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freedom and with loyalty and with truth. Is it come to this, that our money, drawn from us by taxes, is to be used for bribing young Irishmen into lecture-rooms where they will hear that Elizabeth was a bastard and a heretic, that James II. was the lawful king after 1688, that Usher, Bramhall, Taylor, and other Irish Churchmen ought to have been burnt as Cranmer and Latimer and Ridley were burnt, and that if the Pope tells them to do so, they are bound to revolt from Queen Victoria, and place upon her throne whoever may be the Papal nominee? We do not believe that the scheme will be realized, but reputations may be lost over it and Ministries wrecked.

F. MEYRICK.



#### ART. III.—THE PRAYER-BOOK MEANING OF THE WORD “REGENERATION.”

IT may seem a somewhat bold thing in these days to call attention to the question of the meaning of the word “regeneration” as used in the Book of Common Prayer, and as bearing upon the interpretation of the baptismal services. The venture is made, however, as a matter of conviction, and also because it is felt that Churchmen of Reformation principles have not always sufficiently given that calm consideration to the meaning of the word as used in our Prayer-Book which it undoubtedly demands. “A vague and inaccurate use of words,” it has been said, “often engenders rash opinions, and leads to mischievous consequences.” And “the judicious Hooker” reminds us that “the mixture of those things by speech which by Nature are divided is the mother of all error. To take away, therefore, that error which confusion breedeth distinction is necessary.” The necessity for the caution is, we think, exemplified in the case of the word “regeneration.” There is undoubtedly an ambiguity in the word itself. Men have fixed a meaning, or meanings, upon it, and interpreted the Prayer-Book by the light of those meanings, instead of ascertaining that the sense in which they use the word corresponds with its use in the Book of Common Prayer. It may not, therefore, be a useless task just to try and indicate what has, of course, been pointed out before, and at much greater length, as to the meaning of the Church of England in her use of the word “regeneration.” That it is a point which presents certain difficulties is an acknowledged fact; but the existence of difficulties, or even of differences of opinion, should not prevent investigation if entered upon in

the spirit of love, and with the earnest desire to promote the truth. The difficulties, moreover, would seem to have arisen, not so much from any uncertainty in the language of the Church of England in her formularies, nor from the impossibility of reconciling that language with the teaching of the Word of God, nor in the way in which the language of the Church was understood by early writers, as from the extremes of opinion into which men, sincerely anxious to avoid error, have gone both in one direction and the other, and from the sharpness with which the controversy has been waged between zealous advocates of the truth, holding in later times different, and indeed opposite, views.

The plan that it is proposed to follow is, keeping well-known controversies out of sight as far as possible, to look, in the first place, at the use by the Church of England of the word "regenerate," and then to try and find out what is meant when it is so used. What, *i.e.*, is the interpretation which is most naturally and has been most generally put upon the use of it in our Prayer-Book?

Let us, then, first examine the use by our Church in the Book of Common Prayer, and other authorized formularies, of the word "regenerate" or "regeneration."

Taking the services in the order of their arrangement, the first place in which the word occurs is the *Collect of Christmas Day*:

"Almighty God . . . Grant that we being regenerate and made Thy children by adoption and grace, may daily be renewed by Thy Holy Spirit," etc. In view of the statement, not infrequently made, that "the words, 'Grant that we being regenerate,' etc., are a prayer for regeneration,"<sup>1</sup> it may be well to note the Latin of the collect in question: "Præsta quæsumus ut nos regenerati, filiique tui per adoptionem et gratiam facti, tuo Sancto Spiritu quotidie renovemur," etc.<sup>2</sup>

Turning to the baptismal offices, and looking first at the ministration of *Publick Baptism of Infants*, we note these expressions: "None can enter into the kingdom of God except he be regenerate and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost." "We call upon thee for . . . holy Baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration." "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church," etc. Words which, in the service for Private Baptism, are altered into, ". . . this child is by Baptism regenerate," etc.

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<sup>1</sup> "The Book of Common Prayer, etc.," by Rev. R. P. Blakeney, pp. 483-485.

<sup>2</sup> "Liturgical Services." Queen Elizabeth. Park. Soc. Ed., p. 348.

Upon this sentence it may be noted that in the Sealed Books, and in the "annexed" copy of the Prayer-Book, there is no comma after the word "regenerate," such as appears in the present editions. This may be seen in the edition of the Sealed Books, with notes by Dr. Stephens, published by the Ecclesiastical History Society in 1850, and in the facsimile reproduction of the MS. Book of Common Prayer, which was "signed by Convocation, December 20, 1661, and attached to the Act of Uniformity, 1662," reproduced by photo-lithograph in 1891.

"We yield Thee hearty thanks . . . that it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant by Thy Holy Spirit."

The *Service for Private Baptism* speaks of the child previously baptized, and now brought to be received "as one of the flock of true Christian people," as one who "is now, by the laver of regeneration in Baptism, received into the number of the children of God, and," etc.

The office for *Publick Baptism of such as are of riper years* turns the words used as a prayer before Baptism into an assertion of fact after Baptism. "Give Thy Holy Spirit to these persons, that being now born again and made heirs of everlasting salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ, they may continue," etc.

In the *Catechism*, the word "regeneration" does not occur; but we have the familiar words, "my Baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ," etc.

What is the inward and spiritual grace (of Baptism)? "A death unto sin, and a new birth unto, etc. . . . grace."

The *Confirmation Service* speaks of those on whom hands are about to be laid as those whom God has "vouchsafed to regenerate . . . by water and the Holy Ghost."

*Article IX., Of Original Sin*: "This infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerated" (*renatis*). And a few lines lower down: "Although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized" (*renatis*).

*Article XV.*: "But all we the rest (although baptized and born again in Christ)," etc.—"baptizati, et in Christo regenerati," etc.

*Article XXVII.*: "Baptism . . . is a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church," etc.—"Baptismus . . . est signum Regenerationis, per quod," etc.

Two short quotations from the *Homilies* may be added.

"*For the repairing of Churches*": "The House of God . . . the Fountain of our Regeneration, is there presented unto us."

"*On Fasting*": "The order . . . made by the elders for washing oftentimes . . . our Saviour altered and changed the

same in His Church into a profitable Sacrament, the Sacrament of our Regeneration or New Birth."

These are the passages in the Book of Common Prayer in which the word "regeneration," or the equivalent "new birth," occurs;<sup>1</sup> and it would appear to be perfectly plain from them (a) that the word is always used in connection with Holy Baptism; (b) that therefore the Church of England connects with Holy Baptism in some sense or other, and in some way or other, regeneration or new birth.

But granting that there is a connection in the way of cause and effect, for it amounts to no less than this, according to the mind of the Church of England between Baptism and regeneration, the next question is, "What does the Church of England mean by the term 'regeneration' when she connects it with the Sacrament of Holy Baptism?"

Now, we must be careful not to obscure or confuse the point at issue. The question is not what is the meaning, or the possible meaning, of the word "regeneration" considered in itself; what interpretation or application is it capable of; or what sense has been put upon it, or is put upon it, to-day. The question is simply this, What is the sense in which the Church of England uses it in her formularies?

A comparison of the language of the Prayer-Book with Holy Scripture and the teaching of experience will show clearly what the Church of England *does not* mean by regeneration. It is, indeed, only necessary to remind ourselves of the initiatory character of the Sacrament of Holy Baptism—that it is the beginning, not the end, of the Christian course; that it is the entrance upon the life of warfare and conflict; that we are taught to pray that the baptized one "may continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant," be "assisted by His grace," and "fail not finally to attain His heavenly promises"—to see that our Church does not teach that there is any moral change or change of heart effected by Holy Baptism. She does not teach that the baptized adult is a fully developed or sanctified Christian, assured in virtue of his Baptism of the enjoyment of everlasting salvation. She does not teach that in Baptism "the whole of that which has the proper nature of sin is taken away."<sup>2</sup> But she means that sacred change which is involved in lifting up the baptized one out of the world into the Church; out of its state by nature (a child of wrath) into the "state of salvation" (a child of grace), in which are held out the privileges covenanted to

<sup>1</sup> That the two expressions are regarded as synonymous appears from Article XXVII, where "of regeneration or new birth" is the equivalent of the Latin *regenerationis*; as also from the Homily last quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Decree of Council of Trent, Sess. v. 5.

the Church by her Divine Lord—privileges which are signed and sealed to the adult who comes with the prerequisites of repentance and faith, and to the infant who "promises them both by his sureties" for his future acceptance, and who are grafted by Baptism into the body of Christ's Church.

The Church of England means not a change of moral character, but a change of state—a federal change, or change of relationship; a change, too, of spiritual condition, inasmuch as the child of wrath is "hereby made" the child of grace—made "a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." This change, most real, deep and momentous, our Church describes as "regeneration." So that what we seem to arrive at is this: That the Church of England uses the words "regenerate" and "regeneration" in a very distinct way, as expressing the particular grace of Baptism. She does not confound "regeneration" with "conversion," nor with "renovation" or "renewal"; and we must be careful not to do so either. *Conversion* is a conscious turning towards God; it is "an act, or a series of acts, in which the human will yields willing submission to the Divine agent."<sup>1</sup> *Regeneration* is "the act of the Divine Agent alone on a soul which is not disqualified by impenitence or unbelief."<sup>1</sup> Conversion may be at Baptism—nay, in the case of an adult it will even precede Baptism; but it is a distinct thing and a distinct process from regeneration, which is the word appropriated to the particular grace of Holy Baptism. "Regeneration," says Dr. Gibson in his work on the Articles,<sup>2</sup> "is the Church's name for the special grace of Baptism, and in the Church's formularies it is never used for anything else."<sup>3</sup> Conversion is in the Prayer-Book spoken of but rarely. The difference between it and regeneration may be expressed in this way: In regeneration, God gives Himself to the soul; in conversion, the soul gives itself to God.

So, too, with renovation, or renewal. Renovation, as Dr. Waterland so clearly shows in his great discourse (of which I quote the summary in Bishop Bethell's work on the "Doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism"), is "a change of inward frame or disposition, which in adults is rather a qualification or capacity for regeneration than regeneration itself." "Regeneration is a change of the whole spiritual state. . . . Regeneration comes only once, in or through Baptism; renovation exists before, in, and after Baptism, and may be often repeated. Regeneration, being a single act, can have no parts, and is incapable of in-

<sup>1</sup> "Baptism; Regeneration; Conversion." Meyrick, S.P.C.K., p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> "The Thirty-Nine Articles." Gibson, vol. ii., p. 633.

<sup>3</sup> "Baptism, Wherein the Mystery of our Regeneration is Wrought." Hooker, Bk. v., ch. lxii., 20.

crease; renovation is in its very nature progressive."<sup>1</sup> Or, to take another quotation: "The word 'regeneration,' in the Scriptural usage of it, means only our initiation, or entrance, by Baptism into that covenant which gives us new privileges, new hopes, and a new principle of spiritual life, placing us in a totally different state from that to which by nature only we could never attain. The expression, therefore, cannot without a direct violation of the Scriptures be applied to any operation that takes place subsequent to that baptismal change with which alone it perfectly corresponds."<sup>2</sup>

It will be quite impossible to go through the mass of quotations by which it may be shown that from the very earliest times this was the sense—the limited sense, we may almost say—in which the word "regeneration" was universally used and understood; but the words in which some of those who have studied the subject have summarized their examination may be quoted. "Almost all eminent writers," says Prebendary Meyrick, use "the words 'baptism' and 'regeneration' indifferently one for the other."<sup>3</sup> "The identity, if I may so express myself," says Bishop Bethell, "of Baptism and regeneration is a doctrine which manifestly pervades the writings of the Fathers."<sup>4</sup> "Let such as carp at the word 'regeneration' in our Liturgy," says Bishop Beveridge,<sup>5</sup> "hereafter know it is the primitive Church itself and the most ancient and renowned Fathers they carp at." All the ancient Christians, says Dr. Wall, whose "History of Infant Baptism" is a classic on the subject, "not one man excepted," do take the word "regeneration" to signify Baptism.<sup>6</sup> Bishop Harold Browne, in his exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, says the same, and, taking St. Augustine as a representative of the other Fathers, sums up his teaching on the subject thus: "He"—*i.e.*, Augustine—"teaches that Baptism is not in itself conversion of heart; and of adults he says that a person may be baptized with water, but not be born of the Spirit. In infants he says that the Sacrament of regeneration precedes conversion of heart. He considers that the regeneration of Baptism consists in a grafting into the Church, the body of Christ, a remission of all original sin; so that baptized infants dying in infancy are sure of salvation, and, moreover, in an assured presence of the Holy Spirit, which if not obeyed will profit them nothing, but which if held fast and not received in vain will lead, with

<sup>1</sup> "The Doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism." Bethell, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Van Mildert, quoted in Book of Common Prayer, with Notes.

A. J. Stephens, vol. ii., p. 1361, E.H.S.

<sup>3</sup> *Ut supra*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Ut supra*, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> "On the Thirty-Nine Articles."

<sup>6</sup> See "History of Infant Baptism Part I., ch. ii., *passim*."

opening reason, to that faith and conversion of heart of which in unconscious infancy they had been incapable."<sup>1</sup>

But it may be said, if this is the particular meaning which has been from early times attached to the word "regeneration," how has it come about that there should be any doubt or difficulty in the matter? It is, I believe, one of those cases in which, as was before observed, "a vague and inaccurate use of words often engenders rash opinions and leads to mischievous consequences." The word "regeneration," which was originally appropriated to the grace of Baptism, came to be "used in a more loose and popular way to signify sometimes justification, sometimes conversion, sometimes repentance." "Hence, in popular language"—I quote now from Bishop Bethell—"it came to signify a great and general reformation of habits and character, and the words 'regenerate' and 'unregenerate' were substituted for the words 'converted' and 'unconverted,' 'renewed' and 'unrenewed.'" But in the hands of the systematic Calvinists the word passed from the popular to a strict and determinate meaning, and they pronounced regeneration to be an infusion of a habit of grace, or a radical change of all the parts and faculties of the soul, taking place at the decisive moment of the effectual call.

"The word 'regeneration,'" says the late Dean Boyd,<sup>2</sup> "had changed its import at least four times in the history of religious terms." "The simple fact appears to be that, because a false and exaggerated sense has been put by others on a particular expression, men have become apprehensive of using it in reference to Baptism." "Regeneration in the Puritanic sense we do not predicate of Baptism; regeneration in the Reformational sense we do." This concerns the use of the word.

As regards the doctrine, Prebendary Meyrick puts the matter thus: "A one-sided development of the doctrine of the early Church took place in the Middle Ages. The regeneration wrought in Baptism came to be regarded as a habit of actual righteousness, wrought by the mere act of Baptism; and the disposition of mind, whether before or after Baptism, required for the reception of the full grace of the Sacrament was ignored. The effect of this was to lead men to trust in ceremonialism, and this, again, led to a reaction at the time of the Reformation which made Zwingle and his followers deny baptismal grace altogether. The Church of England, as is usual with it, maintains the middle course between the two extremes. It does not hold the *ex opere operato* theory of baptismal grace with the Romanist, and it does not deny the

<sup>1</sup> "Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles," p. 653.

<sup>2</sup> "Baptism and Baptismal Regeneration," pp. 30, 48, 49.

existence of baptismal grace with the Zwinglian. It teaches that we are placed in a state of salvation by Baptism, but that for *that* salvation to continue and to lead to final salvation, it is necessary for the human spirit to yield itself to the influences of the Divine Spirit, and day by day to be more and more sanctified by them.<sup>1</sup> And this would seem to be a reasonable explanation of the fact that we find in the writings of the Reformers a double sense of the word "regeneration"—a lower and a higher, an ecclesiastical and a spiritual, a theological and a popular sense. We find over and over again general statements of the benefits of Baptism, in which, to quote from one, Bishop Ridley, "The water in Baptism is sacramentally changed into the fountain of regeneration." Baptism is a man's "regeneration, when he is received into the Holy Catholic Church."<sup>2</sup> Such statements are frequent. While in many other passages, in which he would guard and protest against the error that regeneration means a moral change of disposition, "a habit of actual righteousness wrought by the mere act of Baptism," he uses the word as implying that positive and actual turning to God which we term conversion, and that change which we understand by renovation or renewal. The word "regeneration" is, in fact, capable of denoting both an external and internal change; but in the language of our Church it means the former.

This brings us to another question: How far is the Church of England justified in using the word "regeneration" in the sense she does?

Now we must look for a moment at the word itself. It means "reborn," "born anew"; it is a figurative word, a metaphor, and it is capable of various applications. We find it occasionally used in ancient writings other than sacred, and always to express some great change of state or condition. Cicero, recalled from exile to the re-enjoyment of the honours of his citizenship, calls his restoration to rank and fortune his "regeneration." Josephus speaks of the restoration of the Jewish nation after the exile as the "regeneration" of the country. The recovery of knowledge by recollection is spoken of as the "regeneration" of knowledge. The Jews themselves applied it to the freeing of a slave. While with regard to Baptism, Dr. Wall says,<sup>3</sup> "It is abundantly evident that the common phrase of the Jews was to call the baptism of a proselyte his regeneration, or new birth; and then he quotes from the Rabbis as follows: "The Gentile that is made a proselyte, and a slave that is made free; behold he is like a

<sup>1</sup> *Ut supra*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Parker Soc. Ed., pp. 12, 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Ut supra*, pp. 19, 21.

child new-born." The actual word "regeneration" is used only twice in the New Testament, and each time with a totally different meaning—once for the restoration of the primal and perfect condition of things which existed before the Fall, and which is connected with the Second Coming of our Lord: Matt. xix. 28, "In the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of His glory," etc.; and the other place is Titus iii. 5, where St. Paul speaks of "the washing," or rather "the laver of regeneration," an expression which our Church adopts in the Baptismal Service and in the Homilies, and applies to Holy Baptism. "I cannot doubt," says Calvin, "but that the reference of the passage is to Baptism."

But though the actual word regeneration (*παλιγγενεσια*) is used only twice, there are equivalent expressions which afford further illustrations of the various uses of the term. There is the expression "born anew," or "from above," in John iii. 5. In 1 Peter i. 3 the Christian is said to have been "begotten again by the resurrection of Jesus Christ"; while in verse 23 another use of the expression is made, "having been begotten again not of corruptible seed," etc., a thought similar to that which St. James uses when he says, "of His own will He brought us forth by the word of truth."

And then, further, as the word itself is differently used, and as the equivalent expressions vary also in their use, so it must be borne in mind that the figure of regeneration itself, understood of the new birth of the soul, may have a twofold application. It may be used

(a) As it is in St. John iii. 5,<sup>1</sup> and also in Titus iii. 5, of the time when the new birth takes place;

Or (b) of the after-course and true fulfilment of the life then begun. It is in this sense that St. John uses it in his First Epistle. He is combating the errors of those who claimed the new birth, but showed forth none of the fruits of the Spirit; he tells them that the real new birth will be shown in the renewal of the heart, that it will lead on to, and be evidenced by, true faith and active obedience; that these are the marks of being "begotten of God." And while this use of the expression by St. John undoubtedly justifies that fuller use which the writers of the Reformation period recog-

<sup>1</sup> Our Church, following all the older theologians, undoubtedly applies this passage to Holy Baptism—"the express words of our Saviour Christ," she calls them, showing "the great necessity of this Sacrament where it may be had." "All the ancient Christians, without the exception of one man," says Dr. Wall, "do understand that rule of our Saviour (John iii. 5), 'Except a man be born again,' etc., of Baptism" ("Hist. of Inf. Bapt.," vol. i., p. 443). See also Hooker, "Ecol. Pol.," Bk. v., ch. lix.

nised in combating very much the same errors as St. John, it does not, on the other hand, fix the use of the expression to that fuller meaning, or prove that it was in that sense alone that it was used by the Church. So that from the variety of expression and use of the word we may gather, I think, two things: (1) A warning against too rigidly fixing the meaning of the word "regeneration" to one particular sense. (2) A warrant for applying the figure of regeneration to a true and actual change wrought in the spiritual condition of the soul.

What, then, is the conclusion to which we come? That the Church of England does declare unconditionally, and is justified in declaring, a duly baptized person or child regenerate. For by regeneration in baptism is not meant either "conversion" or "renewal," or "a new heart," but being "begotten again unto a lively hope," made a child of grace, instead of a child of wrath, and being placed in a "state of salvation, in the which, if he continues unto his life's end, the baptized one will then be 'saved'—that is, safe in his Father's kingdom."

E. A. EARDLEY-WILMOT.

P.S.—The following letter, written by Dr. Westcott to a correspondent in 1890, will be read with interest. The Bishop now writes: "The letter . . . expresses very summarily what I hold to be the truth, and you are quite at liberty to use it":

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your difficulty arises, I have no doubt, from the ambiguity of the word 'Regeneration.' It is often used to imply a change of moral character. But the 'Regeneration' of Baptism is the change of spiritual position. Birth brings us into new relations, and does not alter us in ourselves. The profession of faith belongs to Confirmation—the laying-on of hands—and with this is connected the gift of the Holy Ghost, as distinguished from the gift of life. Originally Baptism and Confirmation formed two coincident parts of one Sacrament. Now they are most wisely separated, yet they are two parts of one Sacrament. Birth by its very nature is independent of the action of him to whom life is given. You will, I think, find the truth if you compare carefully the subjects of (1) prayer, (2) thanksgiving, in the office for Baptism; and study the first collect in the Confirmation service. There is no part of the Prayer-Book which is to me so clear and perfect a joy as the Baptismal and Confirmation offices taken as a whole.

"Yours faithfully,

"B. F. WESTCOTT."

Reference may also be made to the Bishop of Worcester's sermon on Baptism in "The Church, the Ministry, the Sacraments," in which, after speaking of the Roman view, the Hypothetical view, and the view urged in this paper, he says of the last-named: "This is the view which I myself accept."



#### ART. IV.—THE NESTOR OF ENGLISH NATURALISTS.

THE Rev. Leonard Blomefield, better known to the scientific world as Leonard Jenyns, passed peacefully away, at the ripe age of ninety-three, on September 1, 1893, at his house in Bath. His long life, dedicated to the cause of natural history, and spent happily in the pursuit of it, demands more than a passing notice. We propose, therefore, to lay before our readers a short sketch of his career, which is at once full of interest and instruction.

His mother was the daughter of the celebrated Dr. Heberden, at whose house in Pall Mall he was born on May 25, 1800. Of his childhood and youth there is nothing remarkable to relate, except the early development of that love for science and natural history which was the ruling passion of his life. At school, first at Putney and afterwards at Eton, he seems to have been a quiet and retiring lad, not joining in the games and amusements of his companions, and loving nothing so much as a solitary ramble in the country. "I preferred," he wrote in after-life, "wandering by myself in the green lanes that skirted the playing and shooting fields at Eton, looking after stag-beetles (very common there) and watching birds and insects." His schoolfellows called him "Methodist" and "Dummy," from his precise, methodical and silent ways, so different to their own. At Eton, in a friend's library, he came across a copy of White's "Selborne," which at once arrested his attention. He not only read the charming volume, but actually copied out the whole of it, under the apprehension that he might never meet with the precious book again. During the holidays his whole time was engrossed in his favourite pursuits, and even when staying in London he would arrange with his father's head-keeper that all rare birds should be sent to him for skinning and dissection. At this time, and for many years afterwards, his health was unsatisfactory; he suffered much from severe headaches, which prevented him, both at Eton and Cambridge, from making the most of his educational advantages.

But at Cambridge he had the singular happiness to meet