministry, Christian Remembrancer, XII-XIII (1830-31) which includes twenty lists dating from 1706-1831.
 2. George Pretyman Tomline, Elements of Christian Theology (2 vols., London, 1799).
 3. Ibid., p.i.
 4. E. A. Payne, ed., Studies in History of Religion, 'The Development of Non-Conformist Theological Education' (London, 1942), p.247.

between establishment and dissent, but also its ability to weather the storms of change in the natural sciences and theological method.

Butler's influence also transcended national boundaries. The influence of Joseph Butler upon candidates for holy orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America is traced back to Waterford's Advice through the Elements of Christian Theology, which provided the basis of a standardised theological curriculum in America for over twenty years. This standardised curriculum was the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies, Established by the House of Bishops in the Convention of 1804, in Pursuance of a Resolution of the Preceding Convention',¹ or as it was commonly called, the 'Bishops' List'. Tomline's list, which he said was 'not describing the Library of a learned Divine, but of a respectable and useful Parish Priest',² became one of the greatest common influences upon the clergy of the Episcopal Church in the United States during the nineteenth century.

The introduction to the 'Bishops' List' states:

In attending to this subject, a considerable difficulty occurs, arising out of the difference of the circumstances of students, in regard not only to the intellectual endowments, and preparatory knowledge of languages and science, but to access to authors, and time to be

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1. William Stevens Perry, ed., Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1785-1835 (3 vols., Claremont, New Hampshire, 1874), I, pp. 315-320. The curriculum enjoyed canonical status until the General Convention of 1904. See, White, Edwin Augustine, Constitution and Canons for the Government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Adopted in the General Conventions, 1789-1922, Annotated with an Exposition of the Same, and Reports of such Cases as have arisen and been decided thereunder (New York, 1924), p.224.
 2. Tomline, Elements of Christian Theology, I, p.xv. Tomline did not consider his list too demanding and justified its length by saying, 'One of the great advantages of an established ministry is, that it affords leisure for study ...', p.xiv.

devoted to a preparation for the ministry. For in accommodating to those whose means are slender, we are in danger of derogating from the importance of religious knowledge; while on the other hand, although we should demand all that is desirable, we shall be obliged to content ourselves, in some cases, with what is barely necessary.

In consideration of the above, it will be expedient to set down such a course of study, as is accommodated to a moderate portion of time and means; and afterwards to suggest provision, as well for a more limited as a more enlarged share of both.¹

Joseph Butler's, The Analogy of Religion, was one of the books considered essential in the preparation of candidates for the ministry, no student being ordained without being fully prepared to answer on it.² It is unique among the works considered to be 'proof of the divine authority of Christianity'³ which are included in this section of the theological syllabus. It is the only work in this section of the curriculum which departs from the conservative, deductive, arguments of natural design supported by the objective authority of scripture to an inductive argument of natural design supported by probability and the subjective authority of conscience. Among the authors included in the 'Bishops' List' for whom the proof of the divine authority of Christianity rested in the objective certainty of miracles, divine inspiration or biblical inerrancy are Hugo Grotius,⁴ Robert Jenkin,⁵

1. Perry, Journals of General Conventions, I, p.315.

2. Ibid., p.318.

3. Ibid., p.315.

4. Hugo Grotius, Truth of Christianity, trans. by Spencer Maden (London, 1782).

5. Robert Jenkin, The Reasonableness and Certainty of the Christian Religion (2 vols., London, 1715).

William Paley,¹ Charles Leslie² and Edward Stillingfleet.³ All of these authors proceed upon an assumption that the Christian faith is 'true' because it is rational, its origin is divine and the testimony of reliable witnesses in its support is inspired and infallible. In addition to these works the theological student of Muhlenberg's day was referred to 'some works which give a knowledge of the objections made by the Deists,'⁴ suggesting that John Leland's, A View of the Principal Deistical Writers⁵ was a sufficient compendium and rebuttal of the most significant deists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is by virtue of Butler's Analogy being considered by the House of Bishops 'what is barely necessary' in the education of candidates for holy orders that it is valuable in tracing the background and development of Muhlenberg's ideas.

Butler influenced many pastors in nineteenth century England and the United States not only as a result of the inclusion of The Analogy in their theological curricula, but also by the strength of his popularity as a minister who attempted to exhort his hearers to an awareness

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1. William Paley, 'Evidences of Christianity', contained within The Works of William Paley, D.D., Archdeacon of Carlisle. To which is prefixed The Life of the Author (Edinburgh, 1837).
 2. Charles Leslie, A Short and Easie Method with the Deists. Wherein the certainty of the Christian Religion is Demonstrated; By Infallible Proof from Four RULES, which are Incompatible to any Imposture that ever yet has been, or that can Possibly be. In a letter to a Friend, 6th ed., (London, 1726).
 3. Edward Stillingfleet, Origines Sacrae : or, a rational account of the grounds of the Christian faith as to the truth and divine authority of the Scriptures, and the matters contained therein (London, 1663).
 4. Perry, Journals of General Convention, I, p.315.
 5. John Leland, A view of the principal deistical writers that have appeared in England in the last and present century : with observations upon them and some account of the answers that have been published against them in several letters to a friend (2 vols., London, 1808).

of 'the necessity of conducting their lives virtuously'¹ through the genre of sermons. Butler's ethical doctrine expressed in his Sermons may well have had greater influence than his Analogy on the pastoral ministry of the nineteenth century. The Sermons, although not included in the 'Bishops' List' in America, appear to have had as much, if not more, influence upon the ministry of William Augustus Muhlenberg. The influence of the Analogy, and the Sermons Preached at the Chapel of the Rolls Court, as well as other sermons by Butler can be seen in Muhlenberg's sermons, many of which appear to be not only concerned with the same fundamental problems in ethics, but also based upon Butler's works.

Before dealing directly with five of Muhlenberg's sermons which indicate the influence of Butler the question remains how Muhlenberg came into contact with Butler apart from the Analogy. The question seems a bit unwarranted when one considers the popularity of Butler's Sermons, in spite of their omission from the 'Bishops' List', and the academic discipline Muhlenberg maintained throughout the sixty-two years of his ministry. Beyond the evidence of Muhlenberg's use of Butler's Sermons which will be dealt with later, there is no direct evidence of his contact with Butler other than through the Analogy. A point of indirect contact with the Sermons of Butler is found in Muhlenberg's use of the sermons of John Henry Newman.

Between the years 1843 - 1844 while involved in the development of private education in the Episcopal Church, Muhlenberg penned no sermons of his own. He regularly preached the sermons of John Henry Newman and

1. A. E. Taylor, Philosophical Studies (London, 1934), pp.295-296.

Henry E. Manning in the Flushing Institute and St. Paul's College chapels.¹ Reflecting upon these sermons he says:

These, I must confess, captivated me. I read them frequently in the chapel of St. Paul's College, and frankly acknowledge that for some three years, I might have been classed among the Puseyites.²

He appears to have continued the practice of using Newman's sermons in his pastoral ministry at the Church of the Holy Communion, New York.

A journal entry dated 16th November, 1849, states:

Read for the lecture in church this evening Newman's sermon on the Individuality of the Soul.³

According to Anne Ayres, the only biographer of Muhlenberg to have had access to his papers:

It was not his custom in these weekly lectures to deliver an original composition unless during Passion Week, or at other special seasons. He would almost invariably avail himself of the rich garnered thoughts of some superior writer (openly, of course, the book before him or in his hand), but with a remarkable appropriation of the subject matter ... that made the teaching wholly his own.⁴

As Muhlenberg garnered thoughts from superior writers he presented to large numbers of students and future priests in his church⁵ not only the more epistemological interests of Newman, which 'focused on the central issue of the relation of faith and reason',⁶ but also the more fundamental and practical problems in ethics presented by Joseph Butler.

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1. Anne Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg (London, 1881), p.161.
 2. Ibid., p.173.
 3. Ibid., p.229. It is interesting to note that Muhlenberg continued to use Newman's sermons after Newman's secession and in spite of his unpopularity. This apparently baffled those who tried to characterise Muhlenberg as a 'Low Churchman'.
 4. Ibid., p.229.
 5. Of the estimated nine hundred students under Muhlenberg's direct influence 'about fifty entered the ministry of the church' and three became bishops. Ibid., pp.185-186.
 6. MacKinnon, 'Introduction' to University Sermons, p.16.

Although the Analogy remained a classic in the theological curriculum of the nineteenth century, it became dated and out of touch with the rapidly expanding horizons of philosophy and the natural sciences, although his works remained far more popular than Paley's, et. al. because of his avoidance of a rigid 'watchmaker' analogy for God.¹ Butler's popularity and influence diminished as natural science progressed beyond the Analogy, but his position as an influential moralist was maintained by his Sermons. It was at the same time that giant strides were being made in evolutionary theory and natural science that Butler's ethics were being adapted, expressed and enlarged upon by John Henry Newman's University Sermons. D. M. MacKinnon states that Butler was, 'perhaps the dominant influence on these Sermons', and that, 'One could even be tempted to say that Newman's University Sermons are an early nineteenth century counterpart of Butler's Sermons in the Rolls Chapel'.² Newman considered Joseph Butler 'the greatest name in the Anglican Church'³ and some scholars trace the decline of Butler's popularity not only with the acceptance of evolutionary theory and an appreciation of the natural sciences, but also with a strong reaction against 'Anglo-Catholicism ... with which ... Butler's name was intimately connected'.⁴ It is precisely here that one finds Muhlenberg's contact with Joseph Butler's Sermons and philosophical ethics.

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1. See C. E. Raven, A Study of Scientific Thought from Ray to Paley (London, 1954), pp.12-13.
 2. J. H. Newman, University Sermons. Fifteen Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford, 1826-43, with an Introduction by Donald M. MacKinnon (London, 1970), p.15.
 3. Ernest C. Mossner, 'Cardinal Newman on Bishop Butler. An unpublished letter', Theology, XXXII (February, 1936), p.113.
 4. Mossner, Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason, p.220.

Muhlenberg, in the sixty-two years of his ministry, never sought to develop an ethical system or theological work comparable to Butler or Newman. Muhlenberg was a pastor concerned primarily with adapting historical and scriptural means by which his church could meet the needs of persons in a rapidly changing society. Although not a scholar, he was considered a 'friend of scholarship' and kept well informed regarding changes in scholarship that took place throughout his ministry.¹ Both his scholarship and churchmanship were 'sui generis' and he 'constantly defied all attempts to classify him in terms of existing ecclesiastical nomenclature',² mainly because of his highly eclectic and practical approach to the issues of his day. The influence of Joseph Butler, however, transcends the individual nature of Muhlenberg's ministry and places him firmly in the tradition of orthodox Anglican thought.

Joseph Butler's ethical theory directly influenced Muhlenberg and hundreds of future ministers who came in contact with his thought either through the theological curricula of the early nineteenth century or the University Sermons of John Henry Newman. His ethical theory may be most generally described as an attempt to show the possibility and necessity of living a virtuous life. Butler's ethics present virtue as an integral part of human nature which is achieved by self-awareness and following the individual conscience which constrains men to follow the ways of their own being. In Butler's system of ethics virtue is part of the complexity of human nature whether it be expressed individually in persons or corporately in society.

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1. Alvin W. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities : William Augustus Muhlenberg (Philadelphia, 1971), p.261.
 2. William W. Newton, Dr. Muhlenberg (Boston and New York, 1890), pp.75-76.

Although distinctions between individual and social ethics are easily achieved in Butler's works and Muhlenberg's use of those works, the total separation of Christian ethics into tidy compartments is always avoided. Such tidiness is avoided by Butler's insistence upon the complexity of human nature, and the central role of conscience as mediator of the ultimate in ethical problems be they individual or corporate. It is entirely possible in Butler that individual questions of ethics, no matter how private or apparently trivial, may have serious implications in society. It is likewise possible that issues in which society bears direct responsibility and accountability for public evil, can be issues in which the individual is made aware of the need for personal repentance and the realisation of human virtue. A system of social ethics in which God is judging society through nature, or history, over against a system of individual ethics in which virtue is prompted by self-awareness and the authoritative direction of conscience can clearly be seen in both Butler and Muhlenberg. It is important to note, however, that individual and social ethics are never mutually exclusive. Such a divorce between the two does not allow for error, sin, estrangement or repentance in mankind both corporately and individually and is rejected by both men. Such a divorce between public and private morality leads to simplistic, impersonal arguments for ethical behaviour which, although highly rational and probable, deny the complexity of human nature, the reality of freedom and the value of personal experience in social and individual questions of ultimate concern which are hallmarks of Butler's ethics and Muhlenberg's sermons.

Butler's understanding of Christian ethics allows him to deal with cosmological and sociological problems in a way that they become means of confronting individuals with the problems of their own personal lives. His approach also allows the use of individual ethical concerns

as means of confronting the members of society by urging them to share not only in their corporate guilt for social ills but also in the possibility of their corporate redemption. This approach to social and individual ethics provided William Augustus Muhlenberg with ways of dealing pastorally with several personal and social problems he encountered in his ministry. The means by which Butler's ethics were presented by Muhlenberg is through Muhlenberg's sermons. Of the twenty-six sermons and addresses which remain from the ministry of William Augustus Muhlenberg, only eleven were given in the context of worship in an Episcopal church or chapel.¹ Five of these eleven parochial sermons bear resemblance to sermons of Joseph Butler and indicate Butler's direct influence on Muhlenberg's expression of evangelical catholicism.

Butler's approach to social ethics can be seen in Muhlenberg's sermon ... 'The Rebuke of the Lord',² which is based on the text, '... His rebuke with flames of fire' (Isaiah 66:15), and was preached as an Advent sermon on the Sunday following a fire which destroyed much of the financial district of New York on the sixteenth and seventeenth of December, 1835. In it Muhlenberg wrestles with the ethical problems of natural evil, Christian materialism, and the moral sovereignty of conscience. The ways in which he deals with these problems are an attempt

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1. The extant sermons and addresses of William Augustus Muhlenberg are here noted in the following manner:

(a) Those given in the context of worship in the Episcopal Church	: 11
(b) Edited sermons preserved as tracts	: 4
(c) Addresses and lectures given in Episcopal Churches outside of worship	: 7
(d) Addresses and sermons outside of Episcopal Churches	: 4

 2. William Augustus Muhlenberg, Evangelical Catholic Papers, ed. by Anne Ayres (2 vols., New York, 1874, 1877), II, pp.37ff. This two-volume collection of articles will be referred to as E.C.P. to distinguish them from The Evangelical Catholic, a newspaper that Muhlenberg published from 1851 to 1853.

to show the analogy between the God of nature and the God of revelation, the legitimate means of accumulating wealth and its inherent responsibilities, and the role of individual conscience in judgement and moral probation. Whether or not the fire is literally 'The Rebuke of the Lord' is secondary to Muhlenberg's argument that the God of nature, revealed in Jesus Christ, is continually judging the nature of all things, both in this life and the life to come. It is in the personal struggle with the reality of natural evil that events such as the great fire become ethically and theologically relevant to moral evil, i.e., sin. By using the hermeneutics of Butler's Analogy and Sermons, Muhlenberg presents the great fire as an eschatological event in which the God of nature reveals himself and is involved in the judgement of his creation.¹ Involved in such a way that a prevalent sin and its attendant evils are singled out in an arbitrary, irrational, almost inexplicable way that quickens the individual consciences of those persons who witnessed the catastrophe to an awareness of their true nature and ways in which they may have deviated from their original design.

Muhlenberg lacks the subtlety and complexity of Joseph Butler and therefore does not hesitate in using the fire as an example of the hand of God in nature as a direct judgement of evil. Butler, although providing Muhlenberg with an approach to the fire from the Analogy, would hesitate in presenting such an arbitrary and impersonal event as the judgement of God. Butler is more concerned with the natural consequences of each individual's actions. To Butler, natural disasters are more examples of miraculous judgement and he is more interested in the complexity of human nature and the role of the individual (rather than

1. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.40.

arbitrary, impersonal events) in moral probation. The use of such natural catastrophes as the great fire of New York in solving ethical problems would be rejected by Butler because this would tend toward too easy a 'formula' in dealing with human nature.¹ As far as Butler is concerned, the answer to such cosmological questions concerning the cause of natural disasters has no direct effect upon ethical duty to one's neighbour.

Muhlenberg however, carefully qualifies his view of the fire as a moral agent in the lives of individuals by saying, 'I have not been speaking of individuals, but of prevalent and crying sin'.² This is consistent with Butler's belief that:

when things come to pass according to the course of nature, this does not hinder them from being his doing, who is the God of nature : and that scripture ascribes those judgements to divine justice, which are known to be natural.³

To the objection that the great fire was due to natural causes Muhlenberg replies:

Philosophy, I dare say, is sneering complacently, and talking of natural causes. Natural causes undoubtedly : and are we to see God only in miracles? What is nature but his laws? And cannot he execute the counsels of his providence by the ordinary operation of these laws.⁴

Thus the fire, as a general judgement upon a prevalent sin, becomes indicative of the consistency between 'what we experience in the present world, concerning the consequences of men's actions, and to what religion

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1. Joseph Butler, The Works of Joseph Butler, D.C.L., ed. by W. E. Gladstone (2 vols., Oxford, 1896), II, 'Upon Self-Deceit', p.176. Hereafter referred to as Works, citing volume and title.
 2. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, pp.54-55.
 3. Butler, Works, I, 'Analogy', p.254.
 4. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.53. Cf. C. D. Broad, 'Butler as a Theologian', Hibbert Journal, XXI (July, 1923), p.640.

teaches us to be expected in another'.¹

'The Rebuke of the Lord' is also an exhortation to a proper understanding of material wealth and the means of obtaining money. The prevalent sin in New York of Muhlenberg's day was, in his judgement, the 'inordinate spirit of money making'.² His understanding of material wealth and the responsibilities it brings is similar to Butler's expressed in a sermon preached before the Corporation of London.³ Both approaches are highly eleemosynary and see material wealth as a means of ameliorating the sufferings of the poor.⁴ Muhlenberg's sermon is not concerned with the distribution of wealth, however. It is concerned with the sacrifices 'which are cheerfully made'⁵ in the accumulation of wealth.

The sacrifices⁶ made in the accumulation of wealth were considered by Muhlenberg to be a result of an imbalance in the proper functioning of finance based upon 'speculation and the various combinations of chance and cunning which turn business into a mere game'.⁷ This imbalance reflects the influence of Butler's view of self-love, which when misused allows the individual to engage in 'the desire and pursuit of

1. Butler, Works, I, 'Analogy', p.60.

2. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.42.

3. Butler, Works, II, 'Before the Corporation of London', pp.296-316.

4. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, p.262; and Butler, Works, II, 'Before the Governors of the London Infirmary', p.394.

5. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.49.

6. Ibid., of 'leisure and means of improving the mind ... of pure and elevated pursuits ... of opportunities for doing good at home ... of usefulness in the church ... of sabbath hours ... and of time that has been vowed to God, but stolen back for the world', p.49.

7. Ibid., pp.43-44.

riches for their own sake, without any regard to, or consideration of the uses of them'.¹ The excessive desire to achieve wealth and the sacrifices it demands of the individual is an example of wrong-doing which, in Butler's ethics, is in C. D. Broad's opinion, 'always the excessive or inappropriate functioning of some principle of action which is right when acting in its due degree and in its proper place'.²

The greatest evil singled out for criticism by Muhlenberg is the willing 'sacrifice which parents make of their children'.³ In his words:

The parent who taking his child, almost an infant, and ere it has got the scantiest pittance of learning, to the stupefying manufactory, and for the sake of a few shillings a week, there imprisoning the little creature,

as well as:

... the father in easy circumstances, who before his son has but half acquired his education tells him it is time to lay aside his books to learn to do something for himself in the world.⁴

These sacrifices made mammon the:

Moloch of the age that the multitude worship with as gross an idolatry as ever the Israelites of old, and into whose arms parents place their children only to fall into the fire of perdition beneath.⁵

This sacrifice was justified by substituting 'the eternal laws of justice : 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, --- Whatever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye so unto them'', with the principles, 'Get

1. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon Love of Our Neighbour', p.202.

2. C. D. Broad, Five Types of Ethical Theory (London, 1930), p.56.

3. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.49.

4. Ibid., pp.49-50.

5. Ibid., p.51.

rich, by fair means if possible, by all means get rich --- Keep all you can get and get all you can ...'.¹

According to D. M. MacKinnon, in Butler's ethics:

morality is presented as something self-evident, luminous, categorically imperative; we recognise its authority upon us without being compelled to wait for the solution to this or that cosmological or theological riddle.²

This approach, as well as Butler's understanding of the categorical imperative of conscience as mediator of the ultimate, influenced both John Henry Newman³ and William Augustus Muhlenberg. 'The Rebuke of the Lord' points to the judgement of the author of nature in the 'cosmological or theological riddle' of the great fire of New York and identifies one of the complex ways in which human nature has deviated from its original design. Muhlenberg examines the riddle and presents his hearers with a penetrating look into the materialism of his age. Like Butler, he is content to point to the judgement and leave his congregation under the 'authoritative leading of conscience'⁴ which alone is to determine the individuals to whom the judgement applies.⁵ In doing so, Muhlenberg presents the natural theology and philosophical ethics of Joseph Butler in which individual conscience mediates, rebukes and challenges humanity in questions of individual and corporate behaviour. Ethical questions in which the God of nature reveals himself in society by the mighty acts of his providence and the operation of the individual conscience and, through conscience, mediates his judgement.

1. Ibid., p.46.

2. Donald M. MacKinnon, A Study in Ethical Theory (London, 1957), p.184.

3. Ibid., p.184.

4. Ibid., p.188.

5. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, pp.54-55.

The influence of Joseph Butler's social ethics is also seen in Muhlenberg's sermon, 'The Woman and Her Accusers'¹ which was originally preached before a congregation of men in 1866, to promote support for an institution for the 'rescue of fallen women' known as the Midnight Mission.² This sermon was subsequently edited and given in several churches and printed as a tract sold for the benefit of the institution.³ Muhlenberg draws from his own pastoral experience in condemning the double-standard which rejects the prostitute but not her partner, calls his hearers to an understanding of the power of God's forgiveness and bases his appeal for financial support not only on charity and compassion but also on the relationship between restitution and repentance. The ethical issues involved in double standards relating to prostitution was a very delicate subject to introduce from a nineteenth-century pulpit. Muhlenberg, however, does not hesitate in presenting the issue in such a way that forgiveness and hope is offered to the prostitute while repentance and restitution are urged for those who shared in her 'fall'. Muhlenberg does not condemn the prostitute but rather society and its members who either share directly in her fall by their own solicitation of prostitutes and abuse of women, or indirectly by their neglect of those who suffer. The 'good news' of the sermon is that both parties in the social and moral evil of prostitution, the public prostitute and her private consort, are not beyond the pale of salvation; the former through the compassionate ministry of the Midnight Mission, and the latter through the effective operation of repentance and restitution demanded by conscience and so easily afforded by those of material wealth.

1. Ibid., pp.341ff.

2. Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, p.382.

3. Ibid., p.382.

'The Woman and Her Accusers' is based upon the encounter between Jesus and the Pharisees over the woman who had been caught in adultery (John 8:3-11). Muhlenberg used this sermon to confront society in the same way Christ confronted the Pharisees, and to condemn the double standard which adopted:

the distinctions founded on custom and fashion, winking at the notions of honor which banish the adulteress, but not the adulterer, from the social pale; easily forgiving the man but damning the woman for that which, in the essence of guilt ... is the same.¹

Muhlenberg did not condemn the prostitutes but the social order which forced them into this way of earning a living.² He also attacked those who justified their neglect of such women on the grounds that prostitutes were beyond salvation and told them:

... we must not look at any kind of sin in the mass, when we would apply the means of salvation. The Gospel deals with sinners, one by one, and among the seemingly reprobate, there are souls, more than we think, penetrable by its power.³

The sermon urges support for the mission so that the:

reckless street-walkers ... may see that they are not in the hands of hypocritical pharisees, but of Christ's genuine followers longing to do them good in His name, and with something of His spirit, saying to them: 'Go and sin no more'.⁴

In this appeal for support Muhlenberg calls upon 'those moneyed men, upon whom this charity has peculiar aim'.⁵ Men who share in the guilt of the prostitutes and are protected from reproach by their respectability are urged to make restitution for 'having sown their wild

1. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, pp.345-346.

2. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, p.120.

3. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.350.

4. Ibid., p.352. See fn.2, p.203, chapter 5 regarding Adam Clarke's view of Jesus' association with prostitutes.

5. Ibid., p.355.

oats ... lest the harvest of wild oats be yet to come'.¹ To Muhlenberg, restitution is 'one of the meet and surest fruits of genuine repentance'² and it is in this regard that this sermon reflects the influence of Joseph Butler.

The relationship between restitution and repentance is dealt with by Butler in a sermon preached before the Governors of the London Infirmary, 31st March, 1748.³ Butler urges that contributions be made to the infirmary on the basis of the relationship between restitution and repentance. To Butler, it is possible 'that by fervent charity, with a course of beneficence proceeding from it, a person may make amends for the good he has blamably omitted, and the injuries he has done ...'.⁴ Muhlenberg follows Butler's idea by saying:

Deem not that I make too much of restitution, for thus it is written here, 'Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by giving to the poor'. You cannot show mercy to the poor souls with whom you did your iniquities, but show it to their followers in those iniquities, so far as they will accept it, lest both appear as witnesses against you at the last assize.⁵

This is consistent with Butler who continues:

let us remember, in how many instances we have all left undone those things which we ought to have done, and done those things which we ought not to have done. Now whoever has a serious sense of this will most earnestly supply the good, which he was obliged to have done, but has not, and undo the evil which he has done or neglected to prevent; and when that is impracticable, to make amends in some way or other, to a particular person, against whom we have offended, either by positive injury, or by neglect; is an express condition of our obtaining

1. Ibid., p.357.

2. Ibid., p.355.

3. Butler, Works, II, 'Before the Governors of the London Infirmary', pp.375-396.

4. Ibid., p.376.

5. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.357.

forgiveness of God, when it is in our power to make it. And when it is not, surely the next best thing is to make amends to society by fervent charity, in a course of doing good : which riches, as I observed, put very much within our power.¹

In this regard Butler provides Muhlenberg not only with an approach to the ethical problem of double standards but also the basis of his appeal for funds in 'The Woman and Her Accusers'.

Three of Muhlenberg's sermons show his dependence upon Joseph Butler's approach to individual ethics. The first of these three sermons, 'Idle Words',² seeks to identify what Jesus meant when he spoke of 'idle words' in the text Matthew 12:36, elaborate on what Jesus asserts regarding the role of speech in relation to temporal and eternal judgement and urge the congregation to an awareness of the danger of careless, empty speech and the prudential virtue of government of the tongue. Although differing in text, emphasis and depth, this sermon is similar to Joseph Butler's, 'Upon the Government of the Tongue'.³ Both sermons are concerned with the relation between speech and virtue and the subtle, often unintentional abuse of the faculty of speech and its enduring effect upon the individual mediated through the mysterious operation of conscience.

To Butler, the government of the tongue is 'a most material restraint which virtue lays us under; without it no man can be virtuous'.⁴

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1. Butler, Works, II, 'Before the Governors of the London Infirmary', pp.395-396.
 2. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, pp.400-412.
 3. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon the Government of the Tongue', pp.77-91. Based upon James 1:26. 'If any one thinks he is religious and does not bridle his tongue but deceives his heart, that man's religion is vain.'
 4. Ibid., p.77.

The abuse of speech is characterised by Butler as 'talkativeness; a disposition to be talking abstracted from the consideration of what is to be said, with little or no regard to or thought of doing either harm or good'.¹ Muhlenberg expresses this view of 'talkativeness' in terms of 'idle words' which are not:

intrinsically bad or corrupt words, not really wicked words in themselves ... they are vain words or speech, empty words, words fruitless of any good, they are what we call idle talk, mere talk, wasting the time of him who utters it, talk which does no good to any one, and certainly no honor to Him who has endowed us with power of speech.²

The danger of unrestrained, careless speech is that what may begin as 'talking of nothing', may become 'the occasion of numberless evils and vexations in life'.³ To Muhlenberg, the effect of such speech is a 'moral progeny forever multiplying, a progeny of good or evil that live and fix themselves and brood in the man and make his character'.⁴ This ill effect not only expresses itself in the day to day business and conversation of the individual⁵ but also 'weaves by degrees the moral garb in which we present ourselves before the great white throne'.⁶

The judgement of idle words at 'the last day' is a point of great emphasis in Muhlenberg's sermon. It indicates his application of Butler's material and the enduring influence of Butler upon his ministry. In his sermon regarding the judgement of idle words Muhlenberg presents Butler's understanding of the permanence of powers of reflection in a future life and the role of conscience as mediator of the ultimate.

1. Ibid., p.78.

2. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, pp.402-403.

3. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon the Government of the Tongue', pp.81-82.

4. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.408.

5. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon the Government of the Tongue', pp.83-84; also Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.404.

6. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, pp.410-411.

According to Butler, since:

it is evident our present powers and capacities of reason, memory and affection, do not depend upon our gross body in the manner in which perception by our organs of sense does; so they do not appear to depend upon it at all in any such manner as to give ground to think, that the dissolution of this body will be the destruction of these present powers of reflection.¹

Muhlenberg indicates his agreement in this regard by saying:

... in the nature of things --- in the constitution of the mind --- ... every individual who has ever lived shall have brought up distinctly to his remembrance all the particulars of good or evil; all the specific acts, words and thoughts, on which his sentence will be founded; so that conscience, from a clear and vivid recollection of all the past, shall perceive and own the justness of the sentence.²

The activity of the conscience and its ability to reflect upon and remember the sins which 'are committed and forgotten' was 'one of the miracles of the judgement day' to Muhlenberg.³ He agreed with Butler that '... remembering or forgetting can make no alteration in the truth of past matter of fact'⁴ and that conscience was a permanent 'principle of reflection in men by which they distinguish between, approve and disapprove their own actions'.⁵ Conscience, in spite of the hope that 'sin is dead and buried, heaped over with the loads of earthly cares, shall never have a resurrection',⁶ according to Butler 'always goes on to anticipate a higher and more effectual sentence, which shall hereafter second and affirm its own'.⁷

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1. Butler, Works, II, 'Analogy', pp.38-39.
 2. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, pp.404-405.
 3. Ibid., p.405.
 4. Butler, Works, I, 'Of Personal Identity', p.395.
 5. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon Human Nature', p.41.
 6. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.405.
 7. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon Human Nature', p.59.

'Idle Words' is so similar to Butler's sermon 'Upon the Government of the Tongue' and represents such a thorough appropriation of Butler's work that it may be said that the two differ only in their text and emphasis upon certain material. The understanding of the abuse of speech and its ill effect upon human character is the same in both sermons. Muhlenberg's understanding of the reflective role of conscience is based upon Joseph Butler's. The only way in which the sermons differ significantly is in Muhlenberg's emphasis and elaboration of the relationship between speech and character, and the role of idle words in the day of judgement. Regardless of these differences, due primarily to a difference in text, Muhlenberg remains consistent with, if not dependent upon, Joseph Butler.

'David's Prayer for Self-Knowledge' and 'Self-Distrust'¹ are the two remaining sermons in which William Augustus Muhlenberg presents Butler's individual ethics. In these two sermons he wrestles with the difficulty of the Socratic maxim 'Know thyself' and presents a means whereby self-knowledge may be gained and to what extent such knowledge may be considered valid. In his discussion of those things which inhibit a proper knowledge of self he suggests ways in which partial self-regard and false knowledge of self can be overcome. In the arguments supporting the practicality of self-knowledge and its necessity to the Christian, Muhlenberg asks such questions as:

How can I keep from becoming a stranger to myself? What are my motives? Does my charity arise from self-love or benevolence? What keeps me from knowing myself as I am known by others and my creator?

In providing answers to these highly personal and practical questions Muhlenberg not only presents penetrating criteria for self-examination

1. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, pp.429-459.

but also observes how doubt and distrust often arise in proportion to the self-knowledge that is gained. He sees how an awareness of human virtue in one's self often leads one to doubt the strength and validity of that virtue. 'Self-Distrust', a sequel to 'Self-Knowledge', tries to provide an answer to the question, 'What is the value of self-knowledge when it often leads to despair?'. These two sermons, remarkably similar to Joseph Butler's sermon 'Upon Self-Deceit',¹ present a view of grace in which Christian faith emerges from the dialectical tension between self-knowledge and self-distrust and show the influence of Joseph Butler's individual ethics which insist upon the paradoxical nature of grace and virtue by consistently emphasising the complexity of human nature and that it is from within the human condition that virtue emerges.

Muhlenberg uses his text, Psalm 139:23-24, as 'a prayer for self-knowledge mingled with self-distrust'² and as an opportunity to urge his hearers to 'deprecate self-ignorance as an evil, next only to ignorance of God, though one, indeed, when really possessed, always implies the other'.³ In these sermons Muhlenberg presents Butler's understanding of the reasons for self-deceit and the means whereby it may be overcome.

According to both Muhlenberg and Butler, the proverb, 'Know thyself', is often beyond our ability to achieve because of self-deceit. Butler presents self-deceit as a form of self-love which 'magnifies everything

1. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon Self-Deceit', pp.168-184.

2. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.431. 'Try me O God, and seek the ground of my heart, prove me and examine my thoughts, look well if there be any wickedness in me and lead me in the way everlasting.'

3. Ibid., pp.444-445.

which is amiss in ourselves'¹ and that were it not for this 'partial and fond regard to ourselves it would certainly be no great difficulty to know our own character'.² Self-knowledge is elusive in their view because of self-love and an avoidance of critical self-examination common to all people. Muhlenberg presents several means of obtaining self-knowledge. They are, 'prayer', 'the word of God', 'the teaching of those whom God hath appointed in this Church to be our instructors,' 'the impartial and candid appraisal of a Christian friend', and 'the reproaches of our enemies'.³ These means of gaining a knowledge of one's self are consistent with Butler's especially with regard to the impartial and candid appraisal of others and the reproaches of enemies. In Butler, self-deception is expressed in 'a disregard of reproof and instruction, rules of conduct and moral discipline' and when friendship and real kindness may be its source.⁴ When criticised even by friends, Butler says:

men are exceedingly prone to deceive themselves, and to judge too favourably in every respect, where themselves and their own interests are concerned. Thus, though we have not the least reason to suspect that such an interested person hath any intention to deceive us, yet we, of course, make great allowances for his having deceived himself.⁵

Muhlenberg presents a similar view when speaking of persons who:

confess themselves miserable offenders, and in a general way they own it at other times, but the moment it is intimated to them in the kindest and most delicate manner possible that they are offenders in

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1. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon Forgiveness of Injuries', p.162.
 2. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon Self-Deceit', p.170.
 3. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, pp.434-437.
 4. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon Self-Deceit', p.171.
 5. Ibid., p.181.

particular instances ... they begin to excuse themselves, palliate the fault in question, declare that they are misunderstood --- if indeed, they do not grow warm, resent the well-intentioned admonition as a charge, and return with coolness and alienated feeling the fidelity of the monitor.¹

Muhlenberg places value in reproaches not only of friends but of enemies as well as means of gaining a proper knowledge of self. To him the ill-will of enemies may have 'some grain of truth for its foundation', even though:

It may be distorted, grossly over-charged, too highly colored ... the drawing --- the outline may be fact. There is always some likeness in caricatures or they would fail of their end, they would not be recognized.²

Butler's advice is to place one's self in the place of one's enemies and ask:

What is that ill thing, that faulty behaviour, which I am apprehensive an enemy, who was thoroughly acquainted with me, would be most likely to lay to my charge, and which the world would be most apt to believe.³

Self-knowledge can be gained, according to both Butler and Muhlenberg, through reproach because 'In the caricature drawn only to vex us, we may discover an ugly feature, an untoward expression in our moral physiogomy, which without that exaggeration we might not have known belonged to us'.⁴

Self-deceit is described by Butler as a:

deep calm source of delusion; which undermines the whole principle of good; darkens that light, that candle of the Lord within, which is to direct our steps; and corrupts conscience, which is the guide of this life.⁵

1. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.437.

2. Ibid., p.440.

3. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon Self-Deceit', p.182.

4. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.441.

5. Butler, Works, II, 'Upon Self-Deceit', p.184.

Muhlenberg sees the consequences of self-deception being a temporal existence in which we become 'strangers to ourselves'¹ and an eternal life, which subject to 'A conscience quickened by the light of eternity would alone be an intolerable hell'.² Giving credit to John Henry Newman,³ Muhlenberg acknowledges that such an awareness of self-deceit and the continual introspection required for self-knowledge can lead the individual to 'self-distrust' and therefore 'deprives the Christian of all comfort'.⁴ To Muhlenberg, the Christian's comfort is in what he knows to be true about himself, as God reveals such knowledge to him, and what he knows of Christ.

In 'Self-Knowledge' and 'Self-Distrust' William A. Muhlenberg follows the example of Joseph Butler who tried to show how 'a very great part of the wickedness of the world is, one way or other, owing to self-partiality, self-flattery, and self-deceit'.⁵ In ways similar to Butler, Muhlenberg exhorts his congregation to 'know thyself' and 'distrust what you know' trusting only Christ, and what he reveals human nature to be. To Muhlenberg, self-knowledge is a state of grace found in the tension between faith in God and an awareness of human frailty, i.e. grace and virtue are not external realities. He states:

This then is the state of grace. Doubting whether we be in it, yet confident we are not without it; dis-trusting ourselves; yet trusting ourselves as in Christ; half afraid of the light which shows us our sins, yet coming to the light and walking as children of the light; distressed with misgivings, yet joyful in hope;

1. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.443.

2. Ibid., p.456.

3. Ibid., p.454. Unfortunately, Muhlenberg does not cite the source of Newman's ideas regarding the danger of continually questioning the integrity of one's faith.

4. Ibid., p.455.

5. Butler, Works, II, 'Preface to the Sermons', p.19.

doubting whether we love, yet loving the most when we doubt the most; perplexed, as the apostle has it, but not in despair; persecuted by our spiritual foe, but not forsaken by Christ; cast down, but not destroyed, God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness hath shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. While we fear to look to that glory, seeing the revelation it makes to us of ourselves, we love to look upon it in the face of Jesus Christ.¹

In these two sermons Muhlenberg presents a view of human goodness which, like Joseph Butler's:

... bears some relation to the stuff of which we are made; it is not a movement through a world in which the familiar promptings of anger and pity, hunger and love have no place. Rather the image of the saint is something we discern in the end as a human likeness; and it is, in a sense, our own perception of what it is to be a man that the saint's life emerges.²

In these both general and specific ways the sermons of William Augustus Muhlenberg show the influence of Joseph Butler. They are important in that they show Muhlenberg's ideas as being not wholly his own, and, in this instance, based in orthodox Anglican thought. These sermons represent one of the sources of Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism being an artful appropriation of the Anglican tradition in the form of Joseph Butler's works to the needs of the society in which Muhlenberg ministered between 1815 and 1877. They express an understanding of Christian ethics in which there is an evangelical emphasis upon freedom and the authority of the individual conscience, as well as a catholic emphasis upon the objective reality of the divine within the providential realm of creation and human relationships.

1. Muhlenberg, E.C.P., II, p.458.

2. MacKinnon, A Study in Ethical Theory, p.189.

CHAPTER TWO

EVANGELICAL CATHOLICISM AND CHURCH HISTORY

The Study of Johann L. von Mosheim in the
Early Nineteenth Century and His Influence
upon William Augustus Muhlenberg

Approaches to the study of Church History have varied throughout the centuries and Ecclesiastical History has been used to justify both rigid uniformity and flexible diversity in matters of faith and practice. Whether the Christian construction of the past is used in arguments for ecclesiastical exclusivism or ecumenical catholicism there can be little doubt that Christian historiography does have significant impact upon the identity and mission of the Church. Approaches to the history of the Church and the understanding and use of history within the life of the Christian community contributes directly to the identity and mission of the Church. This relationship between Church History and Christian identity and mission makes the study of Ecclesiastical Historiography a valuable means of gaining insight into the life of the Church in every age. This is particularly true when dealing with the approach to Church History expressed in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies',¹ and in its dependence upon Johann Lorenz von Mosheim's Institutes of Ecclesiastical History,² as the principal text in the study of Church History. The impact of the acceptance of Mosheim's Institutes and his unique historiography can be seen in the pastoral ministry of William Augustus Muhlenberg and is one of the primary sources of Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism in spite of J. H. Nichols' claim that Muhlenberg's 'Evangelical Catholic' journal and ideas

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1. William Stevens Perry, ed., Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1785-1835 (3 vols., Claremont, New Hampshire, 1874), I, pp. 315-320.
 2. John Lawrence von Mosheim, An Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern, from the Birth of Christ to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century, trans. by Archibald Maclaine, 1764, first published 1726 (2 vols., London, 1837). Also known as, Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, hereafter cited Ecclesiastical History and referred to in the text as Ecclesiastical History, or simply, Institutes. References are to the Henry Washbourne publication of 1837.

'derived its name and much of its conception' from the Mercersburg Theology of Philip Schaff and John Nevin.¹ Mosheim is, in fact, a common factor to be considered in the theological education of both Muhlenberg and Schaff and may well be one source of their 'Evangelical Catholic' historiography.² The background and development of Philip Schaff's understanding of evangelical catholicism has been dealt with quite thoroughly by Nichols and others³ and is beyond the scope of this research which will deal directly with the use and influence of J. L. Mosheim's magnum opus in shaping the ideas expressed in Muhlenberg's ministry.

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1. James Hastings Nichols, Romanticism in American Theology : Nevin and Schaff at Mercersburg (Chicago, 1961), p.309.
 2. Although Philip Schaff was directly influenced by F. C. Baur, August Neander, Friedrich August Tholuck and indirectly by G. W. F. Hegel, F. D. E. Schleiermacher, J. G. Fichte and F. W. J. Schelling his familiarity with the thought of J. L. von Mosheim is assumed as a result of his theological education. See J. H. Nichols, Romanticism in American Theology, pp.66-74; David S. Schaff, The Life of Philip Schaff (New York, 1897), pp.18-34. Schaff and Muhlenberg were close friends who participated in many ecumenical enterprises in the nineteenth century. Muhlenberg dedicated one of his tracts to Schaff in 1871 and Schaff, commenting on Muhlenberg following a visit with him at his death in 1877, said, 'Dr. Muhlenberg was cast in the mould of St. John ...', he was a 'broad' churchman in the best sense of that term - that is, 'truly evangelical, Catholic, moderate, comprehensive, humble and in hearty sympathy with all that is pure and good and Christian'. D. S. Schaff, The Life of Philip Schaff, pp.323-324.
 3. Klaus Penzel, 'Church History and the Ecumenical Quest : A Study of the German Background and Thought of Philip Schaff' (unpublished Th.D. dissertation, Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1962).
George H. Shriver, 'Philip Schaff's Concept of Organic Historiography Interpreted in Relation to the Realization of an 'Evangelical Catholicism' within the Christian Community' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 1960).
Theodore L. Trost, Jr., 'Philip Schaff's Concept of the Church with Special Reference to his Role in the Mercersburg Movement, 1844-1864' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New College, Edinburgh, 1958).

Originally written as a comprehensive text to assist the student in coping with the vast quantity of documents and conflicting opinions encountered in the study of Church History,¹ the Institutes rapidly became a standardised text in theological education which, like most of the required texts in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies', transcended national and denominational boundaries in its use and application. Following its introduction to English readers in 1764 by Archibald Maclaine's translation, the Institutes became a virtual 'dictionary' of Ecclesiastical History which, by 1782, was used extensively by students in both the established and dissenting traditions in Great Britain.² This broad acceptance of the Institutes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was not without reservation however. The primary objection to Mosheim was often an objection to Maclaine's translation, seen by Pusey as being 'in so many cases offensively coloured and disguised by gratuitous interpolations of epithets, or whole sentences, that collation seems absolutely indispensable'.³ Maclaine's translation, as well as Mosheim's collision with the Pietists, which will be discussed later, prompted John Wesley to publish a translation and complete abridgement of the Institutes in 1781,⁴ which with that provided by Maclaine, were the only ones available to English readers

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1. J. L. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, Author's Preface, pp.viii-ix.
 2. H. McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts, being the History of the Non-Conformist Academies, 1660-1820 (Manchester, 1931), p.306.
 3. Edward Bouverie Pusey, A Historical Inquiry into the Probable Cause of the Rationalist Character lately Predominant in the Theology of Germany (2 vols., London, 1828-1830), I, p.110.
 4. John Wesley, A Concise Ecclesiastical History, from the Birth of Christ to the Present Century : including, 'A Short History of the People called Methodists' (4 vols., London, 1781), I, p.iii. Wesley considered Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History to be 'as lively as the nature of the subject will bear', I, p.iv.

until 1852 when James Murdock¹ capitalised on the continuing popularity of the Institutes by providing his own translation and correction of Mosheim and Maclaine.²

Maclaine's translation is verbose and his notes and appendices betray definite prejudice against Roman Catholicism, High Church tendencies within the Church of England and religious enthusiasm of any kind. Maclaine criticised Mosheim because he 'affected brevity and laboured to crowd many things into few words',³ and went to great lengths to correct these shortcomings. Maclaine's appendices include a 'Chronological Table' which lists the 'Sovereign Princes, Popes, Ecclesiastical Writers, Heretics, Remarkable Events, and Profane Authors of Each Century',⁴ as well as a valuable collection of correspondence between Archbishop William Wake and the Doctors of the Sorbonne concerning a project of union between the Anglican and Gallican Churches in 1717-1718.⁵ In spite of Maclaine's prolix translation and obvious prejudices Mosheim's work remained extremely popular, particularly in the United States, until the late nineteenth century, prompting Philip

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1. J. L. Mosheim, Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern, trans. by James Murdock (3 vols., London, 1832).
 2. The 'translation' of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History reflects its popularity and adaptability to differing points of view. The 'translations', as different as Murdock's, Maclaine's and Wesley's, indicate the ability of the 'translator' to present his point of view by abridging the Institutes to suit his needs.
 3. J. L. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, 'Translator's Preface', I, p. iv.
 4. Ibid., II, pp. 321-344. Maclaine's inclusion of Wesley under the article of 'Heretics' in this appendix prompted Wesley to write his 'Short History of the People called Methodists' as an appendix to his Concise Ecclesiastical History, IV, pp. 169-281.
 5. Ibid., II, pp. 299-319. Cf. J. H. Lupton, Archbishop Wake and the Project of Union (1717-1720) Between the Gallican and Anglican Churches (London, 1896). See also Norman Sykes, William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1657-1737 (2 vols., Cambridge, 1957), I, pp. 1-88, II, pp. 252-314.

Schaff to comment in 1854 that Mosheim's acceptance as an authority in England and America was 'even greater than in Germany'.¹

Although the Institutes transcended national and theological boundaries in the education of ministers there are important differences of application and approach in the study of Church History not only between the established and dissenting traditions but also between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century the study of Church History was little more than an uncritical study of Christian chronology. This study of Christian chronology was largely biblical and did little to trace the history of the Church as an institution or the development of doctrine. Christian chronology allied with biblical studies was a characteristic of the dissenting academies during the eighteenth century.² In the universities for the education of established church ministers it is characteristic to find Ecclesiastical History presented as an uncritical, consistent chronological witness in favour of establishment polity, worship and doctrine.

The 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' may be seen as an attempt by the Episcopal Church in the United States, under the direction of William White, to develop a curriculum for the education of theological students which, by virtue of its structure and content, sought to overcome the uncritical, polemical approach to the study of Church History so characteristic of the eighteenth century. The curriculum presents

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1. Philip Schaff, History of the Apostolic Church : with a General Introduction to Church History, trans. by E. D. Yeomans (New York, 1854), p.74. Mosheim's work was a standard text at Yale in 1795. Cf. Mary Latimer Gambrell, Ministerial Training in Eighteenth Century New England (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, No.428, first impression 1937, reprinted New York, 1967), p.89.
 2. H. McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts, p.35.

a 'primarily historical approach to the study of Christian beliefs and institutions',¹ and uses Mosheim's Institutes as the principal text in the study of Church History. Just as in Great Britain, the Institutes was considered essential in the education of clergy in the Episcopal Church in the United States, 'no student to be ordained without being fully prepared to answer from them'.²

Mosheim's encyclopedic 'dictionary' of Church History provided the basis from which other authors and traditions were studied. The various authors whose works make up the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' represent many different points of view and indicate Bishop White's 'habit of recommending books on both sides of controversies'.³ The authors in the field of Church History, as diverse within their own traditions as Eusebius, Paolo Sarpi and Fleury on the one hand, and Hooker, Collier and Tenison on the other, are all presented in contrast to one another in the light of Mosheim's ever present outline of the

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1. Edward R. Hardy, 'The Organization and Early Years of the General Theological Seminary', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, V (1936), p.149.
 2. Perry, Journals of General Convention, I, p.318.
 3. E. R. Hardy, 'The Organization and Early Years of the General Theological Seminary', Historical Magazine, V (1936), p.149.

'facts'.¹ What emerges from the curriculum is a view that Church History has a mediating role in religious disputes. Mosheim is used to present the historical 'facts' in contrast to the historical and theological 'ideas' of various authors on opposite sides of religious

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1. The presentation of various authors in contrast to one another using Mosheim as mediator of the 'facts' is seen in the directions to the theological student given in the 'Bishops' List' which follow:

'After the study of the Scripture, let attention be given to ecclesiastical history, so far as the Council of Nice. This period is distinctly taken from a desire that the portion of history preceding it, as well as the opinions then entertained, may be learned from original writers; which may be considered as one of the best expedients for the guarding of the student against many errors of modern times. The writers of that interval are not numerous or bulky. Eusebius is soon read through, and so are the Apostolic Fathers. Even the other writers are not voluminous, except Origen, the greater part of whose works may be passed over. The Apostolic Fathers may best be read in Cotelerius's edition: but there are translations of most of them by Archbishop Wake and the Rev. William Reeves. Cave's lives of the Apostles and Fathers may be profitably read at this period.'

[Here follows the study of the divinity of Christ and the nature of the Episcopate.]

'After this, let the student go on with the history of the fourth century, from Mosheim. But it will be of advantage to him to turn to Fleury's history for the epitomies there given of the writings of the eminent men who abounded in that century and part of the next. Let him then return to Mosheim, and go on with that writer to the Reformation. Here let him pause and study, as the main hinges of Popery, its pretences to supremacy and infallibility; on which there will be found satisfactory matter in Mr. Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation, and Dr. Barrow's treatise Of the Pope's Supremacy. Here also let the student resume Mosheim. But it will be best if, for a more minute knowledge of the History of the Church of England since the Reformation, he take along with him Collier's History - a very able work, but in the reading of which some allowance must be made for peculiar prejudices. On coming to the reign of Elizabeth, to the questions which arose between the Divines of the Established Church and the Presbyterians, then known by the name of Puritans, let recourse be had again to Mr. Hooker's work and to the London Cases. Then let Mosheim be proceeded with to the end.'

Perry, Journals of General Convention, I, pp.316-317.

controversy. Mosheim's Institutes provides the 'skeleton' of Church History while the other authors included in the 'Bishops' List' give life and visible expression to the controversies, triumphs and shortcomings of the Christian community.

It is doubtful whether any theological student prepared for holy orders according to the plan of the 'Bishops' List' ever read all of the works referred to under the heading of 'Ecclesiastical History', or any other subject heading due to the vast number of works referred to and the limited access to books before the establishment of theological seminaries in the Episcopal Church in the United States. Access to works available in seminary libraries following the formation of the General Theological Seminary in the General Convention of 1817 and its development and growth from New Haven, Connecticut, to Chelsea Square, New York City, was limited to lecturers and a privileged few. Mosheim remained a primary text in the education of Episcopal clergy in the United States even after the establishment of the General Theological Seminary in 1817 because the 'Bishops' List' was the basis of theological education in the Episcopal Church until the curriculum reforms of 1836.¹ Between 1804 and 1836, in both the established seminary and diocesan programmes for the training of clergy, Mosheim was the accepted authority from among at least thirty authors in the field of Church History. From this position of virtual canonical authority Mosheim provided William Augustus Muhlenberg, who was directed in his studies

1. E. R. Hardy, 'The Organization and Early Years of the General Theological Seminary', Historical Magazine, V (1936), p.165. Hardy notes that 'There had been considerable movement towards organization of studies before 1817, and up to 1836 the student body of the General Theological Seminary was treated more as a group of men who happened to be reading theology in the same place than as an academic or Christian community', p.174.

by Bishop William White and the Reverend Jackson Kemper,¹ safe passage through the troubled waters of conflicting documents, political intrigue and religious controversy. Since the Institutes was a required text in a course of study that was often no more than two years in length and on a part-time basis at best until 1836, Muhlenberg and hundreds of other clergymen were influenced by its historiography.

It is interesting to note that as long as the theological student was required by canon law in the United States and academic tradition in Great Britain to read Mosheim's work, publishers continued to provide collations, abridgements and new translations of the Institutes as late as 1892, one hundred and sixty-six years after its first publication.² The enduring popularity of J. L. von Mosheim and the ability of a publisher to recognise a lucrative market in aids to study caused the anonymous publication of a work entitled, Examination Questions and Answers, selected from Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History; for the use of Students in Divinity.³ This crib edition of Mosheim's work not only attests to the popularity of his work, it also gives valuable insight into what was considered important for the nineteenth century student to know of Mosheim's approach to Church History. The required reading of Mosheim and his popularity as a historian endured in the United

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1. Anne Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg (London, 1881), p.39.
 2. James Murdock, Murdock's Translation of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History (3 vols., first published 1832, Boston, 1892).
 3. Examination Questions and Answers, selected from Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History; for the use of Students in Divinity (London, 1838). In a review published in Eclectic Review, new series, vol.5 (1839) a reviewer of the above work said: 'We have smiled at some of the opinions expressed, and can scarcely imagine that the books which contain them will find favor with the Heads of Oxford Houses.', p.605.

States until the publication of the works of August Neander and Philip Schaff¹ when the uncritical approach to history as an exacting, yet naive tracing of the 'facts' of Christianity was replaced by the historiography of Neander, Schaff and Baur. The mid-nineteenth century fascination with organic development, expressed in the historical works of Neander, Schaff and Baur, heralded the end of Mosheim's popularity since his historiography was typical of the earlier eighteenth century preoccupation with organic design.

Although Mosheim is important in understanding the thought of William Augustus Muhlenberg, it is equally important to be aware of William White's influence as Muhlenberg's mentor. As previously noted, Mosheim, though extremely popular and accessible, was not accepted even by his translators without some reservation.² Bishop White, primarily responsible for the inclusion of Mosheim in the 'Bishops' List', had reservations, qualifications and corrections in the use of Maclaine's translation of Mosheim's work. These are expressed in 'An Essay Noticing Some Errors in the Ecclesiastical History of Dr. Lawrence Mosheim; in the notes of Dr. Archibald MacLain [sic] on the same; and the History of the Puritans by David Neal',³ and are intended to be correctives to Mosheim's approach to Church polity and the role of the

1. Johann August Wilhelm Neander, General History of the Christian Religion and Church, trans. by Joseph Torrey (5 vols., Boston, 1852-1877).

Philip Schaff, History of the Apostolic Church.

2. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, 'Translator's Preface', I, p.iv.

3. William White, 'An Essay Noticing some Errors in the Ecclesiastical History of Dr. Lawrence Mosheim; in the notes of Dr. Archibald MacLain [sic] on the same; and in the History of the Puritans by David Neal', Christian Journal, No.8 (April and May, 1818), pp.120-122.

episcopate. White considered Mosheim's approach to polity erroneous and offered his essay to those who might be deceived by these errors in their preparation for ordination.

Mosheim's errors, directly relating to the origin and development of the episcopal office and threefold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons, are five in number and will be dealt with before considering his historiography in detail. White's objections dealing with the episcopal office and development of ministerial polity are important because they clearly show Anglican reservations regarding the approach maintained by Mosheim. From the discussion of White's corrections which follows the influence of both Mosheim and White upon William Augustus Muhlenberg is presented as a result of the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' and although the presentation of Bishop White's position regarding the use of Mosheim's Institutes is of primary importance, points of agreement between Mosheim and Muhlenberg, in spite of White's reservations, will also be noted.

Throughout his history, Mosheim emphasises the original simplicity of the Church and traces deviations from its original 'design'¹ as a society governed by providence, law and certain institutions for the moral and spiritual perfection of humanity.² Deviations from the original design of the Church are traced in three main areas which are

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1. Mosheim traces deviations from primitive design. This characteristic of his historiography presents a primitive design which is not binding upon the Church at every age. What is important to Mosheim is not the authority of primitive design but rather the extent to which the Church is true to its original purpose which the design was to enhance. The original, or primitive, design of the Church is seen by Mosheim as an effective and pragmatic means to an end.
 2. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, I, p.1.

considered the source of both conflict and corruption in the Church. The corruption, or deviation, from original design of these three areas of (1) ministry, (2) worship and (3) theology/soteriology, gives rise respectively to the evils of tyranny, superstition and idolatry, and philosophical speculation.¹ The original simplicity of ministry and Church government was expressed in a practical polity which was democratic, based on popular choice and piety, and subject to change due to new circumstances.² This simplicity of form and flexible approach was a result of the fact that 'Neither Christ himself, nor his holy apostles, have commanded any thing clearly or expressly concerning the external form of the church, and the precise method, according to which it should be governed'.³ The constitution of the Church in its earliest and simplest days was, 'Three or four presbyters, men of remarkable piety and wisdom' serving in a council whose primary function was to teach and instruct, assisted by 'inferior ministers or deacons' presided over by 'one man of distinguished gravity and wisdom' whose responsibility was to 'distribute among his colleagues their several tasks, and to be a centre of union to the whole society'.⁴ In Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, this polity is not based upon revelation (the command of Christ) nor does it carry any explicit Apostolic sanction; it simply worked and seemed universal with various regional adaptations.

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1. Ibid., I, pp.50, 152, 75; II, pp.22; et passim.
 2. Ibid., I, pp.29-30.
 3. Ibid., I, p.28.
 4. Ibid., I, pp.28-30.

Bishop White's rejection of this approach is quite clear. He says:

The learned author would doubtless have admitted that St. Paul was divinely commissioned to exercise a ministry in the Church, the object of which was as well to govern as to teach; that he transmitted the same to Timothy; and that the latter was enjoined (2 Tim. ii,2) to continue the succession. Therefore it is inconsistent to say, that there has been nothing 'clearly or expressly commanded'.¹

Mosheim's error was to see the lack of a clear and expressed command regarding Church government as the lack of a clear and expressed design implied in the de facto development of episcopal government. White contends:

If, under the term precise method, it be meant that there is no extensive plan of discipline, accommodated in its subordinate parts to all times and all countries, the position is true, but irrelevant to the apparent design of the other part of the sentence.²

Mosheim and his translator failed to recognise the fact that episcopacy, apart from any human weakness or errors inherent in the exercise of power and authority, was in fact derived directly from the Apostles thus bearing with it divine approval.³

Bishop White's second correction and criticism relates to the previous one in that it is a rejection of Mosheim's view that the episcopal office and pastoral oversight within the Church is entirely the product of 'human wisdom and popular choice'.⁴ White sharply criticises Mosheim's use of evidence in tracing the development of episcopal

1. White, 'Essay on Errors', p.120.

2. Ibid., pp.121-130. Emphasis on 'subordinate' is mine.

3. Ibid., p.121.

4. Ibid., p.121. Cf. Maclaine's footnote, I, p.28, in Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, also, I, pp.28-30.

authority and says:

The eminent historian states that 'on the multiplying of Presbyters and Deacons, it was judged necessary [White's italics] that one man of distinguished gravity and wisdom should preside', and that 'this person was at first styled the Angel of the Church to which he belonged, but was afterwards designated the name of Bishop'. And it is further mentioned as probable [White's italics], that 'the Church of Jerusalem, grown numerous, was the first to choose such a president ...¹

Convinced of the apostolic origin of the episcopate and three-fold ministry, White states:

Whereas there is evidence of the apostolic appointment of Timothy and Titus there is not the shadow of evidence, that those called in the Apocalypse 'the Angels of the Churches', were designated in the manner intimated [human wisdom and popular choice] : and as to the Church of Jerusalem in particular, it is surprising to find mentioned as a probable act of her's, what Eusebius (lib. ii, Cap. 23) declares positively to have been done by the Apostles - the appointing of St. James to be Bishop of Jerusalem where the church was numerous from the beginning.²

Bishop White would agree with a reviewer of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History who said, 'Mosheim's democratical principles of ecclesiastical polity, perpetually mislead him'³ from the ultimate source of the authority in the government of the Church, Jesus Christ. White dismisses entirely any polity devoid of popular, i.e. lay, participation but would insist that the authority of oversight and government comes directly from the vox dei of Christ, and is expressed in the vox populi by the power of the Holy Spirit.

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1. White, 'Essay on Errors', p.121, citing Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, I, p.30.
 2. Ibid., p.121.
 3. 'Comparison and Review of Mosheim's and Milner's, Ecclesiastical History', British Critic, XLII (1813), p.39.

Muhlenberg, influenced by both men, agrees with White on the apostolic origin of episcopacy but, like Mosheim, sees diversity of practice as an important aspect of the Apostolic age. It is possible for Mosheim and Muhlenberg to see episcopal polity subordinate to Apostolic ministry whereas Bishop White could not. While Bishop White maintains that the authority of episcopacy is based on the de facto historical revelation of Christ to his Apostles and is therefore essential, Mosheim and Muhlenberg maintain that the authority of episcopacy is based in those historical circumstances in which episcopacy is the most practical or beneficial form of polity. Muhlenberg, unlike Mosheim, insists on the authority and bene esse nature of episcopal ordination but makes no claims as to the authority or esse nature of episcopal government.¹ What emerges is a historical argument that the original design for Christian ministry, regardless of how it is governed, is expressed in the ministry of the Apostles. The original design, expressed as 'primitive' rather than 'pure',² has as hallmarks

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1. William Augustus Muhlenberg, 'Hints on Catholic Union', (original date, 1835), Evangelical Catholic Papers, ed. by Anne Ayres (2 vols., New York, 1875-1877), I, pp.1-76. Hereafter cited as E.C.P. with reference to volume and page number.

William Augustus Muhlenberg, Catholic Union Defended and Considered in its Relation to the Protestant Episcopal Church by 'Catholicus' [pseud.] (Jamaica, New York, 1836).

William Augustus Muhlenberg, 'Suggestions for the Formation of an Evangelic and Catholic Union' (original date, 1870), E.C.P., I, pp.431-459.

William Augustus Muhlenberg, 'Essay on the Potentiality of English Bishops' (unpublished article, 1872) extracts in, Anne Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg (London, 1881), pp.445-447.

Alonzo Potter, ed., Memorial Papers. The Memorial of the Presbyters of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States with reference to the actual attitude of that Church with the Circular and Questions of the Episcopal Commissioners; and Communications from Episcopal and Non-Episcopal Divines. With an introduction by Rt. Rev. Potter (Philadelphia, 1857). See chapters 3 and 4 *infra*.

2. Muhlenberg, 'Suggestions for the Formation of an Evangelic and Catholic Union' (1870), E.C.P., I, pp.433-434; also A. Ayres, The Life of William Augustus Muhlenberg, p.45.

of its simplicity diversity of practice, determined by individual circumstance, and similarity of intention. Muhlenberg agrees with Mosheim that it is history which bears witness to the authority of the episcopate and the episcopate, at its best, bears witness to Christ, not vice versa. Muhlenberg and Mosheim see the episcopate as one historic means of expressing the reality of the Gospel. The important point is that Muhlenberg transcends White's mechanical approach to the question of validity and authority. By virtue of his contact with Mosheim he stresses the point that the historic integrity of the episcopate is based in how true it is to its primitive purpose rather than its rigid adherence to the diversity or uniformity of its primitive design.¹

The remaining criticisms by White which influenced Muhlenberg deal with the failure of Mosheim and Maclaine to present accurate views of the Church of England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first of these criticisms concerns Mosheim's statement that:

in the reign of Charles I, the Church of England publicly renounced the opinions of Calvin relating to the divine decrees, and made several attempts to model its institutions after the laws, tenets and customs of the primitive Christians.²

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1. Muhlenberg argues that the present Church must resemble the primitive Church not simply in design but in purpose as well. To adhere to primitive form with no adherence to the primitive purpose and expression of primitive spirit is, in his words, 'to recline ... comfortably in the easy chair of orthodoxy' to the 'soothing lullaby, 'The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord'', and 'dream of pointed arches and clustered columns, and storied windows, and symbolical chancels, echoing with Gregorian tones, fondly gazing at them in 'dim religious light' as notes of the one Church Catholic and Apostolic'. Muhlenberg, 'Plea for a Church Hospital in the City of New York' (original date, 1850), E.C.P., II, pp.127-128.
 2. White, 'Essay on Errors', p.121, citing Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, II, p.249.

White commends Maclaine for rectifying 'the error of the first part of this sentence, by denying that there was any such renunciation, whatever may have been the opinions of some leading Churchmen',¹ Laud in particular. His main criticism is Mosheim's failure to show that 'the Church of England remained during the above mentioned reign what she had been from the time of the reformation'.²

White's second criticism is similar to one expressed in the British Critic, that Mosheim was 'exceedingly inaccurate' in his treatment of the Church of England because of his failure to see the opposition of the English Reformers to Calvinism.³ Mosheim does tend to present the Reformed Churches as a monolith of doctrinal Calvinism. White comments when Mosheim says:

'when it was proposed, under the reign of Edward VI, to give a stable form to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, Geneva was acknowledged as a sister Church; and the theological system, there established by Calvin, was adopted and rendered the public rule of faith in England ... with the exception of retaining the Episcopacy, and certain religious rites and ceremonies'. Whatever may have been the opinions of Dr. Mosheim concerning the identity of the doctrine of Geneva and that of the Church of England, it should never have appeared in the shape of an unequivocal fact ...⁴

White maintained there was no public document to sustain this position and that it was an 'extraordinary oversight' on the part of the author and his translator to present such a view of the Church of England.⁵

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1. Ibid., p.121, citing Maclaine's footnote, Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, II, pp.249-250.
 2. Ibid., p.121.
 3. 'Comparison and Review of Mosheim's and Milner's, Ecclesiastical History', British Critic, XLII (1813), p.39.
 4. White, 'Essay on Errors', p.121, citing Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, II, p.105.
 5. Ibid., pp.121-122.

The most detailed, and perhaps significant, criticism by Bishop White concerns a comment by Maclaine, supported by Mosheim's historical narrative, that:

The English Reformers admitted but two orders of church officers to be of divine appointment, viz. bishops and deacons; a presbyter and a bishop, according to them, being but the two names for the same office; But Dr. Bancroft, in a sermon preached at St. Paul's cross, January 12, 1586, maintained that bishops of England were a distinct order from priests and had superiority over them jure divino.¹

White considered this assertion to be one of the most serious weaknesses in Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History. It is closely related to his previous criticisms and he proceeds (to carefully) attack Mosheim's claims regarding Bancroft's 'innovation' in two important points which we now consider.

White first points out that the English Reformers:

have sufficiently answered for themselves in the Preface to the Ordinal : which affirms, that 'from the Apostle's time, there have been in the Church of Christ the three orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons'.²

This acceptance of a liturgical 'text' in the Book of Common Prayer as an historical document witnessing to the authority of 'the Apostle's time' and the intention of the English Reformers is not unique to Bishop White. It does show, however, the uncritical acceptance by many Anglicans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the Book of Common Prayer not simply as a liturgical and spiritual resource but as an authoritative witness to the history of the Church. This relationship between liturgical expression and historical understanding makes

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1. Ibid., p.122, citing Maclaine's footnote, Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, II, p.107.
 2. Ibid., p.122. Cf. 'Comparison and Review of Mosheim's and Milner's, Ecclesiastical History', British Critic, XLII (1813), p.38.

change within the institutions of the Church which are expressed liturgically (Christian ministry, baptism, celebration of the Eucharist, etc.) dependent upon a re-evaluation of the historical experience of the Faith as well. In a later context, specifically that of the attempted liturgical changes of William Augustus Muhlenberg, it will become clear that there is a significant departure from this practice of White's which uses the liturgy of the Church to interpret the history of the Church. Muhlenberg, in ways similar to Mosheim, uses history as a witness for the prosecution of liturgical change. In Bishop White's view (implicit in his criticism of Mosheim), history prosecutes change and diversity only as long as it is in defence of those institutions within the Anglican Communion which insure continuity of faith and practice.¹

The second point of criticism regarding Mosheim's treatment of Bancroft's 'innovation' is that both he and his translator fail to cite various authorities who maintain the view that the Reformation Church of England did assert the diversity of orders expressed in the Preface to the Ordinal prior to Bancroft's sermon in 1586. White considered it sufficient to refer to:

Whitgift's Defense of his Answer to the celebrated Admonition to the Puritans, addressed to the Parliament, The Defense has the date of 1574 - twelve years before the delivery of the Sermon to which so much influence has been ascribed.²

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1. William White, 'The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered', ed. by Richard G. Saloman, Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XXII (1953), pp.435-506. The influence of White's work is discussed at length in chapters 3 and 4, *infra*.
 2. White, 'Essay on Errors', p.122.

The Bishop is careful to point out that Whitgift's position is supported by 'Eusebius, Paul, Timothy, Titus, Saint John and James and a long list of Apostolic Fathers who speak to the same effect'.¹

Bishop White's criticisms of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History are arguments defending the Apostolic origin and divine sanction of the ministry of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. His arguments are by no means original and their importance rests in their clarity and, above all else, brevity. In spite of these few criticisms there is almost total acceptance of Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History by the person primarily responsible for the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies of 1804' and Muhlenberg's theological education. The Bishop's criticisms are interesting not only from the point of view of what they 'qualify' in the use of Mosheim, they are also interesting from the point of what they overlook. This is particularly true in Bishop White's failure to cite two comments by Mosheim which seem supportive of his point of view.

It is important to note that in spite of Mosheim's statements regarding the origin and development of episcopal polity and the 'innovations' of High Churchmen during the English Reformation, he does not dismiss the historic validity and apostolic sanction of a three-fold ministry. Mosheim distrusts rather than dismisses the episcopate because of its tendency to become aristocratic, undemocratic and an unhealthy concentration of power and prestige which is inconsistent with the apostolic ministry from which it derives its justification. White, on the other hand, seeks to defend the episcopate and the

1. Ibid., p.122. The support for Whitgift's position begins and ends with material included in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies'.

Church of England and although his opinions are different from those of Mosheim there are points of agreement between them. Mosheim states:

If, however, it is true, that the apostles acted by divine inspiration, and conformity with the commands of their blessed Master, (and this no Christian can call in question), then it follows, that the form of government which the primitive churches borrowed from that of Jerusalem, the first Christian assembly established by the apostles themselves, must be esteemed of divine institution.¹

White overlooks this statement of his own point of view because Mosheim immediately qualifies his statement by saying it is:

... wrong to conclude that such a form is immutable, and ought to be invariably observed; for this a great variety of events may render impossible.²

and perhaps because it is a cogent statement of his own point of view expressed in 'The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered'.³ White defends deviations from episcopal polity which are due to historical circumstance rather than original design. Mosheim insists on the variable nature of Christian institutions as a result of the authority of the whole 'religious society' of Christians to determine their own form of government in different circumstances and the original design of Christian ministry which, 'by divine permission' was diverse.⁴ White, although agreeing with the authority of the religious society of Christians to determine their own forms of polity and the effect of historical circumstances upon conformity with

1. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, I, p.28.

2. Ibid., I, p.28.

3. It is interesting to speculate on how Mosheim would have viewed White's 'Case' and the way in which the episcopate developed in the Episcopal Church in the United States where no revenues were attached to the episcopal sees and bishops were elected by democratic means in representative assemblies.

4. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, I, p.48.

apostolic practice,¹ is adamant that original design, whether de facto or de jure, is normative and most beneficial for Christian communities. He clearly states his position regarding the Apostolic ministry by saying:

First, It is of divine institution : Secondly, In every local Church, it is of right independent of all foreign authority and jurisdiction : And thirdly, As instituted by Jesus Christ and his apostles, it includes the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons.²

Another statement overlooked by White indicates Mosheim's cautious acceptance of episcopal polity and the possibility of reforming doctrine without affecting order. Mosheim says:

... we must carefully distinguish between the reformation of religious opinions, and the reformation of episcopal order. For though these two things may appear to be closely connected, yet in reality they are so far distinct that either of the two might have been completely transacted without the other. A reformation of doctrine might have been affected, without diminishing the authority of the bishops, or suppressing their order : and on the other hand, the opulence and power of the bishops might have been reduced within proper bounds, without introducing any change in the system of doctrine that had been so long established, and that was generally received.³

Had Mosheim seen the Reformation of the Church of England in these terms White's criticisms and corrections would perhaps have been unnecessary for the theological student of Muhlenberg's day. Muhlenberg, aware of both Mosheim and White, is influenced by both men. What Mosheim speculates as being within the realm of possibility⁴ Muhlenberg

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1. White, 'The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered', Historical Magazine, XXII (1953), pp.469-475.
 2. William White, Lectures on the Catechism of the Protestant Episcopal Church (Philadelphia, 1813), p.50.
 3. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, II, p.23.
 4. Ibid., II, p.23.

accepts as historical fact. For Muhlenberg the Episcopal Church in the United States represented 'The Catholic Faith, Whole and Undeiled',¹ because it accomplished a reformation of doctrine based upon the authority of scripture and the historic catholic creeds,² its worship was sacramental and celebrated in forms of the most ancient liturgies³ and primitive order was maintained 'in an unbroken series of ordinations, from those on whom the great High Priest at first laid hands'.⁴ This had been accomplished because:

In England, the Reformation was less of a religious and more of an ecclesiastical movement, the great object of which was to correct and remove existing abuses and corruptions. The freedom asserted was rather that of a Church and nation from the Pope, than that of the individual believer as the adopted child of God ... The English measures were conservative and sought to restore things to their condition in the primitive church.⁵

Muhlenberg hoped the Episcopal Church in the United States could provide the means whereby the historic authority of the episcopate could be extended throughout the churches of Reformed Christendom thus becoming a basis for unity and a means of facilitating effective ministry. His appeal expressed throughout his ministry is based on an acceptance of White's insistence upon the authority of the episcopate and Mosheim's insistence upon diversity of form and uniformity of intention consistent with apostolic practice. This appropriation of materials from the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' makes it a source

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1. William Augustus Muhlenberg, 'The Catholic Faith, Whole and Undeiled', Pastoral Tracts, No.1 (New York, 1847).
 2. Ibid., p.6.
 3. Ibid., p.6.
 4. Ibid., p.6.
 5. Muhlenberg, 'What the Memorialists Want', (original date, 1856), E.C.P., I, pp.219-220.

of Muhlenberg's ideas which goes far beyond Philip Schaff, and others, for whom 'Evangelical Catholicism' was a longed for goal in the nineteenth century. His ideas regarding the nature of Christian ministry and the Reformation in the Church of England indicate his familiarity with both J. L. von Mosheim and Bishop White's criticisms and corrections which were both a part of his theological education.

William White's criticisms of Mosheim should be considered in the light of his comment that 'It should always be remembered that I am engaged in opening and defending the sense of the Episcopal Church, as received from the Church of England'.¹ His criticisms reflect his concern for the survival of the episcopate at a time in the history of the United States when the Episcopal Church was under the popular anathema of being both papist and monarchical. The 'Bishops' List' reflects his concern for maintaining the life of the Episcopal Church and it is virtually impossible to divorce the theological curriculum of 1804-1836 from this defensive attitude which was a legacy of the colonial period. The thought and sentiment expressed in the cry, 'No lords, spiritual or temporal', was a real threat to the Episcopal Church in the United States and the 'Bishops' List' was one way of insuring the Church would have clergy who could defend the institutions vital

1. White, Lectures on the Catechism of the Protestant Episcopal Church, p.174.

to its identity and mission.¹ The survival of the Episcopal Church in the United States became linked, in this particular instance, to the education of its clergy. Samuel H. Turner, himself educated under the 'Bishops' List' and first professor Biblical Studies at the General Theological Seminary, echoed this thought when he said:

... the institutions of our Church will never command suitable respect among the community in general, unless they are illustrated and defended by respectable talent and unaffected piety.²

He could confidently assert that theological education had succeeded in this regard in 1823 because it was:

... acknowledged by many of the enlightened and impartial of all Christian denominations, that the

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1. William White, The Past and the Future, a Charge on events Connected with the Organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and the Lessons they inculcate. Delivered before the 50th convention of the Diocese of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1834). This address by White gives his appraisal of the threat to the existence of the Episcopal Church during the colonial period and the American Revolution. He says that there was a great fear among the population that Bishops in the United States would receive 'titles' and 'tythes' and that 'Episcopacy, even in its general character, and independently on what might have rendered it unacceptable by incidental associations, had been exceedingly adapted to alarm. It had been described as in itself hostile to civil liberty, as nourishing pride and arrogance in those elevated to the station, as a means of acquiring more wealth than was salutary to the church, and as indulgent to idleness and expensive living', pp.4-5. Cf. Horace Wemyss Smith, Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D. (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1880), II, 'Appendix IV', pp.502-503; see Carl Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre : Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-1775 (London, 1967); and Arthur Lyons Cross, The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies (New York, 1902).
 2. Samuel H. Turner, Address, Delivered before the Trustees, Professors, and Students of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, In Trinity Church, on Friday Evening, 27th December, 1822 (New York, 1823), p.29.

Alonzo Potter echoes this sentiment in, A Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, delivered at the opening of the Sixty-Fifth Convention, 16th May, 1849 (Philadelphia, 1849), saying 'The improvement of the people ... is conditioned on the improvement of the clergy', p.5. The Episcopal Church at this time was again defending itself against the charge of being 'Papist' as a result of the liturgical and theological controversies of the Oxford Movement.

institutions and usages of the Episcopal Church are no less favourable to a well-regulated republican form of government and are no less conducive to the advancement of sound morals and genuine piety than any other.¹

By 1823 episcopacy had in the popular mind divorced itself from prelacy and was seen by many as one among many forms of ecclesiastical polity. The historical defence of the institutions of the Episcopal Church in the United States is, as a result of a standardised theological curriculum, based in part upon the Institutes of Ecclesiastical History of J. L. von Mosheim. It is a defence which blends Mosheim's democratic principles and appeals for diversity with the classical Anglican arguments for the episcopate.

The diffusion of Mosheim's approach to the history of the Church throughout the ordained ministry of the Episcopal Church in the nineteenth century continued as a result of the enduring authority of the 'Bishops' List'. This theological curriculum was an authority so well entrenched in the minds of Anglicans in the United States that it was, from its inception, a panacea for coping with dissent, diversity and religious and social pluralism. It was an authority to which students for the ministry were morally bound, in Samuel Turner's words:

... to study the text books and so far as practicable, to examine the authorities, to which the professor may refer him ... if neglecting this, the authoritative teaching of the church's institution, the student occupies himself with other works, which, however popular they may chance to be for a time, have not received the sanction of age and experience, he pursues a course which is not strictly honest.²

1. Ibid., p.29.

2. Samuel H. Turner, The Duty of Honesty in the Choice of the Ministry and in Preparing for its Exercise, an Address Delivered to the Students of the General Theological Seminary on the Occasion of the Matriculation of the Junior Class, 23rd December, 1845 (New York, 1846), p.16.

J. L. von Mosheim was the basis for the 'authoritative teaching of the church's institution' in the subject of Church History and had received the 'sanction of age and experience' in the education of Episcopal clergy throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The reasons for his wide acceptance, in spite of the differences of opinion between himself and William White, who was responsible for his inclusion in the 'Bishops' List', are found in his historiography which is an important part of the background and development of William Augustus Muhlenberg's thought.

E. B. Pusey, commenting on the factors behind the ascendancy of German rationalism in the early nineteenth century, said Mosheim, 'would never have existed without his collision with the pietists'.¹ Although collision was perhaps unavoidable, Mosheim attempted to maintain a middle ground between pietism and Lutheran orthodoxy. This mediating approach to theology and historiography, described as 'supranaturalism', looked upon the process of history as simply a 'course or series of favourable and unfavourable events; and the exhibition of it is considered to be, not a living reproduction or generic evolution, but simple relation merely, of these events as they have occurred'.² In describing supranaturalism, F. Lichtenberger said:

The theologians of this tendency, out of respect for the beliefs of the past, profess a sincere attachment to revealed truth. Not that they are not themselves drawn away by the spirit of this period to combining

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1. Pusey, A Historical Inquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character lately Predominant in the Theology of Germany, II, p.111.
 2. Philip Schaff, History of the Apostolic Church, p.57. For an analysis of the impact of 'supranaturalism' upon biblical criticism see Hans Frei, The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative : A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics (New Haven and London, 1974), pp.38, 256ff.

and grouping conscientiously the historical materials bequeathed to them by their predecessors, while trying as well as they can to rejuvenize [sic] and accommodate them to the taste of the day. In opposition to Rationalism, which expects all progress in theological matters from the religious organ, that is to say, from reason, Supranaturalism attaches particular importance to the form in which the truth is communicated to us, that is to say, to revelation. Supranaturalism also teaches that the Bible, at bottom, contains nothing which goes beyond the limits of our reason or which is contrary to its affirmations; but it maintains that reason without revelation would never have reached the results to which it has come, that the Biblical form save the divine supports, and, as it were, the divine teachers of the human mind.¹

Applied to the history of the Church supranaturalism seeks to give greater meaning to the context of divine revelation, i.e. historical events. Theodor Trost comments on this bonding of scripture and tradition in supranaturalism saying:

If the mediating theologians sought to place themselves under the authority of Christ as revealed in the Scriptures, they also saw in the traditions of the Church another authority which was worthy of respect, primarily because it is the past that has formed us, is still with us, and, to a large extent, determines what we are.²

The tendency to view the study of history as the study of the context of divine revelation removes historical writing from a slavish defence of and adherence to fundamentalism, pietism and orthodoxy. Church History as an academic discipline was removed from theological polemic in the Institutes to such a degree that, compared to previous historians, Mosheim was considered 'a moderate and impartial Lutheran ... the

1. F. Lichtenberger, History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century, trans. by Joy W. Hastie (Edinburgh, 1889), p.24.

2. Theodor L. Trost, Jr., 'Philip Schaff's Concept of the Church with special reference to His Role in Early Movements for Christian Union', p.36.

father of church historiography as an art, unless we prefer to concede this merit to Bossuet'.¹

Although an inheritor of the style of the Magdeburg Centuriators which forced Mosheim and his readers to labour under the artificial construction of centuries, epochs, internal and external events and many other divisions and sub-divisions, Mosheim rises above the approach to historiography which made documents 'missiles in the hands of the Magdeburg Centuriators'.² He is part of a movement away from the use of history to justify dogmatic opinions or as an aid in finding and defending the 'True Church'. To Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History was primarily concerned with 'that larger community, which bears the name of Jesus Christ, and is vulgarly known under the denomination of the Church'.³ The 'society of Christians' rather than the 'True Church' becomes the object of historical analysis which:

... comprehends both the external and internal condition of this community, and so connects each event with the causes from which it proceeds, and the instruments which have been concerned in its production.⁴

Characterised as a 'judicious recorder rather than a leader',⁵ Mosheim's stylistic fidelity to Matthias Flacius forces him to present his historical narrative within a skeletal framework of centuries, epochs, and internal/external events. Although artificial in its

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1. Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1883), I, p.59.
 2. James Westfall Thompson, A History of Historical Writing (2 vols., New York, 1942), II, p.3.
 3. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, I, p.1.
 4. Ibid., I, p.1.
 5. Arthur C. Headlam, History Authority and Theology (London, 1909), p.247.

design this approach indicates his belief in a 'divine plan' in history and is a means of tracing 'providence' and implying cause and effect within his narrative. This structuring to suggest providence is found, if to a limited extent, in Neander and Gieseler, in the handbooks of Kurtz and Schaff, and is characteristic of eighteenth and nineteenth century German historiography.¹ This skeletal framework becomes a key to understanding the history of the Church and is presented as events within the Christian community and outside the community which affect change.

The external history of the Church 'comprehends all the changes, vicissitudes and events, that have diversified the external state and condition of this sacred community'.² These external events are divided into 'The prosperous events which have contributed to extend the limits or to augment the influence of the Christian church' which 'have proceeded either from its rulers and leaders, or from the subordinate members of this great community', and 'The calamitous events that have happened to the church' which 'may comprehend the injuries it has received from the vices and passions of its friends, and the bitter opposition and insidious stratagems of its enemies'.³ The internal history of the Church 'comprehends the changes and vicissitudes that have happened in its inward constitution, in that system of discipline which it stands distinguished from all other religious societies'.⁴ These internal events are concerned with 'the history of

1. Ibid., p.248.

2. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, I, p.1.

3. Ibid., I. p.1.

4. Ibid., I, p.1.

its ministers, rulers, and form of government' and 'the laws [divine and human] that are peculiar to this sacred community that form, as it were, its centre of union'.¹ What emerges from this artificial superstructure of history is a belief that the study of Ecclesiastical History is primarily the study of change within a unique community which has purpose and direction.

Mosheim's rigid acceptance of this design allows his Ecclesiastical History to become dull and, to a certain extent, predictable. Philip Schaff considered Mosheim and the school of supernaturalism to be so 'outward and empirical'² in outlook that the history of the Church became abstract and lifeless. His approach was so objective and pedantic in Schaff's view that it sapped history of a proper understanding of development and eventually led to rationalism.³ Yet the 'skillful construction, clear though mechanical and monotonous arrangement, critical sagacity, pragmatic combination, freedom from passion, almost bordering on cool indifference'⁴ of Mosheim was a triumph for Church History as a scientific discipline. He represented a school of historical thought which sought to apply the same critical standards to the canon of tradition within the reformed Church in the eighteenth century which had been applied within the unreformed Church in the sixteenth. He represents the beginning of an approach to the study of Church History which sees Christian ideals in the various forms

1. Ibid., I, p.2.

2. Philip Schaff, The Principle of Protestantism as Related to the Present State of the Church, trans. by John W. Nevin, including a sermon by Nevin, 'Catholic Unity', delivered, 8th August, 1844 (Chambersburg, 1845), p.147.

3. Ibid., p.47.

4. Schaff, History of the Christian Church, I, p.39.

of political and social institutions, morals, art, learning and personalities. He seeks to present the life of the Church and the faith of Christians not as a dogmatic ideal found only in the pristine Church of the Apostles, the Reformers or sectarian champions of religious freedom, but a life and faith that is found at every point and in every age of the history of the Christian community. To suggest to the historians of orthodox Protestantism that the medieval Catholic Church played a valuable role in preserving and presenting Christianity was as scandalous as to suggest to a member of a Pietist sect that congregational independence and personal piety were democratic principles easily subverted by human passions and weakness. Such latitudinarianism is characteristic of Mosheim who seeks to present the Church objectively. Although his supranaturalism may fail to do justice to the forces which shape history in the dynamic tension between scripture and tradition, it does provide an ordered and objective presentation of the 'facts' from which the reader may draw his own conclusions. Compared with other authors included in the 'Bishops' List' Mosheim has a very different view of history and the Christian past. For Fleury the 'happy succession of doctrine, of discipline and of sound morality'¹ was the proper subject of Ecclesiastical History, and William Cave had a view of the Apostolic Age which made it a time when:

The Divine Laws while newly published, had a stronger influence upon the minds of men, and the spirit of Religion was more active and vigorous, till men by degree began to be debauched into that impiety and profaneness, that in these times has over-run the world.²

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1. M. L'Abbe Fleury, Ecclesiastical History (20 vols., London, 1727-1729), I, 'Author's Preface', p.vi.
 2. William Cave, Apostolici, or The Lives of the Primitive Fathers for the First Ages of the Christian Church (London, 1677), 'Preface', n.p.

In Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History the study of the history of the Church is the study of providence. Providence, as a divine overriding power for good within historical events which is both directive and corrective, gives the study of Ecclesiastical History an authority and purpose that is not dependent upon scripture or tradition. The authority of Ecclesiastical History rests on its ability to reveal God's purpose expressed in the incarnation of Christ on the one hand, and in the internal and external development of the community of Christian believers on the other. Mosheim allows the internal and external development of the Church as an institution to become authoritative in its revelation of providence in the present to such a degree that the sitz im leben of the Church becomes as important a factor in theological and historical development as scripture and tradition.

Although providence as a divine force or plan is always stressed, the Church as a divine institution becomes an abstraction in Mosheim and, at best, a purely human fellowship or society no different from any other voluntary society. Stripping the Church of its divine or supernatural character is an objective and effective means of tracing cause and effect but it does little to help explain the historical concern of someone like Origen, Augustine, Luther, or even Laud, who may have a passionate concern for the nature of the Church as both a human and divine institution. Mosheim's approach to passionate theological conflicts is to treat them as 'mere verbal disputes'.¹ As one reviewer said, 'The greatest fault of his writings is the absence of religious feeling ... there is a coldness which prevails through the works of

1. Thompson, A History of Historical Writing, II, p.72.

Mosheim'.¹ F. D. Maurice, commenting on Mosheim's understanding of the Church, said to a student:

In all your modern reading, I should recommend you to put ecclesiastical history foremost. There may be no good ones; but if you read Mosheim, Milner and Neander, and remember that not one of the three had more than a faint dream what a Church means, you may make out something.²

Maurice is not alone in his criticism of Mosheim's failure to deal with the Church as something more than a voluntary religious society. Philip Schaff felt that Mosheim's detachment in dealing with the nature of the Church led one to the evils of rationalism. He felt Mosheim's supranaturalism ultimately led to a 'divine Christianity without the divine Church' which in the end was 'an unmeaning abstraction'.³ F. C. Baur said of Mosheim:

His view of history is essentially that for him the church becomes a state. But since he can thereby gain access only to what the church has outwardly in common with the state, the conception of the church itself becomes for him a very superficial and lifeless one. He does not succeed, therefore, in understanding the organic continuity of the various components of church history.⁴

Mosheim's failure as a Church historian was, according to Baur, his tendency to allow political history to become 'determinative for the history of the church'.⁵ All of these criticisms stem from Mosheim's tracing providence and historical development in the many varieties of

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1. John G. Dowling, An Introduction to the Critical Study of Ecclesiastical History (London, 1838), pp.192-193.
 2. Frederick Maurice, ed., The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice (2 vols., New York, 1884), I, p.217.
 3. Schaff, History of the Apostolic Church, p.73.
 4. Ferdinand Christian Baur, On the Writing of Church History, ed. and trans. by Peter C. Hodgson (New York, 1968), p.146.
 5. Ibid., p.147.

internal and external events. John Wesley went so far as to say that Mosheim 'does not seem clearly to understand, what the internal State of the Church means',¹ therefore failing to understand the very nature of the Church. Wesley thought the internal state of the Church was properly determined by 'righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit',² not in the combination of the state of learning, form of government and doctrines, rites and ceremonies of each century A.D.

While Mosheim's style does not stress the divine or supernatural aspects of the Church there is no great divorce between God and history in the Institutes. Progress and providence are constant and give meaning to every historical event whether it be civil or religious. Civil and religious progress go hand in hand to such a degree that the history of the Church is an important factor to be considered in the study of politics, arts and sciences and philosophy. The providential nature of civil progress and its relationship to religious progress allows Mosheim to present historical events in their broadest possible scope emphasising the effect of secular movements upon religious institutions, and vice versa. In the Institutes Church History becomes a dialogue between religious and civil affairs in which every event is given both social and religious significance.³

One of the great merits of Mosheim's historiography is the impossibility of compartmentalising history of the Church and history

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1. Wesley, A Concise Ecclesiastical History, p.v.
 2. Ibid., p.vi.
 3. Siegfried Korsgen, Das Bild der Reformation in Der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung Johann Lorenz von Mosheims, Inaugural Dissertation (University of Tübingen, 1966). Korsgen emphasises Mosheim's treatment of the Reformation as a movement influencing every aspect of society developing from religious, political and humanist roots.

of the world into separate and only vaguely related disciplines.¹ One may even go so far as to say that it is within this dialogue, or structure of relationships, between the Church and the world that the beginning of a more dialectical and developmental school of historiography can be seen. Mosheim stresses that Church History must consider at all times the important 'changes both in the religious and civil state of the world since the apostles times', and 'the influence that these changes must necessarily have upon all ecclesiastical establishments'.² In stressing the importance of the relationship between cause and effect and the nature of change in society and in all 'ecclesiastical establishments' Mosheim may indeed anticipate, if not lead, the historiographical revolution of the nineteenth century.

Mosheim's historiography not only stresses a new relationship between the history of the Church and the history of the world, it also stresses a new relationship between history and the individual. History, as a result of its providential nature, becomes not simply a means of improving knowledge but a means of improving piety as well.³ Church History becomes a means of tracing the divine plan of the Church and the world, as well as a means of moral improvement as a result of accurate historical knowledge. The belief that piety increases as knowledge increases allows historical method to become a 'means' in a subtle form of gnosticism which, in its own way, is a teleological argument for the existence of God.

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1. Mosheim's refusal to 'pigeon hole' civil and religious history into two mutually exclusive categories is similar to Joseph Butler's refusal to compartmentalise ethics. See chapter 1 above.
 2. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, II, p.109.
 3. Ibid., I, p.1.

The influence of history upon the individual and the development of character is a principal aspect of Mosheim's historiography and it is here that supranaturalism resembles rationalism. It is similar in that both see Christianity as a 'teaching or collection of truths and doctrines which it is necessary to engrave in the spirit of man',¹ but differs regarding the mediating agent of the truth, or perhaps, 'gnosis'. In this same sense, regarding the mediator of the gnosis, supranaturalism differs from pietism and orthodoxy as well. In rationalism knowledge is communicated by the spirit of enlightened reason; in pietism it is communicated by the will and affections of the individual under the direction of the Holy Spirit; and in orthodoxy the gnosis is communicated by tradition. This view of history as a moral agent makes the individual within the context of the historical event and the individual studying the historical event extremely important. Internal and external events have bearing not simply upon the Christian community but the individual as well. The individual involved in the cause and effect of history is involved not only in the heils-geschichte of the Christian community but in his own salvation as well.

Within the morass of facts, philosophical speculation and political intrigue, Mosheim traces the impact of history upon institutions and individuals through the lives of significant personalities in the life of the Church and the world. Ecclesiastical History becomes, to a certain extent, religious saga. When dealing with heroes of the Christian past Mosheim traces individual history in the same way as he

1. Lichtenberger, History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century, p.24.

traces the corporate history of the Church; that is, in the artificial construction of internal and external events. The development of character is traced by interpreting the providential nature of physiognomy, national or ethnic origin, and even the effect of climate upon individual 'histories'.¹ Heroes emerge as articulate spokesmen for freedom from temporal and spiritual tyranny, and for scriptural truth and simplicity and human virtue. The heroes of Mosheim's history are persons like St. Paul, St. Augustine, the Waldenses, Luther and Melancthon who speak for a reformation of every individual within every aspect of society. They are persons upon whom the historical 'facts' of the Gospel and the providential nature of history have had the greatest influence upon their personal development. The hero in the Institutes is a person who has struggled with conflicting historical data, fables, sects, charlatans, saints, kings and fools and emerges as a champion for the reformation of the Church and the society in which it is found. The hero is, in a sense, a reflection or model of Christ; one who by virtue of his personality shapes the Christian community in such a way as to make it a more effective instrument in the reclamation of the world from evil.²

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1. The attempts by Mosheim to show the influence of internal and external events upon the individual personality shows his application of factors influencing historical development to individuals. This application of internal and external events to individual development makes human vice or virtue the result of both ontology and sociology. Cf. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, II, pp.8, 12 and 13.
 2. John Wesley disagrees with Mosheim's view of the personality in the study of Church History. To Wesley, the study of Church History is not a study of 'men that walked worthy of their calling' it is a study of 'a benighted world, a world full of darkness and cruel habitations' whose evil extends throughout the Church as well. Wesley, A Concise Ecclesiastical History, p.viii.

The relationship of history to the individual is a fundamental aspect of Mosheim's historiography. The individual, in spite of Schaff and Baur's criticism of Mosheim's objective and empirical approach, remains central in the Institutes to such a degree that, as hero or villain, he becomes a primary 'cause' in the course of history. Both Church and sect become the result of the institutionalisation of personality types into communities which either foster or retard the goal and purpose of history. The Church is seen as the result of the institutionalisation of the heroic personality of Christ, while the various sects are presented as the result of the institutionalisation of human frailty and the effects of political and spiritual oppression into communities in which unsocial behaviour can be acted out.¹ By virtue of the role of personality as a primary agent in determining the shape and direction of the Church as a political institution and as the Body of Christ, the life of the Church is both organic and diverse. Organic in that it is subject to change, both positive and negative; and diverse in that it embodies within itself all sorts and conditions of humanity to such an extent that even at the worst of times and within the most apostate sect 'some faint shadow at least of that system of religion delivered by Christ and his apostles' can be found.²

The preceding aspects of Mosheim's historiography which stress the mediating quality of Church History, the providential nature of historical events and the role of the individual within historical

1. This is particularly true of Mosheim's treatment of the various sects within the Reformed and in the Eastern Orthodox Church. He presents post-Reformation sects as corporate expressions of medieval or pre-Nicene heresies.

2. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, II, pp.72-73.

events are important sources of William Augustus Muhlenberg's ideas. Many of his ideas echo Mosheim's approach to history and indicate the influence of the Institutes and the degree to which Muhlenberg's theological education shaped his ministry. There are instances within Muhlenberg's works which indicate an almost literal use of the Institutes.

Like Mosheim, Muhlenberg maintains a high regard for the 'context' of revelation, or tradition. For him:

Tradition is a worthy witness to the truth of Scripture and to the truth of Christ. Scripture confirms and supports the testimony of tradition. It can also judge it when it errs too far away from Scripture. But the Church 'witnesses unto Christ' not only by means of the Scriptures, but by her creeds, her sacraments, her worship and by her preaching.¹

Like Mosheim, Muhlenberg sees the Church as a social institution although he stresses the fraternal aspects of the Church rather than the political aspects as being determinative. To Muhlenberg:

The idea of the Christian Church most obvious in the New Testament, is that of a Brotherhood ... The Church in its very nature is social ... the Society of Brethren, having that relation through their common relation to the Lord Jesus Christ,²

and he stresses the corporate nature of Christianity by saying 'no one can be a brother by himself'.³

Muhlenberg's understanding of the relationship between the history of the Church and the history of the world is similar to that of

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1. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible' (original date, 1869), E.C.P., I, p.411. See *infra*, chapter 5.
 2. Muhlenberg, 'The Church a Brotherhood' (an unfinished article, original date, 1868), E.C.P., II, p.367. See *infra*, chapter 4.
 3. Ibid., E.C.P., II, p.368. See Richard G. Becker, 'The Social Thought of William Augustus Muhlenberg', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XXVII (December, 1958), pp.307-323, although Becker overlooks the influence of Joseph Butler.

Mosheim. Muhlenberg sees that:

... in the natural operation of moral causes and effects, Christianity rectifies, elevates, and adorns individual, social and national character ... Hence ... civilization is advanced, although civilization is not the primary object of Christianity. Cultivation of the arts of social life, whether useful or elegant, would have been a low occupation for apostles, yet it always follows in the wake of apostles.¹

He also stresses the effect of providence upon individuals which results in heroes who, by virtue of their personality, shape history. Muhlenberg refers to Luther as 'God's hero-prophet' who 'arose to republish the Gospel'² and reflects Mosheim's view that in the course of history, in spite of internal or external events:

the testimony of Jesus could not wholly be suppressed. Here and there a prophet like Wickliff, [sic], a [sic] Huss and others, with special illumination from on high, spake out.³

Although these instances of agreement exist between Mosheim and Muhlenberg the similarity of the two is more importantly one of style and approach to history rather than to the facts of history. As we have seen in Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, historical fact is presented as a possible means of resolving religious controversy. Mosheim used history as an academic and theological via media between the extremes of individual pietism and institutional orthodoxy. He used history to find a possible solution to the rigid and exclusive appeals to history made by conflicting groups within the Christian community. The solution, for Mosheim, was to emphasise the role of

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1. Muhlenberg, 'Christmas and the World' (undated Christmas sermon), E.C.P., II, p.385.
 2. Muhlenberg, 'A Sermon Preached at the Reopening of the Church of the Augustus, September 5, 1860', E.C.P., II, p.229.
 3. Ibid., E.C.P., II, p.229.

providence and the individual within the context of historical events to such a degree that exclusive appeals to a pristine age of polity and piety could not be supported by historical evidence which indicated the 'divine plan' being presented in a diversity of ways. As he relates the study of history to the study of the effect of providence upon the individual Mosheim relates the question of historical integrity, past and present, to the question of the salvation of the individual. The question of apostolic succession, for instance, is not seen as a question of rigid adherence to external form but rather a question of conformity to apostolic intention. What the canon of tradition requires is seen as a question of spirit and purpose rather than form; and unity of spirit or intention, rather than practice.

Muhlenberg, influenced by Mosheim, has similar views regarding the role and nature of history. Like Mosheim, he sees the 'facts' of history as a possible means of resolving conflict between the High and Low Church extremes he encountered within the Episcopal Church in the United States. To him the 'facts' of history simply do not support rigid and exclusive claims regarding such diverse issues as the role of the Church in society. Within these diverse issues Muhlenberg relates present human need to the past experience of the Christian community; an experience which is diverse and, by virtue of the directive and corrective nature of providence, carries with it divine sanction. Within the context of Christian ministry, the question of historical integrity becomes a question relating to the spiritual needs of individuals. The present, by virtue of providence, becomes an important factor in the consideration of historical continuity.

Mosheim's historiography expressed in his Ecclesiastical History, presents an approach to history that is not the basis for the study of

a pure Church in an evil world, but rather the study of an institution determined by human passions and divine providence. The study of the history of the Church is the study of the embodiment of divine purpose and human virtue within a religious society. It is the study of a diverse community, ideally 'united by the principles of moderation and fraternal charity', rather 'than by perfect uniformity in doctrine, discipline and worship'.¹ It is an objective ordering of the diverse facts of history presented in such a way as to emphasise the effect of history upon the corporate and individual lives of Christians. This approach to the study of Church History had a direct influence upon William Augustus Muhlenberg as a result of its inclusion in the 'Bishops' List' of 1804 and is one of the primary sources of his liturgical and ecumenical ideas expressed throughout his ministry. Based upon Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, and reflected in Muhlenberg's ideal of 'Evangelical Catholicism' an important shift in the study and approach to Church History can be seen. The pristine Church is no longer seen as the Church of the past but rather the Church of the future. The Church of the past, expressed in Mosheim's Institutes and Muhlenberg's 'Evangelical Catholicism' is simply primitive and, perhaps, indicative, in the light of the needs of the present.

1. Cf. Mosheim, Ecclesiastical History, II, p.237; and Muhlenberg, 'A Sermon Preached at the Reopening of the Church of the Augustus', E.C.P., II, p.242.

CHAPTER THREE

EVANGELICAL CATHOLICISM AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

The Background and Development of the Liturgical
'Innovations' of William Augustus Muhlenberg

The theology of William Augustus Muhlenberg has been understood as an attempt to merge the two systems of evangelical and catholic theology characteristic of the High and Low church parties of nineteenth century Anglicanism.¹ Muhlenberg's first use of the term 'Evangelical Catholic' appears in his correspondence with James B. Kerfoot, a former student who accompanied him on his trip to England in 1843 when they met John Henry Newman, and who later became an Episcopal priest and first bishop of Pittsburgh.² When considering a proper title for a periodical which would be a platform for his ideas and which would transcend the party strife rampant in the Episcopal Church in the 1840's - 1850's Muhlenberg, almost casually, states:

By the way, 'Evangelical Catholic' would be a good name. You say it would be a tautology, and strictly speaking, it would, but not as the terms are understood. The Evangelical and Catholic element are both in our Church, and it is the peculiar excellence of our branch of the Church that they both are there, not as antagonistic principles, but as the vivifying and the other as the conservative element.³

Muhlenberg's attempts to formulate and articulate a theology of 'Evangelical Catholicism' grew out of his disenchantment with the ritual controversies which took place in the Episcopal Church of the nineteenth century. What emerged was a style of churchmanship which baffled both High and Low churchmen alike. Muhlenberg, aware of the confusion his liturgical innovations created, wrote to Kerfoot in March, 1847:

The people are at a loss to classify our Churchmanship. The Evangelicals like us better than High-and-drys, but

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1. Alvin W. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities : William Augustus Muhlenberg (Philadelphia, 1971), p.206.
 2. Ibid., pp.179-183. For Muhlenberg's impressions of Newman and Pusey see Anne Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg (London, 1881), pp.165-168.
 3. Hall Harrison, The Life of the Right Reverend John Barret Kerfoot : with Selections from his Diaries and Correspondence (2 vols., New York, 1886), I, p.132.

are puzzled. A lady said to another, 'I like all I hear at your church very well, but I see so much I do not like'. 'Your ears, then', replied the other, must discipline your eyes; we walk by Faith, not by sight; and faith cometh by hearing.¹

There are elements of both evangelical and catholic theology expressed in the ministry and writings of Muhlenberg. There is a consistent appeal for flexibility in worship, extemporaneous prayer, justification by faith and the recognition of 'non-Catholic' (i.e. non-episcopally ordained) ministry, as well as a consistent appeal for uniformity in worship using historic forms of prayer, the centrality of the episcopate and the sacramental system. Muhlenberg's blending of the objective, catholic demand for historical continuity with the evangelical emphasis upon personal salvation and justification by Faith was for him 'something homogenous and positive, very different from the heterogenous and mongrel things which they [the terms 'evangelical' and 'catholic'] have been supposed to stand for'.²

Muhlenberg tried to transcend denominational boundaries by his development of 'Evangelical Catholicism' and present a unitive, historic and practical means whereby the Episcopal Church in the United States could effectively minister to a complex society recognising the diversity of human experience. Just as Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism has been shown to be a mediating theology in the areas of Christian Ethics and Ecclesiastical History it may also be seen as an irenic movement in the areas of liturgy and ecumenical relations.

1. Ibid., I, p.129.

2. Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, p.238.

Most of Muhlenberg's ideas regarding Christian worship were seen as 'innovations' by his contemporaries¹ representing a 'tertium quid' between existing parties - a little of each and not much of either - a 'whitish-brown' among ecclesiastical hues of the day'.² Much of the interpretation of Muhlenberg's ideas by scholars tends to present him as an innovator whose evangelical catholicism was the result of his diversity of interests, personal contacts and appropriation of liturgical ideas from the Oxford Movement. Alvin Skardon's biography of Muhlenberg is characteristic of this 'tertium quid' approach to understanding Muhlenberg's ideas, as is the work of many historians of the Episcopal Church in the United States.³ Skardon shows that Muhlenberg's distinctive approach to the ministry of the Church and matters of faith and practice are the result of his contact with both High and Low churchmen as well as Roman Catholics and Quakers; the greatest influence liturgically being the Oxford Movement

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1. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.116-118. The rejection of Muhlenberg's understanding of 'Evangelical Catholicism' and the relationship between the 'Evangelical Faith and Apostolic Order' of Bishop John Henry Hobart is clearly seen in John Henry Newman's review of Henry Caswell's, Recent Recollections of the Anglo American Church in the United States. By an English Layman, five years Resident in that Republic (2 vols., London, 1861) which first appeared in the British Critic and was published in Newman's, Essays Critical and Historical (2 vols., London, 1871), I, pp.308-386.
 2. Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, pp.237-238.
 3. Raymond W. Albright, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church (New York, 1964), p.246. Joseph B. Chorley, Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church (Hamden, Conn., 1961), pp.285ff. William Wilson Manross, A History of the American Episcopal Church (New York, 1950), p.285. Edward Roche Hardy, 'Evangelical Catholicism: William Augustus Muhlenberg and the Memorial Movement', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XIII (June, 1944), pp.160-161.

and Muhlenberg's later dissatisfaction with the movement.¹ This approach present Muhlenberg as neither a High or Low churchman as regards the issues of his day whose approach to Christian worship, developing in response to the liturgical controversies of his age, were 'considered novelties by his contemporaries'.²

In the presentation of his thesis regarding the background and development of Muhlenberg's evangelical catholic practices and ideas, especially those in the area of liturgy, Skardon relies heavily upon Muhlenberg's associations with noted churchmen of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The individual persons important to Skardon's thesis are men unique in the history of the United States and their respective Christian traditions. They are, on the one hand, such stereotyped Low churchmen as Bishop William White (whose face, it is reported, 'flushed to the roots of his hair' in rage when called a low churchman)³ and Dr. James Milnor, and on the other hand High churchmen such as Dr. James Abercrombie and Bishop Jackson Kemper.⁴ Skardon also places importance upon Muhlenberg's early association with the Roman Catholic Church as well as the Tractarians.⁵ All of these persons, institutions and movements are shown to have had considerable influence upon Muhlenberg from an early age and to have contributed ideas he held throughout his ministry.

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1. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.176-180.
 2. Ibid., p.189.
 3. Julius Ward, The Life and Times of Bishop White (New York, 1892), p.127.
 4. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.177ff.
 5. Ibid., pp.180-181. Skardon goes so far as to say that, 'Both Muhlenberg and the Anglo-Catholics derived their ideas about ritual from their contacts with the Roman Catholic church ...', p.199.

Skardon states that Muhlenberg's attempts to blend the diverse elements of the High and Low church controversies into an evangelical catholicism and the many suspected innovations in liturgy which he initiated at the Church of the Holy Communion, New York, led him to be 'regarded as a Tractarian by the general public ... and there is no way of determining when his reaction against this movement began'.¹ The tertium quid thesis regarding the background and development of evangelical catholicism and the tendency to present Muhlenberg as an early nineteenth century latitudinarian who developed his ideas in the crucible of religious controversy overlooks valuable sources indicating other approaches to Muhlenberg's thought. Skardon's thesis looks to the publication of The Evangelical Catholic, 1851-1853, as the first evidence of a trend altogether away from the Tractarians and the beginning of Muhlenberg's formal attempt to express his ideal of evangelical catholicism.²

Skardon correctly presents evangelical catholicism not as a theological system but rather 'a state of mind' which upholds:

the comprehensive character of the Anglican Communion, believing that this church [the Episcopal Church in the United States] could contain not only the catholicism and protestantism represented by the older parties but liberalism and modernism as well.³

This tendency to trace the background and development of evangelical catholicism from Muhlenberg's personal associations and attempts to dispel the popular impression that he was a 'Puseyite' overlooks the value of the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' of 1804 as a source of

1. Ibid., p.194.

2. Ibid., p.197.

3. Ibid., p.197.

Muhlenberg's ideas as well as his consistent rejection of tenets central to the Oxford Movement.¹ It also tends to overlook the influence of Thomas Arnold and John Jebb who also contributed a great deal to Muhlenberg's evangelical catholic ideal.

The approach Muhlenberg maintained to Christian worship and many of his innovations are clearly seen in the liturgical works included in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' of 1804. The 'Bishops' List' requirements regarding the study of liturgy are not as extensive as those dealing with other subjects. This is perhaps due both to an assumption that the Book of Common Prayer, as a historical and theological document, speaks quite clearly for itself, and to the conservative nature of the House of Bishops regarding liturgical diversity. The requirements for the study of liturgy contained in the 'Bishops' List' state:

It seems unnecessary to require attention to the History of the Common Prayer, the grounds on which the different Services are constructed, and the meaning of the Rubrics. Perhaps a careful study of Dr. Wheatley [sic] on the Common Prayer, and the late work of Mr. Reeves, will be sufficient.²

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1. Muhlenberg states: 'I was never a High Churchman. Receiving my theology from Bishop White, the Apostolic Succession and Sacramentarian doctrine were alike foreign to my system - If I ever had a system; but I have been claimed by High Churchmen because of my Liturgic, or what would not be called Ritualistic, propensities, or to use another word - aesthetic'. Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, pp.171-172; see also p.173.
 2. William Stevens Perry, ed., Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1785-1835 (3 vols., Claremont, New Hampshire, 1874), I, p.317.

Although the vague 'Perhaps' reference to Wheatly's classic work¹ was bolstered by a specific minimum standard of study of 'Reeves on the Common Prayer'² the approach to the study of liturgy in the theological education of Muhlenberg was little more than a restatement of earlier Anglican liturgical scholarship. It is an approach characteristic of the High Church tradition of Wheatly, Beveridge³ and Sparrow⁴ which:

... was an emphasis on the Prayer Book viewed not in isolation as a collection of services; but an emphasis based on an understanding of the inner meaning of liturgy and its underlying principles, and a sense that liturgy had something to do with dogma and life.⁵

It is an approach which is based upon the principles that Christian worship should edify, be ordered and uniform and relate to the life of the community. The inclusion of Wheatly and the 'collation' of his work by Reeves in the theological curriculum of 1804 indicates a

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1. Charles Wheatly, A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England. The whole being the substance of everything material all former Ritualists, Commentators or other upon the same subject (Oxford, 1710; citations hereafter are from the 4th ed., London, 1722).
 2. Perry, Journals of General Conventions, I, p.318, referring to John Reeves, An Introduction to the Common Prayer containing Observations on the Services for Morning and Evening, Sundays and Holydays, contained in The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church According to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland : together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches (London, 1801).
 3. William Beveridge, The Great Necessity and Advantage of Publick Prayer and Frequent Communion, designed to revive primitive piety (6th ed., London, 1724).
 4. Anthony Sparrow, A Rationale, upon the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England (London, 1668).
 5. G. W. O. Addleshaw, The High Church Tradition. A Study of Liturgical Thought of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1941), pp.18-19.

conscious attempt by the House of Bishops to establish a pattern of liturgical usage in the United States consistent with that of the later seventeenth century High Church tradition of the Church of England. The House of Bishops was not simply trying to establish transatlantic similarities between the Episcopal Church and the Church of England. It was, like the Church of England in the seventeenth century, 'fighting for the maintenance of two things, which it believed necessary to the life of the Church, the episcopate and the liturgy'.¹

This attempt by the Episcopal Church in the United States to identify itself with the High Church tradition of the seventeenth century is clearly seen in its use of Reeves' work. Reeves' 'Introduction' is symbolic both in content and format of the conservative nature of Anglican liturgical scholarship and its continued reliance upon seventeenth century works in the education of American clergy in the early nineteenth century. This conservative and unselfconscious antiquarianism presents itself in the unashamed reliance upon, and citation of, the 'facts and reasonings'² of previous works and in the continued use of catch words, page signatures and lack of pagination characteristic of those previous works.³ Both the content and format of the 'text' show the great lengths to which Reeves and the American House of Bishops were willing to go to relate themselves with the Anglican liturgical apologists of the seventeenth century.

1. Ibid., p.20.

2. Reeves, An Introduction to the Common Prayer, sig. Al^r.

3. The copy consulted is a curious piece of printing history in that it preserves binding and printing techniques uncommon in the early nineteenth century. Not only does the book use catchwords and gatherings, well on their way into disuse in 1801, it also uses two systems of page signatures in its attempts at pagination signing the first leaf in the off cut and the third leaf in the gatherings. Thanks are due to Mr. Geoffrey Hargraves, Assistant Librarian (Rare Books), St. Andrews University Library for this observation.

The reliance upon previous scholarship in liturgy and an emphasis upon the structure, order and underlying principles of liturgy is characteristic of Anglican liturgical scholarship until the Tractarian movement created an interest in the origin and history of liturgies and the correspondence of the Prayer Book with the Middle Ages and antiquity.¹ Even Wheatly who was 'looked upon as a kind of Anglican Durandus of Mende', did little more than reduce 'the work of his predecessors to order and coherence' and 'remained for over a century the standard authority on the Prayer Book'.² Reeves' continued in this tradition and:

... intended ... to give the result of such an examination (i.e. 'close and frequent') to shew the method of arrangement observed in the different services, to explain the connection and design of their parts; trace the sources from which the matter and wording are borrowed; and relate the manner in which the whole was originally formed and has been successively reformed, revised and augmented, by the ecclesiastical advisers to the crown.³

It is into this tradition of liturgical scholarship that Muhlenberg was placed by virtue of his theological education. It is a tradition which looks to the Prayer Book as a historical document and interprets liturgical change and diversity only within the context of the book and only as long as such change and diversity is consistent with the 'canons' or worship. This tradition insists upon set forms of prayer following historical precedent, a degree of uniformity determined by historical precedent and the needs of the worshipping community, and a reasonable acceptance of diversity and of things

1. Addleshaw, The High Church Tradition, pp. 36-37.

2. Ibid., pp. 35-36.

3. Reeves, An Introduction to the Common Prayer, sig. Al^r.

indifferent by members of the worshipping community. The only unalterable rules in this tradition are the insistence upon the use of the Book of Common Prayer, within the degrees of diversity and uniformity allowed by the Book, and episcopal oversight and jurisdiction in questions of liturgical usage.

While one source of Muhlenberg's liturgical innovations may be found in Reeves' collation and abridgement of Wheatly, Beveridge, et al., the language of his arguments for liturgical reform can be found in another collection of works included in the 'Bishops' List'. This collection known as, The London Cases, or, A Collection of Cases and other Discourses Lately Written to Recover Dissenters to the Communion of the Church of England. By Some Divines of the City of London, is a series of thirty-six pamphlets first published between 1682-1684.¹ Within twenty-five years of their publication as a collection or in an abridged form,² The London Cases became part of the accepted works in the education of Anglican clergy and are included in lists of accredited books which provided the basis for the 'Bishops' List' of 1804.³ The London Cases, being the work of eighteen Anglican

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1. John Tillotson, et al., A Collection of Cases and Other Discourses Lately Written to Recover Dissenters to the Communion of the Church of England. By some Divines of the City of London (2 vols., London, 1685).
 2. Thomas Bennet, An Answer to the Dissenters Pleas for Separation, or an Abridgement of the London Cases; Wherein the Substance of those Books is Digested into one Short and Plain Discourse (Cambridge, 1700). Bennet's 'Abridgement' omits John Tillotson's, A Persuasive to Frequent Communion in the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (London, 1684), 'which is wholly foreign to the Design of the Collection'. Preface, n.p.
 3. Perry, Journals of General Conventions, I, p.317. Cf. Christopher Wordsworth, Scholae Academicae. Some Account of the Studies at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century (Cambridge, 1910), p.335.

clergy, seven of whom became bishops (including one non-juror) and three of whom became Archbishops,¹ provided Muhlenberg with arguments for liturgical reform which were consistent with the seventeenth century arguments against dissent. Muhlenberg not only uses material, and language, from The London Cases to justify his departures from the liturgical custom of the mid-nineteenth century, showing his 'innovations' to be consistent with Anglican tradition, he also uses the language of The London Cases to prosecute change within the Episcopal Church in America and to justify his more radical departures from Anglican liturgical customs.²

Other sources of Muhlenberg's innovations may be found outside of the 'Bishops' List' and indicate the influence of an early Oxford Movement opponent, Thomas Arnold, and a Cambridge Camden Society

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1. Those who became Archbishops and Bishops are : John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1690; Thomas Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln, 1691; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1694; Robert Grove, Bishop of Chichester, 1691; John Williams, Bishop of Chichester, 1696; John Sharp, Archbishop of York, 1691; Simon Patrick, Bishop of Chichester, 1689; Bishop of Ely, 1691; and George Hicks, non-juring Bishop of Thetford, 1694.
 2. Muhlenberg's more radical departures from the liturgical tradition being his insistence upon an open pulpit, inter-communion, joint recognition of ministry among Reformed churches, and his practice of omitting the term 'regenerate' in the administration of Holy Baptism. Cf. William Augustus Muhlenberg, Directory in the Use of the Book of Common Prayer for the Church of the Testimony of Jesus, St. John Land, Long Island (New York, 1871). For a discussion of various attempts and compromises in Great Britain concerning liturgical reform see R. C. D. Jasper, 'The Prayer Book in Victorian Era', in The Victorian Crisis of Faith, ed. by Anthony Symondson (London, 1970).

ecclesiologist, John Jebb,¹ upon the development of evangelical catholicism. The first of these works, Arnold's Principles of Church Reform,² is important because of its apparent influence upon Muhlenberg's 'Hints on Catholic Union',³ and the second, Jebb's The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland,⁴ because of its influence upon Muhlenberg's Pastoral Tracts, Nos. I, III and IV.⁵

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1. Rector of Peterstow and member of the 'Cambridge Camden Society', later the 'Ecclesiological Society'. Not to be confused with John Jebb, Bishop of Limerick.

The Cambridge Camden Society was named after the seventeenth century antiquarian, William Camden. Arthur Geoffrey Lough, The Influence of John Mason Neale (London, 1962), p.7.

For an analysis of the history, purpose, leaders and influence of the Society, cf. Lough, The Influence of John Mason Neale (above);

Edward Jacob Boyce, A Memorial of the Cambridge Camden Society, Instituted May, 1839 and the Ecclesiological (Late Cambridge Camden) Society (London and Cambridge, 1888);

Kenneth Clark, The Gothic Revival (London, 1928), chapter VIII, 'Ecclesiology'.

Henry Russell Hitchcock, Early Victorian Architecture in Britain (2 vols., London, 1954).

Phoebe B. Stanton, The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1846 (Baltimore, 1968).

James F. White, The Cambridge Movement: The Ecclesiologists and the Gothic Revival (Cambridge, 1979).

2. Thomas Arnold, Principles of Church Reform (3rd ed., London, 1833).
3. William Augustus Muhlenberg, 'Hints on Catholic Union', Evangelical Catholic Papers, vol. I, pp. 8-76, (originally published, 1835). Cf. Samuel S. Schmucker, Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches, With a Plan for Catholic Union on Apostolic Principles (New York, 1839), for a similar appeal from a prominent Lutheran.
4. John Jebb, The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland: Being an Enquiry into the Liturgical System of the Cathedral and Collegiate Foundations of the Anglican Communion (London, 1843).
5. William Augustus Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts Printed for the use of the members of the Church of the Holy Communion, No. I, 'The Catholic Faith, Whole and Undeified; Sentence of Consecration; Reasons for the Altar; Posture of the Minister in Prayer' (New York, 1847). Pastoral Tracts, No. III, 'Morning Prayer Restored, or the reasons for the division of the service on Sunday Morning, as practiced at the Church of the Holy Communion. Printed for the use of members of this Church' (New York, 1847). Pastoral Tracts, No. IV, 'The Weekly Eucharist, or Pastoral Tract Printed chiefly for the members of the Church of the Holy Communion' (New York, 1848).

Although Jebb is considered a Tractarian his principles of liturgical scholarship are different from those of other members of the Oxford Movement.¹ His approach to liturgy is consistent with that of Wheatly, Beveridge and Sparrow which, as previously noted, is primarily interested in the structure, order, underlying principles and intention of the liturgy. G. W. O. Addleshaw states that only Keble and Jebb continued the work of this 'older school' of Caroline liturgical scholarship within the Oxford Movement² and it is in this 'older school' of liturgy that many of the innovations of William Augustus Muhlenberg can be found as a result of this contact with the works of Wheatly, Beveridge, Sparrow and Jebb.

There has been no previous attempt to study the background and development of Muhlenberg's ideas on the basis of his relationship with the Cambridge Camden Society. Skardon traces indirect influence as a result of Muhlenberg's association with Levi Silliman Ives and John Murray Forbes who were 'officers of a society called the Ecclesiologists, whose purpose was the development of ritual in the Episcopal Church'.³ Skardon makes no attempt to relate the 'Ecclesiologists' with the Cambridge Camden Society of John Jebb, J. M. Neale, et al., whose main purpose was not the development of ritual but rather ecclesiastical art and architecture.⁴ To find evidence of Muhlenberg's familiarity with the work of John Jebb one has only to look to the Pastoral Tracts Muhlenberg published between 1847-1848 in which there are several

1. Addleshaw, The High Church Tradition, p.37.

2. Ibid., p.37.

3. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, p.194.

4. G. W. O. Addleshaw and F. Etchells, The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (London, 1948), pp.203ff. See Lough, The Influence of John Mason Neale, p.9.

references to The Choral Service. It is important to note however that Muhlenberg's association with and commitment to the ideals of Jebb and the Cambridge Camden Society is even more direct than the Pastoral Tracts suggest.

In a brief article entitled, 'Ecclesiology in the United States', which appeared in the Ecclesiologist : the Journal of the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society, information is given that the formation of an Ecclesiological Society for the United States was 'nearly complete'.¹ It seems that interest in Church building was at a high point in the rapidly growing United States and the Ecclesiological Society's belief in 'a specifically Christian style of Church architecture in which every Church must be built'² found many supporters. Within one year a 'Report of the New York Ecclesiological Society' appeared in the Ecclesiologist, giving the details of a meeting held in New York City on Monday, 20th July, 1849.³ At this meeting a paper was read by the Reverend Mr. Preston on, 'The Arrangement of Chancels' which states the Cambridge Camden Society belief that chancels should be 'the distinguishing and essential feature of a church ...' the central focus of which should be 'a plain altar of substantial materials, placed

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1. 'Ecclesiology in the United States', Ecclesiologist, VIII (1847-1848), p.286.
 2. Addleshaw and Etchells, The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship, p.204. See Lough, The Influence of John Mason Neale, pp.12-38.
 3. 'Report of the New York Ecclesiological Society', Ecclesiologist, X (August, 1849), pp.232-234. For a detailed account of the New York Ecclesiological Society cf. Stanton, The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture, pp.159-211. Stanton appears to be the first scholar to note Muhlenberg's direct association with the Cambridge Camden Society on the basis of his membership in the New York Society, pp.160-161.

lengthwise under the east window' and then goes on to point out other essentials in the 'proper arrangement of a church'.¹ This report is evidence of Addleshaw's belief that the Cambridge Camden Society:

... revolutionized the whole appearance and arrangement of our churches, and there is hardly a building in any part of the world, belonging to the Anglican Communion, which does not betray the influence of its ideals.²

The 'Report of the New York Ecclesiological Society' not only shows the international appeal of the Cambridge Camden Society or, then properly called, the Ecclesiological Society, it also contains evidence of Muhlenberg's direct association with the Ecclesiological Society of New York which, in 1849, was formally admitted into union with the Ecclesiological Society of Great Britain.³ At the 2nd July, 1849 meeting of the New York Ecclesiological Society, William Augustus Muhlenberg was formally admitted as a member of the Society.⁴

Evidence of Muhlenberg's acquaintance with the work of Thomas Arnold is less direct, although the similarities between Principles of

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1. Ibid., pp.232-233. It is interesting to note that Mr. Preston's paper presents an argument for the arrangement of churches which is remarkably similar to that of Muhlenberg's recently completed Church of the Holy Communion. Cf. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.106-109. For an external view of Muhlenberg's parish cf. Everard M. Upjohn, Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman (New York, 1939), fig. 35; and Robert Dale Owen, Hints on Public Architecture (New York, 1849), pp.62 and 71.
 2. Addleshaw and Etchells, The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship, pp.203-204. The next meeting of the New York Ecclesiological Society was to hear a paper on, 'The Propriety of Adopting a Single Style of Church Architecture', Ecclesiologist, X, p.233. The appeal was probably as much pragmatic and financial as it was romantic and aesthetic.
 3. Report of the Ecclesiological (late Cambridge Camden) Society : 1847-48-49 (London, 1849), p.173.
 4. 'Report of the New York Ecclesiological Society', Ecclesiologist, X, p.233.

Church Reform and 'Hints on Catholic Union' are striking. 'Hints on Catholic Union' presents Muhlenberg's rationale for Church reform and has some bearing upon his liturgical innovations at the Church of the Holy Communion. 'Hints', and the anonymous tract published by Muhlenberg in its defence,¹ may be the most important published works of William Augustus Muhlenberg for providing insight into the evangelical catholicism he championed throughout his life. 'Hints', in which Muhlenberg sets forth a proposal for Christian union based upon 'expediency' and 'practical wisdom',² are embryonic forms of his later ideas of Christian union and is offered as an inquiry into the possibility of union and not as a plan for union. Muhlenberg thought inquiry practical because he felt Protestant Churches had historically undervalued external union to the detriment of their ministry. He felt the time was 'ripe for combination among Churches' because 'at no time since the Reformation had there been a greater concern for the grand interests of Christianity'.³ The catalyst for union in Muhlenberg's 'Hints' are the common problems faced by all Christian traditions as a result of industrialisation and urbanisation.

Although Arnold's primary concern in Principles of Church Reform is the extension and maintenance of the Established Church in the British Isles his reasons for wishing to enlarge the establishment and

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1. William Augustus Muhlenberg, Catholic Union : defended and considered in its relation to the Protestant Episcopal Church by Catholicus (New York, 1836).
 2. Muhlenberg, 'Hints on Catholic Union', E.C.P., I, p.10. 'Hints' was intended to be published with extracts from Jeremy Taylor's, Liberty of Prophesying which Muhlenberg considered exemplary of 'An enlightened spirit of toleration [which] must lie at the foundation of all schemes of Christian Union', E.C.P., I, p.56.
 3. Ibid., p.17.

his means of doing so are very similar to those of Muhlenberg. His reasons for urging reforms in the Church of England grew from his awareness of the inability of the established Church to enjoy the same flexibility of worship, practical preaching and adaptability enjoyed by dissenting Churches in the rapidly growing towns and new settlements of industrial Britain.¹ He suggests ways in which the Church of England can reform its worship and polity in order to make itself more attractive to those who dissent from it. The suggestions for reform and assumptions regarding the possibility of Christian union are the same as those found in 'Hints on Catholic Union' and indicate a degree of influence upon Muhlenberg's thought previously overlooked in studies of evangelical catholicism.

Arnold's basic assumption underlying Principles of Church Reform is expressed in the rhetorical question:

... since disunion is something so contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and difference of opinion a thing so inevitable to human nature, might it not be possible to escape the former without ^{the folly of} attempting to get rid of the latter; to contribute a Church so thoroughly national, thoroughly united, thoroughly Christian, which should allow great varieties of opinion, and of ceremonies, and forms of worship, according to the various knowledge, and habits and tempers of its members, while it truly held one common faith, and trusted ⁱⁿ one common Saviour, and worshipped one common God?²

Both Muhlenberg and Arnold assume a spiritual unity among Christians and seek to present ways in which this spiritual unity could provide the basis for unity among various traditions. Muhlenberg considered the spiritual unity of Christians to be 'sufficiently understood by the world, and ... recognized as one of the most convincing proofs of the veracity

1. Arnold, Principles of Church Reform, pp.24-25.

2. Ibid., pp.28-29.

of their religion'.¹ He presents the same articles of spiritual unity shared by Christians as Arnold does in Principles of Church Reform. He assumes that since all Christians worship one God, share the same 'elevated and spiritual apprehensions of the Divine Character', the same reliance upon Christ as mediator, the same morality and understanding of the centrality of conscience, the same hope and aspiration toward charity, that union is possible.²

The type of Christian union Muhlenberg desired is similar to what later became the Evangelical Alliance. What he called for was:

... a confederacy among the leading Protestant Churches ... analagous to the civil union of our own country ... leaving to the separate Churches all their original independence, but uniting them, if not under one government, yet in the adoption of all the great principles they hold in common ... The essential articles of agreement in a confederacy would relate to doctrine, the ministry and public worship.³

'Hints on Catholic Union' represents an attempt by Muhlenberg to suggest ways in which the Episcopal Church could adapt itself in ministry and public worship in order to become a nucleus of union among Protestant Churches in the United States. He assumes that union in doctrine exists among Protestants.⁴ He, perhaps naively, assumes that the Apostles' Creed would be a suitable doctrinal expression of the common faith and:

If the Apostles' Creed were thought too general (and perhaps in these days of radical error it might not be sufficiently definite), nothing would be easier than

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1. Muhlenberg, 'Hints on Catholic Union', E.C.P., I, p.13.
 2. Ibid., pp.13-14. Cf. Arnold, Principles of Church Reform, p.30.
 3. Ibid., p.18.
 4. Ibid., p.19.

to frame a set of articles asserting the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, to which ninetenths of the Protestants would assent.¹

Arnold does not share Muhlenberg's optimism concerning the ability of the Apostles' Creed, or any other for that matter, to serve as a doctrinal basis for union. He presents his Principles for Church Reform assuming that differences in religious opinions are unavoidable because there exists no infallible authority to decide controversies between Christians.² What Arnold does share with Muhlenberg is a belief that union is desirable,³ that dissent impairs common mission⁴ and that:

... to extinguish Dissent by persecution being both wicked and impossible, there remains the true, but hitherto untried way, to extinguish it by comprehension; that different tribes should act together as it were in one army, and under one command, yet should each retain the arms and manner of fighting with which habit has made them most familiar.⁵

Comprehension in doctrine, ministry and worship are the common aims of Arnold and Muhlenberg. Although differing as to the possibility of doctrinal unity among Christians, Arnold and Muhlenberg show remarkable similarities in their approach to union in ministry and worship. The means of achieving union in these areas presented by Arnold indicate the degree to which he may be considered important in questions regarding the background and development of Muhlenberg's ideas.

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1. Ibid., p.20. The fundamental doctrines of the Gospel concerned the nature and attributes of God, the divinity and atonement of Jesus Christ, the fallen condition of man, regeneration and sanctification of the soul by the Holy Spirit, and justification of the sinner in Jesus Christ alone and good works as the necessary fruit of faith.
 2. Arnold, Principles of Church Reform, p.28.
 3. Ibid., p.iv. Cf. Muhlenberg, 'Hints on Catholic Union', E.C.P., I, pp.14-15.
 4. Ibid., p.iv. Cf. Muhlenberg, 'Hints on Catholic Union', E.C.P., I, p.17.
 5. Ibid., p.iv. Cf. Muhlenberg, 'Hints on Catholic Union', E.C.P., I, pp.15-18.

Union in ministry was to be achieved in Arnold's plan after significant changes occurred in the administration of the Church of England. The changes would create greater participation by the laity in the affairs of the Church, particularly in areas of maintenance and discipline, through the establishment of lay involvement in Diocesan Councils and yearly meetings of General Assemblies in each Diocese.¹ The first thing necessary to facilitate the administrative changes would be the division of the dioceses into smaller geographical areas, each large town becoming a bishopric, the present sees becoming provinces.² The second change required in the national establishment was its extension to include all Christians within the realm, and to insure that all members, clerical and lay would share in the election of members of Diocesan Councils.³ The administrative changes presented by Arnold presume episcopal oversight but are designed to create an administration appealing to both Episcopalians and Dissenters. Arnold's changes seek to create an administration which is episcopal, as required by Episcopalians, and non-prelatical, as required by Dissenters.⁴ His changes are designed to make the established Church of England more efficient and popular:

1st By reducing the size of the dioceses:

2nd By giving the bishop a council consisting of lay members and of clerical, and partly elected by the officers of the respective parishes, which officers should themselves also be lay and clerical, and, for the most part elected directly by the inhabitants:

3rd By the institution of diocesan general assemblies:

1. Ibid., pp.45 and 50-51.

2. Ibid., pp.48-49.

3. Ibid., p.52.

4. Ibid., p.49.

- 4th By admitting into the establishment persons of a class much too poor to support the expense of a university education, but who may be exceedingly useful as ministers, and who do preach at present, but under circumstances which make them necessarily hostile to the National Church, and leave them utterly at liberty to follow their own caprices:
- 5th By allowing in many cases the election of ministers and by giving inhabitants of the parish in every case, a greater check over their appointment than they at present enjoy: and
- 6th By constituting church officers in every parish, lay as well as clerical, who should share with¹ the principle minister in its superintendance.

These basic changes proposed by Arnold are not relevant to Muhlenberg's 'Hints' primarily because the American Episcopal Church incorporated many of them into its life as a result of its colonial experience and its non-established character.² What is relevant however are the attempts by Arnold to make the episcopate and mutual recognition of ministry among different traditions the comprehensive basis for union in ministry. Arnold asserts that:

... the whole of this scheme supposes an episcopal government, and requires that all ministers should receive episcopal ordination. The Establishment is entitled surely to this concession from the Dissenters, especially when Episcopacy will have been divested of all those points against which their objections have been particularly levelled. Besides there are many members of the Establishment who believe Episcopacy not expedient only, but absolutely essential to a Christian Church : and their scruples are entitled to quite as much respect as those of the Dissenters. And when experience has shown that Episcopalians will be satisfied if the mere name of a bishop is preserved - for nothing can be more different in all essential points, than our Episcopacy and that of the primitive Church - and as the name is recommended not only by

1. Ibid., pp.55-56.

2. John Henry Newman considered the way in which the Episcopal Church developed in the United States to be deficient and the 'system of lay interference' in the affairs of the church to be 'an absolute bar to the development of Catholicity'. See Newman, Essays Critical and Historical, I, pp.355-362.

its ancient and almost universal use throughout Christendom, but by its familiarity to ourselves and its long existence in our own constitution, there seems every reason why it should be retained - and why those who may have objected to a prelate lording it over Christ's Church with absolute authority, may readily acknowledge the limited authority of a bishop, the president of his council of elders, supreme in rank, but controlled effectually in power.¹

Muhlenberg also assumes episcopal government in his inquiry into the possibility of Church union. He proposes the only way of deciding a 'proper channel of an external commission of the ministry' is by mutual agreement among member churches.² He states:

In a council of representatives from the various churches assembled to debate the matter, let it be agreed to adopt that form of ordination, or conveyance of the external commission of the ministry, which all believe to be sufficient, and not repugnant to the word of God ... The single point to be determined should be, what form of ordination is acknowledged to be valid by all and may be received by all without any sacrifice of conscience.³

He confidently presents episcopal ordination as 'that form of ordination ... which is universally acknowledged to be valid, and not repugnant to the word of God'.⁴ His reasons for doing so are that the majority of:

... all the ministers of Christ, since the foundation of the Church, have had episcopal ordination ... All who have it profess to have received it by transmission from the earliest ages, and the line of succession cannot be shown to end anywhere below the Apostles ... Supposing the question of episcopacy incapable of decision on the premises of the New Testament alone ... it can hardly be denied that early ecclesiastical

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1. Arnold, Principles of Church Reform, pp.56-57.
 2. Muhlenberg, 'Hints on Catholic Union', E.C.P., I, p.21.
 3. Ibid., pp.21-22.
 4. Ibid., p.46.

history rather turns the scales in its favor ...

and that:

Men revered by all parties for their piety, wisdom, learning, and enlightened philosophy, have asserted episcopacy, while comparatively few equally eminent in these respects, and having equally the confidence of the Church at large, have opposed it, except in a form of a corrupt prelacy, or in alliance with political abuses.¹

Muhlenberg asserts that:

These are not adduced as arguments for episcopacy, but simply as reasons, on the principles of human nature, why those who reject it should be disposed to believe that possibly they may be mistaken, and those who receive it are, at least on the side of the question ... non episcopalians maybe right, but Episcopalians cannot, by common consent be wrong.²

Although he felt:

These views ought to exonerate Episcopalians from the charge of either bigotry or presumption in urging the ordination of their own Church, though a minority in Protestant Christendom, as a bond of union for all,³

bigotry and presumption were justifiable charges should the Episcopal Church fail to extend episcopal ordination⁴ to those who seek it although differing from the Episcopal Church in matters of worship or doctrine.

He asks:

... is the church at liberty to withhold ordination from candidates for the ministry, whose creed she cannot

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1. Ibid., pp.46-47. Cf. John H. Newman, 'On Arguing concerning the Apostolical Succession', Tracts for the Times, I (1833-1834), Tract XIX, p.2.
 2. Ibid., p.48.
 3. Ibid., p.48.
 4. Muhlenberg, Catholic Union, pp.14-15. Muhlenberg carefully distinguishes between episcopal ordination and episcopal government. His proposal extends the former to all Reformed churches and demands the latter for his own. Cf. John Keble, 'Adherence to the Apostolical Succession the Safest Course', Tracts for the Times, I (1833-1834), Tract IV, p.6.

impeach in the great articles of the Catholic faith?
 who profess 'evangelical truth' and come to her for
 'apostolical order'?¹

Muhlenberg thought the Episcopal Church possessed 'peculiar requisites for becoming a rallying point among Protestants'² and that the promotion of unity was its duty. As regards the episcopate as the external means of commissioning the ministry:

If they [Episcopalians] have the divine treasure in the Episcopacy, they must hold it on the common condition of all the gifts of heaven : 'freely give' : and should be ready bountifully to bestow it wherever it is sincerely desired, for the purpose for which it was originally ordained.³

What Muhlenberg hoped for was a confederacy of Reformed churches advised and directed by 'a certain number of wise and experienced men ... chosen by the respective churches to represent them in the union'⁴ which, on the basis of episcopal ordination, recognised diversity of ritual practice and uniformity in doctrine. Such a confederacy would allow a Presbyterian minister or Lutheran pastor the authority to preach and administer the sacraments in an Episcopal Church according to Episcopal custom, although made flexible to differing doctrinal viewpoints by rubrical change, and an Episcopal priest the authority to

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1. Ibid., p.12. Muhlenberg and Newman are again at odds on the question of evangelical faith and apostolic order. Newman says: 'When will men learn that the true religious principle is one, and all its parts are parts of one? Apostolicity is not an addition, or a completion; it is one side, one whole aspect of Christian truth and Evangelicity is another side. They are different modes of viewing one and the same thing; a man cannot have the Evangelic principle in purity without the Apostolic, nor the Apostolic without the Evangelical; they go together'. Newman, Essays Critical and Historical, I, p.365.
 2. Muhlenberg, 'Hints on Catholic Union', E.C.P., I, pp.32-33.
 3. Ibid., pp.48-49.
 4. Ibid., p.27.

depart from Episcopal liturgical usage when ministering in member churches or mission situations.¹

The whole question of union in worship is seen by Arnold and Muhlenberg as being easily resolved provided the Episcopal Church altered its tradition of strict adherence to the use of the Book of Common Prayer in worship. Arnold suggests the use of the Prayer Book, 'with some few alterations', once on every Sunday and holy day throughout the year in every Parish Church, followed by a second service on the same day allowing variety.² He anticipates the Parish Communion now common throughout the Anglican Communion when he says:

... something more attractive is needed than the mere uniform reading of the same prayers and going through the same forms day after day, both morning and evening. Nor should I think it an evil, but a great good, that different services should be performed at different times of the day and week within the walls of the same church. Not only do the various tastes and degrees of knowledge amongst men require varieties in the form of their religious services : but the very same men are not always in the mood for the same things : there are times when we should feel most in unison with the deep solemnity of the Liturgy : there are times, also, when we should enjoy a freer and more social service; and for the sake of greater familiarity, should pardon some insipidity and some extravagance.³

He insists upon diversity in prayer and in music in the national establishment and urges 'repealing those laws which permit nothing but the liturgy to be read in the Church ...'.⁴

Muhlenberg sees uniformity in worship as neither essential nor expedient to Christian union. He does, however, see it as being easily

1. Muhlenberg, Catholic Union, p.14.

2. Arnold, Principles of Church Reform, p.66.

3. Ibid., p.67.

4. Ibid., pp.70-71 and 80.81.

accomplished and one of the most powerful means of confirming union.¹ He suggests uniformity in the reading of Scripture on Sundays and holy days, the eclectic use of hymns and psalms to avoid 'sectarianism in music' and the use of both precomposed and extemporaneous prayer in worship.²

The greatest barrier to union in Muhlenberg's 'Hints' is the question regarding episcopal ordination. Not only was it a stumbling block to those whose traditions commissioned ministry in other ways, it was also a stumbling block to those bishops who could not accept the doctrinal or liturgical differences of persons seeking ordination. Muhlenberg dealt with the question:

Should a Christian bishop refuse ordination to anyone desiring it, whom he believes to be of holy life, sufficient ability and sound essentials of the Christian faith?³

but who did not accept infant baptism, in the following manner. 'The bishop is bound by the most solemn obligations, assumed at the time of his consecration to maintain the discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church.'⁴ The bishop has no choice in the matter and must refuse ordination. Muhlenberg considered refusal to ordain someone because of the conscientious objection to indifferent matters of faith or discipline to be a narrow submission to 'human frailty, that from prejudice, from a thousand oblique associations, a nice distinction in doctrine, conformity with a rubric or canon, or even compliance with mere usage'

1. Muhlenberg, 'Hints on Catholic Union', E.C.P., I, p.24.

2. Ibid., pp.24-27.

3. Ibid., p.38.

4. Ibid., p.38.

magnifies such matters 'into the very cornerstone of the faith'.¹

Such interest in minor details of conformity 'hinders the saving truths of the everlasting Gospel'.² He urges that:

... provision be made for the bishop to exercise his power both as a bishop of the Church Protestant Episcopal, and as a bishop of the Church Catholic ... his duties to the Church Catholic, as a minister of Jesus are prior to his duty to a particular church. When they come in collision, it is evident which must yield.³

Muhlenberg felt that the Episcopal Church should 'be the first to make a practical distinction between the essentials and non essentials of sectarian creeds ...' and 'let not practices and usages, however excellent and venerable, be elevated to a rank with the saving truths of the gospel'.⁴

'Hints on Catholic Union' and the anonymously published tract in its defence are early examples of ideas Muhlenberg held throughout his ministry. They are remarkably similar to Arnold's Principles of Church Reform in that in matters of Christian doctrine, worship and ministry unity is sought by means of the comprehensive extension of episcopal ordination to dissenting traditions as well as the introduction of flexibility into Anglican liturgy previously hindered by rubrical authority and long standing custom. Christian union was dependent upon the comprehensive and innovative use of the distinct elements of the Anglican tradition both in the United States and in Great Britain. Both Muhlenberg and Arnold present ways of adapting those elements of

1. Ibid., pp.42-43.

2. Ibid., p.43.

3. Ibid., p.44.

4. Muhlenberg, Catholic Union, pp.11-12.

the Anglican tradition (the episcopate and the Book of Common Prayer) which separated Episcopalians from other Reformed churches in order that those elements might become the basis and means of union.

Many of the liturgical innovations Muhlenberg presented in the course of his ministry represent his attempt to enhance the comprehensive nature of Anglican worship. His innovations, based upon the liturgical works of Wheatly and Jebb, are attempts to give expression to the underlying principle of the Book of Common Prayer : that principle being understood by Muhlenberg as evangelical catholicism.

The reasons for Muhlenberg coming to New York City, the building of the Church of the Holy Communion as a free church from his widowed sister's legacy, and the reaction to his liturgical innovations are well covered by Alvin Skardon's biography.¹ He cites Muhlenberg's most radical innovations being expressed in the interior design of the church, his insistence upon the free pew system, holding different services on the same day and the practice of having a celebration of the Holy Communion on every Sunday as well as on weekdays when the occasion required.² The central position of the altar, the insistence upon the centrality of the Eucharist in Christian worship the wearing of a surplice, a vested choir and Muhlenberg's associations with the lower classes of New York led to many misunderstandings regarding his churchmanship. Muhlenberg was considered by many to be a 'Puseyite'. Skardon

1. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.100-124. Cf. Stanton, The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture, pp.68-70.

2. Ibid., pp.108-109 and 112. For a contemporary account of the interior arrangement of Episcopal Churches in New York prior to the 'innovations' in architecture and arrangement of the ecclesiologists see Charles Haynes Haswell, Reminiscences of an Octogenarian of the City of New York, 1816-1860 (New York, 1896), pp.199-200.

speculates that it was:

... to combat these preconceptions concerning himself and his parish that Muhlenberg issued a series of tracts explaining and defending those aspects of the parish which were considered novelties by his contemporaries.¹

This series of tracts, known as, Pastoral Tracts : Printed for the use of Members of the Church of the Holy Communion, shows Muhlenberg not to be an innovator in liturgy but rather a pastor passionately committed to the restoration and adaptation of the High Church tradition of the seventeenth century appropriating material and ideas supporting his ideals from the sources available in his theological education as well as material from the works of Arnold and Jebb.

Muhlenberg's first tract, 'The Catholic Faith Whole and Undefined; Sentence of Consecration; Reasons for the Altar; Posture of the Minister in Prayer', was published in 1847.² It represents his application of ideas expressed in 'Hints on Catholic Union' to the parish ministry as well as the degree to which Muhlenberg consistently held the position maintained by Arnold. It also represents the degree to which Muhlenberg consistently used the resources contained in the 'Bishops' List' of 1804 throughout his ministry.

In describing the quality of wholeness believed inherent in the catholic nature of the Episcopal Church, Muhlenberg restates the basic ideas of 'Hints'. The essential elements of 'The Catholic Faith Whole and Undefined' relate to doctrine, ministry and worship and he endeavours

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1. Ibid., p.189. The Oxford Movement and the 'novelties' of Pusey, et al. were denounced as 'putrid meat' in church periodicals in the United States. Kenneth Peck, 'The Oxford Controversy in America : 1839', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XXXIII (March, 1964), p.51.
 2. Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.I (New York, 1847).

to explain the minimum standards of adherence to these elements required for catholic 'wholeness' in this tract. The essential elements of the catholic faith, 'whole', are:

- (1) Holy Scriptures and (for their right interpretation in the fundamental of the faith) we have the universal creeds:
- (2) ... the Christian Ministry, as it has come down to us in an unbroken series of ordinations, from those on whom the great High Priest at first laid hands:
- (3) ... the Holy Sacraments; we have incorporated in our services parts of the most ancient liturgies; we have various 'forms of sound words'. To these we would hold fast, as we would keep the Catholic faith Whole.¹

The use of the term 'catholic' in describing a parish church in New York City in 1847 was subject to misunderstanding. Muhlenberg attempts to explain his use of the term and the extent to which the Episcopal Church, as a catholic church, differed from the Roman Catholic Church. The difference, according to Muhlenberg, lay in the fact that the Roman Catholic Church was 'defiled' as any church could be 'whenever additions are made to the Faith which are not founded on the Word of God'.² In this tract Muhlenberg tried to show that the term 'catholic' was a positive and proper designation for the Episcopal Church. The solution to the identity crisis of whether the Episcopal Church was properly catholic or protestant is seen in the underlying principles of the Book of Common Prayer. Muhlenberg states:

Were our zeal and practice more worthy of our principles;
had our professions of churchmanship less of a sectarian

1. Ibid., p.6.

2. Ibid., p.6. Cf. A. P. Perceval, 'Account of Religious Sects At Present Existing in England', Tracts for the Times, I (1833-1834), Tract XXXVI, for a similar division of Christians into groups who either reject the truth, teach it only in part or teach more than the truth.

spirit; were we united, Clergy and Laity, heart and head, in giving actual existence to the church contemplated in the Prayer Book, we should find ourselves gradually becoming, and recognized by others, an American Catholic Church.¹

To express 'the Catholic faith as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer' significant departures from custom would be required.²

Muhlenberg concurs with Jebb in a belief that the original intention of the Book of Common Prayer had, by the mid-nineteenth century, become buried under conflicting layers of usage and custom. Jebb states:

The standard now appealed to is the theory of the Church, clearly expressed by authoritative documents, and by the consistent practice of ancient times. The glorious idea of liturgical administration intended by the Church, but, through various conflicting causes, never carried universally into full effect, comprehends the utmost perfection of divine worship in all its parts, whether as regards the glory of God, or the edification of man. It will be the object of the following pages to show in detail all the several instruments provided to this end by the slighted wisdom of the Church of England, and the original integrity of her perverted plan.³

What Jebb goes on to do in his work is present an apology for departures from the liturgical norms of the nineteenth century Anglican church he believes consistent with the intention and spirit of Anglican worship. Muhlenberg follows his lead in this regard and states that at his parish:

While there will be a conformity to the strictness of the letter of the book, its evident intention will also be a guide in the use of it; and whatever liberty it allows will be employed in accordance with, and in fuller development of its spirit. If in any customs or practices we chance to differ from our fellow

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1. Ibid., p.8. Cf. John Keble, 'The Sunday Lessons. The Principle of Selection', Tracts for the Times, I (1833-1834), Tract XIII, p.7 for a discussion of 'spontaneous evolution' and the process whereby the church 'contemplated in the Prayer Book' is given concrete expression. Cf. Addleshaw, The High Church Tradition, p.37.
 2. Ibid., p.10.
 3. Jebb, The Choral Service, p.10.

churchmen elsewhere, let it not be set down to a mere desire to change, - much less to a spirit of innovation. The sincere endeavor will be to do justice to the service according to its original design, and to conform it, by such means as are allowable, to the varying seasons of the ecclesiastical year.¹

Printed with 'The Catholic Faith, Whole and undefiled' are three short items in which Muhlenberg attempts to clarify his position regarding the nature of a 'free church' charging no pew rents, the interior arrangements of the Church of the Holy Communion and the posture taken by the minister in prayer at his parish church. The first of these appendices is the sentence of consecration in which Levi S. Ives, Bishop of North Carolina, states, '... I hereby pronounce the seats of the same Church open and free to all persons, and to be kept open and

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1. Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.I, p.10. A first hand report of what worship and life was like at Muhlenberg's parish is given by Henry Caswell. He states:

One of its peculiarities, from the first, and one of its great recommendations, was its being a free church ... having all its seats open, unappropriated and free; another was its adopting a division of the Services; and another its having a Choral Service, along with other correct and devotional ritual observances, new to Americans ... There was Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays, and the other appointed observances of all the Holy Days and Seasons of the Church. On Sunday, Morning Prayer was, as on other days, at 8 o' clock; and at half-past 10, the usual morning Church going time in New York, the Service commenced with the Litany, which was said kneeling at the communion rails. After a pause, an introit was sung, during which the officiating ministers took their places in front of the Altar, and the Communion Service was proceeded with, which included the singing of the Nicene Creed ... The Communion Service, too, is never mutilated: there is always a celebration, and the number of communicants weekly is considerable. At Morning and Evening Prayer, both the Canticles and Psalms are chanted in a superior style, there being a good choir ...

Caswell, Recent Recollections, pp.136-138.

free to all persons ...'.¹ The second and third additions to the tract explain the reasons for the central position of the altar as 'a distinct and principal object in a Christian Church'² and the eastward position of the minister facing the altar in prayer.

Muhlenberg's arguments concerning the use of the term 'altar' and its placement in the Church of the Holy Communion are similar to those of Wheatly/Reeves and Jebb. Muhlenberg refers to the altar as a 'holy table' because, 'The rite there celebrated is the Holy Supper; the sacred feast which is the bond of the holy communion of the faithful'.³ He uses the term 'altar' because:

... there is a solemn offering of the elements to God as a memorial of the sacrifice of the death of Christ. There is a commemorative and symbolical oblation, and then the table becomes also an Altar ...⁴

Jebb uses much the same argument in his section, 'Of the Holy Table', in The Choral Service.⁵ To him, both terms are required:

An Altar, considered in its literal sense, is properly a table on which offerings are made : and on the Christian Altar these are oblations of alms, and of bread and wine, on which the blessing of God is implored to sanctify them to our spiritual good.⁶

Reeves cites the Elizabethan settlement as establishing '... no essential difference between Altars and Tables ...'⁷ although Wheatly cites

1. Ibid., p.12.

2. Ibid., p.13. Cf. Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.IV, 'The Weekly Eucharist', note, on the use of the terms, 'Altar', 'sacrifice' and 'priest', pp.32-35.

3. Ibid., p.13.

4. Ibid., pp.13-14.

5. Jebb, The Choral Service, pp.464-467.

6. Ibid., p.465.

7. Reeves, An Introduction to the Common Prayer, sig. G1^r. Cf. Wheatly, A Rational Illustration, pp.167-168.

an essential difference between the meanings the terms imply. He states that from the fourth century, '... both names came to be promiscuously us'd : the one having respect to the Oblation of the Eucharist, the other to the Participation'.¹ Anthony Sparrow goes into greater detail in explaining the use of the terms 'altar' and 'table' by saying:

Now, that no man take offence at the word Altar, let him know that anciently both these names, Altar and Holy Table, were used for the same things : though most frequently, the Fathers and Councils use the word Altar. And both are fit names for that holy thing. For the Holy Eucharist being considered as a sacrifice, in the representation of the breaking of the Bread, and pouring forth the Cup, doing that to the holy Symbols which was done to Christ's Body and Blood, and so shewing forth and commemorating the Lord's Death and offering upon it the same Sacrifice, that was offered upon the Cross, or rather a Commemoration of the Sacrifice ...²

Muhlenberg, consistent with the liturgical tradition of Wheatly/Reeves and Sparrow refers to the central feature of a Christian church as:

The Altar and the Table - the Table and the Altar, both in one - in as much as our common interest in the sacrifice and death of Christ is the bond of our Christian fellowship.³

In his explanation of the position of the minister in prayer

Muhlenberg departs from the posture maintained by Wheatly and Reeves. The position maintained by Wheatly is the north end celebration during

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1. Wheatly, A Rational Illustration, pp.273-274.
 2. Sparrow, A Rationale, upon the Book of Common Prayer, p.379.
 3. Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.I, p.14. The whole argument surrounding the terms 'altar' and 'table' in the nineteenth century is remarkably similar to the same controversy in the seventeenth. Cf. Peter Heylin, Antidotum Lincolnense, or An Answer to a Book Entitled, The Holy Table, Name and Thing, etc. (London, 1637). Cf. John Williams, The Holy Table, Name and Thing, More antiently, properly and Literally used under the New Testament, then that of an Altar (London, 1637).

the Eucharist because it facilitates visual participation by the laity and is maintained by rubrical authority.¹ Reeves, depending largely upon Wheatly, says, 'The direction for the Priest to stand on the north side, is, that he may be seen and heard',² as well as to distinguish Anglican practice from that of 'The Romish Priests'.³ As far as Jebb is concerned 'such questions seem a mere waste of time; and a deviation from the established method [the western position, facing east],⁴ so decorous and so reasonable, is worse than childish'.⁵ Muhlenberg accepts Jebb's attitude regarding the position of the celebrant at the Holy Eucharist. In his appendix to 'The Catholic Faith, Whole and Undeiled', he supports his acceptance of Jebb's 'innovation' in the following way:

Because the altar is the central focus of a Christian church, the congregation should, and does, face it, 'particularly when engaged in prayer'.⁶ Since this attitude in prayer is proper for the people it is equally so for the minister. Muhlenberg considered the practice not only proper, but also natural because:

When we speak to the people we face them, ... and also when we perform acts of worship with them antiphonally, as in reading or singing the Psalms. When we speak to God for them and with them, we make one with them. As our minds are in the same direction as theirs, so we put our bodies in the same directions.⁷

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1. Wheatly, A Rational Illustration, pp.275-276.
 2. Reeves, An Introduction to the Common Prayer, sig. G2^V.
 3. Ibid., sig. G2^V.
 4. Jebb, The Choral Service, pp.508-510.
 5. Ibid., pp.471-472.
 6. Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.I, p.15.
 7. Ibid., p.16. Muhlenberg cites an engraving found in Sparrow's, A Rationale, upon the Book of Common Prayer, (frontispiece, 1668 edition) which shows a minister kneeling at a litany desk in the centre aisle of the nave, facing the altar with the congregation, to support his 'innovation'. See also Sparrow, A Rationale, p.25.

Not only is the practice proper and natural, it is also:

... more favorable to the devotion of the minister. He can be more private, and has less to distract his attention ... It is more favorable to uttering the prayers as prayers. When facing the people, the minister is more apt to use the voice of a preacher.¹

Responding to the criticism that 'Ministers should be careful how they turn their backs upon those from whom they get their bread and butter',² Muhlenberg states that no 'intentional disrespect' is meant by the minister, although some may think the practice 'seems to slight the supremacy of the people'.³ He accepts the traditional north end position only upon practical grounds when the minister is unable to be heard by the people when facing eastward.⁴

Muhlenberg, after citing many authorities who justify the eastward position, states, '... I do not rest upon authority, so much as upon the decency and fitness of the thing itself ...'.⁵ His arguments for 'the decency and fitness' of this innovation are centred in a defence of the liturgical practice of the Church of the Holy Communion which he considered consistent with, and supported by, the Anglican tradition. His arguments are essentially those of Anthony Sparrow who defended the eastward position in 1668:

... because it is fit in our prayers to look Towards that part of the church or chancel which is the highest and chief, and where God affords his most gracious and mysterious presence, and that is the holy table and altar, which anciently was placed towards the upper or east end of the Chancel. This is the highest part of the church, set apart for the highest of religious

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1. Ibid., pp.16-17.
 2. Ibid., fn., p.17.
 3. Ibid., pp.16-17.
 4. Ibid., fn., p.18.
 5. Ibid., p.22.

services, the consecration and distribution of the Holy Eucharist, here is exhibited the most gracious and mysterious presence of God that in this life we are capable of, the presence of his most holy Body and Blood.¹

Muhlenberg dismisses Reeves' concern about the confusion between Anglican and Roman practices should the eastward position take precedent over north end celebrations and sums up his understanding of 'undefiled', catholic liturgy saying:

As to its 'looking like Popery', the objection is too vague to be answered. With some people, all attention to solemnity and reverence in the exterior of Divine worship is popish. This is making a concession for which I am not prepared. But since the feeling does exist - since an indifference to the forms of religion, if not a positive contempt of them has been charged to Protestantism, as one of its legitimate fruits - let us feel the more bound to do justice to our Protestant Liturgy; not, indeed by conforming it to the services of the Roman Altar, but by celebrating it with decency and order, whether, to the careless eye, it resembles them or not. It can never really resemble them. With us the priest is not performing a service for the benefit of the people, in an unknown tongue. Our worship is a joint act of minister and people, and in dignity, simplicity, intelligibility, and in all the properties of a reasonable service, it is a worthy exponent of the Catholic Faith undefiled.²

In matters of ecclesiology and liturgical worship he felt, 'It is high time to break up the association, in people's minds, between symbolical worship and Romanism'.³

As far as Muhlenberg was concerned 'symbolical worship' was part of the Anglican liturgical heritage which was overlooked in the United States. His parochial ministry at the Church of the Holy Communion sought to give expression to the liturgical heritage preserved in the

1. Sparrow, A Rationale, upon the Book of Common Prayer, pp.46 and 44.

2. Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.I, p.22.

3. Ibid., p.22.

'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' which Muhlenberg understood to be evangelical and catholic. Pastoral Tract, No.I, 'The Catholic Faith, Whole and Undeiled', represents Muhlenberg's first attempts to articulate his understanding of evangelical catholicism within a parish setting. His Pastoral Tracts are written following Jebb's advice that:

The introduction of any obsolete custom, however obligatory by the letter of the Church authority without clear explanations to the people of the grounds of the obligation, and of the principle upon which it is resumed, and without due preparation and instruction of their minds, has produced in many instances lamentable consequences, and defeated the very object of edification which the Church has ever anxiously proposed.¹

The second tract written by Muhlenberg is a selection of 'Anthems and Devotions for Passion Week and Easter'² and is not relevant to this study of his liturgical innovations. It does, however, indicate his high regard for the relationship between worship and the Christian calendar of festivals, fasts, holy days and seasons. Pastoral Tracts, No.III, however, is important in that it continues Muhlenberg's attempts to justify his departures from contemporary Episcopal usage showing them consistent with the original intention and spirit of the Book of Common Prayer. Pastoral Tracts, No.III, 'Morning Prayer Restored, or the Reasons for the Division of the Service on Sunday Morning, as practiced at the Church of the Holy Communion', was originally presented as a lecture to explain the startling innovation of separating the

1. Jebb, The Choral Service, p.218.

2. William Augustus Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.II, 'Anthems and Devotions for Passion Week and Easter. For the use of the members of the Church of the Holy Communion' (New York, 1847).

service of Morning Prayer from the celebration of the Holy Communion. When printed as a tract the material was specifically intended to assist the parishoners of the Church of the Holy Communion 'in answering the inquiries of others' regarding the worship at their church.¹ Muhlenberg's 'object is not to cast a censure in any direction, but to indicate the course we have adopted for ourselves'.²

The 'restoration' of Morning Prayer as a distinct and separate service of worship is defended by Muhlenberg using the language and argument of the London Cases and the liturgical works of Wheatly/Reeves and John Jebb. To him the practice was lawful, expedient, and the advantages to the separation of the services were far greater than the objections in defence of the combined services of Morning Prayer, Litany, Ante-Communion and, on Communion Sundays, the celebration of the Eucharist.³ The 'lawful', 'expedient' and 'advantageous' argument is that of the London Cases, especially those regarding conscience, indifferent things used in worship, and forms of prayer.⁴ The difference between Muhlenberg's argument and that of the London Cases is that of application. Whereas the London Cases use the lawful, expedient and advantageous argument to defend such established practices as the sign of the cross in baptism, open communions, precomposed prayer and episcopal government, Muhlenberg uses the same argument to attack the established liturgical custom of mid-nineteenth century Anglicanism.

1. Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.III, p.3.

2. Ibid., p.3.

3. Ibid., p.3.

4. Tillotson, et al., A Collection of Cases and Other Discourses, Vols. I and II.

Support for the lawfulness and expediency of the separation of Morning Prayer from the Holy Communion was found not only in the works of such contemporary authors as Jebb or J. C. Robertson¹ but also in the works included in the 'Bishops' List' of 1804. The lawfulness of the practice is maintained because:

- (1) It is more conformable, than the prevalent custom, to the intention of the Prayer Book ... Morning Prayer, the Litany, and the Communion Service, is each an office complete in itself ... the original intention was, that they should be used as distinct services:
- (2) The practice is sanctioned by ample authority:

and

- (3) The practice has been approved by our own House of Bishops.²

The practice was considered 'expedient' because:

- (1) We are thereby enabled to celebrate Morning Prayer, at a proper hour on Sunday morning:

1. James Craigie Robertson, How Shall We Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England? (London, 1844). Muhlenberg's use of Robertson rather than the Tractarians is significant. Robertson rejected the 'catholicism' of the Oxford Movement saying:

It would seem that there are some by whom 'catholicism' is adopted for the sake not of fellowship with the Communion of Saints, but likeliness to the people of the middle ages; - they seeking by religion the same end which Fashionable Youth lately strove after by the very different measures of donning antique armour, mounting barbed steeds, and, in the view of breathless Beauty, picturesquely shimmering lances.

pp.325-326. Muhlenberg refers to Robertson as 'an author to remarkable impartiality ...', Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.III, p.4.

2. Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.III, pp.3, 4 and 6. Cf. Reeves, An Introduction to the Common Prayer, sig. F12V; Wheatly, A Rational Illustration, pp.267-268; Robertson, How Shall we Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?, p.40; Jebb, The Choral Service, pp.227-238; Sparrow, A Rationale, upon the Book of Common Prayer, pp.242-245; Beveridge, The Great Necessity and Advantage of publick prayer and frequent communion, pp.3-5 and 138-161.

- (2) The Litany is used as a service distinct and separate in itself, and in its proper place, i.e. immediately preceding the Communion Service:
- (3) The Communion Service, or as much of it as is used is restored to its due importance:
- (4) The Creed is restored to its proper place in the Liturgy:
- (5) ... the division of the services would afford opportunity for the Catholic practice of a solemn Te Deum:
- (6) Anthems may be employed to enrich the second service, and so conform it to the varying season of the ecclesiastical year:
- (7) The offertory may be a weekly service ... (which) ... is the church's only way of training her members to give of their possessions systematically and on principle ...

and:

Finally - The division of the service is highly desirable, at least whenever the Holy Communion is administered (because) It avoids the repetition of the confession and absolution during one service - and brings the whole within reasonable length of time ... For though varied and full, the service is incomplete without the administration, and we are thus reminded of it as the crowning act in a Christian congregation.¹

Muhlenberg acknowledges his dependence upon Robertson and Jebb and says in a footnote that support for his innovation is also found in the works of Anthony Sparrow who:

takes the foregoing view of the services. I had forgotten it, and was not directed to it until reading the proof sheets of these pages for the last time, or it would have been used in the body of the tract.²

1. Ibid., pp.7-15. Cf. Reeves, An Introduction to the Common Prayer, sig. C9^r, C10^v, H2^v-H3^r; Wheatly, A Rational Illustration, p.83; Robertson, How Shall we Conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England?, pp.126, 221 and 335-336; Jebb, The Choral Service, pp.454-457, 485 and 515-516; Sparrow, A Rationale, upon the Book of Common Prayer, pp.242-245; Beveridge, The Great Necessity and Advantage of publick prayer and frequent communion, pp.123-125, 130 and 142-144.

2. Ibid., fn., p.20.

What is surprising is not that Muhlenberg overlooked Sparrow's work but rather in the light of such consistent and long standing support for the practice he advocates that the separation of Morning Prayer from the Holy Communion was considered an 'innovation' at all. The similarities between Muhlenberg's innovations and the practices maintained as 'traditional' by Anglican liturgists in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries seem to present him more as a conservative defender of the Anglican tradition rather than a radical innovator in the area of liturgy.

From his defence of the separation of the customary Sunday services into distinct services of worship Muhlenberg moves on to a defence of the weekly celebration of the Eucharist at the Church of the Holy Communion. The logical progression of the Pastoral Tracts, (a) defending the Catholic and Reformed nature of the principles upon which the Church of the Holy Communion is founded, and (b) explaining departures from contemporary liturgical usage as being consistent with the original intention of the Book of Common Prayer, reaches its final point in tract No.IV, 'The Weekly Eucharist'.¹ Pastoral Tracts, Nos.I and III set the stage for a defence of Muhlenberg's institution of a weekly Eucharist at the Church of the Holy Communion. He anticipates tract No.IV in a footnote in Pastoral Tracts, No.III and says:

While I would not recommend the communicants of any congregation, who are accustomed to receive but once a month, suddenly to change their practice and receive every week, I would nevertheless put it within their reach as often as they desired it ... This seems

1. William Augustus Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.IV, 'The Weekly Eucharist' (New York, 1848).

to be the desideratum on the subject : the Communion celebrated on every Sunday, yet leaving the communicants at liberty as to the frequency of receiving.¹

Muhlenberg considered the institution of a weekly celebration of the Holy Eucharist to be of critical importance to his parish ministry. He said to his congregation, 'On no subject since I have ministered among you have I bestowed more thoughtful attention, nor more sincerely desired your prayers ...'.² To continue the custom of a monthly communion or to adopt more frequent celebrations was 'a question of expediency, which Ministers and congregations must solve for themselves'.³ Muhlenberg forcefully contends for the freedom to depart from mere custom and to correct the 'vital defect' of not celebrating the Holy Eucharist on the Lord's Day.⁴ To do so would be advantageous because such a restoration of Anglican practice would allow individual Christians the opportunity to communicate according to their own needs and in response to the dictates of individual conscience rather than custom, it would increase communication and contact between pastors and their communicants,⁵ and there would no longer be reason for long

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1. Ibid., fn., p.19. Cf. p.23, which gives evidence of Muhlenberg's use of William Vickers', A Companion to the Altar : Shewing the Nature and Necessity of a Sacramental Preparation, in order to our worthy receiving the Holy Communion. Wherein those Fears and Scruples about Eating and Drinking Unworthily and of incurring our own Damnation thereby, are proved groundless and unwarrantable (London, 1794), as well as an edition of, A Week's Preparation Towards a Worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper (anon.), (London, 1679).
 2. Ibid., p.3.
 3. Ibid., p.7.
 4. Ibid., p.8.
 5. Ibid., pp.18-19.

absences from Communion by those whose domestic or employment responsibilities prevented their participation in the Eucharist.¹

This defence of weekly celebrations of Holy Communion relies heavily upon John Jebb and William Beveridge and is consistent with the works cited in Pastoral Tracts, No.III,² thus finding support which predates and avoids association with the Oxford Movement. Muhlenberg, unlike the Tractarians, tends to avoid theological speculation in his tracts and defends his practices in the language of precedent, utility and common sense. He is content to rest his arguments on expediency and the weight of the argument itself presenting the weekly Eucharist,³ and indeed his other 'innovations', as the fulfillment of the practice 'contemplated and provided for, but not made obligatory' by the English Reformers.⁴

Muhlenberg's liturgical 'innovations' at the Church of the Holy Communion although similar to those urged by the Tractarians have their origins elsewhere. Muhlenberg's source for his innovations is the Anglican liturgical tradition maintained in the 'Bishops' List' of 1804. His innovations were not new as far as he was concerned. They were the restoration of liturgical customs long neglected due to historical circumstances and now, in the mid-nineteenth century, required by historical circumstances. In his plea for restoration he is similar to the Tractarians but his evangelical catholic understanding of the nature of Anglicanism is presented using resources which predate the

1. Ibid., pp.20-21.

2. Cf. fn. pp.120-122 above.

3. Muhlenberg, Pastoral Tracts, No.IV, p.3.

4. Ibid., p.6.

Oxford Movement and appeal for a degree of comprehension and flexibility in liturgy and ecumenical relations not characteristic of the movement. Muhlenberg's understanding of evangelical catholic liturgy and ecumenism expressed in his Pastoral Tracts, and 'Hints on Catholic Union', is not a patchwork of High and Low Church ideas. They are rather his application of resources characteristic of the Anglican liturgical tradition of Wheatly, Beveridge, Sparrow and Reeves as well as the emerging Broad Church and Liberal Catholic movements of the Church of England.

CHAPTER FOUR

EVANGELICAL CATHOLICISM AND CHURCH UNITY

The Background and Development of the Ideas
Concerning the Recognition of Non-Episcopal
Orders in the Muhlenberg Memorial of 1853

The liturgical innovations of William Augustus Muhlenberg and his efforts towards Christian unity were expressed not only within the limited sphere of his parochial ministry in New York but also within the wider context of the national and international Anglican Church as well. The forum for the presentation of his ideas nationally was the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1853. Muhlenberg's liturgical and ecumenical proposals were submitted to the General Convention in the form of a memorial to the House of Bishops¹ prepared by Muhlenberg and a number of other clergymen representing many types of churchmanship and became commonly known as the 'Muhlenberg Memorial'.² The 'Memorial' was submitted to the House of Bishops by Bishop Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright (a former faculty member under Muhlenberg at St. Paul's),³ and was subsequently referred to a special committee of the House⁴ 'to take into consideration the subject thereof, receive any further communications in relation to the same, and report at the next General Convention'.⁵ The resulting correspondence and controversy surrounding the 'Memorial' represents the first attempt by the Episcopal Church to deal with Muhlenberg's concept of evangelical catholicism and to respond to his suggested reforms as well as indicating an important relationship between the American and English House of Bishops which directly influenced the American response to the 'Memorial'.

1. See appendix I.

2. Alvin W. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities : William Augustus Muhlenberg (Philadelphia, 1971), pp.216-218.

3. Ibid., p.218.

4. Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Assembled in a General Convention, 1853 (Philadelphia, published by the General Convention, 1854), p.183.

5. Ibid., p.216.

Basically the 'Memorial' sought to extend to parish and mission clergy the liturgical flexibility advocated in 'Hints on Catholic Union', and, Pastoral Tracts and to create an official body within the Church with the sole responsibility of encouraging and coordinating union among Protestant churches leading ultimately toward the acceptance and extension of the ecclesiastical polity advocated in 'Hints on Catholic Union'. The Memorialists believed the 'moral and social necessities of the day'¹ demanded change within the Episcopal Church if it was to minister effectively to contemporary needs. They felt the Church with its character as the Church of the settled, upper class, its restrictive canon law, narrow understanding of ministry, fixed and invariable forms of worship and uncritical acceptance of liturgical traditions wholly inadequate to fulfil its mission to publish the Gospel effectively in nineteenth century America.² Their specific requests were for the allowance of 'liberty in public worship'³ and the extension of episcopal ordination to:

... men, who could not bring themselves to conform in all particulars to our prescriptions and customs, but yet sound in the faith, and, who, having the gifts of preachers and pastors, would be able ministers of the New Testament.⁴

The 'ultimate design' of the petitioners in the 'Memorial' was:

... to submit the practicability, under your [the House of Bishops] auspices, of some ecclesiastical system, broader and more comprehensive than that

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1. Alonzo Potter, Memorial Papers. The Memorial of the Presbyters of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States with reference to the actual attitude of that Church with the Circular and Questions of the Episcopal Commission; Contributions of the Commissioners; and Communications from Episcopal and Non-Episcopal Divines. With an introduction by Rt. Rev. Potter (Philadelphia, 1857), p.27.
 2. Ibid., p.28.
 3. Ibid., p.29.
 4. Ibid., p.29.

which you now administer, surrounding and including the Protestant Episcopal Church as it now is, leaving that Church untouched, identical with that Church in all its great principles, yet providing for as much freedom of opinion, discipline and worship, as is compatible with the essential faith and order of the Gospel.¹

These proposals struck at the very heart of conservative Anglicanism in their appeal for flexibility in worship and the extension of episcopal ordination to Christian ministers in non-episcopal traditions. The 'Memorial' sparked off a debate which continued throughout Muhlenberg's life and continues whenever Christians from differing traditions attempt to deal with questions surrounding those aspects of diversity which often separate them into hostile camps zealously defending their own unique understanding of faith and practice. The General Convention to which the 'Memorial' was presented was itself bitterly divided into intensely loyal rivalries as it dealt with the vexed questions of liturgical usage in mission situations, the aftermath of the resignation and reception into the Roman Communion of the Bishop of North Carolina (Levi S. Ives) and the continuing controversies of the Oxford Movement.²

The response to the 'Memorial' was broad and intense. Alonzo Potter, Bishop of Pennsylvania and a former student of Muhlenberg, was a member of the special committee of the House of Bishops whose task was to evaluate the 'Memorial' and he was given the responsibility to receive all communications addressed to the House on the subject and,

1. Ibid., p.30.

2. E. R. Hardy, Jr., 'Evangelical Catholicism : W. A. Muhlenberg and the Memorial Movement', Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XII (1944), pp.155-156.

with the other commissioners, to prepare a report in response to the general and specific aims of the 'Memorial' to present to the next General Convention.¹ The evaluation of the 'Memorial' and the means undertaken by Potter and the commissioners to gather information for their report preserves the breadth and intensity of the response to Muhlenberg's ideas.

The evaluation of the 'Memorial' was carried out on three different levels. First, the commission gave each of its members specific areas of the 'Memorial' to evaluate and comment upon.² Second, the commission invited response to the 'Memorial' from all members of the Church by means of an elaborate questionnaire dealing with every aspect of the 'Memorial'.³ And, third, Potter took the liberty to invite response to the 'Memorial' from leading members of five different

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1. Journal of General Convention, 1853, pp.231-232. The members of the Episcopal Commission were : James H. Otey, Chairman, Bishop of Tennessee; Alonzo Potter, Bishop of Pennsylvania; George Burgess, Bishop of Maine; John Williams, Bishop Co-adjutor of Connecticut; and Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, provisional Bishop of New York who died shortly after the first meeting of the Commission in 1854. Potter, Memorial Papers, pp.vi-viii; see Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.219-220.
 2. Potter, Memorial Papers, pp.83-153. The Commissioners reported on the following topics:
 - Bishop Doane : Preparation for the Ministry and Christian Education, pp.83-100.
 - Bishop Potter : The proper qualifications of Candidates for Orders and the question of admitting to the ministry of the Episcopal Church those licensed or ordained in other bodies and what canonical restrictions should apply, pp.101-112.
 - Bishop Burgess : Liturgical uniformity and diversity in comparison with the intention of Canon XLV, pp.113-139.
 - Bishop Williams : Christian Unity, pp.140-150.
 3. Ibid., p.vii. See appendix II.

denominations¹ since its aims were 'of common interest to all Christians'.² In addition to these three levels of response the commission produced its own report to the House of Bishops which included a unanimous resolution broadly supporting the liturgical aims of the Memorialists and urging the establishment of a permanent Commission on Church Unity:

to indicate the desire of this Church to promote union amongst Christians, and as an organ of communication with different Christian bodies or individuals, who may desire information or conference on the subject.³

The commission also recommended that the restrictive Canon XLV, strictly prohibiting any form of prayer in worship not found in the Book of Common Prayer, be amended to read:

And in performing said service, no other Prayers, Lessons, Anthems, or Hymns shall be used than those prescribed by the said book, [here follows the amendment] unless with the consent of the ecclesiastical authority of the Diocese.⁴

The General Convention of 1856 accepted the resolutions of the commission and virtually all the aims of the 'Memorial' were ratified by the national Church with one significant exception,⁵ the exception being the extension of episcopal ordination to non-episcopal ministers. During the wrangling which took place concerning the specific proposals of Muhlenberg, et al., Muhlenberg abandoned his plea for the episcopal

1. Ibid., p.viii.

2. Ibid., p.v.

3. Ibid., pp.71-80.

4. Ibid., p.73.

5. Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Assembled in a General Convention, 1856 (Philadelphia, published by the General Convention, 1857); pp.203-204 and 206-207.

ordination of ministers outside the Episcopal Church as the basis for Christian union substituting an appeal supporting the establishment of a Commission on Church Unity.¹ This change of strategy, carefully examined by Alvin Skardon in his analysis of the 'Memorial',² seems to have been made in the spirit of compromise in response to the bitter rejection of this aspect of the petition by the commissioners and correspondents.³ Although Muhlenberg sacrificed this aspect of the 'Memorial' in order that the spirit and more general aims of the movement might be preserved he never abandoned his passionate belief that the episcopate was essential to any plan for Christian unity and that it was of absolute necessity, upon both theological and practical grounds, that the Episcopal Church recognise and, if requested, 'regularize' (i.e. episcopally ordain) ministry in evangelical churches.⁴

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1. William Augustus Muhlenberg, 'What the Memorialists Want', Evangelical Catholic Papers, vol.1, pp.201-286, (originally published, 1856), pp.257-258.
 'What the Memorialists Do Not Want', Evangelical Catholic Papers, vol.1, pp.289-306, (originally published, 1856), p.299.
 2. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, p.225.
 3. Potter, Memorial Papers, pp.188-205, 206-219, 250-254 and 323-328. An example of the rejection of this aspect of the 'Memorial' may be found in, A Response to Bishop Potter in Relation to the designs of the Recent Episcopal Memorial Papers (signed, A Plain Presbyter), (Philadelphia, 1858); and Horatio Potter, Third Annual Address Delivered to the Seventy-Fourth Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York, October 1, 1857 (New York, 1857), pp.28-30.
 4. In spite of the rejection of this aspect of the 'Memorial' there was considerable support for the extension of Episcopal ordination and liturgical flexibility both among Episcopal and non-Episcopal respondents to Potter's inquiry. Cf. Potter, Memorial Papers, pp.101-112, 113-139, 226-230, 256-260, 329-331, 418-421, 422-424, 430-433 and 437-444. Cf. Philip Schaff, America : A Sketch of its Political, Social and Religious Character, ed. by Perry Miller (Cambridge, Mass., 1961, originally published, New York, 1855), p.96 and Catholicus, A Few Thoughts on the Duties, Difficulties, and Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States in a Letter to the Commission of Bishops to Whom was Referred the Memorial of Dr. Muhlenberg and Others (New York, 1855).

The reaction to the 'Memorial' in England, previously overlooked in studies of the movement, is important to understanding possible influences upon both Muhlenberg and the House of Bishops in the shaping of their positions regarding the 'ultimate design' of the movement. As a result of the work of Bishop Potter and the commission of the House of Bishops the 'Memorial' was presented to the Upper House of the restored Convocation of the Province of Canterbury. Because of correspondence between James H. Otey, Bishop of Tennessee and chairman of the Episcopal Commission, and Alfred Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff, requesting a response from the English bishops concerning the 'Memorial', the aims of Muhlenberg gained international significance and were presented in both Houses of the restored Convocation.¹

The Episcopal Commission in America, encouraged by the submission of a report in Convocation similar to the 'Memorial', reported that:

... almost simultaneously, and certainly without any previous understanding or concert, a work similar to that committed to us, and having precisely the same objects in view, was moved in our Mother Church of England. Can it be presumptuous to hope and trust that the same Lord, who is over all, and rich in the bestowal of his gifts of wisdom and grace on all who call on Him faithfully, had put it into the hearts of his people on both sides of the Atlantic at the same time, to devise and attempt a work having so high and holy purposes in view, as the edification and union of all Christian people, the enlargement of His Church, and the more rapid spread of His gospel over the world ...?²

The 'work similar to that committed to us ...' was the Report of the Committee on Church Extension and Services.³ The American bishops

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1. The Journal of Convocation (2 vols., London, 1855-1858), I, pp.236-237 and 296-299.
 2. Potter, Memorial Papers, pp.46-47.
 3. Journal of Convocation, I, pp.18-24; see also pp.81-86. See appendix III.

received from Ollivant:

... a fraternal answer ... giving assurance of the lively interest felt on the subject [of the 'Memorial'] in England, and, at the same time, ... valuable documents, setting forth in detail what had been proposed in Committee, and the action had thereon in Convocation,¹

which had an important effect upon the Episcopal Church in America in its response to Muhlenberg's innovations.

The reaction to the 'Memorial' as reported in 'Synodalia', the Journal of Convocation, was very supportive. One correspondent in 'Synodalia' considered the authors of the document to have been assisted 'by Providence' in the drafting of their requests and urged his countrymen to abandon their prejudice that 'little valuable knowledge could be obtained from a people just emerging from the rudeness of the prairie and the forest'.² The Upper House of Convocation responded favourably too, and, in dealing with the Report on Church Extension and Services' recommendation 'That some modification of the Church's rules is needful',³ passed a series of resolutions which greatly influenced the American Episcopal Commission, the House of Bishops and, eventually, the General Convention of 1856.

The resolutions proposed by the Bishop of Exeter (Henry Phillpotts) and the Bishop of Oxford (Samuel Wilberforce) are an overwhelming endorsement of the Report of Church Extension and Services and the general aims of the 'Memorial', although they cautiously avoid any reference to the extension of episcopal ordination in spite of specific

1. Potter, Memorial Papers p.47.

2. Journal of Convocation, I, p.73.

3. Ibid., I, p.239.

requests for doing so in both documents and the numerous petitions submitted to the Upper House concerning Christian union.¹ Phillpotts' and Wilberforce's resolution passed in the Upper House and said:

- I That some modification of the Church's rule is desirable to enable her adequately to minister to the spiritual necessities of the land, and that such modification may most properly be considered in regard to her services, and to the ministerial agency which she employs.
- II That we consider that, in any alteration of Services, it should be a fundamental principle that the Book of Common Prayer shall be maintained entire and unaltered, except so far as shall concern the Rubrics and the division of Services, and the formation of new Services by the recombination of those now existing with such alterations in the Psalter and Table of Lessons as may be judged fit.
- III That no alteration would appear to us desirable which did not ensure the performance of the whole Morning and Evening Services on Sundays and Holy Days.²

These resolutions were accepted with minor modification in the Lower House,³ resubmitted for the approval of the Upper House⁴ and presented to the Crown in the form of a report⁵ for information only.

Although the resolutions dealing directly with the Report on Church Extension and Services and indirectly with the 'Memorial' excited much debate in Convocation, they were eclipsed by the more pressing concerns

1. Ibid., I, pp.20-22; II, pp.197-203, 208, 212-221, 225 and 368.

2. Ibid., I, pp.239-243.

3. Ibid., I, p.252. The Lower House 'respectfully requested' amendments in the first and second paragraphs, viz., that in paragraph one, line two, the word 'appears' be substituted for the word 'is'; and that paragraph two, after the word 'concern' proceed in the following manner, viz., 'the division of the present Services, and the formation of new Services by recombinations from those now existing, with only such alterations in the Rubrics, in the Psalter, and in the Table of Lessons, as may be judged expedient and necessary for those purposes', p.252.

4. Ibid., I, p.254.

5. Ibid., I, pp.243 and 281.

in the Church of England dealing with the constitution of Convocation, its relationship to the Crown and Parliament and its authority as a representative and legislative body.¹ In America, however, these resolutions as well as the 'spontaneousness [sic] of the movement, and the miscellaneous character of those who ... manifested a lively concern in its progress'² had a direct and lasting effect upon the Episcopal Church as seen in the Report submitted to the General Convention of 1856 by the special Committee of the House of Bishops to consider and report on the 'Memorial'. Indeed, they may have been an influence in Muhlenberg's change of tactics regarding the question of episcopal ordination and the source of encouragement to him and the House of Bishops in their dealing so forcefully in the establishment of a permanent commission to deal with the vexed question of Christian unity as well as their formal recognition of the necessity of liturgical flexibility and diversity in Anglican worship.

Although Muhlenberg moderated his requests for the extension of the episcopate in his efforts to support the 'Memorial' it remained an important issue for him throughout his ministry. He considered the 'Memorial' fulfilment of 'Hints'. Writing to John Kerfoot, 15th June, 1854, Muhlenberg said:

We [the Memorialists] go for emancipating the Episcopate and unsectarising the Church ... The most important thing I ever did was the getting up of that Memorial, as results will prove. 'Catholic Union' and the pamphlet in its defence that lay so long among the rubbish of College Point, was waste paper no longer.³

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1. Ibid., I, pp.14-17, 24-33, 45-72, 106-139, 244-250 and 265-282.
 2. Potter, Memorial Papers, p.47.
 3. Hall Harrison, Life of the Rt. Rev. John B. Kerfoot : with selections from his diaries and correspondence (2 vols., New York, 1886), I, pp.142-143.

In his efforts in support of the 'Memorial' Muhlenberg wrote a series of pamphlets to clarify and modify the aims of the petition and to help dispel the fears of both those who considered him a 'Puseyite', because of his appeal for the extension of episcopal authority, and those members of the Church threatened by his appeal for liturgical diversity and adaptability. Fully aware of the hesitancy with which people received the 'Memorial' because of his personal involvement in the movement Muhlenberg wrote to Kerfoot, 18th November, 1854, concerning his attempts to clarify his position regarding the episcopate saying:

My dear John ... I am writing the preface to my 'Exposition of the Memorial', and in it I have occasion to say as follows. I want you to tell me whether it strikes you as in accordance with the facts:

'In 1836 he printed a little book on Catholic union, and, as it met with rough handling in some quarters, soon after a pamphlet in defence of it. In both these publications he advanced the views maintained of our Episcopate as a means of union with orthodox Protestants and the duty of our Church in that regard. His mind underwent no change on the subject until a subsequent period of some three years, during which he sympathized with certain writers of the English Church, particularly one of them [Newman], whose system, practically developed finds the unity of the Church only in communion with the See of Rome. Returning (now nine years ago) to the Protestant ground, which he saw to be Gospel ground more clearly than before, and from which he had been partially drawn by the attraction of minds that beguiled stronger men than himself, he returned to his former estimate of the office of our Bishops in its Catholic extent, and its consequent availableness for the end of unity and concord beyond our own Communion.'

Have I stated fairly my Puseyite aberration?¹

Muhlenberg's 'former estimate' of the office of bishops is that which provides the basis for his reforms expressed in 'Hints on Catholic

1. Ibid., I, p.144.

Union' and the 'Memorial'. Although the influence of Thomas Arnold is apparent in 'Hints' and the 'Memorial' there are other sources influencing Muhlenberg's ideas which are valuable in understanding the background and development of his ideas. These other sources are found within the context of the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' of 1804 and it is precisely here and within other materials associated with Muhlenberg's theological education that the ideas concerning the reform of the episcopate, Christian ministry and liturgy expressed in the 'Memorial' and elsewhere may be found.

The 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' is designed in order that the theological student might deal with questions concerning the divinity of Jesus Christ and the episcopate at the same time.¹ This approach which links questions of faith to those of discipline and Church order is evidence of the defensive and apologetic nature of the 'Bishops' List' as a theological curriculum as well as the House of Bishops' belief that:

it is difficult to suppose on the ground of what we know of human nature, that during the first three centuries, either the character of Christ should have been conceived of as materially different from what had been the representation of it by the first teachers of our religion; or that there should have been a material change of Church government, without opposition to the innovation.²

Although the aims of the works included in the curriculum concerning the episcopate are defensive and apologetic they represent a variety of approaches to the question of the episcopate and Church polity. The minimum requirement of study concerning the episcopate for Muhlenberg

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1. William Stevens Perry, ed., Journals of General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1785-1835 (3 vols., Claremont, New Hampshire, 1874), I, p.316.
 2. Ibid., I, pp.316-317.

was simply 'a reference to Mr. Hooker' in order to compensate for the deficiencies of Mosheim's Institutes in dealing with the historic development of the office of bishop and the understanding of the episcopate maintained by the reformed Church of England.¹ All the works recommended as the minimum standard of study, including those dealing with Natural Theology and Systematic Theology, with the exception of Mosheim whose acceptance of episcopal polity is with great reservation,² represent a defence of the episcopate on the basis of its historical integrity, practical utility in maintaining order and unity and its reasonableness due to the power of law and the traditions of the Church.

The minimum standard of study dealing specifically with the episcopate was supplemented with reference to the works of John Potter, Charles Daubeny, Peter King and William Sclater.³ Depending upon the time, ability and resources available to the theological student one may simply have read Hooker, in whole or in part, or Hooker including the works of Potter, Daubeny, King and Sclater. This eclectic approach

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1. Ibid., I, p.317; supra, chapter II.
 2. Ibid., I, p.318. See Thomas Stackhouse, A Complete Body of Speculative and Practical Divinity in Five Parts (3 vols., Dumfries, 1776), III, pp.90-91, 96-97, et passim.
 3. Ibid., I, p.317. See John Potter, A Discourse of Church Government : wherein the Rights of the Church and the Supremacy of Christian Princes, are Vindicated and Adjusted (London, 1707). Charles Daubeny, A Guide to the Church; in Several Discourses (2 vols., 2nd ed., London, 1804). Peter King, An Enquiry Into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship, of the Primitive Church, That Flourish'd within the First Three Hundred Years after CHRIST. By an Impartial Hand (n.p., 1712-1713). William Sclater, An Original Draught of the Primitive Church. In Answer to a Discourse, Entitled, An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship, of the Primitive Church, That Flourish'd within the First Three Hundred Years after Christ. By a Presbyterian of the Church of England (3rd ed., London, 1727).

characteristic of the 'Bishops' List', was intended to familiarise the student with arguments on all sides of a particular issue allowing the minimum standard work to act as the final arbiter in historical, theological or doctrinal conflict.

The use of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' as the standard text in defence of the institution of the episcopate is not surprising. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity was the standard apology for the Anglican position¹ to such an extent that it was included in curricula for ministerial training of Congregationalists in eighteenth century New England in order that their clergy might be familiar with the arguments against congregational polity.² Hooker is included in the 'Bishops' List' because his work was considered a defence of the episcopate as an historic, pragmatic and reasonable form of Church polity. The reliance upon Hooker in maintaining the episcopate largely upon historical and functional grounds is seen in the 'Constitution' of the General Theological Seminary which, based solely upon the 'Bishops' List', includes a section 'Of the Course of Theological Learning' stating that the student shall study:

The Nature, Ministry, and Polity of the Church Comprising a view of the nature of the Christian Church, and of the duty of preserving its unity; of the authority and orders of the ministry, with a statement and elucidation of the principles of ecclesiastical polity, and

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1. Christopher Wordsworth, Scholae Academicæ. Some Account of the Studies at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century (Cambridge, 1910), pp.121 and 130.
 2. Mary Latimer Gambrell, Ministerial Training in Eighteenth Century New England (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, ed. by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, No.428, first impression, 1937, reprinted New York, 1967), p.120. Cf. Edwards A. Park, Memoir of Nathaneal Emmons, with Sketches of his Friends and Pupils (Boston, 1861), pp.131-134 and 217-219 for Congregationalist curricula similar to the 'Bishops' List'.

the explanation and defence of the Protestant Episcopal Church; and also an exhibition of the authority and advantages of liturgical service, with a history, explanation, and defence of the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church and of its rites and ceremonies.¹

The use of Hooker in the 'Bishops' List' in conjunction with complimentary and conflicting works concerning the origin, nature and function of the episcopate allowed the theological student great freedom in developing any attitudes towards the office. This latitude was necessary in order to minimise Hooker's defence of the relationship between church and state and other aspects of the English constitution wholly unacceptable to American Churchmen. In Muhlenberg's case the effect of the curriculum was to provide him with arguments concerning the nature and function of the episcopate and Christian unity with which he prosecutes for change in the very institution the curriculum as a whole was designed to protect. Muhlenberg's attitude towards the episcopate and his reforms expressed in the course of his ministry dealing specifically with the episcopate and its relation to Christian unity may be found in the context of his theological education. Muhlenberg's evangelical catholic understanding of the episcopate is articulated in ways consistent with the eclectic and unintentional latitudinarianism of the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies'.

An example of the many levels of interpretation and application of the materials contained in the 'Bishops' List' is William White's,

1. The Constitution, Act of Incorporation, and Statutes of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States (New York, 1822), pp.12-13.

'The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered'.¹ White, author of the 'Bishops' List' and supervisor of Muhlenberg's theological education, used Hooker's Polity to supply proof texts justifying a non-episcopal polity in the American Episcopal Church because the episcopate was denied in the United States as a result of the political crisis of 1782. White's celebrated 'Case' is important in understanding the background and development of Muhlenberg's ideas because it, like 'Hints' and the 'Memorial', is an appeal for flexibility and the adaptation of the Church to time and circumstance.

'The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered', was written suggesting a plan for the continuation of the Episcopal Church in the United States which would 'contain the constituent principles of the Church of England, and yet independent of foreign jurisdiction'.² The relationship between the Bishop of London and the Episcopal Church in America whereby candidates for the ministry were ordained by the Bishop had been dissolved by the Revolution and, anticipating a long period of time before the Church could secure its own bishops,³ White suggested that those Christians wishing to continue 'professing the religious principles of the church of England, ... claim and exercise the privilege of governing themselves'.⁴ In the absence of episcopal oversight and ordination White's plan called for

1. William White, 'The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered', ed. by Richard G. Salomon, (originally published, Philadelphia, 1782), Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XXII (1953), pp.435-506.

2. Ibid., p.446.

3. Ibid., p.460. White did not expect bishops to be secured in America for at least one generation.

4. Ibid., p.449.

a representative assembly of clergy and laity from each congregation in a geographical area presided over by a superintending minister who, with the other clergy in the assembly and the advice and consult of the laity, would exercise spiritual oversight and the ordination of ministers.¹ The provincial, or geographical assemblies would form a federal 'continental' assembly which would be made up of representatives from the regional assemblies meeting in two houses, clerical and lay, to 'make such regulations, and receive appeals in such matters only, as shall be judged necessary for their continuing one religious communion'.² The 'Case' assumes broad agreement in matters of faith, worship and government based upon scripture, the 'leading sense' of the Thirty Nine Articles leaving 'room for a considerable latitude of sentiment', and 'a settled form of prayer'.³ It also presupposes:

that the episcopalians on this continent will wish to institute among themselves an episcopal government, as soon as it shall appear practicable, and that this government will not attend with the danger of tyranny, either temporal or spiritual.⁴

White cites Hooker, 'the most rational and complete defence of the church of England',⁵ in his defence allowing a departure from the episcopate, and apostolic succession:

when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual ways of the church, which otherwise we would willingly keep; when the church must needs have some ordained and neither hath nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity, the law [Hooker

1. Ibid., pp.453-455.

2. Ibid., p.454.

3. Ibid., pp.454-455.

4. Ibid., p.457.

5. Ibid., p.469.

reads : 'ordinary institution'], of God hath [Hooker reads : 'hath given'] oftentimes, and may give place; and therefore we are not, simply and without exception, to urge a lineal descent of power from the apostles, by continued succession, in every effectual ordination.¹

White maintains that a departure from episcopal ordination is not necessarily a departure from the essential principles of the Church of England² and is certainly not a departure from Christian tradition, and, speaking of churches lacking episcopal polity, cites Hooker again saying:

The same great man, speaking in another place of some churches not episcopal says, 'this their defect and imperfection, I had rather lament in such a case than exaggerate [Hooker reads : 'exagitate'], considering that men oftentimes, without any fault of their own, may be driven to want that kind of polity or regiment, which is best; and to content themselves with that which either the irremediable error of the former times, or the necessity of the present hath cast upon them'.³

This argument and proof text use of Hooker is especially important when considering the background to Muhlenberg's plea for the extension of episcopal ordination and the adapting of the Church's institutions and worship to present needs. White further states:

Had Mr. Hooker been asked to define 'the exigence of necessity' could he have imagined any more urgent than the case in question? Or had he been enquired of concerning 'the necessities of the present times', could he have mentioned any in the cases to which he alludes (those of Scotland and Geneva), so strongly pleading for the liberty he allows, as those now existing in America?⁴

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1. Ibid., p.469. See Richard Hooker, The Works of that Learned and Judicious Divine, MR. RICHARD HOOKER : with an Account of His Life and Death, by Isaac Walton, ed. by John Keble (3 vols., Oxford, 1846), III, Ecclesiastical Polity, VII, xiv, II, pp.231-232.
 2. Ibid., p.461.
 3. Ibid., p.470. Cf. Hooker, ed. by Keble, I, Ecclesiastical Polity, III, xi, 16, p.409.
 4. Ibid., p.470.

Central to Muhlenberg's ideas is a belief that the episcopate, if available, and the Church, on its own authority, can adapt itself to the needs of the times. His 'Exposition of the Memorial' contends:

Many of the best friends of the Church, alive to all her excellences are beginning to see that she is too purely a conservative body - that she is deficient in flexibility and in the power of adaption to time and circumstances - that her way of proceeding is too much one and the same on all occasions, at all times, and with all kinds of persons.¹

Muhlenberg's appeal is for the Episcopal Church in America to free itself from 'a system made for the people of England three hundred years ago'.² The principal apologist for the polity of the Episcopal Church, Richard Hooker, justified departure from tradition in such external matters of the Faith as the polity and worship of the Church; the Reverend William White published a tract in defence of the Church's freedom to adapt itself to the needs of the day; and, according to Muhlenberg, the 'moral and social necessities of the day' demanded comprehension, greater flexibility and 'some greater concert of action among Protestant Christians, than any which exists'.³ Following the example of William White and appropriating ideas from the 'Bishops' List' Muhlenberg articulated reforms he considered essential in the development of evangelical catholicism.

Muhlenberg's evangelical catholic attitude towards the episcopate represents an attempt to redefine the Anglican position as the Church of the via media 'not between Rome and Geneva, but between genuine

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1. Muhlenberg, 'An Exposition of the Memorial', E.C.P., I, pp.85-61 (originally published 1854, pp.93-94).
 2. Ibid., I, pp.109-110.
 3. Potter, Memorial Papers, pp.27 and 31.

Catholic authority and the light and freedom of the Gospel'.¹ The via media, he maintains, is catholic because:

it is a corroboration of our present understanding of the Gospel. That which was the constant of all Christians in the earliest ages, touching the great facts and teachings of the Gospel.²

This catholicism 'has value in regard to institutions of the Church, to which it cannot give binding authority, but accords the benefits of its testimony to their early existence'.³ The via media is evangelical because:

It considers the Church as the society of all true believers, 'the blessed company of all faithful people', ministers of the gospel, as having a call within from the Lord, rather than as ordained by man; the various forms of worship, as comparatively indifferent, so there be the 'worship in spirit and in truth'.⁴

He believed that the application of these standards of evangelical catholicism to the institution of the episcopate would provide a historic and practical basis for Christian union, free the Episcopal Church from the 'thralldom of sect'⁵ and allow it to 'dispense the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, in the measure (for this must be meant) which is due from a branch of the Catholic Church of Christ'.⁶

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1. Muhlenberg, 'Suggestions for the Formation of an Evangelic and Catholic Union', A Paper read at the Evangelical Conference, in Philadelphia, 9th November, 1869, E.C.P., I, pp.431-459 (originally published 1870, p.438).
 2. Ibid., I, pp.434-435.
 3. Ibid., I, p.434.
 4. Ibid., I, p.436.
 5. Muhlenberg, 'An Exposition of the Memorial', E.C.P., I, p.181.
 6. Ibid., I, p.90. Cf. pp.87, 88 and 89.

Muhlenberg, like Hooker and White, considered episcopal orders to be 'universal currency' and that it was the duty of the House of Bishops to use them to the 'utmost good' in the propagation of the Gospel.¹ He maintained:

The Episcopate is either a catholic or a peculiar institution. It is essential, or it is not, to the being of the Church. If it be the latter, while we adhere to it for all the good we derive from it ourselves, let us not, as we would keep the unity of Spirit and bond of peace, make it a cause for division in the household of faith ... If it be the former, an essential of the Catholic Church, then in the name of Him who ordained it as such, and who prayed that his followers might be one, let us be sure that we dispense its blessings far and wide on the most liberal terms.²

To Muhlenberg, the esse, bene esse arguments defending the episcopate were irrelevant. The esse of the Church was not episcopal polity but rather that unity and peace such polity was intended to facilitate.

He rejected the arguments of both High and Low churchmen saying:

Either party on the question of the Episcopate among us is inconsistent in maintaining the present state of things. One in, recognizing brethren in their neighbor Christians, yet shunning contact with them, on no ground of principle, for expediency sake - or perchance the respectability of the Church should suffer; the other, in its zeal for every iota of our Church's prescriptions, narrowing her down to the dimensions of a sect.³

Muhlenberg's attitude towards the episcopate and Christian ministry is influenced by more than Hooker's defence of the institution as a positive unifying force within the Church's tradition based upon apostolic sanction. Although both Hooker, as the minimum standard work on

1. Ibid., I, p.121.

2. Muhlenberg, 'What the Memorialists Want', E.C.P., I, p.272.

3. Ibid., I, pp.262-263.

the episcopate in his theological curriculum, and White, as his mentor in guiding him through the curriculum, provide him with an apology for dispensing with the episcopate in matters of necessity, which he cleverly reverses in order to argue the necessity of extending the episcopate and recognising the authority and validity of non-episcopal ministers, there remain other sources of Muhlenberg's ideas in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies'. The similarities between Muhlenberg's attitude towards the episcopate and that of Peter King's, An Enquiry Into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship, of the Primitive Church, That Flourish'd within the First Three Hundred Years after CHRIST, indicates that Muhlenberg read more than the minimum standard work and was influenced to a significant degree in the development of evangelical catholicism by a work included in the curriculum because it was considered insufficient¹ in its defence of the Anglican position regarding the episcopate, Church unity, the role of the laity and Christian worship.

Comprehension, rather than conformity, in matters of doctrine, discipline and worship are goals towards which Muhlenberg worked from the publication of 'Hints on Catholic Union',² in 1835, until his defence of intercommunion in 'The Lord's Supper, in Relation to Christian Union',³ presented before the Evangelical Alliance, in 1873. This comprehension was the goal of the 'Memorial' and was seen by Muhlenberg as the essence of the Episcopal Church's claim to be the Church of the

1. Perry, Journals of General Convention, I, p.317.

2. *Supra*, chapter 3, pp.96ff.

3. Muhlenberg, 'The Lord's Supper in Relation to Christian Union', A Paper read at the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, New York, 11th October, 1873, E.C.P., I, pp.463-481 (originally published 1873).

via media. Any attempt to 'cast all men's minds into one mould' in the culturally diverse society of America was utter folly and would do nothing more than establish an 'Anglican Communion that will ever be recognized as aught more than an honorable sect'.¹ Such comprehension of all Protestant churches into a unified body under the oversight of a reformed episcopate extending episcopal ordination to all ministers within the body allowing diversity of worship, and insisting only upon broad agreement in matters of doctrine and discipline is unheard of in all but one of the works included in the 'Bishops' List'; that work being King's Enquiry.

King's work was anonymously written and privately published in order:

to represent the Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Primitive Church that flourish'd within the first Three Hundred Years after Christ; but more particularly and especially to describe their Opinions and Practices, with respect to those things that are now unhappily controverted between those of these Kingdoms, who are commonly known by the Names of Church of England-men, Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists.²

It is an appeal to reform and extend the Church establishment of England in order to include Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists following the example of the 'Opinions and Practices' of the early Church.

The Enquiry presents a picture of the early church in which unity is

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1. Muhlenberg, 'Further Communication on the Memorial', E.C.P., I, pp.309-325 (originally published 1857, p.325).
 2. King, Enquiry, 'Preface', sig. A2^r. It is worth noting that King's, Enquiry convinced John Wesley that as a presbyter he had as much authority as a bishop. See William Wilson Mauross, The Episcopal Church in the United States, 1800-1840. A study in Church Life, [published Doctoral dissertation in the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University], (New York, 1938), citing Wesley's Journal, fn.79, p.85.

preserved by broad agreement in matters of doctrine and worship between independent communities of Christians presided over by bishops elected by popular assemblies and who delegated their authority to presbyters who, in the bishop's absence, 'performed all those Ecclesiastical Offices which were incumbent on him'.¹ King maintained that, with the exception of Alexandria,² each congregation was presided over by a bishop, there being 'but one Bishop to a Church, and one Church to a Bishop',³ each bishop being approved by neighbouring bishops who installed each new bishop by the imposition of hands.⁴ The relationship between each Christian community was maintained by 'Harmonious Assent to the Essential Articles of Religion, or in an Unanimous Agreement in the Fundamental of Faith and Doctrine'.⁵ King's appeal is for the Church of England, under the direction of its bishops, to 'imitate and follow the Primitive Christians in their Moderation and the Peaceableness of their Temper and Disposition',⁶ by allowing the same latitude in doctrine, discipline and worship enjoyed by the Christians in the early Church, for 'unless we have an unifying spirit, and a peaceable Disposition, we are no true Christians'.⁷

King is not specific in identifying the essential articles of faith and doctrine apart from maintaining the acceptance of the Holy

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1. Ibid., pt.I, p.63. Cf. pp.11-42 and 55-63.
 2. Ibid., pt.I, p.38. Alexandria's departure from this pattern of congregational episcopacy was due to the size of its geographical territory.
 3. Ibid., pt.I, pp.15 and 51.
 4. Ibid., pt.I, p.49.
 5. Ibid., pt.I, p.158.
 6. Ibid., pt.II, pp.166 and 169.
 7. Ibid., pt.II, p.170.

Scriptures as the Word of God, the essential nature of the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion and broad agreement in the articles of faith expressed in the creedal forms found during the first three centuries A.D.¹ Liturgical diversity was a hallmark of the early Church in King's, Enquiry and was no threat to unity because:

every Church peaceably followed her own Customs without obliging any other Churches to observe the same; or being obliged by them to observe the Rites that they used.²

Indeed, liturgical uniformity is presented as a definite hindrance to unity and:

whoever imposed on particular Churches the Observance of their peculiar Rites and Customs were esteemed not as Preservers and Maintainers but as Violators, and Breakers of the Church's Unity and Concord.³

Worship followed the uniform pattern of reading the Scriptures, singing the Psalms and other hymns, preaching the sermon by the bishop, his presbyter, 'or some other fit person'⁴ and public prayer which was extemporary, 'suited to their Emergencies and present circumstances'⁵ and usually included the Lord's Prayer.⁶ The time, place, gestures and habit of worship and the celebration of Holy Communion varied, in King's view, according to the circumstances and customs of every church. Universal agreement being given only to those who may be present for the celebration (baptised communicants)⁷ and the manner of celebrating

1. Ibid., pt.II, pp.57-66.

2. Ibid., pt.II, p.160.

3. Ibid., pt.I, p.156.

4. Ibid., pt.II, pp.4-14.

5. Ibid., pt.II, p.38.

6. Ibid., pt.II, pp.26-32.

7. Ibid., pt.II, pp.105-106, 'penitents and catechumenates having left the Eucharistic assemblie'.

by the bishop or presbyter loosely described as the offering of alms, bread and wine, exhortation and a prayer of consecration using a standard form of the words of institution.¹

None of the other works included in the 'Bishops' List' dealing specifically with the episcopate and the nature of Christian unity are as bold as King in his appeal for diversity and latitude in matters of doctrine, discipline and worship. Like King, all the works maintain the episcopate as a justifiable and historic basis for Church polity but unlike King their concern is the defence of the Church of England against the attack of those whom King seeks to include in his reformed Establishment. John Potter's, Discourse on Church Government, for example, is a restatement of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and an attempt 'towards the putting to stop of those Erastian and other licentious Principles, which are too rife, and have been too much countenanc'd among us'.² Although he tries to maintain a balance between those things necessary to the Church and those things indifferent his 'general rules of Scripture' regarding unity and diversity come down strongly on the side of the Establishment.³

Charles Daubeny's, A Guide to the Church; in Several Discourses, is an abridged version of the London Cases,⁴ adapted for 'private circulation in a particular parish'⁵ dealing mainly with the nature of schism and the liberty of conscience. Daubeny asserts that:

1. Ibid., pt.II, pp.106-114.

2. Potter, Discourse on Church Government, 'Preface', n.p.

3. Ibid., p.322.

4. Supra, chapter 3, pp.91-92 et passim.

5. Daubeny, A Guide to the Church, p.v.

the Church of Christ has been ever an Episcopal Church, and separation from its communion has been, what it always will be, the fruitful source of heresy and uncharitableness.¹

To remove one's self from the legally established Church of England is, in Daubeny's view, to remove one's self from the Church of God:

For as the church is but one; and the promises are maade [sic] only to that church; mans covenanted title to those promises must depend upon his being a member of it; upon the same principles, that those persons only who have been admitted members of a society have any claim to the privileges of it.²

Daubeny's belief that uniformity is an essential characteristic of the unity of the Church³ is strictly applied to matters of faith,⁴ order and discipline,⁵ and worship.⁶⁶ Unlike King, Daubeny totally rejects the idea of toleration or any justification of varieties of religious practice or ecclesiastical polity.⁷ Daubeny maintains that toleration is characteristic and necessary in civil law and that the obligation to Church unity in England is derived not from the civil law but from the divine.⁸ His Discourse maintains that the:

latitudinarian mode of settling the point [of Church unity], by making the church of Christ comprehensive of all the different sects, into which the Christian world has been divided does certainly make it a matter of indifference, with what particular assembly of Christians a man is connected.⁹

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1. Ibid., p.350.
 2. Ibid., p.9.
 3. Ibid., p.8.
 4. Ibid., p.27.
 5. Ibid., pp.45-47 and 77-80.
 6. Ibid., pp.176-197.
 7. Ibid., p.139.
 8. Ibid., p.140.
 9. Ibid., pp.262-263.

is totally false and contrary to the divine law which accompanied the establishment of the Church.¹

William Sclater's, An Original Draught of the Primitive Church, is a non-juror's response to King's Enquiry. It was considered by the House of Bishops to be an accurate refutation of King's ideas concerning the episcopacy and was therefore included in the 'Bishops' List'.² Sclater rejects King's understanding of the congregational episcopate,³ the 'absurdity' of calling the Church in Rome, Antioch and Jerusalem one congregation,⁴ as well as King's understanding of the role and authority of the laity in episcopal or presbyterial selection and Church discipline.⁵ He does, however, accept King's position regarding liturgical diversity but insists on the legal authority of provincial churches requiring ritual uniformity among its members as well as requiring consent and conformity in non-essential matters of worship, habit, gestures, etc.⁶ As far as unity in the 'essentials' of the faith is concerned, Sclater maintains the episcopate as an essential matter of faith not discipline. To reject the episcopate is, in his view, to reject the faith.⁷ The essential difference between King and Sclater is in their approach to those separated from the Church by virtue of differences of doctrine, discipline and worship. Sclater maintains that those who separate from the Church which legally demands uniformity

1. Ibid., p.140.

2. Perry, Journals of General Convention, I, p.317.

3. Sclater, An Original Draught of the Primitive Church, pp.3-18.

4. Ibid., pp.81-99.

5. Ibid., pp.118-138, 153-165 and 260-269.

6. Ibid., pp.320-321.

7. Ibid., pp.326-328.

are schismatics and are therefore guilty of grievous sin.¹ King maintains that those who force Christians to separate from the Church because of their demands for uniformity are guilty of grievous sin.²

King's view that primitive Christian unity was maintained by broad assent in matters of doctrine and discipline allowing great diversity in worship is very similar to that of Mosheim.³ Both King and Mosheim represent an attitude toward the question of Church unity that is expressed in the works of Muhlenberg. Although King's Enquiry may have been inadequate in its attitude it is nonetheless significant in its influence upon William Augustus Muhlenberg especially when one considers his specific proposals regarding the comprehension of various denominations in the United States into one united Church.

In his 'Exposition of the Memorial', Muhlenberg argues three conditions being necessary for the extension of episcopal ordination to non-Episcopal ministers:

- (1) That they declare their belief in the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God, in the Apostles' and Nicene creeds, in the divine Institution of the two Sacraments [Baptism and Holy Communion], and in 'the doctrines of grace', substantially as they are set forth in the Thirty Nine Articles.
- (2) That in the stated service of the Lord's Day, they will use the Lord's Prayer - one of the creeds, or the Gloria Patri, or the Gloria in Excelsis, certain forms equivalent to the prayer 'for all sorts and conditions of men' and 'the general thanksgiving' - besides reading always a portion of the Holy Scriptures; and further that in the essential parts [the Trinitarian formula in Baptism and the

1. Ibid., p.357.

2. King, Enquiry, pt.I, pp.156 and 158.

3. Supra, chapter 3. As previously stated, Mosheim is a primary source of Muhlenberg's ideas.

Words of Institution in the Eucharist] of the Holy Sacraments, they will use unvarying forms tantamount to those in the Book of Common Prayer ...

- (3) That they will make report of their ministry once, at least, in every three years to the bishop or some approved ecclesiastical tribunal.¹

The first two of these conditions are identical with King's understanding of the basis for Church unity inherent in the early Church.² Although these conditions were modified in his later works in defence of the 'Memorial', Muhlenberg's reforms remain consistent with the attitudes expressed in the Enquiry of Peter King throughout the period of his ministry. To justify the diversity and comprehension essential in King's Enquiry as well as the 'Memorial', Muhlenberg relied upon F. D. Maurice's analogy of the Church as an inclusive 'Brotherhood',³ suggesting that those who demand uniformity and strict adherence to the lesser matters of the Christian tradition appear more concerned 'to Episcopalianize rather than evangelize their hearers'.⁴ As far as Muhlenberg was concerned, 'Protestant Episcopalianism' in its faith and sacraments was 'one and the same with the everlasting Gospel' but not so 'in its practices, its ways, its usages, in the subordinate parts which go to make up its whole ...'.⁵

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1. Muhlenberg, 'An Exposition of the Memorial', E.C.P., I, pp.140-141.
 2. *Supra*, pp.150-153.
 3. Muhlenberg, 'An Exposition of the Memorial', E.C.P., I, pp.156-157. For an account of Muhlenberg's personal meeting with F. D. Maurice, see Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.172ff. Cf. Anne Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, pp.283-284.
 4. Muhlenberg, 'What the Memorialists Want', E.C.P., I, p.223.
 5. Muhlenberg, 'An Exposition of the Memorial', E.C.P., I, pp.137-138.

The Church, according to King and Muhlenberg, is something which exists in spite of differences of opinion concerning rites, customs, order and discipline. It must, according to Muhlenberg:

be seen in its normal state, as the Brotherhood in Christ - the Divine Fraternity on earth - the Society of all who are sealed in the sacrament of adoption, and who own themselves, as thereby declared, Brethren, because God is their Father, through the eternal Son, made their Brother in the flesh, and ever dwelling in their midst by the power of the Holy Ghost. This is the Catholic Church.¹

Diversity and unity was seen by Muhlenberg as a universal law which applied as much to the Church as it did to nature and he insisted that the Episcopal Church in the United States accept and reflect this law.²

Years after the presentation of the 'Memorial' to the General Convention of 1853 Muhlenberg said:

I confess, as I advance in life I grow increasingly tolerant of the various organizations of genuine Christianity, and proportionably impatient of the exclusive claims of any one of them to be that of Christ or His apostles. I come to look more and more at the Church simply as the Congregation of the Brethren of Christ ... Brotherhood in Christ is eminently Evangelic Catholicism.³

All that he hoped for at the time of his 'Exposition of the Memorial' was that evangelical catholicism be expressed:

in that old time canon of Catholicity : In rebus necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in omnibus charitas. The res necessariae of the Church, are the Faith, the Ministry, the Sacraments, the Worship. Let these be Scriptural, and in accordance

1. Ibid., I, p.161.

2. Ibid., I, p.143.

3. Muhlenberg, 'Suggestions for the Formation of an Evangelic and Catholic Union', E.C.P., I, p.458. This paper of Muhlenberg's is a restatement of 'Hints on Catholic Union' and his consistent appeals for reform found in the 'Memorial' and the subsequent publications in its defence.

with the Christianity of the Apostolic ages and we have the sum total of the elements of Catholic unity. With these secure, let the libertas in non necessariis have its sway unrestrained in doctrine, discipline, worship and opinion. In these men will never be brought to think or act alike ...¹

This attitude towards the necessity of a comprehensive union of Christians regardless of their own denominational attachment to things indifferent in matters of doctrine, discipline and worship was shaped, as we have seen, not only by Thomas Arnold's Principles of Church Reform,² but by Peter King's Enquiry as well. Indeed, the similarities between Muhlenberg's attitude towards the necessity and possibility of Christian union expressed in the materials associated with the 'Memorial' of 1853 and his subsequent appeals for comprehension, unity and moderation, and that of King in the same regard is evidence of the lasting influence of the 'Bishops' List' in shaping his ideas.

King's understanding that disunity was the result of disputes about:

lesser Matters, about Modes and Forms, about Gestures and Postures, ... about which it should grieve a wise Man to quarrel, and which with the greatest ease in the World might be composed and settled, if managed by Men of Prudence and Moderation; and such Men 'tis hoped are the Reverend Bishops³

reflects the same latitudinarian and liberal hope one finds in the 'Memorial'.⁴ King's Enquiry, unique among all the materials for the study of the episcopate in its appeal for change within the established Church of England in order to accommodate dissent and the diversity

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1. Muhlenberg, 'An Exposition of the Memorial', E.C.P., I, p.142.
 2. *Supra*, chapter 3.
 3. King, Enquiry, pt.II, pp.169-170.
 4. Potter, Memorial Papers, p.31.

inherent both within and outside the Establishment, is a valuable source in the development of Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism. Like the 'Memorial', King's apology for Christian unity, following the example of the Apostolic Church, urges change within the Church in order to include those without saying:

We have been so stiff and so conceited, and stood so much upon the pitiful Punctilios of Honour, that we have refused to condescend to one another, or to join in the Way of Comprehension, or Mutual Relaxation, which seems to be the only Way for Union and Agreement, if we ever hope or intend to have it.¹

Muhlenberg's proposals reflect this attitude by suggesting change within the Episcopal Church in order that it might recognise and benefit from the ministry of those canonically excluded from its pale as well as becoming more adaptable to contemporary needs by recognising the value of liturgical diversity and flexibility.

The response to Muhlenberg's proposals in the United States as well as in England led ultimately to the failure of his goal of extending episcopal ordination to ministers in other denominations.² Muhlenberg's reforms expressed in the 'Memorial' are examples of his radical departures from the conservative tradition of the Anglican Communion especially in the areas of liturgy and polity. His evangelical catholicism was an attempt to articulate a liberal orthodoxy within the Anglican tradition which would appeal to Christians outside the Episcopal tradition and be the ground of unity within the Episcopal Church in spite of its increasing theological, liturgical and sociological pluralism. The 'ultimate design' of the reforms failed not only because of its origins in the latitudinarian tradition of the

1. King, Enquiry, pt.II, pp.172-173.

2. Muhlenberg's own Bishop and former pupil, Horatio Potter, completely rejected the 'Memorial' and the specific proposals of the movement although, in 1857 he spoke warmly of Muhlenberg and his contribution to the Church. See Horatio Potter, Third Annual Address (New York, 1857), pp.28-30.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but also because of its untimely presentation in an age of internecine conflict within the Anglican tradition and intense denominational rivalry.

Among the many other factors contributing to this failure was the resistance of both High and Low churchmen within the Church to any substantial change in either the episcopate or the liturgy and the indifference to the proposals of those to whom such a change was intended to appeal. The appeal for the extension of the episcopate and the mutual recognition of all Christian ministers may have failed also because of its reliance upon a narrow interpretation of passages contained in Hooker's, Polity, and a justification for permanent change within the episcopate following the example for temporary change expressed in White's 'Case'. It failed also because it is an appeal based upon a work which, although included in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' for the study of the episcopate, represented an understanding of Church unity, the authority and role of the episcopate and the question of liturgical uniformity completely at odds with the understanding of those cardinal issues of the vast majority of clergy and laity in the United States and England both at the time of its publication in 1712-1713 and its inclusion in the 'Bishops' List' in 1804. The 'Memorial' was an attack against conservatism which lay at the very core of the Episcopal Church's attachment to the episcopate and the Book of Common Prayer upon theological, practical and emotional grounds. Muhlenberg, responding to the criticism that his proposals were radical agreed, saying:

Radicalism - is the easy answer. Radicalism it is - literally, and of the right kind. It is going to the roots of things; and there verily do we need to go.¹

His proposals were indeed radical and the limited success of the 'Memorial' at the time of its presentation and reception in the General Conventions of 1853 and 1856 is due, in no small degree, to its favourable reception in the restored Convocation of the Church of England and its similarities with the Report on Church Extension and Services.

Muhlenberg did not abandon his attempt to articulate a common historical and theological ground upon which Christians could form an effective union. When the 'Memorial' failed to prompt the Episcopal Church to extend the episcopate as an effective basis for union he began to press for the recognition of all Christian ministers outside of the Episcopal Church on the basis of 'their common and evangelical capacity as preachers of the Lord Jesus Christ'.² Muhlenberg argued that:

The theory, then, that Christ, at his ascension, committed all authority to preach the Gospel only to His apostles, and to those to whom they formally transmitted that authority, and through whom, as their successors, He would be with the apostles to the end of the world - that He thus established an

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1. Muhlenberg, 'An Exposition of the Memorial', E.C.P., I, p.190.
 2. W. A. Muhlenberg, 'A Sermon Preached at the Re-opening of the Church of the Augustus (Evangelical Lutheran), Trappe, Montgomery Co., Pennsylvania, September 5, 1860', E.C.P., II, pp.209-261 (originally published 1860, pp.240-241).

This sermon was delivered 'to an immense congregation' in a church founded by Muhlenberg's great-grandfather, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787), Ibid., p.213, and restored through a gift of William Augustus and his sister. Cf. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.233-244.

order of preachers never to be entered by any outside of such a transmitted succession - cannot be maintained in the view of ... facts from Scripture ...¹

Citing St. Paul and quoting Philip Schaff, Muhlenberg maintained that there was great significance in the 'divine irregularity'² of St. Paul's mission, it being 'one of the proofs that the apostles did nothing to restrict the 'liberty of prophesying'. Their example is precedent for all times'.³

Muhlenberg began a campaign for the removal of the canonical restriction prohibiting non-Episcopal clergy from preaching in Episcopal Churches. His efforts in favour of the 'open pulpit' led to many confrontations with Horatio Potter, Bishop of New York, who refused to allow non-Episcopal clergy to preach in the regular worship of Episcopal Churches throughout his diocese in 1865.⁴ Because of a misunderstanding between Muhlenberg and Potter concerning the Bishop's permission allowing Philip Schaff to preach in 'a foreign tongue, under very peculiar circumstances, in the Church of the Holy Communion'⁵ the Bishop issued a Pastoral Letter to the clergy and laity of New York publicly condemning Muhlenberg's attempts 'to modify, if not revolutionize, the existing system of the Church ...',⁶ stating that his permission for Schaff to preach in Muhlenberg's parish was not intended

1. Ibid., II, p.252.

2. Ibid., II, p.253.

3. Ibid., II, p.255.

4. Horatio Potter, Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of New York, with the replies of the Rev. S. H. Tyng, E. H. Canfield, John Cotton Smith and W. A. Muhlenberg (New York, 1865). Cf. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.201-202.

5. Ibid., p.10.

6. Ibid., p.11.

to establish any precedent and that:

when individuals take the cause of unity into their own hands, and initiate proceedings which are repudiated by the great majority of their brethren, which are contrary to the usages and antecedents of the Church, and contrary to the well-established judgement of the Church as to the meaning and intent of her law; then the result must be ... not an augmented tendency to union and harmony, but an unusual rising up of disturbance and division.¹

To which Muhlenberg replied:

You act on your interpretation, and carry it out so far, that you will have no fellowship with non-Episcopal ministers, even in their capacity as preachers of the Gospel. You may be as exclusive as you please, only you must not insist on our being equally so, as long as the exclusiveness of the Church asserted by you is an open question.²

Muhlenberg's refusal to accept the position of Bishop Potter with regard to non-Episcopal clergy is but another example of his rejection of the conservative position regarding the episcopate which was implicit in the 'Memorial'.³

1. Ibid., p.8.

2. Ibid., Muhlenberg, 'Reply', pp.16-17.

3. Muhlenberg's attitude is reflected in his verse where he composed 'A Letter Paternal' to two of my School Son's about to become Church Fathers', vss.9-10:

The Lord has such - nor only where
 Ye fain would see them - then beware
 Lest; as ye coldly turn from them,
 His own anointed ones ye spurn.
 What He hath wrought, ye'd not reverse -
 Whom He hath blessed, ye would not curse -
 Nay, give to all the brothers hand
 Who keep with you his Last command. (1859)

W. A. Muhlenberg, I Would Not Live Alway; and other Pieces in Verse by the same author (New York, 1860), pp.61-62. His explanation of the line, 'who keep with you his Last command', represents his attempts to show an historical and theological basis for the recognition of non-episcopal clergy which, in his view, takes precedent over questions concerning apostolic succession and ecclesiastical polity. Ibid., fn., p.67. See Harrison, The Life of the Right Reverend John Barret Kerfoot, II, pp.417-418.

Muhlenberg's conflict with Bishop Potter continued until 1869 when their alienation became complete as a result of Muhlenberg's continued efforts to allow the clergy considerable freedom in the use of the Book of Common Prayer. Muhlenberg had for a number of years seen the strict imposition of the Prayer Book upon all clergy and congregations within the Church as a violation of the 'Liberty of Prayer',¹ essential in the ministry of the Church. He now began to urge a sort of editorial freedom which had serious theological consequences. He called for the allowance of 'alternate phrases',² in the Book of Common Prayer in those instances where the customary phrases were considered a stumbling block to either the parish clergyman or his congregation. Muhlenberg urged the discretionary use of phrases dealing specifically with the regeneration of infants in Baptism³ to which Bishop Potter replied:

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1. This essential freedom, inhibited by Canon XLV, was exercised by Muhlenberg in spite of the canonical restriction from as early as 1821. A journal entry from his Lancaster, Pa., parish reveals:

... Mr. --- told me that --- [an influential member of the parish] was displeased with my using an extempore prayer after my sermons. But I am decided to continue it. I think it edifying, and it services to impress the sermon on the mind.

Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, p.66.

2. Horatio Potter, A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of New York, dated 12th November, 1869 (New York, 1869), p.4. Cf. W. A. Muhlenberg, St. John Land: Ideal and Actual (New York, 1867) and, 'Directory in the use of the Book of Common Prayer for the Church of the Testimony of Jesus, St. John Lane, L.I.', E.C.P., I, pp.545-597 (originally published 1871, pp.547-548). For an excellent discussion of the origins and aims of Muhlenberg's evangelical catholic community on Long Island Cf. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.246-256.
3. Muhlenberg, 'Directory in the use of the Book of Common Prayer', E.C.P., I, pp.547-548 and 556.

If there be any who are incorrigible, any who are 'so burdened and distressed in the use of certain expressions in our formularies' which have been fervently used by men before them, that they cannot remain in the Church quietly and with a good conscience, then by all means let them depart.¹

The process of alienation begun by Muhlenberg's narrow application of Hooker in the 'Memorial' as well as his consistent appeal to ideas whose genesis lay in Peter King's eighteenth century latitudinarian Enquiry was complete by 1869. His efforts promoting the ideas expressed in 'Hints on Catholic Union' and the 'Memorial' continued in spite of his being labelled a radical by his Bishop. Muhlenberg, who was seventy-three years old at the time of Bishop Potter's Pastoral Letter, responded to the Bishop's criticism by stating his resolve to stay within the Episcopal Church regardless of its canonical prohibition of extemporary prayer and refusal to recognise non-Episcopal ministers.² His publications and formal addresses from 1869 until his death in 1877 reflect the degree to which Muhlenberg remained consistent with the ideas expressed in 'Hints' and the 'Memorial' as well as the extent of his alienation from the Episcopal Church which became increasingly divided internally over the issues he sought to resolve.

Muhlenberg's narrow application of Hooker, consistent with that of his 'spiritual father'³ William White, his appeal for the Church to adapt itself to time and circumstance following the example of White

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1. Potter, A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of New York, 1869, pp.25-26.
 2. Muhlenberg, 'Suggestions for the Formation of an Evangelic and Catholic Union', E.C.P., I, p.451.
 3. Muhlenberg, 'A Sermon Preached at the Re-opening of the Church of the Augustus', E.C.P., II, p.235.

and his commitment to the ideals of comprehension, flexibility and diversity expressed in King's, Enquiry, provides not only the background to his ideas expressed in the 'Memorial' but also the contributing factors to his liberalism which increasingly alienated him from his Bishop and the conservative churchmen of his day.

Muhlenberg's 'Memorial' succeeded in part not because of its origins in the 'Bishops' List', but rather because of its support in the Upper House of Convocation in the Church of England and the influence of this support upon the House of Bishops in the United States. It failed in its 'ultimate design' because it was too radical a departure from the institution of the episcopate and the use of the Book of Common Prayer which the Episcopal Church in the United States sought to defend.

Commenting on the failure of his attempts to promote the reform of the Episcopal Church in order that it might allow the liberty of conscience, of prayer and of ministerial fellowship implicit in the ultimate design of the 'Memorial', Muhlenberg made a final appeal in defence of evangelical catholicism saying:

Let the foregoing rights and privileges ... be made available, by proper authority, whenever desired in the Church - thenceforth will begin an era of peace within her borders, her separated brethren will be separated less in heart - her parties and schools of different opinion, so far as legitimate within her pale, will go on their way enjoying rights, while, with enlarged liberty, and without the sacrifice of a solitary principle, she will no longer be disabled, as she now is by undue legislation, from fulfilling her mission as a truly Catholic branch of the Catholic Church. 'The liberal deviseth liberal things and by liberal things he shall stand'. Now is the day for the Church, through those

who sway her councils, to devise liberal things, that she may stand in her undivided strength, and have no let or hindrance of her own making ... Vain hope! it may be said. If so now, not always. Church power will learn to unloose as well as to bind; and ere long, if wise to discern the signs of the times.¹

1. Muhlenberg, 'Directory in the use of the Book of Common Prayer', E.C.P., I, p.551.

CHAPTER FIVE

EVANGELICAL CATHOLICISM AND THE AUTHORITY
OF HOLY SCRIPTURE

The 'Right Order of Faith' and the Influence
of Adam Clarke upon William Augustus Muhlenberg

The largest section of prescribed study in the 'Bishops' List' of 1804 is that which deals with the Old and New Testaments. The material contained in this part of the curriculum represents the work of twenty authors over a period of one hundred and seventy years.¹ In spite of the variety of style and content which is an inherent part of this and every section of the curriculum it is apparent that the House of Bishops intended that the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' maintain a certain attitude towards the scriptures. This attitude and approach to the scriptures becomes evident when one examines the approved works as a whole and evaluates their influence upon William Augustus Muhlenberg's tract 'Christ and the Bible : Not the Bible and Christ'.²

When considering the background and development of Muhlenberg's ideas concerning the scriptures one immediately faces the task of determining exactly what he read in his preparation for ordination from the vast range of authors and commentators included in the 'Bishops' List'. The minimum standard allowed:

in the study of the Scriptures a latitude of choice among the approved commentators; it being understood, that if the student cannot, on the grounds contained in some good Commentary, give an account of the different books, and explain such passages as may be proposed to him, this is of itself a disqualification.³

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1. Perry, Journals of General Convention, I, pp. 315-316.
 2. William Augustus Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible : Not the Bible and Christ', E.C.P., I, pp. 395-429. For a modern work revealing remarkable parallels with Muhlenberg's tract see J. W. Wenham, Christ and the Bible (London, 1972).
 3. Perry, Journals of General Convention, I, p. 318.

It is maintained by Anne Ayres¹ and Alvin Skardon² that Muhlenberg read Thomas Stackhouse's, A New History of the Bible, from the Beginning of the World, to the Establishment of Christianity,³ and Adam Clarke's, Commentary,⁴ portions of which were first published in the United States by Thomas Kirk, 1814-1815.⁵ Clarke's Commentary was indeed available to Muhlenberg and there is evidence of its influence upon 'Christ and the Bible' which this chapter seeks to illustrate. It is important to realise however that Muhlenberg would not have been able to read Clarke's work in its entirety since it was incomplete

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1. Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, p.39.
 2. Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, p.19.
 3. Thomas Stackhouse, A New History of the Holy Bible, from the Beginning of the World to the Establishment of Christianity, 2nd ed. (2 vols., London, 1742-1744).
 4. Adam Clarke, The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. The Text carefully printed from the most correct copies of the present Authorized Translation, including the Marginal Readings and Parallel Texts. With a Commentary and Critical Notes, Designed as a help to a better Understanding of The Sacred Writings, The New Testament (3 vols., London, 1817), The Old Testament (5 vols., London, 1825), hereafter referred to as, Clarke's, Commentary, citing NT or, OT, volume and appropriate page signatures since pagination is omitted from the editions consulted.
 5. John Tebbel, A History of Book Publishing in the United States (3 vols., New York and London, 1972), I, p.326. Cf. Ralph Robert Shaw and Richard Heston Shoemaker, American Bibliography : 1801-1819 (22 vols., New York, 1958-1966), 1814, p.37, entry no. 30878. Every effort has been made to consult the earliest editions of Clarke's, Commentary available in the United Kingdom and the United States. Unfortunately the 1814 edition of Clarke's, Commentary, reportedly held by the Library of the Yale Divinity School was not recorded in the Yale Divinity Library catalogue. The Gardner A. Sage Library of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary does however hold copies of Clarke's, Commentary which supports the following conclusions regarding the portions of the work available to Muhlenberg in his preparation for ordination.

I am grateful to John A. Bollier, Assistant Librarian, Library of the Yale University Divinity School and Patricia Venzke, Circulation Librarian, Gardner A. Sage Library, for providing me with the information regarding the early editions of Clarke's Commentary published in the United States.

until the 17th April, 1826,¹ six years after Muhlenberg's ordination to the priesthood, nine years after his ordination to the diaconate.²

The use of Stackhouse's, History of the Bible, seems unlikely since the work is not included in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies'. Although it is very similar to many works included in the list³ it is doubtful Bishop White would allow Muhlenberg's tutor, the Reverend Jackson Kemper, to deviate from the prescribed course of study. Ayres and Skardon may cite Stackhouse's History of the Bible in a mistaken reference to this author's much more important work (according to the House of Bishops), A Complete Body of Speculative and Practical Divinity in Five Parts,⁴ which was one of the few works considered part

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1. J. B. B. Clarke, An Account of the Infancy, Religious and Literary Life, of Adam Clarke (3 vols., London, 1833), III, pp.113-114. Cf. Clarke, Commentary, OT, V, sig. 20S4^r.
 2. Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, p.55.
 3. Cf. Robert Gray, A Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha : or An Account of Their Several Books, Their Contents and Authors, And of The Times in Which They Were Respectively Written, 6th ed. (London, 1811).

Thomas Percy, A Key to the New Testament : Giving an Account of the Several Books, their contents, their authors, and of the times, places and occasions on which they were respectively written, included in Robert Gray's, Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha (London, 1857).

Humphrey Prideaux, The Old and New Testament Connected, in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations, From the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ (2 vols., Oxford, 1838).

Samuel Shuckford, The Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected, From the Creation of the World to the Dissolution of the Assyrian Empire at the Death of Sardanapalus, and to the Declension of the Kingdoms of Judah and Israel, under the Reigns of Ahaz and Pekah (3 vols., London, 1731-1732).

4. Thomas Stackhouse, A Complete Body of Speculative and Practical Divinity in Five Parts (3 vols., Dumfries, 1776). Stackhouse's work is primarily a selection of various authors and sermons arranged topically under various headings. It is made up of material from many authors included in the 'Bishops' List' and was probably included in the curriculum in order to accommodate students and tutors unable to gain access to all the authors and sermons Stackhouse cites, I, pp.iv, v and 1.

of the minimum standard in the preparation of candidates for Holy Orders and is a text book of Systematic Theology rather than Biblical Studies.¹

In spite of the difficulties surrounding the question of which texts Muhlenberg read in his preparation for ordination it is possible to solve the problem concerning which portions of Clarke's, Commentary were available to him. Adam Clarke, considered by Maldwyn L. Edwards, 'the greatest name in Methodism in the generation which succeeded Wesley',² is best known for his work as a biblical commentator and philologist. His Commentary, first published over the course of fourteen years by his brother-in-law Henry Butterworth, represents over thirty years of labour originally begun in 1795.³ Upon examination of the chronology of the writing and publication of Clarke's work it becomes apparent that in 1815, when Muhlenberg began his studies for ordination,⁴ all that was available from Adam Clarke were his volumes on the Pentateuch and Joshua,⁵ and those on the Gospels and Acts.⁶ Clarke seems to have been content with the publication of his

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1. Perry, Journals of General Convention, I, p.318.
 2. Maldwyn L. Edwards, Adam Clarke, The Wesley Historical Society Lecture, No.8 (London, 1942), pp.44-45.
 3. J. B. B. Clarke, An Account of the Infancy, Religious and Literary Life, of Adam Clarke, II, pp.15-16.
 4. Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, p.35.
 5. Clarke, Commentary, OT, I, sig. 301^V, Genesis and Exodus published 1st May, 1811; OT, II, sig. 6H1^R, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy and Joshua published 30th April, 1812.
 6. Ibid., NT, I, sig. 4T4^V, The Gospels went to press 1st June, 1813 without a preface; NT, II, sig. 5F3^V - 5F4^R, The 'Preface' followed in the publications of the volume on Acts, 1st February, 1814.

Commentary in an incomplete form:

... having wished simply to add the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles to the five books of Moses and the Books of Joshua and Judges, as these two parcels of Divine revelation, carefully illustrated, would give a full view of the origin and final settlement of the church of the Old Covenant, and the commencement and completion of that of the New. And thus I proceeded.¹

Having partially completed his work according to the above plan Clarke was persuaded by a number of friends to continue his work on the New Testament because they feared he would not live long enough to complete both Testaments. Upon conclusion of the New Testament² he regained his strength and was, as he said, 'induced through great reluctance to recommence the Old'.³ This being the case, Muhlenberg read the portions of Clarke's Commentary which were available in 1815, in conjunction with various other works included in the 'Bishops' List'.

Clarke's Commentary represents an approach to the study of scripture in which the author sought to 'attend more to words than to things' providing his reader with 'the literal meaning of every word and phrase; and where there was a spiritual meaning, or reference, to see how it founded on the literal sense'.⁴ This approach of Clarke's is symbolic of the growing tension throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries between the literal reading of biblical narratives and the attempt to apply historical, moral or spiritual meanings of the narratives to reality. Clarke presents his readers with a Commentary which

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1. Ibid., OT, V, sig. 20S4^r. The commentary on Judges was not included in the first volumes of the Old Testament and was not completed until 1st December, 1817, OT, II, sig. 6u2v.
 2. Ibid., NT, III, sig. 12C2^v.
 3. Ibid., OT, V, sig. 20S4^r.
 4. Ibid., OT, V, sig. 20S4^r.

contains within itself the crisis between biblical criticism and biblical theology which culminated in the breakdown of the realistic and figurative approaches to biblical narratives allowing the literal meaning of the text to overshadow all concern for the context of the narrative, a process described by Hans Frei as, The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative.¹ Clarke's work is representative of a 'collision course' between two directions of biblical interpretation in which, Frei says:

On the one hand there has been the question of the origin and, in some respects, the reliability of biblical writings. On the other there has been inquiry into the proper ways of learning the abiding meaning or value these writings might have. Collision threatened whenever the answer to the second question seemed to be partially or wholly dependent on the answer to the first.²

Clarke succeeds in avoiding conflict between these two directions of biblical interpretation by allowing the literal meaning of the text and questions concerning the origin and reliability of the writings to coexist with his concern for finding the historical, moral or spiritual application of the narrative to contemporary situations.³ Although he avoids going into the question of 'authenticity of divine revelation',⁴ Clarke does so not because he considered the question irrelevant but rather because he assumed the fact that the scriptures were a revelation from God to have been 'so amply proved, that the Christian cause has had a complete triumph. I consider, therefore, the question to be

1. Hans W. Frei, The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative. A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics (New Haven and London, 1974), pp.3-6, 9-10, et passim.

2. Ibid., p.17.

3. Clarke, Commentary, OT, V, sig. 20S4^r.

4. Ibid., OT, 'General Preface', I, p.xxvi.

for ever at rest'.¹ Although his confidence in the scriptures being divine in origin and reliable to the utmost degree allow him to accept the reliability of the text, Clarke is in no way bound to any literal acceptance of the narratives. What is apparent is his desire to deal critically with questions of both philology and theology.

A humorous example of Clarke's willingness to depart from traditional and literal understandings of biblical texts concerns his comments regarding the creature in Genesis 3 who seduced Eve to eat the forbidden fruit. After a long discussion of the matter Clarke concludes:

It appears to me, that the creature of the ape or ouran outang kind is here intended; and that Satan made use of this creature as the most proper instrument for the accomplishment of his murderous purposes against the life and soul of man.²

He was convinced that an ape, rather than the serpent, was the creature because it was designed to walk erect, was subtle and prone to pranks and tricks, is wiser and more intelligent than any creature, yet now walked on all fours and can do nothing more than chatter and babble. As far as there being 'enmity' between the creature of Genesis 3 and woman, Clarke maintained there was 'scarcely an animal in the universe so detested by women as these [apes] are; and indeed men look upon them as continual caricatures of themselves'.³ Clarke's refusal to accept literal meanings of words within the biblical text is indicative of his concern that literal meanings and figural meanings coexist. This concern in the instance of Genesis 3 prompted the following lines:

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1. Ibid., NT, I, pp.i-ii.
 2. Ibid., OT, I, sig. D4^{rff}.
 3. Ibid., OT, I, sig. E2^v.

'Lines on the Nachash of Dr. Adam Clarke'

The Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke asserts,
 It could not be a serpent Tempted Eve,
 But a gay monkey, whose fine mimic arts
 And fopperies were most likely to deceive.
 Dogmatic commentators still hold out,
 A Serpent, not a monkey tempted madam;
 And which shall we believe? -- without a doubt
 None knows so well what tempted Eve, as Adam.

R.R.¹

Clarke's literal acceptance of the text on the one hand and his figural interpretation of the narratives on the other caused him to come into conflict with the Wesleyan-Methodist Conference in 1831² over his understanding of Luke 1:35, concerning the pre-existence of Jesus as the Son of God.³ He contended that the Messianic title, 'Son of God', was descriptive of Jesus' being born of a virgin but denied it applied to any mode of existence prior to the incarnation.⁴ This conflict arose not simply because Clarke's orthodoxy was suspect, but rather because his principles of biblical hermeneutics,⁵ always in

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1. J. B. B. Clarke, An Account of the Infancy, Religious and Literary Life, of Adam Clarke, II, pp.283-284.
 2. n.a., The Life and Labours of Adam Clarke, LL.D. To which is Added An Historical Sketch of the Controversy Concerning the Sonship of Christ, Particularly as Connected with the Proceedings of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference (London, 1834), pp.485 and 443-520.
 3. Clarke, Commentary, NT, I, sig. 3A1^v - 3A2^r.
 4. Edwards, Adam Clarke, p.33.
 5. The term 'hermeneutics' is used on the basis of James D. Smart's definition that : "'Hermeneutics' is a comprehensive term that embraces all the elements that enter into the interpretation of Scripture - linguistics, textual criticism, historical exegesis, and theological exposition - and its full task is to move from a determination of the original meaning of the text to a translation of that meaning into contemporary language and thought forms', James D. Smart, The Strange Silence of the Bible in the Church. A Study in Hermeneutics (London, 1970), p.30.

tension, were misunderstood whenever his attempt to explain the 'meaning' of the text gained the pre-eminence over his conservative defence of the reliability and integrity of the text as divine revelation. The conflict concerning the pre-existence of Christ was, according to one of Clarke's biographers, 'rather a question in philology rather than theology'.¹ It is important to realise however, that the question arose because Clarke attempts to allow philology and theology to peacefully coexist paying as much attention to what the text 'says' as to what it might 'mean'.

Clarke's approach to biblical interpretation and commentary allows the content of scriptural revelation to enjoy a degree of pre-eminence over the context, or form, of revelation. The biblical narrative is treated by him as a means to an end, the end in view being the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. The authority of the text, be it in the Old or New Testament, exists only as it relates to the end which it seeks to serve. Clarke goes so far as to say that without Christ the scriptures are a 'dead letter' to those who approach them without a proper discernment of Christ.² In his discussions concerning the post-resurrection appearance of Jesus in Luke 24:45, he makes it quite clear that the authority of scripture relates not to an infallible divine text, but rather to the content and 'truth' the text exists to reveal. Apart from Christ, the scriptural revelation of God is only partial. Regarding the disciples, Clarke said:

1. Samuel Dunn, The Life of Adam Clarke, LL.D. (London, 1863), p.231.

2. Clarke, Commentary, NT, I, sig. 3u3^r.

They had a measure of light before, so that they discerned the scriptures to be the true Word of God, and to speak of the Messiah : but they had not light sufficient to enable them to apply these scriptures to their Lord and Master; but now by the influence of Christ, they see, not only the prophecies which pointed out the Messiah, but also the Messiah who was pointed out by these prophecies. The book of God may be received in general as a divine revelation, but the proper meaning, reference, and application of the scriptures can only be discerned by the light of Christ. Even the very plain word of God is a dead letter to those who are not enlightened by the grace of Christ ...¹

The influence of Clarke's approach upon Muhlenberg can be seen in the tract, 'Christ and the Bible : Not the Bible and Christ'. Muhlenberg wrote this brief tract sometime prior to 1862 when it was first presented as a lecture. It was later revised and published in response to the works of John William Colenso,² Essays and Reviews,³ and Ernest Renan⁴ sometime between 1864 and 1868⁵. It is a pastoral, rather than technical or academic, response by Muhlenberg which he hoped would meet the needs of Christians whose faith in Christ remained unaffected by the 'infidel criticism and science of the day'⁶ but who were 'more or less disturbed by the alleged contradictions, impossibilities, etc., so that their old belief in the Bible, in all its parts

1. Ibid., NT, I, sig. 3u3^r.

2. John William Colenso, The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined (3 vols., London, 1862-1863).

3. Frederick Temple, et al., Essays and Reviews (London, 1860).

4. Ernest Renan, The Life of Jesus (London, 1864).

5. 'Christ and the Bible' may have been presented in the form of a sermon prior to the publication of Renan's, Life of Jesus since in its published form Muhlenberg attached an 'Appendix' dealing specifically with the questions raised by Renan. See Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, pp.396 and 427-429.

6. Ibid., p.397.

is sensibly impaired'.¹ Muhlenberg follows the example of Charles Leslie's A Short and Easie Method with the Deists,² and attempts to provide his readers with a short and easy panacea for dealing with the problems raised by the effect of mid-nineteenth century scientific advances and biblical criticism upon long held beliefs concerning the authority of the biblical narratives of the Old and New Testament.

Although Muhlenberg provides his readers with a methodical response to the problems raised by the 'infidel criticism and science of the day' he does so in a way strongly influenced by Adam Clarke that avoids the extremes of literalism and bibliolatry on the one hand, and latitudinarianism and the wholesale rejection of the authority of the scriptures on the other.

Muhlenberg's panacea is to suggest that the Christian always bear in mind that faith is in Christ, not in the Bible. He asserts that faith in Christ is something which determines ones attitude towards

1. Ibid., p.397. Presumably Colenso, et al. above, are the 'infidels'.

2. Ibid., p.399. Cf. Charles Leslie, A Short and Easie Method with the Deists. Wherein The Certainty of the Christian Religion is Demonstrated; By Infallible Proof from Four RULES, which are Incomptable to any Imposture that ever yet has been, or that can Possibly be. In a Letter to a Friend, 6th ed. (London, 1726). Leslie's 'method' seeks to show that Jesus' divine nature was revealed in miracles ('matters of fact') which:

1. may be judged by the senses
2. were done publicly
3. have 'prompt publick Monuments' kept up in memory of them with appropriate outward actions performed as part of the memorial
4. are true when the monuments, actions, and observances relating to the 'matters of fact' have been instituted and commence from the time that the matters of fact were done

pp.4-5.

Leslie's work is included in the 'Bishops' List'. Potter, Journals of General Convention, I, p.315.

the scripture, not vice versa, and maintains that although faith in Christ and a belief in the Bible are inseparable they are not of equal importance.¹ Proceeding from this assumption Muhlenberg attempts to show that faith in Christ determines ones attitude towards the issues raised by science and biblical criticism concerning the validity and authorship of the Old Testament and the miracles of Christ in the New. The position maintained by William Augustus Muhlenberg regarding the 'Right order of Faith' has its origins in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' and is consistent with the approach to hermeneutics presented by Adam Clarke in his Commentary.

The 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' preserves the various approaches to the authority of scripture inherent in the question, 'What is a right order of faith?'. On the one hand, there are works which maintain the 'Christ and the Bible' order of Muhlenberg in which the value of the text is dependent upon its content, while on the other hand, there are works which maintain the 'Bible and Christ' order in which the unique quality of the text determines ones attitude towards its content. Among those maintaining the former, Gilbert Burnet² suggests that faith in Christ precedes and determines ones belief in the scriptures referring to 2 Timothy 3:15-16, Luke 1:4 and John 20:31 as evidence that the sufficiency of scripture for salvation is a matter of its ability to relate to Christ.³ A similar position is seen in the work of Symon Patrick, William Lowth, Daniel Whitby, et al., whose

1. Ibid., pp.398-399.

2. Gilbert Burnet, An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England (London, 1699).

3. Ibid., pp.75ff.

Commentary¹ begins with a 'General Preface', extensively quoted by Adam Clarke,² which maintains that ones belief in the scriptures is determined by faith in Jesus as the Messiah, the power of his miracles, the accuracy of his prophecies and the integrity of his Apostles.³ Richard Simon, another 'Bishops' List' author, maintains that scripture's authority in the Christian life relates only to its ability to reveal Christ.⁴ Of the representatives of the 'Christ and the Bible' order Philip Doddridge shows similar concern to that of Clarke in his attempt to blend a critical analysis of the text with a devotional commentary on the varieties of meanings and applications of the content of the narrative.⁵

Authors representative of the latter position, the 'Bible and Christ' order of faith, maintain a much more conservative position than that of Muhlenberg. Their approach is indicative of their concern to

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1. Symon Patrick, William Lowth, Daniel Whitby, et al., A Commentary upon the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocrypha (7 vols., London, 1809).
 2. Clarke, Commentary, NT, I, pp.ii-viii. Clarke considered Patrick and Lowth to be 'judicious and solid' in their scholarship and Whitby to be 'learned, argumentative and thoroughly orthodox', NT, I, p.ix.
 3. Patrick, et al., A Commentary upon the Old and New Testaments, I, pp.xi-1.
 4. Richard Simon, A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament; wherein Is firmly Establish'd the Truth of those Acts on which the Foundation of Christian Religion is Laid (2 vols., London, 1689), II, p.78.
 5. Philip Doddridge, The Family and Closet Expositor; being Dr. Doddridge's Reflections on the Whole of the New Testament; with the Harmonized Text of the Four Gospels. Arranged in Suitable Sections for Domestic and Private Devotions (2 vols., ed. by George Redford, London, 1830). Following each section of commentary in Doddridge's, Expositor, the author includes a section on 'Improvement' in an attempt to apply the meaning of the text to contemporary situations.

defend the dramatic content of divine revelation on the basis of its unique context. Among them David Collyer's, The Sacred Interpreter,¹ defends the content of the scriptures on the basis of its divine origins which vary according to nature and degree.² Collyer proceeds on the assumption that both reason and nature are insufficient guides to religion and that the only way in which the scriptures can be accepted as authoritative is on the basis of divine inspiration.³ The authority of the scriptures is maintained by some authors not simply because of their inspired quality but also on the basis of the harmony existing internally within and between the Old and New Testaments, and externally between the communities of faith of the Old and New Testament and the ancient world. James McKnight⁴ and

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1. David Collyer, The Sacred Interpreter; or A Practical Introduction towards a Beneficial Reading and a Thorough Understanding of the Holy Bible, 6th ed. (2 vols., Carlisle, 1803).
 2. Ibid., I, pp.23-25. Cf. Stackhouse, A Complete Body of Speculative and Practical Divinity, I, pp.77-78.
 3. Ibid., I, p.20. Clarke reveals a much more confident view of human reason saying: 'True knowledge is from Heaven, and is never contradictory to itself; therefore reason and learning not only coincide with Divine Revelation, but serve to illustrate and establish it : and in turn, receive the benefit of its glorious reflected light'. Adam Clarke, The Holy Bible : containing the Old and New Testaments, According to the Authorized Translation, with all the Parallel Texts and Marginal Readings, To which are added, Notes and Practical Observations, Designed as a help to a Correct Understanding of The Sacred Writings (Liverpool, 1813), p.ii.
 4. James McKnight, A Harmony of the Four Gospels : in which The Natural Order of Each is preserved. With a Paraphrase and Notes (2 vols., London, 1756). This work is cited by Clarke. See Commentary, NT, II, sig. 8K1V, et passim.

William Newcome¹ provided the theological student of Muhlenberg's day with two 'harmonies' based upon the 'Bible and Christ' corollary: 'If the gospel history is true, the Christian religion needs be divine'.² Their approach is to show that the harmony and truth of the gospels is apparent when all the evangelists, who sacrificed textual details in the interest of content,³ are viewed together upon the basis of reason and an accurate chronology.⁴ Adam Clarke, who tries to do justice to both, the harmony and distinctive qualities contained in the evangelists, states:

It seems as if the providence of God has designed that none of these Evangelists should stand alone : each has his own peculiar excellence, and his own style and mode of narration. They are all witnesses to the truth in general : and each most pointedly to every great fact.⁵

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1. William Newcome, An Harmony of the Gospels : in which the Original Text is Disposed After Le Clerc's General Manner; with such Various Readings at the Foot of the Page As have received Wetstein's Sanction in his Folio Edition of the Greek Testament. Observations are subjoined, tending to settle the time and place of every transaction, to Establish The Series of Facts, and to reconcile seeming inconsistencies (Dublin, 1778). Clarke said of Newcome's Harmony, '... it is a good Word : but creeps slowly after its great predecessor', (Commentary, OT, I, p.xii) and cited the work in his text. Cf. Commentary, NT, I, sig. Kk3^v - Kk4^r; Kk4^v; et passim.
 2. McKnight, A Harmony of the Four Gospels, I, p.lxv.
 3. Newcome, An Harmony of the Gospels, p.i.
 4. Cf. McKnight, A Harmony of the Four Gospels, I, pp.lviii-lxv, and Newcome, An Harmony of the Gospels, p.iii.
 5. Clarke, Commentary, NT, I, sig. 3u4^r - 3u4^v. Clarke's own 'Harmony', based upon that of Michaelis and Marsh, is found in his, Commentary, NT, I, sig. 4T4^v - 4X3^v.

The harmony of the scriptures is not only a means of clarifying the divine revelation and emphasising its reliability, it is also seen by Robert Gray¹ and Thomas Percy² as the 'key' by which their contents may be understood. Other works included in the 'Bishops' List' maintain the authority and truth of the scriptures on the basis of their unique relationship to the records, myths and legends of antiquity. This is the approach taken by Samuel Shuckford³ and Humphrey Prideaux⁴ who both seek to prove:

... the Truth and Exactness of the ancient Scripture History, by shewing how far the old Fragments of the Heathen Writers agree with it, and how much better and more authentic the Account is which it gives of things where they differ from it.⁵

Although their defence of the authoritative nature of the Old and New Testament emphasises the 'connection' of sacred and profane history, like the 'harmonies' and 'keys' of the 'Bishops' List', their defence rests ultimately upon the unique quality of the text as divine revelation, coming from God.⁶

Thomas Sherlock departs from this line of argument in which the authority of the text is defended upon the basis of its divine inspiration. His work included in the 'Bishops' List', The Tryal of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus,⁷ argues acceptance of the

1. Supra, fn.3, p.172.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Shuckford, The Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected, I, p.iv. Cf. Prideaux, The Old and New Testament Connected, I, pp.v-xxiv.

6. Ibid., I, p.xlvii.

7. Thomas Sherlock, The Tryal of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus (London, 1729).

resurrection narratives of the New Testament because of their nature as legal evidence.¹ In his Tryal he presents a very entertaining courtroom drama acted out by 'some Gentlemen of the Inns of Court' who, on the basis of the laws of the realm, deal with the content of the scriptural text asking 'whether the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Christ are guilty of giving false Evidence, or no'.² The prosecution maintains guilt on the basis of fraud and deception, while the defence maintains innocence on the basis of acceptable legal evidence in favour of the witnesses.³ The verdict of the jury is 'not guilty'; a verdict supported by the judge in which the integrity of the New Testament is maintained by the legal procedure of eighteenth century England. According to another 'Bishops' List' author, Gilbert West, the existence of the Christian religion is itself ample evidence for the resurrection of Jesus.⁴ This treatment of the divine revelation as 'legal' evidence is dealt with not only by Joseph Butler in his Analogy,⁵ but by William Paley as well who defends the, Evidences of Christianity on the basis of the testimony of the 'original witnesses of the Christian miracles',⁶ both of whose works are contained in the

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1. Ibid., pp.1-4.
 2. Ibid., p.87.
 3. Ibid., pp.88ff.
 4. Gilbert West, 'Observations upon the History of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, etc.', in A Collection of Theological Tracts (6 vols., ed. by Richard Watson, London, 1785), V, pp.431 and 442.
 5. Butler, Works, 'Analogy', pp.302-353. It is important to note that to Butler miracles are not irresistible evidences for Christianity. Their acceptance 'must ... rest on some other independent moral conviction'. See Baden Powell, 'On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity', Essays and Reviews, pp.142-143.
 6. William Paley, The Works of William Paley, D.D., Archdeacon of Carlisle. To Which is Prefixed The Life of the Author (Edinburgh, 1837), p.300. Hereafter referred to as Works, citing title and page number.

'Bishops' List' of 1804.¹

Although the 'Bible and Christ' order of faith is a part of the approach to the scriptures maintained in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies' Muhlenberg rejected this position in favour of the 'Christ and the Bible' order of faith which is likewise found among the prescribed texts of 1804. Although the two approaches coexist in the 'Bishops' List', the former is rejected by Muhlenberg primarily because of the beneficial effect of the latter upon ones understanding of the Old and New Testaments, its openness to scientific research and textual criticism of the mid-nineteenth century, and the approach to the miracles of Christ which such an order of faith allows. Muhlenberg deals with each of these areas in 'Christ and the Bible : Not the Bible and Christ' in ways which show the influence of the 'Bishops' List' and Adam Clarke's Commentary in shaping his attitude towards the Bible.

'Christ and the Bible : Not the Bible and Christ', begins with a consideration of the effect of a right order of faith upon ones belief in the Old Testament. Muhlenberg's position is, since Jesus accepted the Old Testament of his day, 'it follows that ... His disciples, likewise believe them', not on the basis of their implied divine origins but rather on the basis of the contemporary disciple's relationship to Jesus.² This view is consistent with that of Richard Kidder³ and

1. Perry, Journals of General Convention, I, p.318.

2. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, p.402.

3. Richard Kidder, A Commentary on the Five Books of Moses : With a Dissertation Concerning the Author or Writer of the said Books; And A General Argument to Each of them (2 vols., London, 1694), I, pp.xxvi-xxviii.

Gilbert Burnet,¹ as well as Thomas Stackhouse whose, A New History of the Holy Bible, although not included in the 'Bishops' List', presents the same idea in words very similar to Muhlenberg,² and Adam Clarke who supports this line of argument in his Commentary.³ It is a view strongly criticised by J. W. Colenso who states:

It is not supposed, that, in His [Jesus'] human nature He was acquainted more than any educated Jew of the age, with the mysteries of all modern sciences; nor with St. Luke's expressions (Lk 2:52) before us, can it be seriously maintained that, as an infant or young child, He possessed a knowledge, surpassing that of the most pious and learned adults of His nation, upon the subject of the authorship and age of the different portions of the Pentateuch. At what period, then, of His life upon earth is it supposed that He had granted to Him, as the Son of Man supernaturally, full and accurate information on these points, so that He should be expected to speak about the Pentateuch in other terms than any other devout Jew of that day would have employed?⁴

Muhlenberg responds to the Bishop of Natal's question by saying:

I will tell my wise bishop when - if our Lord ever did need that information - when He was no longer a Jew; when He parted with whatever he had of nationality, leaving it with His grave clothes, in the tomb; when He rose, what he always was, but then more entirely, the Universal Man. Then, if never before, He could utter Himself without local or national accommodation.⁵

This response is shaped by Adam Clarke who presents a similar view in his Commentary regarding the post resurrection appearance of Christ in Luke 24:45ff,⁶ although he maintains the divine and supernatural wisdom

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1. Burnet, An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, p.82.
 2. Stackhouse, A New History of the Holy Bible, I, pp.xxiv-xxv.
 3. Clarke, Commentary, NT, II, sig. 5L3^V.
 4. Colenso, The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined, I, pp.xxxi-xxxii.
 5. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, p.401.
 6. Clarke, Commentary, NT, I, sig. 3u3^R.

of Jesus prior to his resurrection.¹

To Muhlenberg, faith in Christ is the ultimate source of belief in the Old Testament. Other reasons for belief in the Bible, i.e. historic proofs, internal evidence, the keys, harmonies and connections of the 'Bishops' List' were weakening in the face of the assault of 'infidel criticism and science of the day'. Of the other reasons for belief in the Bible, those indicative of the 'Bible and Christ' position, Muhlenberg states:

In the present advanced stage of science and learning, some of them may be found untenable pious assumptions, or venerable traditions, vanishing in the light of the age. But let them be worth what they may, independent of them all is the unmovable foundation - Faith in Jesus Christ.²

Having asserted that faith in Christ necessitates a belief in the Old Testament Muhlenberg immediately qualifies how far this is the case. His qualification, in response to the question, 'How far does that faith necessitate that belief?' maintains: '... a belief of those Scriptures as a whole, substantially and as to all their leading facts and doctrines'.³ He firmly states that such questions as the degree and kind of inspiration, those concerning authorship, textual criticism and the limits of literal and figurative interpretation are not within the province of faith in Christ.⁴ These questions affect ones intellectual certitude concerning the scriptures but are of secondary importance to ones 'right moral attitude' towards the Old Testament, 'an

1. Ibid., NT, I, sig. 3c4^r.

2. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, pp.401-402.

3. Ibid., p.403.

4. Ibid., p.404.

attitude of reverence, of devotion, of sympathy, of a disposition to believe them'¹ which is the result of a right order of faith. This qualification attempts to remove the question of faith in Christ from the confusing and often contradictory context of the Old Testament. Muhlenberg's cautious statement that the Old Testament should be accepted 'substantially in the main' does not imply acceptance of the errors or 'blemishes on the sacred page'.² This qualification separates the content of revelation from its context in the manner of Adam Clarke and also presents a position similar to that of Richard Simon who maintains principles of inspiration formulated by Jesuit scholars of Louvain³ and supported by Cornelius a Lapide⁴ which allow error, and that of Gilbert Burnet who insists that errors in parts of the scriptural revelation are not cause to doubt the whole.⁵ What Muhlenberg seeks to demonstrate by this qualification is that belief of the Old Testament is properly a result of ones subjective faith in Christ rather than ones objective certainty concerning the text of the scriptures which leads to either literalism or latitudinarianism.⁶

1. Ibid., p.404.

2. Ibid., p.405.

3. Simon, A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament, II, pp.64-65. The three principles of inspiration Simon cites are:

- '1. That a thing should be Holy Scripture, it is not necessary that all the words thereof should be inspired by God.
2. It is not necessary for all Truths and Sentences, to be immediately indited by Inspiration to the Writer.
3. A Book, as for example, the second of the Maccabees, which was written by Men only without the assistance of the Holy Ghost, does afterwards become Holy Scripture, if the Holy Spirit doth testifie that there is nothing that is false in that Book.'

4. Ibid., II, p.70.

5. Burnet, An Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, pp.85-86.

6. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, p.406.

From his defence of a belief in the Old Testament upon the basis of faith in Christ Muhlenberg proceeds to a consideration of faith in Christ and the reliability of New Testament. He begins by stating that it is possible to separate faith in Christ from questions concerning the New Testament and that 'tradition' shows us, 'It is not the fact that our knowledge of Christ has come to us exclusively through the New Testament Scriptures'.¹ His position is that:

... there has been, from the first an unbroken succession of believers in Christ, holding the substance of the faith, one generation handing it down to the next, and this independently of the Scriptures - at least not originally derived from them.²

It is important to note that in maintaining a collateral witness of the Church with the witness of the scriptures Muhlenberg is not, at this point, dealing with the question of the authority or reliability of tradition for faith. His primary concern is a defence of the right order of faith from evidence within the tradition of the Church since:

... at first sight, it would seem, we must shift our ground, and no longer rest our belief of them [the New Testament scriptures] on our faith in Christ, for the obvious reason that it is through those Scriptures we arrive at a knowledge of Christ.³

He argues there is a pattern within scripture and tradition in which faith in Christ precedes acceptance of the New Testament. The pattern, in support of the 'Christ and the Bible' order of faith, is revealed in Paul's preaching to the Gentiles who subsequently accepted the New Testament after their conversion 'because they therein read of the Christ in whom they already believed'.⁴ This order of faith is seen by

1. Ibid., p.407.

2. Ibid., p.407.

3. Ibid., p.407.

4. Ibid., p.408.

Muhlenberg as one in which the 'primeval experience' of Christ precedes and determines the acceptance of the 'universal tradition' of the scriptures.¹ It is an approach that is in keeping with that of Richard Simon who suggests the gospels were only written in the interest of believers who sought 'to preserve the memory of that which the Apostles had preached to them',² as well as that of William Paley who states: 'The Gospels were not the original cause of the Christian history being believed, but were themselves among the consequences of that belief'.³ To Muhlenberg:

'I believe in Jesus Christ' is the first lesson of faith, as 'Our father' is in prayer - so that practically and in the actual order of things, the primary object of faith is Christ, in regard to which the first convert and the little child of to-day are on a level. The beginning with both is to believe in Christ.⁴

Having asserted the possibility of an authoritative witness to the content of divine revelation existing alongside and within the context of divine revelation Muhlenberg considers the relationship of the Bible and tradition. To Muhlenberg it is unnecessary to distinguish the authority of the Bible from that of tradition because, 'The testimony of Scripture and tradition as to what they have in common is identical'.⁵ The acceptance of tradition, like belief in the Bible, is determined by faith in Christ and the authority of both is

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1. Ibid., p.409.
 2. Simon, A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament, I, p.2. Cf. Stackhouse, A Complete Body of Speculative and Practical Divinity, I, p.71.
 3. Paley, Works, 'Evidences of Christianity', p.320, citing Luke 1:1-4.
 4. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, p.409.
 5. Ibid., p.409.

determined by faith. Richard Simon's influence can again be seen for in his work included in the 'Bishops' List' he says:

The Catholicks ought ... to agree with the Protestants, that all Scripture is profitable for instruction which does not at all exclude Traditions, which being joyned to Scripture, does compose the Principle upon which the Christian Religion is founded.¹

Muhlenberg accepts this principle of Simon's and relates it to his concern for the 'Christ and the Bible' order of faith saying the Church:

... witnesses unto Christ, not only by means of the Scriptures, but by her creeds, her confessions, her Sacraments, her worship and her preaching. She calls upon men to believe in Him on her own testimony corroborating it, enlarging and making it more distinct by constantly referring to and teaching the Scriptures ... Thus too, as ministers of the Church we present Christ to our hearers, first and foremost relying on their acceptance of Him for their acceptance of the Scripture.²

In the case of a person whose faith in Christ is the result of their belief in the scriptures, independent of the tradition and testimony of the Church, the 'Christ and the Bible' order of faith is maintained by Muhlenberg. Once again the influence of Clarke³ and

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1. Simon, A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament, II, p.62. George Campbell, one of the many 'Bishops' List' authors, is highly critical of Simon's approach to tradition. He faults Simon's attempt, '... to support tradition by representing scripture as, in consequence of its obscurity, insufficient evidence of any doctrine'. George Campbell, The Four Gospels, Translated from the Greek, with Preliminary Dissertations, and Notes Critical and Explanatory, 2nd ed. (4 vols., Aberdeen, 1803), I, pp.81-83 and 85.
 2. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, p.411. James McKnight presents a view of the Sacraments bearing witness to 'the truth of the facts contained in the gospel-history', particularly Baptism, which witnesses to the Holy Trinity; the Holy Eucharist, which proclaims Christ's death and passion; and the observance of the Christian Sabbath on the first day of the week which witnesses to Christ's resurrection. McKnight, A Harmony of the Four Gospels, I, pp.lxi-lxiii.
 3. See Clarke, Commentary, NT, I, sig. 3u3^r, above, pp.178-179.

Simon¹ is seen in his statement: 'The Scriptures are means to an end, viz. : Faith in Christ. That end attained, we are independent of the means'.² In attempting to show that once received faith is independent of its means of transmission Muhlenberg is responding pastorally to the needs of a person troubled by assaults on the integrity of the text of scripture by offering refuge not in belief in the text but rather the meaning, for faith, the text is intended to convey. The resulting faith in Christ shapes ones attitude towards the New Testament in the same way it does ones attitude towards the Old Testament³ and results in the statement:

We believe then in the Bible because we believe in Christ. The former ... has been the means, possibly the only means, to the latter. The latter, faith in Christ, having been attained, it becomes first - becomes the efficient cause of a new and higher faith in the Bible. Belief of the Bible then becomes belief, in it - a confidence in it as the witness unto Christ.⁴

Muhlenberg felt this approach was justified because he believed God calls his people to believe 'first of all not in a Book, but in a Person', and for God to do otherwise would be to discriminate against those unable to understand the complexities of the Book as well as to foster schism in the Church based upon opinions claiming to be based on scripture.⁵

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1. See Simon, A Critical History of the Text of the New Testament, II, p.78, above, pp.
 2. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, p.412.
 3. Ibid., p.414.
 4. Ibid., p.416, citing Clement, 'The Scriptures do not lead us to Christ, but Christ leads us to the Scriptures. As Christ speaks to us in the Scriptures, we hear His grateful voice in them. Therefore they are clothed with the highest authority, and are the standard by which we can measure all things'.
 5. Ibid., p.418. See Benjamin Jowett, 'On the Interpretation of Scripture', Essays and Reviews, p.342.

Having established the pre-eminence of faith in Christ in determining ones attitude towards the Old and New Testaments Muhlenberg proceeds to deal with the effect of the right order of faith upon ones attitude towards advances in science and the conclusions of textual criticism in the mid-nineteenth century. He warns those who base their faith in Christ upon a prior belief in the scriptures that whatever affects that belief, at once affects their faith and that:

... Accordingly ... reliance on Christ (if it be nothing more than a conclusion ... from belief of Scripture) is weak or strong in proportion as the evidence on which that belief depends is weak or strong.¹

He is critical of both those who allow philology and geology to take precedence over theology, and those who allow questions concerning the authority of the Bible to become absorbed in debates concerning theories of inspiration and the fallibility or infallibility of the text. Of the former he says:

Let men show us an older beginning than the opening of the Pentateuch, it does not touch the Gospel beginning ... Granting geology all its deductions from the strata of rocks, what have they to do with my foothold on the Rock of Ages?²

Of the latter, particularly in response to J. W. Colenso,³ he says:

Westminster sophists advise us that having got rid of an infallible Church, we shall have to get rid of an infallible Book. We advise them, in turn, that believing, first of all and without peradventure, in an infallible Person, we shall be concerned for the infallibility of the Book when the Book can be severed from the Person who is its burden and connecting link from

1. Ibid., p.419.

2. Ibid., p.420. See Temple, 'The Education of the World', Essays and Reviews, p.47, who supports Muhlenberg's position.

3. Colenso, The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined, III, p.628.

beginning to end, without whom we should not care whether it is fallible or not.¹

Although Muhlenberg was concerned about the implications of scientific research and biblical criticism for those holding the 'Bible and Christ' order of faith his 'Christ and the Bible' alternative reflects an open mind to the advances of science and biblical criticism. The order of faith defended by Muhlenberg is one which allows scientific and biblical research to continue without having a detrimental effect upon the faith of Christians. In a way, the attack of many scientists and scholars only served to emphasise Muhlenberg's claim that questions concerning faith in Christ were not dependent upon answers to questions concerning the Hebrew cosmogony, traditional theories of inspiration, authorship or dates of the canonical scriptures. Muhlenberg's tract reflects an attitude of optimism and idea of progress in which the advances of science and biblical criticism would ultimately unite Christians in:

... concentrating their minds upon Him [Jesus], studying Him, not by the light of tradition, or their peculiar theologies, ecclesiastical systems, or theories, but simply in the light emanating from Himself, and as He is seen in the records of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.²

In his defence of the 'Christ and the Bible' order of faith Muhlenberg articulates an attitude towards the scriptures which is the result of his theological education. To him, and to many authors in the 'Bishops' List', the content of divine revelation, i.e. 'Jesus Christ is the Messiah' is subjective, transmitted within an objective

1. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, p.421.

2. Ibid., p.426. Cf. 'Suggestions for The Formation of an Evangelic and Catholic Union', E.C.P., I, p.438.

context, i.e. the Bible, and is known only by faith which is itself an individual's supernatural gift from God.¹ The objective context of revelation can, in Muhlenberg's view, be dealt with critically on many different levels and within many different disciplines, each having their own unique value, 'but would scarce avail to keep Christianity alive without the light of Christ Himself manifest in the living believer'.² Muhlenberg's tract is based upon an assumption that intellectual belief in Christ based upon the objective evidence of the harmonies, keys and connections of the 'Bible and Christ' order of faith is doomed to fail in the light of contemporary research. It is doomed because its foundation is objective and can only be of value if its source is not a 'dead' text but rather a 'living' faith:³

... the product of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father, testifying of the Son, and proceeding from the Son testifying of Himself; and so our faith in Christ is from Christ Himself within us testifying of Himself subjectively, while objectively He testifies of Himself in the evangelic page.⁴

Although the influence of Adam Clarke and other authors included in the 'Bishops' List' can be seen in Muhlenberg's defence of the 'Christ and the Bible' order of faith in determining ones attitude towards the Old and New Testaments and towards the advances of science and textual criticism their influence can also be seen in Muhlenberg's approach to the miracles of Christ. In responding to Ernest Renan's, The Life of Christ, in which Renan seeks to 'banish miracles from

1. Ibid., p.423.

2. Ibid., p.424, specifically referring to the works of Joseph Butler and William Paley.

3. Ibid., p.425.

4. Ibid., p.424.

history'¹ thus allowing the moral teachings of Christ to stand alone, Muhlenberg says concerning Christ's miracles:

... it is enough for us to believe them because of an antecedent and predisposing faith in the goodness of their author. The goodness being supernatural, why² in its actings should it be bounded by the natural?

As with ones attitude towards scripture, science and textual criticism, so too with the miracles : faith predisposes the Christian believer to an acceptance of and belief in the miracles because of their subjective relationship to Jesus. In 'Christ and the Bible' the miracles are 'reliable' accounts of the life of Jesus not because they confirm doctrine or provide one with 'evidence' of the supernatural ability of a wonder working Messiah. They are of value because they confirm the faith of Christians who see in them an expression of moral goodness they already know and believe concerning Jesus. Like the Old and New Testaments the miracles have authority based upon their ability to reveal something of the divine purposes of God which can be perceived objectively, in the traditions and written testimony of Israel or the Church, and subjectively in the individual and corporate faith of believers. To Muhlenberg, the proper question concerning the miracles is not 'What do they say?' or, 'How were they accomplished?' but rather, 'What do they tell us about Jesus?'. The value of the miracles is determined by their ability to express objectively something which may be known subjectively about Jesus.

1. Renan, The Life of Jesus, p.24.

2. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, pp.421-422. Muhlenberg acknowledges the similarities between his approach to miracles and that of Horace Bushnell ('Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, fn. pp.398-399). Cf. Horace Bushnell, Nature and the Supernatural, as together constituting The One System of God (Edinburgh, 1861), pp.283-285.

According to Muhlenberg, the miracles are to be believed not because they are the supernatural credentials of Jesus or his disciples but rather because they reveal something of the character of Christ which is known to those who have faith in him. Both of these approaches to the miracles are expressed by authors in the 'Bishops' List'. Among those who see the miracles as proof of Jesus' divine origin and mission none are as emphatic as William Paley in his assertion that 'if there be a [divine] revelation, there must be miracles'.¹ Without miracles or the fulfillment of prophecies he does not see how the question concerning Jesus' divinity or Messianic role in fulfillment of the Old Testament could ever have been entertained.² Thomas Newton likewise emphasises the importance of prophecies and miracles as 'proofs' of revelation. His work in the 'Bishops' List' maintains that the fulfillment of prophecies is itself a miracle sought by those who say, 'If I could only see a miracle, I would believe', and that:

... if the scripture prophecies are accomplished the scripture must be the word of God; and if the scripture is the word of God, the Christian religion must be true.³

The work of Symon Patrick, William Lowth and Daniel Whitby also reveals an attitude towards the miracles rejected by Muhlenberg in which their value is determined not by their ability to reveal something of the character of Jesus but rather by their unique role within the biblical narrative as supernatural exclamation marks which confirm Jesus' teaching.⁴

1. Paley, Works, 'Evidences of Christianity', p.298.

2. Ibid., p.315.

3. Thomas Newton, Dissertations on the Prophecies, which have remarkably been Fulfilled, and at this time are Fulfilling in the World, 9th ed. (2 vols., Perth, 1790), II, pp.411-412.

4. Patrick, et al., A Commentary upon the Old and New Testaments, I, p.xxx. See Stackhouse, A Complete Body of Speculative and Practical Divinity, II, for a defence of this view.

Muhlenberg's approach to the miracles of Jesus is supported by those works included in his theological education which emphasise the unique ability of the miracles to reveal something of the divine character of Jesus. Edward Stillingfleet presents the miracles as evidence of the character of Jesus because, 'the intent of them all was to do good',¹ but bases their authority for faith upon their quality as evidence supporting the infallible and divine nature of the biblical text. He states:

Of all rationally evidences which tend to confirm the truth of a Divine Testimony, there can be none greater than [sic] a power of working miracles for confirmation that the Testimony which is revealed is infallible.²

Stillingfleet's argument, although ascribing a moral content to the miracles, is a defence of the 'Bible and Christ' order of faith which seeks to illustrate how the miracles once proved Jesus' testimony to be true and that now his testimony proves the miracles true.³ William Paley also relates the miracles to the character of Christ⁴ but their ability to reveal the moral attributes of Jesus are only secondary, or 'Auxiliary' evidences of Christianity.⁵

To Muhlenberg the miracles are inseparable from Christ primarily because they express the moral character and teaching of Jesus which

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1. Edward Stillingfleet, Origines Sacrae : or, a rational account of the grounds of the Christian faith as to the truth and divine authority of the Scriptures, and the matters contained therein (London, 1663), p.228.
 2. Ibid., p.253.
 3. Ibid., p.348.
 4. Paley, Works, 'Evidences of Christianity', p.375.
 5. Ibid., pp.362ff.

is so important to Renan.¹ In an appendix to 'Christ and the Bible' Muhlenberg asks Renan, '... these miracles of Jesus, which you so utterly deny, are they not entirely worthy of the moral perfection you abundantly grant?'.² To remove the person of Jesus from the miracles he performed would be, in Muhlenberg's opinion, to remove the primary means of interpreting the biblical narratives concerning the miracles. Without the person of Jesus the miracles are merely inexplicable supernatural events. Considered as expressions of Jesus' moral character they are understandable as evidence of his 'super-human virtue'.³

Muhlenberg's understanding of the miracles of Jesus is consistent with that of Adam Clarke. Although Clarke defines a miracle as:

... something produced or known that no power is capable of but that which is omnipotent; and no knowledge adequate to, but that which is omniscient.⁴

he maintains that some miracles must be interpreted literally⁵ while others must be interpreted figuratively.⁶ What determines the literal

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1. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, p.429. According to Renan, 'The miracles of Jesus were a violence done to him by his age, a concession forced from him by a passing necessity'. Jesus had to either renounce his divine prophetic mission or become a miracle worker. Renan, The Life of Jesus, pp.196 and 189.
 2. Ibid., p.427.
 3. Ibid., p.428. According to Renan, the words 'superhuman' and 'supernatural', '... borrowed from our petty theology, had no meaning in the exalted religious consciousness of Jesus'. Renan, The Life of Jesus, p.183.
 4. Clarke, Commentary, NT, I, sig. M3^v.
 5. Ibid., NT, I, sig. U2^v, re. Matthew 15:30ff, as an expression of Jesus' 'omnific and creative energy'.
 6. Ibid., NT, I, sig. P1^v, re. Matthew 11:5ff, and the miracle of sight being restored to the blind as being 'emblematic of that work of salvation which he [Jesus] effects in the souls of men'.

or figurative interpretation of a miracle story in Clarke's Commentary is precisely that which gives a miracle meaning in 'Christ and the Bible', i.e. its moral content. Clarke, like Muhlenberg, maintains that the character of Jesus is revealed in the miracles and is the basis for their proper interpretation. In Clarke's hermeneutic when the biblical text presents the reader with behaviour considered inconsistent with that one might expect from the Son of God, the text must not be interpreted literally. This is clearly seen in Clarke's analysis of the healing miracles of Jesus in Mark 7:31-37¹ and Mark 8:23-26². To Clarke neither text can be interpreted literally and must be interpreted figuratively on the basis of their content. Literal interpretation is impossible not because the cure could not be accomplished in the manner described, nor because it did not reveal the moral goodness of Jesus in his compassionate healing of the deaf and blind but rather because the text describes behaviour inconsistent with that one might expect from the Son of God, i.e. spitting on the afflicted person. Clarke is not as squeamish about Jesus' cure of the man born blind in John 9:6³ since the spittle is used to prepare an ointment, but the principle of interpretation remains the same; e.g. questions concerning the content of the biblical narrative, although coexisting with those concerning the text, are, in some instances, pre-eminent and determine one's attitude towards the text. In the case of miracles of Jesus it is their ability to reveal the moral character of Jesus as the Messiah which determines the way in which they are to be

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1. Ibid., NT, I, sig. Rr3^v - Rr4^r. Clarke ascribes the spitting to the person healed, sig. Rr3^v.
 2. Ibid., NT, I, sig. Ss1^r.
 3. Ibid., NT, I, sig. 4H4^v.

interpreted as well as their subjective power in affecting the faith of Christians. Miracles, in their objective form must agree with the moral character of Christ.¹ Questions concerning their form, method of operation or apparent inconsistency with the laws of science or, in Clarke's view,² social etiquette are not within the province of faith in Christ. Moral content determines the means of interpreting and applying the miracles even to the point of removing the text from its context and judging it according to nineteenth century English social customs.

The response of Muhlenberg to the expanding horizons of natural science and the assaults of biblical criticism upon long established beliefs in the authority and reliability of the biblical text finds its genesis in the works included in the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies', and Adam Clarke's, Commentary. In 'Christ and the Bible : not the Bible and Christ', Muhlenberg presents the position held by a number of authors in the 'Bishops' List' and Adam Clarke that, for Christians, belief in the Bible is a necessary consequence of an antecedent faith in Christ. It is a position in which the 'catholic' authority of the scriptures is dependent upon the 'evangelical' faith

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1. Muhlenberg, 'Christ and the Bible', E.C.P., I, p.428.
 2. The effect of social propriety upon Clarke's understanding of the objective text of the New Testament is not only seen in his exposition and interpretation of the miracles. It is also seen in his treatment of the traditional identification of Mary Magdalene as a prostitute. Clarke says it is 'contrary to every rule of prudence, and every dictate of wisdom, for Christ and his apostles to have permitted such a person to associate with them'. Clarke, Commentary, NT, sig. 3H4r - 3H4v.

of the Christian community which has preserved them and the individual Christian for whom they bear witness to the profound interrelationship between the objective form and context of divine revelation and the subjective content and meaning of that revelation.

CONCLUSION

Commenting upon the 'Bishops' List' and theological education in the Episcopal Church of America during William Augustus Muhlenberg's days as a student under Bishop William White and the Reverend Jackson Kemper, John McVicar said:

The divinity student in our Church was ... thrown, necessarily and altogether, upon his own resources, and mainly his own judgment. With a few general directions furnished by the Canons, he was left to grope his way vaguely, if not blindly, through the most voluminous, intricate, and perplexing of all professional studies, without aid or guidance beyond the casual counsel of some friendly parochial minister, who certainly could not have the leisure, and most probably had not the ability to solve the doubts by which the conscientious student must on these subjects be daily arrested, or determine his choice among conflicting authorities.¹

This criticism, although accurate concerning the demands made upon tutor and student, fails to do justice to either the quality of supervision available to students such as Muhlenberg or to the underlying principles of the highly eclectic and comprehensive 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies'.² The complexities and apparent contradictions of the 'Bishops' List' have caused it to be overlooked in previous studies of William Augustus Muhlenberg and the background and development of his concept of 'evangelical catholicism'. The result has been a failure to regard the 'Bishops' List' as the primary source of many

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1. John McVicar, The Early Life and Professional Years of Bishop Hobart (Oxford, 1838), p.279.
 2. For William White's understanding of the principles of the 'Bishops' List' see, William White, An Address, delivered before the Trustees, Faculty, and Students of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States; in Christ Church, New York, on the Occasion of the delivery of the Testimonials to the Students who had completed the Course of Studies, July 26, 1823 (New York, 1823). See also supra, chapter 2, pp.42-46, 61-64, et passim.

of Muhlenberg's ideas. This is unfortunate because as we have seen it is 'among the conflicting authorities' of the 'Bishops' List' that Muhlenberg's approaches to Christian ethics, Church History, Christian worship, Church unity and the authority of the Bible have their origins and are expressed as important facets of evangelical catholicism.

As it regards Christian ethics Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism is expressed in the language of Joseph Butler.¹ As we have seen, Butler's philosophical ethics, understanding of human nature, the authority of conscience and the role of providence in moral probation make his Analogy and Sermons primary sources for Muhlenberg's ideas. Although John Henry Newman and Frederick Denison Maurice influenced Muhlenberg's approach to ethics, his rejection of the former was complete,² and acceptance of the latter only partially due to their understanding of the Church as a 'Brotherhood' and their common interest in Christian socialism.³ Muhlenberg appropriates and adapts Joseph Butler's works to express a concept of Christian ethics in which there

1. Supra, chapter 1, pp.13-14 and 17ff.

2. Muhlenberg stated : 'Mr. Newman's 'Doctrine of Development' fully opened my eyes. I well remember how, having read half through the book, I tossed it from me exclaiming, 'My soul is escaped as a bird from the snare of the fowler', and some of my pupils, now in the ministry, will recollect the emphasis with which I repeated to them these words : I was far out on the bridge, so to speak, that crosses between us and Rome. I had passed through the mists of vulgar Protestant prejudices, when I saw before me 'The Mystery of Abomination'. I flew back, not to rest on the pier of High Churchmen, from which this bridge of Puseyism springs, but on the solid rock of Evangelical truth as republished by the Reformers'. Ayres, The Life and Work of William Augustus Muhlenberg, p.173. See also supra, chapter 1, pp.14-16 and chapter 4, p.138 et passim.

3. William Augustus Muhlenberg, 'The Church a Brotherhood', an Unfinished Article from 'Brotherly Words' (originally published 1868), E.C.P., II, pp.367-377. See also Skardon, Church Leader in the Cities, pp.170-174, and supra, chapter 2, pp.77ff. and chapter 4, p.157.

is an evangelical emphasis upon freedom and the authority of the individual conscience, and an objective awareness of the divine within the providential realm of nature and human relationships.¹

Evangelical catholicism is also expressed by Muhlenberg in ways which show the influence of Johann Lawrence von Mosheim. It has been shown that Mosheim's historiography and understanding of the purpose and design of the Christian community influenced Muhlenberg's approach to questions of Church polity, worship and mission.² Mosheim is the only identifiable Lutheran source of Muhlenberg's ideas, particularly concerning the moral and practical utility of history within the life of the Church and the individual Christian.³ It must be remembered however that this Lutheran influence was prescribed by Episcopal authority within a context specifically designed to defend the 'peculiarities' of the Anglican tradition.⁴ It was an influence tempered by the criticisms of William White and by the intentional contrasting of Mosheim's Institutes with the works of authors which we have examined who were included in the 'Bishops' List' representing differing points of view.

The liturgical expressions of evangelical catholicism in the ministry of William Augustus Muhlenberg reflect the influence of both the High Church and Latitudinarian traditions of seventeenth century Anglicanism upon which the liturgical section of the 'Bishops' List'

1. *Supra*, chapter 1, p.36.

2. *Supra*, chapter 2, pp.38ff.

3. *Supra*, chapter 2, pp.69-76. See also, John M. Headley, Luther's View of Church History (New Haven and London, 1963), pp.42-46.

4. 'T' (anon.), Review of Bishop White's Address, from the Christian Journal for November, 1823 (New York, 1823), pp.1-2. See also *supra*, chapter 2, pp.62-64.

has been shown to be based.¹ It has also been shown that Muhlenberg's liturgical innovations are consistent with similar proposals for diversity, flexibility and order based upon this common liturgical tradition from Thomas Arnold and John Jebb.² The influence of these primary and secondary sources of evangelical catholicism shows that Muhlenberg's ideas do not have their origins in Lutheranism,³ nor do they represent, as William Manross explains, the 'engrafting of Anglo-Catholic usages upon a moderately Evangelical theology'.⁴ Their origins lie within the liturgical commentaries of the 'Bishops' List' which insist upon the centrality of the episcopate in questions of ministerial order, the primacy of the Eucharist in questions of Christian worship, and the necessity of precomposed liturgical prayer. The conservative principles of these commentaries are balanced and contrasted with other arguments for comprehension, flexibility, and diversity, characteristic of both seventeenth and nineteenth century latitudinarianism. As has been shown the liturgical expressions of Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism reflect a synthesis of these ideas and are influenced and supported by contemporary leaders and movements within the Church of England which are decidedly not Tractarian. These churchmen themselves having been influenced by the common liturgical traditions represented in the 'Bishops' List'.

1. Supra, chapter 3, pp.82ff.

2. Ibid., pp.92ff.

3. Cf. Hardy, 'Evangelical Catholicism : W. A. Muhlenberg and the Memorial Movement', pp.160-161; Albright, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church, p.246; Jacobs, 'A Commonplace Lutheran', pp.117-129.

4. Manross, A History of the American Episcopal Church, p.286.

William Augustus Muhlenberg's most radical and comprehensive expression of evangelical catholicism are his proposals for Church unity. Their origins have been shown to be in the 'Bishops' List' as well.¹ As a result of the diversity and comprehension characteristic of his theological education Muhlenberg was provided with both the Anglican defence of the episcopate, in Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and the insistence upon a formal recognition of diversity within the areas of worship and order which are also implicit in Hooker, and explicit in the works of several authors intentionally included in the 'Bishops' List' to familiarise the divinity student with arguments against Hooker's traditional defence.² Muhlenberg's understanding of evangelical catholicism in the area of ecumenical relations is therefore a radical departure from the conservative tradition of Anglicanism concerning the episcopate and the use of the Book of Common Prayer. It represents an attempt to express an alternative to the via media of contemporary conservative movements in terms of liberal orthodoxy, balancing evangelical freedom with catholic authority. The limited acceptance of Muhlenberg's proposals for Church unity contained in the 'Memorial of 1853' has been shown to be primarily due to the response to the 'Memorial' and other similar proposals by the restored Convocation of the Church of England and the influence, in turn, of that response upon the American House of Bishops rather than to an acceptance of Muhlenberg's latitudinarian ideals.³ These proposals of Muhlenberg have been discovered to have been shaped by authors

1. *Supra*, chapter 4, pp.138-162.

2. *Ibid.*, pp.139-141.

3. *Ibid.*, pp.121-137. Cf. appendix I and appendix III.

included in his theological education and his own narrow interpretation of Richard Hooker after the example of the Right Reverend William White.¹

One of the most significant and to date overlooked expressions of evangelical catholicism is in Muhlenberg's approach to the authority of the Bible. In this, as in the preceding areas, Muhlenberg's evangelical catholicism likewise has its roots in the materials included in his theological education. In questions concerning the authority of the Old and New Testaments Muhlenberg insists that the Christian's individual evangelical faith in Jesus Christ necessarily precedes and determines one's catholic belief in the objective means by which the faith is transmitted. What Muhlenberg calls 'right order of faith', i.e. 'Christ and the Bible : Not the Bible and Christ', has its origins in the pietist Commentary of Adam Clarke, which Muhlenberg used in his preparation for ordination, in addition to the works of many authors included in the 'Bishops' List'. The authors included in the theological curriculum of 1804 either accept or oppose Clarke's and Muhlenberg's pietist argument that the Christian's objective belief in the authority of the biblical text is determined by one's subjective faith in its content. Muhlenberg's evangelical catholic understanding of the authority of scripture has been shown to be supported by the Wesleyan-Methodist, Roman Catholic, Anglican and Free Church authors whose works, providing the basis of his theological education, represent an approach to the authority of scripture not based upon biblical inerrancy.² It is an approach that was able to withstand the changing

1. Supra, chapter 2, pp.56-61 and chapter 4, pp.143-146.

2. Supra, chapter 5, pp.175-180 et passim.

attitudes and expanding horizons of natural science and biblical criticism of the nineteenth century.

This research has shown that the background and development of William Augustus Muhlenberg's concept of evangelical catholicism is to be found in the 'Bishops' List', or the 'Course of Ecclesiastical Studies', established by the House of Bishops in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, in 1804. His expression of his evangelical catholic ideals within the areas of ethics, history, liturgy, ecumenical relations and biblical studies are the undeniable evidence of the enduring influence of his theological education as the origin of many of his unique reforms and innovations. Evangelical catholicism, like the 'Bishops' List', is a highly eclectic and comprehensive ideal expressed in terms of a paradox. It is an ideal, the complexities and apparent contradictions of which, becomes clear when examined in the light of its identifiable origins in the theological education of William Augustus Muhlenberg.

APPENDIX I [from Alonzo Potter, Memorial Papers, (Philadelphia, 1857), pp.25-32]

M E M O R I A L

TO THE BISHOPS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL
CHURCH, IN COUNCIL ASSEMBLED.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS:

The undersigned, presbyters of the Church of which you have the oversight, venture to approach your venerable body with an expression of sentiment, which their estimate of your office in relation to the times does not permit them to withhold. In so doing, they have confidence in your readiness to appreciate their motives and their aims.

The actual posture of our Church, with reference to the great moral and social necessities of the day, presents to the minds of the undersigned a subject of grave and anxious thought. Did they suppose that this was confined to themselves, they would not feel warranted in submitting it to your attention; but, they believe it to be participated in by many of their brethren, who may not have seen the expediency of declaring their views, or at least a mature season for such a course.

The divided and distracted state of our American Protestant Christianity; the new and subtle forms of unbelief, adapting themselves with fatal success to the spirit of the age; the consolidated forces of Romanism, bearing with renewed skill and activity against the

Protestant faith; and, as more or less the consequence of these, the utter ignorance of the Gospel among so large a portion of the lower classes of our population, making a heathen world in our midst : are among the considerations which induce your memorialists to present the inquiry whether the period has not arrived for the adoption of measures, to meet these exigences of the times, more comprehensive than any yet provided for by our present ecclesiastical system : in other words, whether the Protestant Episcopal Church, with only her present canonical means and appliances, her fixed and invariable modes of public worship, and her traditional customs and usages, is competent to the work of preaching and dispensing the Gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, and so adequate to do the work of the Lord in this land and in this age? This question, your petitioners, for their own part, and in consonance with many thoughtful minds among us, believe must be answered in the negative. Their memorial proceeds on the assumption that our Church, confined to the exercise of her present system, is not sufficient to the great purposes above mentioned; that a wider door must be opened for admission to the Gospel ministry, than that through which her candidates for holy orders are now obliged to enter. Besides such candidates among her own members, it is believed that men can be found among the other bodies of Christians around us, who would gladly receive ordination at your hands, could they obtain it without that entire surrender, which would now be required of them, of all the liberty in public worship to which they have been accustomed; men, who could not bring themselves to conform in all particulars to our prescriptions and customs, but yet sound in the faith, and who, having the gifts of preachers and pastors, would be able ministers of the New Testament. With deference it is asked, ought such an accession to your means, in executing your high commission, 'Go into all

the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature', be refused, for the sake of conformity in matters recognised in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer as unessentials? Dare we pray the Lord of the harvest to send forth labourers into the harvest, while we reject all labourers but those of one peculiar type? The extension of orders to the class of men contemplated (with whatever safeguards, not infringing on evangelical freedom, which your wisdom might deem expedient), appears to your petitioners to be a subject supremely worthy of your deliberations.

In addition to the prospect of the immediate good which would thus be opened, an important step would be taken towards the effecting of a Church unity in the Protestant Christendom of our land. To become a central bond of union among Christians, who, though differing in name, yet hold to the one Faith, the one Lord, and the one Baptism; and, need only such a bond to be drawn together in closer and more primitive fellowship, is here believed to be the peculiar province and high privilege of your venerable body as a College of CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC BISHOPS as such.

This leads your petitioners to declare the ultimate design of their memorial; which is to submit the practicability, under your auspices, of some ecclesiastical system, broader and more comprehensive than that which you now administer, surrounding and including the Protestant Episcopal Church as it now is, leaving that Church untouched, identical with that Church in all its great principles, yet providing for as much freedom in opinion, discipline and worship, as is compatible with the essential faith and order of the Gospel. To define and act upon such a system, it is believed must sooner or later be the work of an American Catholic Episcopate.

In justice to themselves, on this occasion, your memorialists beg leave to remark that, although aware that the foregoing views are not confined to their own small number, they have no reason to suppose that any other parties contemplate a public expression of them, like the present. Having therefore undertaken it, they trust that they have not laid themselves open to the charge of unwarranted intrusion. They find their warrant in the prayer now offered up by all our congregations, 'that the comfortable Gospel of Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed, in all places, to the breaking down the kingdom of Sin, Satan, and Death'. Convinced that, for the attainment of these blessed ends, there must be some greater concert of action among Protestant Christians, than any which yet exists, and believing that, with you, Right Reverend Fathers, it rests to take the first measures tending thereto, your petitioners could not do less than humbly submit their memorial to such consideration as in your wisdom you may see fit to give it. Praying that it may not be dismissed without reference to a Commission, and assuring you, Right Reverend Fathers, of our dutiful veneration and esteem,

We are, most respectfully,

Your Brethren and Servants in the Gospel of Christ,

W. A. MUHLENBERG,

C. F. CRUSE,

PHILIP BERRY,

EDWIN HARWOOD,

G. T. BEDELL,

HENRY GREGORY,

ALEX. H. VINTON,

M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE,

S. H. TURNER,
S. R. JOHNSON,
C. W. ANDREWS,
F. E. LAWRENCE,
and others.

New York, 14th October, 1853.

Concurring in the main purport of the above memorial, and believing that the necessities of the times call for some special efforts to promote unity among Christians, and to enlarge for that and other great ends the efficiency of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but not being able to adopt certain suggestions of the memorial, the undersigned most heartily join in the prayer that the subject may be referred to a Commission of your Venerable Body.

JOHN HENRY HOBART,
A. CLEVELAND COXE,
Ed. Y. HIGBEE,
FRANCIS VINTON,
ISAAC G. HUBBARD,
and others.

APPENDIX II [from Alonzo Potter, Memorial Papers, (Philadelphia, 1857), pp. 33-40]

C I R C U L A R A N D Q U E S T I O N S

THE COMMISSION OF BISHOPS appointed at the late Meeting of the General Convention, to consider and report upon a Memorial of sundry Presbyters (the Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg and others), touching the 'actual posture of our Church with reference to the great moral and social necessities of the day', and 'presenting the inquiry whether the period has not arrived for the adoption of measures to meet these moral exigencies more comprehensive than any yet provided for by our present Ecclesiastical system', would state, that they have had the same under consideration at a meeting held at New York, commencing 29th June, 1854, and lasting several days.

The subject presented opens questions of the most momentous and comprehensive nature. It is the intention of the undersigned to bestow upon them patient and anxious consideration. That they may avail themselves of the aid and counsel of wise and good men in our own and other lands, and collect such information as may conduce to a more thorough appreciation and satisfactory adjustment of the whole matter submitted to them, they request your particular attention to the Memorial which will be found on page 181 of the Journal of the last General Convention; and also to the following questions. Your answer to any or all of these questions in detail, and your views generally of the best means of enlarging the efficiency of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and also of promoting unity among Christians, greatly oblige the undersigned; and they would respectfully request that it

may be sent in at your earliest convenience.

The Commission stands adjourned to meet at Hartford, Conn.,
4th October, 1854.

Communications may be addressed to the Secretary of the
Commission, the Rev. Prof. JOHNSON, General Theological Seminary,
New York.

Should your engagements render it impracticable to prepare your
communication in season for the October meeting, it is expected that
a further session will be held in Savannah early in February.

JAMES HERVEY OTEY, Chairman.

GEORGE W. DOANE,

ALONZO POTTER,

GEORGE BURGESS,

JOHN WILLIAMS,

JONATHAN M. WAINWRIGHT.

CIRCULAR AND QUESTIONS

Q U E S T I O N S

I

- (1) Can the present method of preparing young men for the ministry in the P. E. Church be improved, in respect to learning, piety, intellectual power or practical efficiency? If yea, please state how. Mention any remarkable facts respecting the training of ministers whom you have known to be especially useful and efficient.

- (2) Could any change be advantageously made in the prevalent character of our preaching? If yea, state what, and by what means. What modes of instruction, besides sermons from the pulpit, have you found specially beneficial and effective?

- (3) How can the influence of our ministry be made to reach the multitudes now living without the Gospel in our own land and neighbourhood, (a) by social intercourse, (b) by extra parochial services, (c) by philanthropic labours, etc., etc.?

- (4) Ought we, or ought we not, to have itinerating Evangelists, as well as settled Pastors; also permanent Deacons, and a portion of the clergy more especially devoted to theological and biblical studies?

- (5) Can any method for division of labour be suggested, by which persons of marked ability in a certain line shall have their useful gift specially exercised to the edification of the Church; and by which ministers thrown out of parish life may yet be advantageously occupied?
- (6) Is our present system of family, Sunday School, and catechetical instruction and training chargeable with any serious defects? If yea, please state them; suggest your opinion respecting the proper remedy.
- (7) Ought or ought not our parish churches in large towns to be opened more frequently on the Lord's day; and to different congregations at different hours?
- (8) What can be done for the religious instruction of boys when they leave the Sunday School?
- (9) Do the laymen and laywomen of our congregations co-operate sufficiently with the pastor in the work of winning souls? How can that co-operation be safely increased?
- (10) How can a spirit of true brotherly intercourse among our members be promoted?
- (11) Ought not young men to be seen in our churches in much larger number? Please to suggest means.
- (12) How can the proper influence of our Church over men engrossed in business be secured?

(13) By what specific means can we increase adequately the pecuniary contributions of Churchmen to the work of evangelizing our own land, and the world at large? Do we instruct our people sufficiently on the dangers and responsibilities involved in the possession of property?

II

(1) Could change be advantageously made in our Liturgical services?

(a) By lengthening, shortening, or dividing?

(b) By adapting the lessons, anthems, etc., better to the different ecclesiastical seasons?

(c) By a larger number of special services and prayers for special occasions?

(d) By a larger discretion in the use of hymns, and other sacred music?

(e) By services specially fitted for missionary work at home or abroad?

(f) By allowing the authorities of each Diocese larger liberty?

(2) Should the conditions on which ministers are admitted to orders be prescribed exclusively by the General Convention?

- (3) Ought the conditions now imposed on candidates, who have been licensed or ordained in other Protestant communion, be relaxed?
- (a) As to term of time?
 - (b) Degree of conformity to the worship, discipline, etc., of the P. E. Church?
- (4) Are any facts known to you indicating a preference, on the part of ministers of other Protestant bodies, for Episcopal ordination, if it were in their power?
- (5) Are any facts known to you indicating on the part of the members of such bodies, a disposition to make any sacrifices of sectarian feeling for the sake of restoring unity?
- (6) Are our Liturgical services, and the discretion accorded to our several Dioceses, as free as they were in the early church?
- (7) Ought the Church to make better provision for training teachers, nurses, etc.?
- (8) Ought it to afford its female members who have leisure and inclination for benevolent labours, any more systematic means of pursuing them, than exist at present?

Add any other matter which may occur to you. Where your engagements do not allow of a full consideration of all these questions, please select and answer such as seem to you most important.

As these inquiries can only be directed to a limited number of persons, it is desired that any others into whose hands they may fall, would freely offer any information which they may deem important to the Commission.

APPENDIX III [from The Journal of Convocation (2 vols., London, 1855-1858), I, pp.18-24]

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE CHURCH SERVICES

The Committee appointed by the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, to consider and report 'whether the great increase, and present condition, of the population, do not make some, and if so what, adaptations of the Church's rules needful to enable her to meet their spiritual necessities', report, - That they have held frequent meetings for the consideration of the subject referred to them, and that they have agreed upon the following conclusions:

That some modification of the Church's rules is needful to enable her adequately to minister to the spiritual necessities of the people of this land; and, that these modifications may most properly be considered with reference:

1. To her Services; and
2. To the ministerial agency which she now employs.

As to the first of these, we think it of the utmost importance, in the present state of the Church, that the Services, as now ordered in the Book of Common Prayer, should be preserved entire and unaltered; but, we are of opinion, that the length of the Morning Service on Sundays and Holydays, especially when the Holy Communion is administered to a large body of Communicants, renders it desirable to allow of its being divided into different Services, and used at various hours. We therefore think it would be expedient that, at the request of the

Incumbent, or, in his absence, of the Licensed Curate of any Parish or District, the Bishop of the Diocese should be empowered to authorize, so long as he shall deem fit, a division of the present Morning Service; so that either the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion, or the Order for Daily Morning Prayer, may be used as a separate Service; provided that the whole Morning Service, including the Litany when appointed to be read, be used either in one or two Services in the course of the morning; a Sermon being preached at either one or both Services.

As to the Order for Evening Prayer on Sunday, we see no need of suggesting any alteration, except when it is used in the same church both on the afternoon and evening of the same day. In that case we think it would be expedient, 1st, that a new Table of Proper Lessons should be authorized, which might be substituted in the Evening Prayer for those already read in the Afternoon Service; or, 2ndly, that at the discretion of the Parish Priest, with the consent of the Bishop, a substitution should be allowed, either in the afternoon, or evening, of one of the occasional Services hereafter mentioned; provided that the Order for Evening Prayer be always used either in the afternoon or evening.

We would further suggest, that in the present state of our population, the Church would be better able to minister to their wants, if some well-considered relaxations of the absolute strictness of her Services, as prescribed by the Act of Uniformity, were admitted by authority; and we would enumerate the following as some which might be usefully adopted:

First, we would suggest, that a shorter Order for Daily Prayer might be compiled from the Book of Common Prayer, with a prescribed Lesson or Lessons of Holy Scripture; which might be used instead of the present Order for Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, on other days than Sundays and Holydays, in parishes where the Incumbent shall have satisfied the Bishop of the Diocese that it might be advantageously adopted.

Secondly, we would suggest, that various occasional Services might be formed from the Book of Common Prayer, for use in the Church, with the permission of the Bishop, on week-days, and in addition to the prescribed Services on Sundays.

We would specify the following as examples of such Services:

I The Litany; with a Scripture Lesson, Psalmody, Holy Baptism, Churching of Women, Sermon or Catechising, or with any of them.

II A Short Selection of Collects, with the Lord's Prayer, and Psalmody, to precede or follow a Sermon or Catechising.

III A Service, with Sermon or Lecture, preparatory to the administration of the Holy Communion.

IV A Thanksgiving Service, containing the 'Venite', 'Te Deum', Psalmody, Collects, the Lord's Prayer, a Scripture Lesson, and the General Thanksgiving; with or without a Sermon.

V Services for the deprecation or removal of God's Judgments; one formed of Collects, the Lord's Prayer, Penitential Psalms, and a Scripture Lesson; another, consisting of the Litany, with Penitential Psalms, and a Scripture Lesson; either of such Services with or without a Sermon.

VI A Service for imploring the blessing of God on Church Missions; with or without a Sermon.

VII A Service for Children.

Further, we think it would be expedient that the Bishop should be empowered to authorize the use of the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion as a Separate Service, on any day of the week; and that he should be authorized to allow on special occasions, the substitution of other chapters of the Old and New Testament respectively, for the First and Second Lessons appointed for the day. For one special occasion, viz. Ash-Wednesday, we would recommend the appointment of proper Lessons. Besides the adoption of these occasional Services, framed from the Book of Common Prayer we think it desirable that a Collection of Psalms and Hymns, to be used in Churches, should be put forth by authority.

Further, we think it desirable that a Form should be authorized 'for admitting Converts from the Church of Rome, and such others as shall renounce their errors, and for restoring such as have relapsed'; and we are of opinion that the form prepared by the Upper House of Convocation in 1714 would, with a few alterations, be proper for this purpose.

Our attention has been invited to certain portions of our existing Services and to certain Orders in our Canons, which are thought to interfere with that enlarged action of the Church, the means of promoting which we were appointed to consider.

As to the first of these, the only one on which we would now remark, respects the third Exhortation following the Prayer for the

Church Militant, in the Order of the Administration of the Holy Communion. Concerning this Exhortation it was suggested to us, that being read as it now is, after the withdrawal of all, save those who have resolved at that time to communicate, and who must be supposed to have already examined themselves, and after such examination to be now drawing near 'to eat of that bread and to drink of that cup', the strong expressions it contains as to the danger of an unworthy receiving, are unseasonable, and are found in practice to disturb the minds of some of those who remain to communicate. These objections would, in our judgment, be in a great degree removed if this Address were read, as the Exhortations which precede it are ordered to be read, at the conclusion of the Sermon, to the whole congregation, rather than after the Prayer for the Church Militant. Having regard to the place of this Exhortation, after the two which immediately precede it, and which are distinctly ordered to be read at the close of the Sermon; and to its tenor as applicable to the whole congregation, consisting of those who have, or have not yet resolved to remain and communicate, rather than to those who have already begun to take part in the Communion Office, there does not appear to be so distinct a settlement of the place in the Service, at which this Exhortation must be read, as to prove that it may not be read immediately after the Sermon, and before, instead of after, the Prayer for the Church Militant, when the Holy Communion is administered.

An Order in the Canons bearing on our Services, which was brought under our notice, as containing rules which tend to cramp the Church's expansive power, by interposing hindrances to the more general use of her Offices, was the prohibition, contained in the 29th Canon, of parents standing as sponsors for their own children. As to this,

whilst we thankfully recognize the great benefits which arise from engaging other fit persons, where they may be had, to undertake the charitable office of sponsors, we are of opinion that the main reasons which appear to us to have induced the Church of England to prohibit parents acting as sponsors for their own children no longer exist; and, having regard to the difficulty now often found, especially by the poor, in obtaining fit sponsors for their children, we think that a relaxation of this prohibition is desirable.

As to the second head of our inquiry, - namely, whether any, and, if so, what modification of the Church's present agency is needful to enable her more perfectly to discharge her spiritual functions, - we would express our opinion;

I That some additional agency is necessary to enable the Church, especially in large and populous parishes, to fulfil her Lord's command to preach the Gospel to every creature.

II That some of the present needs of the Church might be supplied by more general and systematic co-operation of the Laity in works of Christian charity; in visiting and instructing the sick, poor, and ignorant; in exhorting the careless; in teaching children and adults in schools; in collecting funds for the extension of the Church at home and abroad; and in all other labours of Christian love which can, consistently with the rules of the Church, be performed by Laymen; that such works must be undertaken and conducted under the superintendence of the parochial Clergy, and should bear in marked features the character of being Lay assistance rendered to the Ministers of Christ in their proper work, and should be conducted with the especial aim of bringing souls under the direct action of that ministry.

III That, besides this more general and systematic agency of the Laity of the Church, as Parochial District Visitors, and the like, some extension of the Ministry is greatly needed amongst us.

We are of opinion that this need might in some measure be supplied, if the Bishops should be willing, in such cases as to them might seem meet, to admit to the Order of Deacons literate persons, and those who had not attained the same proficiency in the classical languages as it now required in candidates for the office of a Deacon.

Provided that in all such special cases the Bishop be satisfied as to the moral character and religious life of the candidates; as to the soundness of their doctrine; their knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and of the Articles and Offices of the Church; and their possessing a peculiar gift for imparting religious instruction. Provided further, That all persons, who have been admitted Deacons upon these terms, shall be strictly confined to the discharge of the duties of the Diaconate as defined in the Ordinal of the English Church; shall be incapable of filling a sole Cure; and shall not be admissible to the Office of Priest until they shall have served five years at least, in the lower office, and have made themselves acquainted with the branches of learning now usually required of candidates for the Priesthood; and that these conditions be stated in their Letters of Deacon's Orders.

Further, we are of opinion that various means might be adopted to render more effectual the exercise of the Church's Missionary Office towards our home population.

It is deeply to be deplored, that there are at present large numbers of the poorer population, especially in our great towns, who are habitually absent from the public worship of God, and live with little

or no sense of true religion; and new and increased efforts are urgently required to give them a saving knowledge of the Gospel, and shelter them within the fold of the Church. For this work there is need of men specially fitted for, and devoted to, direct Missionary operations at home. We would, therefore, suggest the placing in the midst of such a population Clergymen who might, with a view to economy, Christian fellowship, and united prayers and action, live together, minister in one central Church, and, with due regard to ecclesiastical rule and authority, might labour around it in preaching, exhorting, visiting the sick and poor in their own houses, and superintending schools. We think it would be desirable that men possessed of needful gifts for this work should be specially encouraged to undertake it for a time, and be recognized as having a special claim for preferment out of public patronage in less laborious spheres after a term of service.

Further, we think that good would result if those who were gained by these means as converts were associated together in closer religious fellowship and action than has been common amongst us. Such converts, we believe, would thus be themselves built up in the true faith, would become an attraction and shelter to others; and would, under God's blessing, spread around them in their homes, and amongst their companions, a saving knowledge of Christ and of his Gospel.

We believe, further, that the due action of the Church's Missionary office amongst the home population would be promoted, if a body of Clergy were organized for the special work of preaching and exhorting, under the Bishop's sanction, throughout his Diocese. Such Clergy might most properly be connected with the Cathedral Church, and might be licensed by the Bishop for temporary service in parishes where their

presence was desired by the Parochial Clergy. We believe that such an institution would be of great service in parishes of unmanageable size; in those which might have been injured by past ministerial neglect, by the action of demoralizing influences, or by the inculcation of Roman or other error; and lastly, that it would tend, in a beneficial manner, to supply wants arising from such inequalities in ministerial gifts, as must be found in so numerous a body as the English Clergy.

In conclusion, we are of opinion, That, inasmuch as the efficiency of the Church depends mainly on the adequate discharge of the duties of the Episcopal Office; and as it was the design of our Reformers to erect a large number of additional Sees; and as the population of England Wales has since their time been multiplied nearly fivefold, while the Episcopate has received scarcely any augmentation in the last three centuries; it deserves attentive consideration, whether, for the due performance of the Church's Missionary work, an increase in the Episcopate is not now necessary, especially in our great centres of population.

APPENDIX IV [from William Stevens Perry, ed. Journals of General Convention (3 vols., Claremont, N.H., 1874), I, pp.315-320]

C O U R S E O F E C C L E S I A S T I C A L
S T U D I E S

ESTABLISHED BY THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS IN
THE CONVENTION OF 1804, IN PURSUANCE
OF A RESOLUTION OF THE PRECEDING
GENERAL CONVENTION

In attending to this subject, a considerable difficulty occurs, arising out of the difference of the circumstances of students, in regard not only to intellectual endowments and preparatory knowledge of languages and science, but to access to authors, and time to be devoted to a preparation for the ministry. For in accommodating to those whose means are slender, we are in danger of derogating from the importance of religious knowledge; while, on the other hand, although we should demand all this is desirable, we shall be obliged to content ourselves, in some cases, with what is barely necessary.

In consideration of the above, it will be expedient to set down such a course of study, as is accommodated to a moderate portion of time and means; and afterwards to suggest provision, as well for a more limited as for a more enlarged share of both.

Let the student be required to begin with some books in proof of the divine authority of Christianity, such as Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion, Jenkins on the Reasonableness of Christianity,

Paley's Evidences, Lesly's Methods with the Jews and Deists; Stillingfleet's Origines Sacra, and Butler's Analogy. To the above should be added some books which give a knowledge of the objections made by Deists. For this Leland's view may be sufficient, except that it should be followed by answers to deistical writers since Leland, whose works and the answers to them may be supposed known to the student. It would be best, if circumstances permit, that he should read what the Deists themselves have written.

After the books in proof of Revelation, let the student, previously to the reading of any system of divinity, study the Scriptures with the help of some approved commentators, - such as Patrick and Lowth on the Old Testament, and Hammond, or Whitby, or Diddridge on the New : being aware, in regard to the last-mentioned author, of the points on which he differs from our Church, although it be with moderation and candour. During such his study of the Scriptures, let him read some work or works which give an account of the design of the different books, and the grounds on which their respective authority is asserted; for instance, Father Simon's Canon of Scripture, Collier's Sacred Interpreter, Gray's Key to the Old Testament, and Percy's Key to the New. Let the student read the Scriptures over and over, referring to his commentators as need may require, until he can give an account of the design and character of each book, and explain the more difficult passages of it. He is supposed to know enough of profane history to give an account of that also, whenever it mixes with the sacred. There are certain important subjects which may be profitably attended to, as matters of distinct study during the course of the general study of Scripture. For instance : the student having proceeded as far as the Deluge, may read some author who gives a larger account

than the commentators of the particulars attached to that crisis, and also the principles on which are founded the different systems of chronology : all of which will be found clearly done in the Universal History. In reading the book of Leviticus, it will be useful to attend to some connected scheme of the sacrifices, such as is exhibited by Bishop Kidder in his Introduction to the Pentateuch, and by Mr. Joseph Mede in some of his discourses. A more full and interesting interpretation of the Prophecies than can be expected from the commentators, will be desirable; and for this purpose, let Bishop Newton's work be taken. Between the study of the Old Testament and that of the New, should be read Prideaux and Shuckford's Connections. With the New Testament should be taken some book relating to the Harmony of the Gospels, as M'Knight's or Bishop Newcome's. Let the student, before entering on the Gospels, read Dr. Campbell's Introductory Dissertations. Towards the close of the Gospels, the subject of the Resurrection should be particularly attended to; for which purpose let there be taken either Mr. West on the subject, or Bishop Sherlock's Trial of the Witnesses.

After the study of the Scriptures, let attention be given to ecclesiastical history, so far as the Council of Nice. This period is distinctly taken from a desire that the portion of history preceding it, as well as the opinions then entertained, may be learned from original writers; which may be considered as one of the best expedients for the guarding of the student against many errors of modern times. The writers of that interval are not numerous or bulky. Eusebius is soon read through, and so are the Apostolic Fathers. Even the other writers are not voluminous, except Origen, the greater part of whose works may be passed over. The Apostolic Fathers may be best

read in Cotelerius's edition; but there are translations of most of them by Archbishop Wake and the Rev. William Reeves. Cave's Lives of the Apostles and Fathers may be profitably read at this period.

This stage of the student's progress seems the most proper for the study of the two questions, of our Lord's divinity and of Episcopacy. The aspect of early works on these subjects, best enables us to ascertain in what shape they appeared to the respective writers. And it is difficult to suppose, on the ground of what we know of human nature, that during the first three centuries, either the character of Christ should have been conceived of as materially different from what had been the representation of it by the first teachers of our religion; or, that there should have been a material change of Church government, without opposition to the innovation. For the former question, let the works of Bishop Bull and the Rev. Charles Lesly be taken; to which may well be added the late controversy between Bishop Horsley and Dr. Priestley; and for the latter, Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Archbishop Potter on Church Government, and Daubeny's Guide to the Church. As the Lord Chancellor King published a book on the Discipline of the Primitive Church, in which he has rested Episcopacy on insufficient grounds, unwarily admitted by many on his authority, let the student read his book, and the refutation of it in Mr. Slater's Original Draft of the Primitive Church.

After this, let the student go on with the history of the fourth century, from Mosheim. But it will be of advantage to him to turn to Fleury's history for the epitomies there given of the writings of the eminent men who abounded in that century and part of the next. Let him

then return to Mosheim, and go on with that writer to the Reformation. Here let him pause and study, as the main hinges of Popery, its pretences to supremacy and infallibility; on which there will be found satisfactory matter in Mr. Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation, and Dr. Barrow's treatise Of the Pope's Supremacy. Here also let there be read Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent. Then let the student resume Mosheim. But it will be best if, for a more minute knowledge of the History of the Church of England since the Reformation, he take along with him Collier's History - a very able work, but in the reading of which some allowance must be made for peculiar prejudices. On coming, in the reign of Elizabeth, to the questions which arose between the Divines of the Established Church and the Presbyterians, then known by the name of Puritans, let recourse be had again to Mr. Hooker's work and to the London Cases. Then let Mosheim be proceeded with to the end.

After these studies, and not before, let Divinity be read in a systematic method. Bishop Pearson's Exposition of the Creed may be considered as a small system, and on account of the excellence of the work is recommended; as also Bishop Burnet's Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles. Then let a larger system be taken; suppose Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, with the addition of the following modern works: Elements of Christian Theology, by the present Bishop of Lincoln, and the Scholar Armed. That many works of this sort are not mentioned, is because we think their utility is principally confined to arrangement, and suppose that the knowledge they convey is to be obtained from the Scriptures and judicious commentators.

It seems necessary to this course of study, to recommend the Sermons of some of the most distinguished preachers; who have so

abounded in the Church of England for some ages past, that the only matter will be, from among many of great name, to select a convenient number. And for this purpose we refer to the list at the end.

It seems not unnecessary to require attention to the History of the Common Prayer, the grounds on which the different Services are constructed, and the meaning of the Rubrics. Perhaps a careful study of Dr. Wheatley on the Common Prayer, and of the late work of Mr. Reeves, will be sufficient.

Some books should be read on the duties of the Pastoral office; such as St. Chrysostom on the Priesthood, Bishop Burnet on the Pastoral Care, and Bishop Wilson's Parochialia. It is, however, to be remembered, that one reason of studying carefully the Book of Common Prayer and its Rubrics, is that, by the help of these, in connection with what belongs in Scripture to the ministerial character, sufficient information of its duties may be had.

A knowledge of the Constitution and the Canons should be held absolutely necessary. And it is to be hoped that they will, on this account, be soon published, detached from the Journals.

To set down what books shall be essential, no student to be ordained without being fully prepared to answer on them, is more difficult. The lowest requisition is as follows: Paley's Evidences; Mosheim, with a reference to Mr. Hooker for the Episcopacy; Stackhouse's Body of Divinity, and Mr. Reeves on the Common Prayer; the Constitution and Canons of the Church; allowing in the study of the Scriptures a latitude of choice among the approved commentators; it being understood, that if the student cannot, on the grounds contained in some good Commentary, give an account of the different books,

and explain such passages, as may be proposed to him, this is of itself a disqualification.

In the beginning it was intimated, that the course to be recommended would be disproportioned to the means of some, and fall short of what would be within the compass of others. For the benefit of the latter, we publish the following list of books on the different branches of ecclesiastical knowledge.

During the whole course of study, the student will endeavour, by the grace of God, to cultivate his heart by attention to devotional and practical treatises, several of which will be mentioned in the general list that follows.

LIBRARY OF A PARISH MINISTER

Prefixed to 'Elements of Christian Theology',
published by the Right Rev. the present Bishop of Lincoln

The books mentioned are divided into four classes.

The first containing such as relate to the exposition of the Old and New Testaments; the second, such as serve to establish the divine authority of the Scriptures; the third, such as explain the doctrines and discipline of the Church and the duties of its Ministers; and the fourth, miscellaneous, including Sermons and Ecclesiastical History.

CLASS THE FIRST

- Bible, with marginal references, 8vo.
- Crutwell's Concordance of Parallels, 4to.
- Butterworth's Concordance, 8vo.
- Patrick, Lowth, and Whitby, on the Old and New Testament, 6 vols. fol.
- Doddridge's Family Expositor, 6 vols. 8vo.
- Pool's Synopsis, 5 vols. folio.
- Collier's Sacred Interpreter, 2 vols. 8vo.
- Jenning's Jewish Antiquities, 2 vols. 8vo.
- Lowman's Rationale of the Hebrew Ritual, 8vo.
- Gray's Key to the Old Testament, 8vo.
- Home's Scripture History of the Jews, 2 vols. 8vo.
- Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, 4to.
- Campbell's Translation of the Gospels, 2 vols. 4to.
- Marsh's Michaelis, 3 vols. 8vo.
- Bowyer's Conjectures on the New Testament, 4to.
- Macknight's Harmony, 4to.
- Macknight on the Epistles, 3 vols. 4to.
- Lowman on the Revelation, 8vo.
- Oliver's Scripture Lexicon, 8vo.
- Macbean's Dictionary of the Bible, 8vo.

CLASS THE SECOND

- Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae, 2 vols. 8vo.
- Clarke's Grotius, 8vo.
- Clarke's Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, 8vo.

Lardner's Works, 11 vols. 8vo.

Paley's Evidences, 2 vols. 8vo.

Paley's Horae Paulinae, 8vo.

Jenkins on the Certainty and Reasonableness of Christianity, 2 vols.
8vo.

Leland on the Advantage and Necessity of Revelation, 2 vols. 8vo.

Leland's View of Deistical Writers, 2 vols. 8vo.

Butler's Analogy, 8vo.

Campbell on Miracles, 2 vols. 8vo.

Newton on the Prophecies, 2 vols. 8vo.

Kett's History the Interpreter of Prophecy, 3 vols. 12mo.

Leland on the Divine Authority of the Old and New Testament, 2 vols.

CLASS THE THIRD

Burnet's History of the Reformation, 3 vols. folio.

Burnet's Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, 8vo.

Burnet's Pastoral Care, 8vo.

Pearson on the Creed, 2 vols. 8vo.

Nicholls on the Common Prayer, 8vo.

Wheatley on the Common Prayer, 8vo.

Shepherd on the Common Prayer, 8vo.

Wilson's Parochialia, 12mo.

Wall on Infant Baptism, 2 vols. 8vo.

Secker on the Catechism, 12mo.

Secker's Charges, 8vo.

The Homilies, by Sir Adam Gordon, 8vo.

Daubeny's Guide to the Church.

Daubeny's Appendix to the same, 2 vols.

CLASS THE FOURTH

Cudworth's Intellectual System, 2 vols. 4to.
 Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, 3 vols. 8vo.
 Bingham's Antiquities, 2 vols. folio.
 Broughton's Dictionary of all Religions, 2 vols. folio.
 Shuckford's Connection, 4 vols. 8vo.
 Prideaux's Connection, 4 vols. 8vo.
 Echard's Ecclesiastical History, 2 vols. 8vo.
 Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, 6 vols. 8vo.
 Burns' Ecclesiastical Law, 4 vols. 8vo.
 Common Place Book to the Holy Bible, 4to.
 Barrow's Works, 3 vols. folio.
 Tillotson's Works, 3 vols. folio.
 Clarke's Sermons, 8 vols. 8vo.
 Sherlock's Sermons, 5 vols. 8vo.
 Secker's Sermons, 9 vols. 8vo.
 Scott's Christian Life, 5 vols. 8vo.
 Whole Duty of Man, 12mo.
 Scholar Armed, 2 vols. 8vo.
 Tracts by Society for Christian Knowledge, 12 vols. 12mo.

In addition to the preceding, may be recommended the following list of Sermons and devotional and practical books.

Sermons by Bishop Pearce, Bishop Wilson, Bishop Horne, Bishop Porteus, Dr. Jortin, Dr. Brady; by the late Right Rev. Bishop Seabury of this Church; by the late Rev. Dr. Smith, of the same; Bishop Gibson's Tracts; Bishop Horne's Commentary on the Psalms; Rev. Wm. Jones's (of Nayland) Works; Nelson's Festivals and Fasts of the Church,

Nelson's Practice of True Devotion; Nelson's Christian Sacrifice;
Bishop Taylor's Rule of Holy Living and Dying; Scougall's Life of
God in the Soul of Man; Dr. Sherlock on Death, - on Judgment, - on
a Future State, - on Providence.

BY ORDER OF THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS:

WILLIAM WHITE, D.D., PRESIDING BISHOP.

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