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THE
CHURCHMAN

JANUARY, 1890.

ART. I.—THE SACERDOTAL THEORY.

THE whole system of the Church of Rome rests upon what is called the sacerdotal theory; that is to say, that the priest under the New Testament stands in the same relation to the Church that the Aaronic priest did to the nation of Israel, acting as intercessor—a mediator offering sacrifices and pronouncing absolution. Judging from the writings of the controversial literature in the present day, there seems to be a vast confusion of thought upon this subject. The question is a very simple one. Is the Christian ministry a continuity of the Aaronic priesthood, or is there a change of the law, and consequently a change of the priesthood, that another priest should rise after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron? The Epistle to the Hebrews proves, in a very elaborate argument, that there was no connection whatever between the Melchisedecan and the Levitical priesthood, and therefore that there is no connection between the Aaronic and the Christian ministry. The Aaronic priesthood was typical; it was a shadow of good things. The Christian ministry is the substance and reality of the blessing which Christ, the Apostle and High-priest of our profession, has obtained for us. Much error has arisen from the way in which Aaron is said to be a type of Christ, and therefore the type of the Christian priesthood; but it is nowhere said that Aaron was a type of Christ. Moses was a type of Christ, for we are told very distinctly, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you like unto me;" but it is nowhere said by Aaron, "A priest shall the Lord your God raise up unto you like unto me." The truth is that Aaron was a priest, not a prophet; whereas the Christian minister is a prophet, not a priest. This will be seen by a careful study of the appointment of Aaron to his office. Aaron,

as a priest, was ordained for men in things pertaining to God; Moses, as the prophet of the Lord, was employed for God in things pertaining to men. And in the conjunction of the two brothers in their ministry to Israel we may trace the real distinction between the symbolical priesthood of the Old Testament and the witnessing and ambassadorial character of the New. For when, through weakness of faith or diffidence in his own powers, Moses excused himself from speaking for God to the people, by saying, "O my Lord, I am not eloquent; I am slow of speech, and of a slow tongue," the anger of the Lord was kindled against him, and He made Aaron to be His spokesman—"he shall be unto thee instead of a mouth, and thou shalt be unto him instead of God." Thus the prophet Moses stood in the place of God to Aaron, giving divine revelations, authority, and influence to his words, and Aaron stood in the place of Moses to deliver the word of God to man; that was all.

This conjunction of the two brothers in their office of priest and prophet directs us to the historical inquiry as to how far the priestly office or the prophetic had any relation to the Christian ministry.

Looking, then, at what Scripture has recorded of the life of Aaron, we must regard him in the double office—first, as high-priest ordained for men in things pertaining to God, and, secondly, as the mouthpiece of Moses ordained for God in things pertaining to men; and in this point of view Aaron presents the twofold aspect of the ministry under the Old and the ministry under the New Testament—typical and temporary until the first advent of Christ in the one, a representative and testamentary ministry until the second advent of Christ in the other. Thus, in the Epistle of the Hebrews (chap. iii.), when the Apostle compares Christ with Moses, he says: "Consider the Apostle and High-priest of our profession, Christ Jesus," and illustrates his office by referring to the psalm: "To-day, if ye will hear His voice." But when he compares Him with Aaron (chap. v.), he says: "Every high-priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sin." And he adds that these sacrifices had to be repeated, for they could not take away sins, and therefore perfection was not under the Levitical priesthood. There was need that another priest should rise after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron. In the one we have the prophetic, in the other the sacerdotal, element.

A brief review of the history of Aaron will illustrate these two points.

The Office of the High Priest.—(1) The peculiarity of the office consisted first in the selection of a particular tribe, and of

a particular family of that tribe, and a particular individual of that family, to be the representative of the people. It was a tribal and hereditary ministry. It was Aaron's rod that budded; it was Aaron who was consecrated to be the first high-priest. He offered the sacrifices, he offered the incense; he alone went inside the vail to make intercession; he wore upon his breastplate and upon his shoulders the names of the twelve tribes; in short, everything connected with the vestments, the service, and ceremonial of the office was representative. The high-priest was the impersonation of the religion of the nation in their approach to God.

(2) The high-priest was the mediator by whom atonement was made for the sins of the people. He was not *an example* of holy living. This he may have been, and no doubt, to a great extent, Aaron was so; but the golden crown and the golden bells proclaimed holiness to the Lord solely upon the principle that atonement was made by the shedding of blood for his own sins, as well as for the people's, and that the living priest, by virtue of that propitiatory sacrifice, and by that alone, had access to God.

(3) Aaron's office as high-priest was subordinate to the laws which Moses received from God and communicated to him. Moses delivered the law, and Aaron was subject to Moses. Take, for example, the account given in Lev. viii. of the consecration of Aaron. Moses performed the service on that solemn occasion. We read that when the assembly was gathered together unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, Moses said unto the congregation, "This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded to be done." Then having washed Aaron and his sons with water, he put on him the holy garments, the girdle, the breastplate, the mitre, and the holy crown, as the Lord commanded Moses. He then took the holy anointing oil, and slew the bullock and the ram for a burnt-offering and the ram of consecration, and took the blood of it and put it upon the tip of Aaron's right ear, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot—as the Lord commanded Moses. Every detail of this grand and imposing ceremony was by Divine direction. No less than seven times in the chapter we have the same form of expression, and at the close of it, "So Aaron and his sons did all things which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses."

This subordination to Moses was manifested on another great occasion, when the Lord entered into covenant with the people upon the holy mount (Exod. xxiv. 1, etc.): "And He said unto Moses, Come up unto the Lord, thou, and Aaron, and Nadab and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye afar off. And Moses alone shall come near the Lord—but they

shall not come nigh." And then, having read the words of the covenant, and having sprinkled the blood upon the book and upon the people, Moses and Aaron and the elders ascended the mount and they saw the glory of God, and did eat and drink. And Moses went up into the mount of God, and he said unto the elders, "Tarry ye here for us, until we come again unto you; and, behold, Aaron and Hur are with you: if any man have any matters to do, let him come unto them. And Moses went up into the mount, and a cloud covered the mount." This cloud, like a veil, separated between Moses, who was in the presence of God, and Aaron. He knows nothing of the will of God but as it is revealed to him by the intervention of Moses. Holy and awful as his office was, he did not enjoy that privilege of standing in the immediate presence of God which was vouchsafed to Moses. He was the high-priest, but there was one higher and nearer to God. As the high-priest he was the representative of the people; Moses was the representative of God. Aaron could only approach God as a sinner himself and for sinners with the sacrifice of atonement; and he received all his spiritual knowledge through the mediation of the chosen prophet and law-giver of God. All this proves that the office of the high-priest was typical and temporary. For the solemn and most instructive duties of the ceremonial did not confer any supernatural grace or infallibility upon the individual who performed them. So long as he was clothed in the holy garments and was engaged in the holy services he was surrounded by the symbols of holiness, but when he was in his undress he was clothed with infirmity and sin as any other man. We have this remarkably illustrated in the history of Aaron, for while he acted in concert with, and under the eye of Moses, all was well; but when he was separated from Moses, and was left to his own counsels and responsibility, he fell into idolatry and rebellion against God, insomuch that but for the intercession of Moses he would have been destroyed. There are few passages of Scripture more touching than that in which Moses refers to this event (Deut. ix. 20): "And the Lord was angry with Aaron to have destroyed him, and I prayed for Aaron also the same time."

When, too, Aaron and Miriam murmured against Moses, saying, "Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses? Hath He not also spoken by us?" the anger of the Lord was kindled against them, and He said: "If there be a prophet I will speak to him by visions and dreams; but My servant Moses is not so, with him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold. Wherefore, then, were ye not afraid to speak against My servant, Moses?" By this public rebuke the Lord vindicated the conduct of Moses, and showed that the priestly office was not to take

precedence of the prophetic, or to step a single hair's-breadth out of its appointed course. Aaron's priesthood directed man to God; Moses delivered the lively oracles—the voice of God to man.

But there is another aspect in which, apart from his sacerdotal office, the ministry of Aaron, in its conjunction with Moses, shadows out the principles of the Christian ministry: First, in his call to the work, we find him following the secret intimation of the Divine will when he went in search of his brother in Midian. The Lord had revealed to Moses that his brother was coming to him; the Lord had revealed to Aaron where he could find Moses. The two are brought together providentially and supernaturally, as much as St. Peter was brought to Cornelius, in order that the distinct Divine call and appointment of Aaron might be manifested. In this we trace the arguments of the Apostle in Heb. v. 4: "No man taketh this honour unto himself but he that was called of God as was Aaron." And this calling does not imply simply that there was some external or providential call, for this he might have disregarded through unbelief or disobeyed through fear; but it was evidently an inward call, leading the elder brother to submit to the younger, and producing that self-denying humility and separation from the world which constitutes the primary element of fitness for the ministry. "And the Lord said to Aaron, Go into the wilderness to meet Moses; and he went and met him in the mount of God and kissed him." Where shall we find in the history of the Church—whether in the call of the Prophets or of the Apostles, or of their successors in the ministerial office—a more perfect illustration of a distinct call and separation to the ministry? And this our Church recognises in the question put in the Ordination Service: "Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and administration?"

Then, further, the special duty which he had to discharge as the mouthpiece of Moses suggests another mark of the Christian ministry. "He shall be thy spokesman unto the people. And he shall be, even he shall be to thee, instead of a mouth; and thou shalt be to him instead of God. And Moses and Aaron went and gathered together all the elders of the children of Israel, and Aaron spake all the words which the Lord had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people." Here we may note that this method of oral instruction did not originate with or arise out of the office of the high-priest, but it was the conjoint act of Moses and of Aaron—the one supplying the matter, the other the mouth for its utterance. I will not say that Aaron's part was mechanical, but it was set in motion and limited by the inspired revelations which he

received from God. Aaron could only speak as he was moved and taught by the Holy Ghost. It involved no small attainment of courage and of faith to rebuke the king and to proclaim the will of God to a nation living in the midst of the attractions of the idolatry and fleshpots of Egypt; and it is in this way we recognise the Apostolic precept, "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God," and find its counterpart in the last of the prophetic warnings to Israel: "The priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts."

And, further still, when we see Aaron in action apart from his stated duty in the tabernacle, we trace the same prefiguration of the Christian ministry. For when Korah, Dathan and Abiram murmured against Aaron the saint of the Lord, and the plague had gone forth for the punishment of those wicked men and of those who were led away by their rebellion, Moses commands Aaron to go forth and make an atonement for them. How was this to be done? Was it by offering a fresh sacrifice or sacrifices, or by some extemporized ceremonial which was to propitiate the anger of God? No; Aaron was to take his censer with a living coal from the altar, with incense, and to run quickly into the congregation, and then, with the blood-stained coal burning with fresh incense, to stand between the living and the dead, and thus the plague was stayed. Who can fail to see in this the position of the minister of the New Testament, not of the letter which killeth, but of the Spirit, which giveth life? No renewal of the one Sacrifice offered once for all is required, but a lifting up of the precious name of Jesus—a sacrifice of sweet-smelling savour—in prayer and faith—the preaching of the Cross, which is to them that perish foolishness, but to them that are saved the power of God. This wondrous key of the kingdom of heaven, this living coal of fire, this blood-sprinkled truth, this burning zeal of love, opens and shuts, locks and unlocks hearts. This incense of the sacrificial altar is unto God a sweet savour of Christ in them that are saved and in them that perish—to the one a savour of death unto death, to the other a savour of life unto life. *The minister of the Gospel stands between the living and the dead.*

Nor is this all; for if we follow Aaron to the close of his career, we find him divested of his official distinctiveness previous to his death and his burial upon Mount Hor. He might have expected that when the death of the first high-priest in Israel was to take place it would have been connected with the insignia of his office or within the precincts of the tabernacle, and that no pains or expense would have been spared to surround the memory of the great and good man with the pomp and magnificence becoming his rank and station; but there is

nothing of this. He was not permitted even to die in his priestly robes, nor was he buried in his priestly robes. Moses stripped Aaron of his garments and put them upon Eleazar, his son, and Aaron died there on the top of the mount.

When the minister of Christ dies, he can claim nothing in the way of merit from the dignities of his office, whether bishop, priest, or deacon : he must go out of the world as he came into it, and stand in his own personal individuality before the Judge of the whole earth. The succession of the priesthood and the succession of the Apostleship point to the one High-Priest and Apostle of our profession, Who abideth a Priest for ever, and Who can have none to succeed Him. Aaron had lived in public, and he must die in public ; and all who saw him bow the head upon that mountain realized that death was the penalty of sin, and that redemption from its curse was not to be obtained by the office, authority or merits of the Aaronic priest, but by Him alone in Whom Aaron believed, the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world—the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world.

The lessons to be drawn from this brief review of the character of Aaron are twofold :

I. The importance of drawing a broad and clear line of distinction between the Aaronic priesthood and the ministry of the New Testament.—The former was ordained for man in things pertaining to God : the offering of sacrifice, the act of intercession ; the public and representative duties of the office foreshadowed the one High-Priest who should arise after the order of Melchisedec. In itself, therefore, it was simply typical and temporary ; it was a shadow of good things to come, and not the substance. But the ministry of the New Testament is ordained from God to men : "As my Father sent Me, so send I you. Ye shall be my witnesses in Judea and Samaria, and unto the ends of the earth. Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost : and lo ! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Here nothing is typical : there is not a single ordinance or ceremony under the Gospel ministrations which is typical ; we have signs, not types. The preaching of the Word is for the salvation of sinners. Baptism is a visible sign and seal of the Christian profession, and of our adoption to be the sons of God. The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby. There is the very life and power and presence of the Holy Ghost, ministered in every service to the faithful disciple ; and through his ministry, as one called and sent of God, the faithful may look for the direct

bestowal of those spiritual gifts which have been promised by the great Head of the Church. Thus if the Word is preached, it is not a delivery of the letter of the law, but the ministration of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. If baptism be administered, it is not the laver in which the Aaronite priesthood washed, nor is it the water of Bethabarah where John baptized, but it is the appointed sacrament by which the Holy Ghost does convey grace and blessing to all who rightly receive it. It is not the washing away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God. And in the Holy Communion there is not a carnal feast upon the flesh which has been offered up in sacrifice, but the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper after a heavenly and spiritual manner: and the means whereby it is received and eaten is faith. The Aaronic priest might offer up sacrifices and repeat the sacrifices day by day, and year by year, which could never take away sin; but here is no repetition: "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show forth the Lord's death"—not repeat it—"until He come." The life in Aaron's rod that budded was not more real than the life which quickens, strengthens, and sanctifies the ministry of the Word and sacraments under the New Testament. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we being many, are one bread and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread" (1 Cor. x. 16-17).

II. The awful responsibilities of the Christian minister.—Whether we consider his call to the work, or the manner in which he delivers the message of the Gospel, or in his life and influence, we see him as a man living by faith, and insufficient of himself to do or think anything of himself; his whole sufficiency is of God. He cannot satisfy himself or others, as the Aaronic priest, by the discharge of a prescribed routine of service. It were easy for any man to put on the beautiful dress, to trim the lamps and sprinkle the blood, to observe the feast days and fast days; such manual formalities, such bodily exercise, might be performed without much intellectual or moral effort; but to wear the garments of humility and self-denial, to hold forth the light of truth, to know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, to be a fisher of men, wise to win souls, apt to teach and well instructed in the kingdom of God, to sympathize with the flock in joy and sorrows, and to give himself wholly to the Word of God and to prayer—this requires the special grace of the Holy Ghost. These are graces which are not learned by books and breviaries, but are the spiritual gifts bestowed by the Holy Ghost on the faithful minister. It is

this which puts a holy unction upon his sermons and a power of influence upon his ministrations. He needs not the cloak of the confessional or the figment of sacramental absolution to give him authority in his personal intercourse with his flock. The man of God, full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, carries his own credentials with him, and will habitually realize that it is not by his own work or wisdom, but by the grace of God, the work of God is done. "Not by might nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."

Deeply, most deeply, must we realize the tremendous responsibility of our office when we remember Whose we are and Whom we serve. Well has Herbert drawn the picture in his quaint but devout words :

Holiness on the head,
Light and perfections on the breast,
Harmonious bells below raising the dead,
To lead them unto life and rest :
Thus are true Aarons drest.

Profaneness in my head,
Defects and darkness in my breast,
A noise of passions ringing me for dead
Unto a place where there is no rest ;
Poor priest, thus am I drest.

Only another head,
I have another head and breast,
Another music making 'live, not dead :
Without whom I could have no rest.
In Him I am well drest.

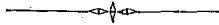
Christ is my only head,
My alone only heart and breast,
My only music striking me e'en dead,
That to the old man I may rest,
And be in Him new drest.

So holy in my head,
Perfect and light in my dear breast,
My doctrine turned by Christ who is not dead,
But lives in me while I do rest :
Come, people, Aaron's drest.

All this teaches us the immense amount of blessing we may expect from the ordinance of preaching. We are beginning to learn this. We have made too much of the man: we have worshipped gifts. We have to learn the power of simplicity, earnestness, and freshness in the preaching of the Gospel, and personal contact with the flock in our ministry. Whence is it that more souls have been gathered into the Church during the last twenty or thirty years than we have known for years past? There have been missions, and special services, and prayer-meetings, and after-meetings, in addition to the reverence, and order, and life, which has been brought into the services of the Church. The very heart of England has been stirred; and in

this moving of the waters we are called not to go back to the old ceremonial of the Aaronic priest, but to follow in the steps of the great Melchisedec: "Thy people shall be willing in the day of Thy power, in the beauties of holiness from the womb of the morning: Thou hast the dew of Thy youth" (Ps. cx. 3).

W. R. FREMANTLE.



ART. II.—A. CENTURY OF REVOLUTION.

A Century of Revolution.—By WILLIAM SAMUEL LILLY. London: Chapman and Hall. 1889.

IT is but natural that the celebration of the centenary of the French Revolution should have produced a host of books, pamphlets, and papers in the periodicals, bearing on this far-reaching event in modern European history. In the volume before us we have one of the most thoughtful of these recent reflections on the French Revolution. No one appears to have noticed that the bicentenary of the "Revolution Settlement" of 1688 in this country passed away without even the breath of a suggestion of duly celebrating it, though in these days we are inundated with such celebrations, engaged as we are constantly in commemorating the dead, and in our life at high-pressure, as it were, trying to join these celebrities as speedily as possible. This omission suggests a vast difference between the revolutions in the two countries: one mainly political and national, but, though local, influencing other nations indirectly; the other social and international in its tendencies—as Mr. Lilly observes: "French, indeed, in its origin, but ecumenical in its influence, which has shaken to the foundation the political order throughout Continental Europe, and which aspires everywhere to remake society in its own image and likeness." Hence the profound earnestness with which it has been studied ever since. Our author approaches the subject from the purely religious standpoint—for the first time, we believe, that the attempt has been made in this country—and, as in his "Chapters on European History," proves himself thoroughly competent to deal with such topics in the light of the philosophy of history.¹

¹ Perhaps we ought to mention, as an exception, the valuable work of Prebendary Jervis on "The Gallican Church and the Revolution," though its value consists chiefly in conscientious historical research, and the subject is treated here more from the ecclesiastic, than from the standpoint of philosophy, of history and religion, as now understood. See an article on "The Gallican Church before and after the Revolution," by the present writer in the *Foreign Church Chronicle and Review* for June, 1883.

“What, then, is the idea, the faith, the dogma underlying the Revolution?” The answer Mr. Lilly gives to this question, as put by himself, forms the subject-matter of the book, and may be stated briefly as follows: Its dogma is the declaration of the democratic creed as “the new gospel of the nineteenth century.” Its faith, a strong belief in social regeneration resting on the solidarity of mankind, and thus it is represented by the religion of humanity, Positivist in its tendencies. As the outcome of the “age of reason” inaugurating a new intellectual movement, it has left its deep impress on modern forms of thought, giving it a bent towards natural realism in science and realistic art which again reacts in religion. As to the first, in the declaration of the “rights of men,” the Revolution, according to Mr. Lilly, established a new order, reversing the “public order of Christianity”—*i.e.*, the order of authority with its “vast hierarchy of duties,” as it had existed for fourteen centuries, and establishing a new order of civil society with a multitude of sovereign human units, who—that is to say, the majority of whom—exercise their “sovereignty through their mandatories” (p. 14). With regard to the second, its social creed, that rests on the false assumption that all men are good, that all are born equal, that all, accordingly, may be presumed to have equal rights to an equal share in material good, which again militates against the Christian idea “that man is born with a fault, a taint, a vice of nature” (p. 53), and the Christian idea of subordination, co-ordination, with the discipline they afford for higher ends than material enjoyment. Respecting the third, he quotes M. Thiers’ words, “La république sera naturaliste où elle ne sera pas,” to show how the natural revival preached by Rousseau may be traced in the naturalism of M. Zola, and how thus the Revolution has been the powerful promoter of that fleshly view in Art and mechanical view of nature, which forms one of the tendencies of the “age of progress,” that, moreover, in thus promulgating “a new way of understanding life” it is opposed entirely to that “more excellent way” revealed in spiritual religion. It goes without saying that we are very far from agreeing with Mr. Lilly on all these points, and the triple view of the revolution of liberty, religion, science and art, as conceived by him and expressed in this volume. But, in the main, it must be acknowledged that, though a Romanist writer, he fights here on our side—*i.e.*, in the defence of the faith against what has been called the revolutionary superstition. Moreover, in not crediting the Reformation, as the parent of the Revolution, and as such responsible for all the individualistic excesses of the latter, and in abstaining from a cry for the counter revolution which is now being raised by the whole body of the clerical reaction among his co-religionists throughout the

Continent, he observes a tone of wise tolerance and judicious calm, whilst the volume throughout bears witness to the devout earnestness of the writer in his vindication of Christianity and Christian philosophy as against the anti-Christian fervour of revolutionary atheism. Without being captious, we may, however, point out one error of some importance, which is not committed by others, writing, as our author does, from the Roman Catholic standpoint. In Bishop Freppel's recent brochure on the Revolution, and the writings of others, it has been shown once more that the real change from the old order to the new was effected before the outbreak of the Revolution, by the undermining process of the rationalistic ideas prevailing under, and profoundly influencing the policy of the *ancien régime*. But we would go further back even than this, and attribute the change which had passed over men's minds on the subject of the Divine right of kings, the Divinely-appointed order of nobility, and the Divine mission of the Church to the natural effects of misrule and incompetence, the abuses of absolute power, and the moral defection of the pillars of society, the selfishness of the higher orders, and servility of the clergy. Thus the halo which had surrounded the ancient monarchy and seignorial rule, as the survival of feudalism, had disappeared, and had not been eclipsed by the philosophy of Voltaire, "the very eye of the eighteenth century illumination;" it had ceased to give shine to the world, and thus its glory had departed. The ancient society, as Mr. Lilly points out, as M. Taine, Carlyle and others have shown before this, had become "corrupt and outworn"; it only shone like rotten wood in the dark. It had become an oppressive system of prescription and privilege, and had lost its spell; the Divine light had gone out of it, and then it finally was extinguished in the horrors of the Revolution.

There is another passage in which Mr. Lilly's historical criticism is incorrect, if not somewhat unfair; it is the following:

Mediæval history, considered as a whole, is the history of the gradual emancipation of all the forces which make up individual life, and of the assignment to them of their due place in the public order. . . . The gradual vindication of man's right to be himself, to live out his own life, was wrought by men who felt the ineffable greatness of man, and the infinite value of life (pp. 31, 32).

In thus comparing the mediæval with the modern sense of the dignity of personality in favour of the former, he certainly misinterprets history and slightly misrepresents historical facts. The claims of individual rights and the unfettered use of powers, in other words, civic and religious freedom and liberty of conscience, or, as Mr. Lilly speaks of it, the "autonomy of conscience," are, as he justly points out, the result of the spread

of Christianity. It was a flower of slow growth, struggling for the light throughout the dark ages; but it did not actually come into bloom before the Reformation. As M. Quinet in his work on "Christianity and the Revolution," and Mr. F. Seebohm in his monograph on the "Era of the Protestant Revolution," have shown—neither of them interested to extol the Reformation—it was owing to the spirit of freedom in the Reformed Churches that Protestant countries were saved from the violence of revolution. For as the Reformation in this country was a return to primitive religion, so its revolution was a vindication of ancient liberties, not, as in France, an attempt to create a new order of things, but a return to the old. To "*decatholicize*" France is still the avowed attempt of those who hold to the revolutionary idea, because the Church represents the party of reaction, and is supposed to be the enemy of social emancipation and political liberty. The Swiss Reformers and Calvin founded their new order on a republican basis, whilst, as Mr. Seebohm puts it, in France the middle term is wanted since the banishment of the Huguenots between the religious and reformatory elements.¹ Mr. Lilly is more successful in showing how the claims of individual liberty and the final triumph of individualism as a matter of course brought modern society face to face with the new social problem, how to reconcile equivalence of political rights with inequality of possession, since, as he points out forcibly enough, "liberty is rooted and grounded in inequality" (p. 35). "Laissez faire, laissez aller," or free competition, was the demand of the Economistes, those philanthropic precursors of the Revolution, who imagined that "natural liberty"—*i.e.*, liberty of contract, freedom from trade restrictions and regal regulations—would restore the equilibrium to the finances, open new avenues to commerce, and spread comfort and contentment among all classes in opening a free career to all the talents. The real outcome of the Revolution has been, according to our author, the "chaos of hostile individuals," and the great social problem of the hour is, therefore, how to satisfy the rising democracy, armed with powers of outvoting the minority, who are in possession of the wealth of the country, "legislating away the property of one class and transferring it to another;"² further, how to recollect the atoms of society "disconnected," as Burke predicted a hundred years ago, "into the dust and powder of individuality," in the absence of those corporate social institu-

¹ "Le Christianisme et la Révolution française" par E. Quinet, p. 290 *et seq.* "The Era of the Protestant Revolution," by Frederic Seebohm, pp. 197, 211.

² "Popular Government," by Sir Henry Sumner Maine, K.C.S.I., LL.D., F.R.S., etc., p. 106.

tions which the Revolution abolished; and, in the last place, how to avert the danger of the "coming slavery" in the "people's state," if social democracy is to obtain the upper hand. Where is the remedy and the clue to a solution of these questions which universal suffrage, liberty of contract, and socialistic agitation, the result of the principles of 1793, have called into existence? The answer can be given best after a short consideration of the revolutionary method of solving the last problems of life and mind. The Revolution was, and still is, as Mr. Lilly shows, the determinate enemy of the "theistic idea;" refusing any spiritual explanation of the universe, which regards nature as "a veil, a parable, and a sacrament." But atheism, as "la passion de la cervelle," is closely allied to materialistic socialism, as "le passion de l'estomac;" for those who no longer look forward to a heavenly paradise, demand an earthly one: the demand follows on the part of the materialized and unchristianized masses for an ample share of temporal enjoyment. "The real question of our day is not political, but social—what there is to devour, and who shall devour it?" (p. 169). Thus the freedom of the Revolution becomes a liberation of the passions, whereas real freedom, in the words of Mr. Green, quoted by Lilly under this head, ought to be, "the liberation of the powers of all men equally for contributing to a common good." This can be brought about by the power of Christianity alone; and from what has been said, it follows that to it we must look for a solution of the problem.

As shortly after the restoration succeeding the Revolution in France a number of men rose up, like Chateaubriand and Lamartine, to lead the world back to a more spiritual view of things, and Romanism was strengthened in its alliance with Romanticism from Paris to Moscow, so, too, now there is a turn in the tide from materialistic views of life to "spirituality," of which the Romanist revival and the Ritualist movement in our own Church, in their æsthetic and mystical tendencies, are a sign and token. As an attempt to turn the world from mercenary and mechanical modes of life, as a relief from materialistic absorption in worldly pursuits, they command some sympathy and respect; but at the same time it must be observed that not in a return to mediæval forms of pietistic mysticism, but in robust forms of rational belief in the power of Christianity, lies the hope of the society of the future, now wistfully looking forward to the "coming revolution." It is faith in the social mission of Christianity as the greatest spiritual force to transform this egotistical age, as the most powerful bond of union to keep together the "fortuitous congeries of sovereign human units" dispersed by the centrifugal forces let loose by the Revolution, as the most potent of guiding influences to teach the many-

headed and multitudinous sovereign the right use of his newly-acquired powers, that we must look for this purpose.

Democracy, as a form of government, may or may not be the best. On this we pronounce no opinion. Its irresistible progress, regarded with dread by some of the foremost representatives of culture at home and abroad, is not doubted by any. Even Mr. Lilly, who speaks of its difficulties and fragility, does not for a moment anticipate its failure in the immediate future. Under these circumstances, is it not better to face the unavoidable in a fearless manner, and direct its onward course into safe channels? True, its development in modern France is not encouraging, but that, in great measure, is owing to the characteristics of the French people, and not to their political and social institutions. A glance across the Atlantic, and the effects of the rule of individualism and the "triumph of democracy" in the United States, may produce a more reassuring effect. There, too, no doubt, the social problem exists, and even in some of its graver aspects. But there, too, as De Tocqueville pointed out thirty years ago in his work on *American Democracy*, the visible faith of the people, who are an essentially religious people, has saved democracy from its own worst passions:

Religious people are naturally strong precisely in the place where democratic peoples are apt to be weak, hence we may learn how important it is for men to retain their religion in becoming equals.

The Americans show practically how they recognise the necessity to moralize democracy through religion. What they think on this head, as far as they are concerned, is a truth with which every democratic nation ought to be penetrated.¹

The growth of democracy in this country, on which Mr. Lilly pronounces judgment in his last chapter, entitled "The Revolution of England," is undoubted; but even here Mr. Lilly is not desponding. If it is to be of that superior type characterized by himself as "a temperate, rational, regulated democracy," it must be interpenetrated by the Christian spirit. If, in the words of Montalembert, quoted by him, "the problem of this century is to keep in check and to regulate democracy without vitiating it, to organize it in a limited monarchy or Conservative republic" (p. 197), surely it is one of the functions of the National Church of this country, as its spiritual organon, to help in thus solving it.

M. KAUFMANN.

¹ *Œuvres Complètes de Alexis de Tocqueville*, tome iii., pp. 36, 233.

ART. III.—FOUR GREAT PREBENDARIES OF SALISBURY.

No. 1.—RICHARD HOOKER.

A RECENT commemoration of the founders, benefactors, and worthies of the Cathedral-church of Salisbury, meant to be annual, may possibly have wider significance than was originally intended. The preservation of the historic unity of a great institution is, in these restless days, highly desirable. In a remarkable sermon, preached by the Bishop of Salisbury, upon this occasion, while complete justice was meted out to the mingled character of the pre-Reformation work of the Cathedral, special and loving care was bestowed on the peculiar position occupied by Bishop Jewell, "apologist of the Church of England, a patron of poor scholars, and an unwearied preacher of the Word of God." In the list of worthies, Jewell stands between Dean Colet, of St. Paul's, and Richard Hooker, for some time sub-dean and prebendary of Netheravon. Not far from Hooker, and occupant of the same stall, stands the name of John Pearson, whose treatise on the Creed is a more lasting memorial than the high offices of Master of Trinity and Bishop of Chester. A little lower down we come upon the name of Isaac Barrow, and the eighteenth century adds the great name of Joseph Butler to the list of divines who enjoyed preferment through the bounty of Osmund and other noble donors of lands to the great Cathedral of Sarum. There are many other notable names in this remarkable list. Douglas, the friend of Johnson and Burke, and the author of the well-known book on "Miracles," should perhaps have had a place among the more recent Bishops. Every year adds something to our knowledge of the past histories of our cathedrals; and although there is much that needs apology in the waste of revenues—the nepotism, and the unfair predominance of family interest in the disposition of patronage—it is pleasant to note how men of ability have been from time to time selected by Bishops for prebends, which certainly, in the cases of these four illustrious men, must have afforded some relief to the *res angusta*, and enabled minds of no ordinary type to ponder securely the great truths they loved so well.

The present occupant of the See of Salisbury included the first book of Hooker's "Polity" in a list of works recommended to those who were willing to engage in a systematic study of religious reading; and we are not unnaturally reminded of that noble sonnet which will long preserve Walton's "Book of Lives," and recall to many a reader the name and fame of Hooker, dear to the poet Wordsworth as well as to the divine:

There are no colours in the fairest sky
So fair as these. The feather, whence the pen
Was shaped that traced the lives of these good men,
Dropped from an angel's wing. With moistened eye
We read of faith and purest charity
In statesman, priest, and humble citizen :
Oh, could we copy their mild virtues, then
What joy to live, what blessedness to die !

The church and parsonage of Bemerton, endeared by the memory of George Herbert, are constantly visited by strangers; but very few have ever seen the small retired valley where East Boscombe nestles under the chalk-hills, not far from the track of the Roman road, from Old Sarum to Silchester. Here, from 1591 to 1595, Hooker was rector. Archbishop Whitgift presented him, during the vacancy of the see, when Bishop Piers was advanced from Sarum to York. Whitgift also made him Prebendary of Netheravon, and sub-dean. "When we think of the works left behind them by those who thus obtained stalls from time to time in the Cathedral of Sarum," says the late Canon Rich Jones in his volume of "Diocesan History," "we can hardly help regretting that wholesale confiscation of the prebends which was deemed necessary some forty years ago." It is, however, some satisfaction to think of the four great worthies we have selected from the Sarum list, and those may be pardoned who still indulge a hope that the restoration of some, at least, of the revenues of our great foundations may still be employed in the encouragement of research and patient study.

Walton's "Life of Hooker" is within everybody's reach. The interest of his early life lies in his connection with Jewell. There has been some controversy as to the actual place of his birth. Gauden, on the authority of Dr. Vilvain, declares that he was born in Exeter about the year 1553. His college days were happy. Meekness and modesty were the notable characteristics of his student life. There is a completeness about the account of his gradual progress in knowledge. His dangerous illness and his mother's prayers recall Izaak Walton to the thought of St. Augustine and Monica. The interview with Jewell, so often mentioned, ending with the "God bless you, good Richard," must often have come back into memory in the days when Hooker was fighting the battle of the Reformed Church of England with the same intrepidity, and a greater share, it may be said, of loving strength than the great apologist. The brief story of Hooker's relation to his pupils, Sandys and Cranmer, makes us long to know more of the daily conversation and habits of a man who could inspire his pupils with such love for study and devotion to their master. A man who is a hero to his pupils is a hero indeed. Servants are

admirable judges of a master's strength or weakness, and Hooker's pupils seem to have had the real reverential trust in their master's power which has been so potent an auxiliary to the efforts of great teachers.

We must pass over the strange and unexplained passage of Hooker's marriage. There can be no doubt that the wife who brought him, according to Walton, "the continual dropping" of trial and temper, must have been a sore hindrance to the quiet exercise of contemplation. There is humour in the description of poor Hooker, found by his old pupils tending sheep, and sent to rock the cradle; and there is pathos also in the meek reply of the good man, when his old friends dared to express their sorrow that his wife was not a more comfortable companion: "If saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me, but labour (as, indeed, I do daily) to submit mine to His will, and possess my soul in patience and peace." Although the marriage may not have been altogether a congenial one, it ought not to be forgotten that Hooker made his wife one of his executors; and certainly the tendency of Walton to draw somewhat ideal pictures, and his exaltation of Hooker's "simplicity at the expense of his good sense and good feeling"—as the Dean of St. Paul's remarks—"provokes suspicion."

With Hooker's appointment to the Mastership of the Temple, a great change was made in his life. It was an age of controversy. The predominance of Calvin's authority over a certain class of minds was complete. The leaders of the Puritan party were men of great ability. The quarrel, in spite of the great authority of Hallam, was no vulgar or ignoble one. Hooker, who had begun, as we know from a great passage in his Preface, by a real acknowledgment of Calvin's power, soon made his own way into a freer province, and what began in a personal controversy ended in a resolution to compose a work which should effectually establish and vindicate the position of the English Church and the laws on which all Church polity depended.

Whitgift enabled Hooker to exchange his position at the Temple for the rectory of Boscombe, where the room which claims to be the study where the first four books of Hooker's great work were written is still shown, though it is fair to say architects express doubts as to the validity of the tradition. The volume containing the first four books of Hooker's work was not published till 1593 or 1594. In the following year Hooker was presented by the Crown to the living of Bishopsbourne, where he remained for the rest of his life.

Like many great authors, Hooker has been more praised than

read. Yet it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of his position in the history of English thought. In the first place, he was master of a grand style. His writings stand with the essays of Bacon and the poetry of Spenser among the great productions of the close of Elizabeth's reign. His knowledge of his own language was varied and spirited. He is certainly foremost in the ranks of those who gave theology and philosophy a real place in English literature; but the greatest of all praises, that of being an almost unique controversialist in temper and tone, is even a higher distinction to the humble-minded parish priest than to have gained a great place among the great writers of a great age.

It has been well said that Hooker knew how to build as well as to destroy. Bishop Barry, in his clear and complete portrait of Hooker's theological position in "Masters in English Theology," has shown this characteristic of Hooker with great force. The occasional character of the book, arising as it did out of the controversy with Travers, is entirely forgotten as the reader passes into the higher sphere, where Hooker pursues his great argument. Nothing has ever been so happily said, with regard to Hooker's fundamental position, than what Dean Church calls "his doctrine, so pertinaciously urged, and always implied, of the concurrence and co-operation, each in its due place, of all possible means of knowledge for man's direction."

The limits of this article forbid us to attempt any formal analysis of the great argument of Hooker. Keble is, perhaps, somewhat too sweeping in his assertion that there is not in Hooker a single instance of unfair citation of the words of his foes. In the fifth book there is, certainly, one passage of which Cartwright might justly have complained, but upon the whole few men have ever escaped from a contest with cleaner hands. Principal Tulloch, an ardent admirer of Hooker, in an article in the *North British Review*, which brought the venerable Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrew's into friendly controversy with him many years ago, dwells especially on Hooker's delightful freedom from asperity, and the elevation of his tone as a partisan. In his treatment of Scripture Hooker shows a marvellous moderation. The progressive order of revelation seems to have been deep in his mind. The knowledge of God is with him no simple process. Reason and conscience have their due recognition. The natural law of the heart, and the supernatural law of Scripture, he asserts are in real harmony. The transitory and the permanent, so often confused in the writings of eminent divines, are clearly, in Hooker's scheme, defined and determined. Although to some he may seem to assign a complete supremacy to reason, he always guards himself by a deep and absolute reverence for facts. "The general and perpetual voice

of men is as the sentence of God Himself;" and this striking aphorism lies at the root of all his expositions of law and conscience. The theory of government expounded by Hooker has hardly ever received full justice at the hands of political theorists. Locke, although an ardent admirer and disciple of Hooker, exaggerated his systematic view of civil government, and Hooker has been made answerable for the undue representation his theories receive in Locke's treatise on "Civil Government." The theory of the relation of Church and State adopted by Hooker has been modified by the changes of English political history and the advance of toleration. Nowhere, however, does the epithet "judicious" seem so entirely appropriate as in the passages of Hooker's great work where the aspects of Church and Commonwealth are distinguished and appreciated. A divine who provides a Church and a State with an intelligible theory is of course liable to be misinterpreted by the zealots and extremists who espouse different sides in great controversies. Students who desire to form correct ideas as to the just and temperate view which Hooker took of the episcopate will find ample material for thought and reflection in the crucial passages where Hooker vindicates the peculiar position of the Reformed Church of England.

There is a theological college at Salisbury, and its students may sometimes, perhaps, be led, in the course of their rambles, to the quiet village where Hooker drew out the chief lines of his great argument; and it may console some who have to look forward to days of quiet or hours of toil, to remember how the great spirit, prisoned in a weakly and insignificant frame, was contented with the moderate pleasures and humble duties of a country pastor's life. The supremacy of virtue and noble thoughts of the soul, as well as an almost passionate devotion to the merits and character of the Master he loved so well, are certainly among the enduring features of the Rector of Boscombe and Sub-dean of Sarum.

G. D. BOYLE.



ART. IV.—IRELAND AND THE ANGLO-NORMAN CHURCH.

Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church: A History of Ireland and Irish Christianity from the Anglo-Norman Conquest to the Dawn of the Reformation. By the REV. G. T. STOKES, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, Keeper of St. Sepulchre's Public Library, and Vicar of All Saints, Blackrock. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1889.

THE former work of Professor Stokes on the Celtic Church was the subject of an article in this Magazine in the year 1886. The book deservedly obtained a large circulation. Dr. Stokes sent a brisk breeze through the mists and myths of early Irish history, and showed us living men, standing out clear though far, who took the place of the shadowy names to which we had been too long accustomed. To make Celtic Christianity interesting was a difficult task. By common consent the author succeeded in doing this.

He has now printed a second series of lectures, delivered, like those which made up his previous work, to the divinity students of Trinity College, Dublin. He has taken in hand the most difficult of the three periods with which Irish Church history may be divided—the Keltic, the Anglo-Norman and the Reformation. The second of these is not a pleasing epoch for the ecclesiastical historian, for no Christian nation, surely, ever had so little to show for its Christianity in three hundred and fifty years. No Christian missions attempted; no Christian martyrs made; not one name standing forth as saintly, literary, reforming, unless we point to the lonely efforts of Fitzralph to put down the mendicant friars, or to the feeble resistance of the Baltinglass monk, Henry Crumpe, to the doctrine of transubstantiation. The days had passed away with the Norman invasion when Irish monasteries were the seats of sacred learning and the schools of sacred art; when Irish bishops sent forth priests, or went themselves, to plant the Gospel in other lands.

In fact, the historian has but scant materials to manipulate so long as he wishes to deal with the Church, even in its more secular aspect. He is compelled, following the examples of the many ecclesiastical annalists of Ireland, to give most of his attention to political affairs. And this Dr. Stokes has done, and done extremely well. The volume before us is mainly occupied with the story of the Anglo-Norman conquest or occupation of Ireland, and with the internecine strife continued for over three centuries of the great Palatine princes who obtained lordship under the shadow of the English rule in various parts of Ireland. The method pursued by the author is a judicious one. Instead of following the chronicles in their weary, if conscientious,

details of every event, great or small, which could be recovered and set down without proportion or historical perspective, great men and great epochs are selected, and the converging rays shed by every accessible writer and chronicler are focussed successively, first on one and then on another of these men and scenes, until a picture full of light and shade has been impressed on the reader's mind.

The sources of the Irish history of the period are abundant. But many of them still lie in Dublin in the form of unpublished manuscripts, in the Public Record Office, and in the collections of the Archbishopal Palace, of Christ Church, of Marsh's and Trinity College libraries. As yet the Treasury has refused to undertake the publication of such valuable records as the *Liber Niger* and the *Repertorium Viride* of Archbishop Alan, or the *Crede Mihi*, the *Liber Niger* and the *Liber Albus* of Christ Church. Late years, however, have seen the publication of several of the most instructive annals. The *Rolls series*, the calendar of Irish documents, edited by Mr. Sweetman, the publications of the English and Irish Record Commissioners, have shed a flood of fresh light on Anglo-Norman affairs in Ireland. In 1880 Professor Atkinson published a transcript of "The Book of Leinster," otherwise called "The Book of Glendalough." "The Annals of Lough Ce" and the "Chronicon Scotorum" have been published in the *Rolls series*, under the able editorship of Mr. Hennessy. The Royal Irish Academy has employed the same editor to publish "The Annals of Ulster," while "The Annals of the Four Masters," a work known at least by name to many of our readers, has been in print since 1851. "The Irish Archæological Miscellany" has from time to time done good work in the like direction. But these form but a part of the stores still lying buried in MSS. In the report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records (Ireland) for 1888, there is an abstract of 467 documents formerly in the custody of Christ Church, Dublin, the earliest being a grant by Strongbow to one of the Danish princes of Dublin. Let us hope that Dr. Stokes' earnest plea for the publication of some of these MS. treasures may bear fruit, and that the work of bringing the obscurities of Irish history to the light of day may soon be more vigorously pressed forward.

From the English side the sources of the history of the times we are dealing with are mainly the writings of Gerald Barry, the Giraldus Cambrensis whose works, under the titles of "The Topographia" and "The Expugnatio Hiberniæ," have been splendidly edited and published in the *Rolls series* in seven volumes. Messrs. Bohn, in their Antiquarian Library, have also published a convenient edition of Giraldus. Morice Regan, one of the attendants of Dermot M'Murrough the younger, has left

us also, in the form of an Anglo-Norman poem, a graphic account of the stirring scenes in which he took part. We promise the reader of Dr. Stokes' book equal amusement and instruction from the perusal of the chapters dealing with the personal history of Cambrensis, and with the opening scenes in the conquest of Ireland, which are pictured from the Welsh Archdeacon's pages.

To give an abstract, within reasonable compass, of the events which led to the invasion of Ireland by Henry II., would be quite possible; but it would have the disadvantage of being quite uninteresting. Many a writer has given us a *sketch* of those stirring times. The sketch—witness the recent handbook of Dr. William Francis Collier—is too condensed to be pictorial, and, therefore, is too uninteresting to be remembered. Dr. Stokes' great virtue is that, while making the largest use of his authorities—references to which are repeated in his footnotes almost to excess—he knows where to pause and enlarge, and brings a lively historical imagination to bear upon his materials. Aided continually by this, and by his wide topographical knowledge, he has placed his pictures in the light best suited to show them to advantage.

We may give an example or two of this sort of picture-making, which only one well acquainted with minute topography could write :

The winter of 1168-9 passed as winters usually passed in Ireland in those times. The old Irish inverted the order of their descendants. The long nights are famous in the annals of modern Irish disturbance for many a sad tale of assassination and bloodshed. The long nights and the short days, and the tempestuous weather, in ancient times gave the inhabitants of this land their only season of peace. The circumstances of the case explain the reason why. The resources of civilization have benefited and blessed mankind in a thousand ways, but they have also made crime easier and more terrible. Good roads, railways, telegraphs have made life more convenient and enjoyable, but they have also served to help the criminal. If a party of moonlighters wish to attack a house twenty miles distant, a good road serves their purpose as well as that of the merchant or honest labourer. Seven hundred years ago the roads of Ireland ran in the main on the same tracks as at present, but they were mere passes through forests and bogs, which the September rains rendered impassable till the following spring opened them again. Some of these passes still remain in their primitive state. Would you see one of them, often used, doubtless, by Dermot and his men, go to the head of Glenmalure Valley in Wicklow, and traverse the pass which leads from that wild glen to the towns of Donard and Dunlavin. It is a magnificent walk over the shoulder of Lugnaquilla. It proceeds up by the Ess [qu. *Esle*] waterfall to the height of 2,000 feet, and then descends beneath the beetling cliffs of the north prison and beside the head waters of the Slaney into the Vale of Imaal. I have traversed it on a beautiful day at the end of a fine April, and yet it brought me well within the snow-line, and was in parts as impassable as the Slough of Despond itself. Such were all the roads of Ireland, and of Wales, too, in those times (pp. 66, 67).

Or again, describing Henry's four months' sojourn in Dublin :

We can determine the very spot where Henry II. spent the Christmas of 1171. St. Andrew's Church now occupies the top of the hill where the Danes of those days held their thingmote. But it was erected there only 200 years ago, when the hill was cut down by the barbarians of those days, who had no eye either for antiquities or scenery, and the soil carried away to raise Nassau Street to its present height above the College Park (p. 135).

Or, to take another example, Professor Stokes writes :

The Irish princes, who thronged to Henry's Court from every quarter, brought with them large hosts of retainers. They easily encamped, after the Irish fashion, in huts of turf and branches, spreading themselves over the meadows, fields, and strand, which extended on every side of the Dublin of that day. I have often mentioned that the Dublin of 1172 and for hundreds of years after, was a very small place. . . . Fields and gardens ran close up to the castle in Dame Street . . . woods intermingled with meadows covered St. Stephen's Green and Ranelagh and Cullenswood, the last name bearing witness to the ancient fact. . . . The wild Celtic soldiery squatted down on every vacant spot, especially along the highlands of St. Stephen's Green, then called Colonia or Cualan (a name now represented by the prebend of Cullen in St. Patrick's Cathedral), where wood and water were abundant. . . . They satisfied their thirst from the brook which then ran from Stephen's Green to the sea, as it still runs in the sewers under Grafton Street (pp. 139, 140).

The events of history are thus throughout the book linked on with topographical information, and this feature renders Dr. Stokes' story more easily assimilated and remembered than those of his predecessors, as historians of Ireland, Geoffrey Keating, Sir Richard Cox, John Lynch, Silvester O'Halloran, Thomas Leland, or O'Lanigan.

Commending, then, to our readers the author's graphic account of the invasion of the Geraldines, and the extraordinary history of Dermot M'Murrough, which are full of interest, and passing over the story of Henry's coming, and the foundation of the Anglo-Norman rule, we come to the important subject of the Norman organization of Ireland.

The principle on which this was effected was a radically unsound one. The feudal system worked fairly in England. It introduced a degree of cohesion into a society which, constituted of Anglo-Saxons, would otherwise have been broken up into units under the influence of the native self-dependence which characterizes the race. In England this system lasted from the Conqueror to Henry II., who fused all the elements thus prepared into one mass. In Ireland the same feudal system was introduced, but there was no presiding genius in the shape of a monarch or permanent viceroy to seize the favourable moment and fuse the contending forces when the temporary discipline had done its work. The De Courcys, the De Burghs, the Geraldines, the Butlers, the De Lacys, quarrelled,

fought, oppressed the people, defied the Viceroys, despised the Crown, and never were crushed, as the iron hand of Henry crushed the Anglo-Norman feudatories of England. Had Henry II. not been absorbed for the remaining seventeen years of his strong life in his great work of organization in England, and in the papal difficulties connected with the murder of Becket, he would have returned to Ireland, and the robust arm which brought all classes in England under the government of the King, unembarrassed by the rights of any order or the traditions of any class, would have done the same in Ireland, if any man could have done it. But Providence had otherwise ordered it for our poor Ireland. Henry, indeed, during his four months' stay, devoted himself to the organization of the social life of Ireland. He tried to unbarbarize the native princes, and appeared before them clad in scarlet and green, with trimmings of fur, and wearing a sword set with brilliants. He treated them to the rarest wines and costliest French cookery, and sent them home astonished, and bearing charters of privileges in their pouches, on which was impressed the broad seal of England.

The Church, too, he endeavoured to organize, and a synod was summoned by him who so seldom himself attended Mass. The Plantagenet King, who used to whisper and scribble and look at picture-books while the Divine mysteries were being celebrated, who never confessed, who cursed God in wild frenzies of blasphemy, he was the mighty one, the agent of Pope Adrian IV., who reduced the Irish Church to the Roman obedience, who summoned the historical synod which met in the newly erected cathedral on the Rock of Cashel, under the presidency of Ralph the Abbot, and three other Royal Commissioners, and which passed the decree which finally swept away the liberties of the Keltic Church, the Church of Patrick, Columba and Brigid: "Divine offices shall be henceforth celebrated in every part of Ireland according to the forms and usages of the Church of England."

Henry organized the legal and municipal affairs of Ireland. Assize Courts date from his visit. Ranulf de Glanville, "greatest and earliest of English lawyers," was by his side, and his signature can still be seen to the Dublin charter of 1171, in "*Chartæ Privilegia et Immunitates*," published by the Irish Record Office. But while he, then, during his brief stay in Ireland planted the seeds of law and order, Henry planted also, however unwittingly, fresh seeds of unending division. The Palatine system, under which a great part of Ireland was held by the feudatory princes, the great Earls, Strongbow in Leinster, De Lacy in Meath, De Courcy in Dalriada, or Eastern Ulster, and Fitz-Adelm De Burgh west of the Shannon, contained

within itself the germs of monstrous evils. Hear Dr. Stokes on this subject, to which he returns again and again :

To the neglect of the Crown, to the weakness of the Viceroy, to the selfish, foolish internecine struggles of the great feudatories of Ireland, its slow development and its subsequent sad history must be traced.

The quarrels of the Anglo-Norman nobles were, I repeat, the original cause of English failure in Ireland. You see, I differ from Mr. Froude. He imputes all Irish troubles to the unfortunate Kelts; I attribute them rather to the great Anglo-Norman nobles. . . . The great nobles of Ireland were simply feudatories claiming to exercise towards the sovereign the same rights, and paying to him the same homage, as their sovereign paid to the King of France for his Continental dominions. The Anglo-Norman princes of Ireland, such as De Lacy in Meath and De Courcy in Ulster, claimed to be independent princes, with right to levy war and make peace upon and with one another, and with the Crown, not only in virtue of their grants from the Crown, but also in virtue of their succession to the ancient Celtic chiefs. And the Crown grants seem to sanction this view (pp. 233, 234).

The failure of Henry II. and his successors to bring all the Irish princes under one strong government, the extraordinary vacillation of purpose exhibited in the incessant changing of Viceroy, so that no Viceroy ever had a chance—if we leave out John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, in the thirteenth, and Sir John Wigan in the fourteenth centuries—of so much as becoming acquainted with the difficulties of the case, much less of coping with them—these were the main causes of the deplorable delays which for centuries forbade the civilization of Ireland.

The great nobles were never long content within their own boundaries. The De Lacys and De Courcys were especially hostile. These factions were in fierce war in John's reign, till De Courcy was seized by treachery at Downpatrick, and carried a prisoner to London.

Hugh de Lacy was now triumphant. De Courcy was compelled to take the cross and set out on a crusade to Palestine, while the earldom of Ulster was conferred on the successful Hugh. But the troubles of the King with Ulster were only beginning when he installed De Lacy in the place of De Courcy. Within five years—that is, in the spring of 1210—King John was obliged personally to invade Ulster and chase Hugh de Lacy out of Ireland, seizing the whole possessions and principalities of the De Lacy faction in Ireland and England alike. While, by a kind of poetic vengeance, there stood by King John's side in that same invasion of Ulster the very John de Courcy whom De Lacy had defeated and deposed by King John's command in 1205—so tortuous, confused, and vacillating were Anglo-Norman policy and rulers in those times.

During the following twenty years, from 1210 to 1230, the De Lacys were the source and centre of Irish anarchy. But it is impossible in this sketch that we should follow further the varying fortunes and the constant wars of the great Anglo-Norman princes. The reader will find in the chapter on the

wars of Meath and Kildare much valuable information, and interesting illustrations of the author's opinion as to the real sources of Irish troubles. It is time that we should turn to devote a little space to Church matters.

As we have already said, there is little to tell during these troublous times on the subject of the Church which redounds to her credit. All the brilliant achievements of the old Keltic times were at an end. The Missionary Church of Columba, to which, after its centres had been fixed at Iona and Lindisfarne, is due the greater part of the evangelization of Anglo-Saxon England,¹ when it passed in Ireland in 1172 under the papal yoke, left its first love, and its history thenceforth is merged in the history of the establishment, and triumph and decay of the Anglo-Saxon monastic system.

The entire surface of Ireland is dotted over with the ruined remains of these monastic buildings. The style and character of the ruins at once proclaim to the visitor their origin.

The old Keltic establishments—such as those at Clonmacnoice, Glendalough, Inis-cleraun, Innis-murray—were collections of small, square, stone-roofed churches, without any architectural adornments, enclosed within a cashel, or fortification, wherein were the stone or mud cells of the monks, and usually associated with a round tower. The Anglo-Norman monastery is a stately building where the monks live the life of the community, sleeping in dormitories, dining in a common hall, and assembling themselves in a magnificent church, which witnesses by its style to the influences of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (p. 351).

This distinction holds good when the Anglo-Norman is contrasted with the earlier type of Keltic buildings. But we have evidence in such highly ornamented and architecturally perfect buildings as those, for example, on the Rock of Cashel, where King Cormac's Chapel still stands, a type of the Hiberno-Romanesque in its beauty, that, shortly previous to the Conquest, there were architects who could design, and builders who could execute, works which still command our admiration.

The ancient Keltic orders or communities, followers of St. Kevin, St. Canice, St. Kieran and St. Columba, were overwhelmed in all but the west by the newly-imported foundations from England or the Continent.² Cistercians, Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, built, endowed and flourished.

¹ The reader is referred to Mr. Lane's "Illustrated Notes on Church History" (S.P.C.K.) for a very full and fair account of the part played by the Keltic Church in the conversion of England. A paper in the *Mission Field* (S.P.G.) for September, 1889, accompanied by an outline map, will also help the reader to trace what a small part of this conversion was due to Roman influence.

² Mr. Warren gives a list of Keltic foundations on page 14 of his "Ritual and Liturgy of the Celtic Church." Many Irish foundations were to be found in France. St. Bernard compared the missionary inundations of foreign countries by the Irish to a flood. *Vita S. Mal.*, c. vi.

Tintern, Jerpoint and Dunbrody in the south, Mellifont in the east, Boyle in Roscommon, Donegal and Sligo, and Cong, and many another stately pile, witnessed to the zeal and wealth of these imported communities. In Dublin, St. Mary's and St. Thomas's abbeys looked down across their peaceful groves and lawns on the then pure stream of the Liffey.

While these foreign orders flourished and grew rich, the ancient Irish orders dwindled away. The Culdees were long regarded by historians and by the popular opinion as a mythical kind of beings, until the present Bishop of Down and Connor, tracing them in Ireland, Scotland and Wales alike, proved¹ that they were the representatives of the ancient Keltic monks in the state of decrepitude and decay. These Culdees, or *Coli Dei*, *i.e.*, worshippers of God, were, in short, the corrupt descendants, by *marriage* or by ecclesiastical descent, of the old monks whom the Church of Rome superseded in most of the European countries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the regular canons of the mediæval orders. The monks of the Keltic Church were originally extreme ascetics; but time, and worldly strife, and weariness, and poverty had spoiled their primitive purity. They married. Discipline was relaxed, their religious character vanished, and they were either absorbed into the new foundations, or became attached to cathedrals, as at St. Andrew's, York and Armagh, or gradually died out, no further use being found for their existence.

Dr. Stokes has not much to tell us of the inner life of the Church during the three centuries and a half covered by his history. The truth is, the chronicles of the period pass over such matters very lightly. Even in a much later age, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the religious-minded student who searches the old Church records, the visitation returns, the correspondence of Bishops, such as Boulter, with the English Government in Church and State, is disappointed to find that nothing meets his eye but the records of external matters. Take, for example, the reports of the Episcopal Visitations of the seventeenth century. Bishops' visitation returns in the present day afford a full picture of the state of parochial work and life, the number of Church members, of communicants, of Sunday scholars, the offertories, the missionary collections, etc. But the old returns contain little but the names of the incumbents and curates, the amount of their tithes, and the all-important account of their visitation fees.

We may surely feel thankful that attention has gradually been directed from the outer to the inner part of the Church's life and work. But we must leave, probably in lasting obscurity, the

¹ "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. xxiv.

record of those matters which would be to the mind of enlightened Christendom to-day of far more glowing interest than the story of all those wars and struggles, of the origin of all those monastic orders, and of the skilful manipulation of affairs by which Erastian Bishops of the olden time enriched their sees.

Liturgical and ritual questions do not commend themselves greatly to the mind of Professor Stokes. In his earlier volume he glanced but very briefly at the subject of the ritual of the Keltic Church, a subject which Mr. Warren has so ably treated.¹ The vexed question as to how far the Keltic Church was pure from Roman corruptions we do not find alluded to in his pages, save where in one paragraph, at the close of chapter viii, he gives us this brief but suggestive glance at the religion of the Church in the days of St. Lawrence O'Toole, the last Keltic Bishop of Dublin :

Had the party [who raised the outcry in our days against a screen in Christ Church] but gone into the Christ Church of seven hundred years ago, they would have found much more to vex their souls than a screen and stained glass. In that cathedral was kept the miraculous staff of Jesus, which the English took away from Armagh. There, too, a miraculous crucifix was preserved, about which Giraldus Cambrensis tells some wonderful stories in his "Topographia" . . . which miraculously spoke, etc., etc.²

We do not know whether Professor Stokes considers the subject of the worship and doctrine of the Church as coming fitly under the head of ecclesiastical history. Either a lack of interest in this branch of the subject or a lack of materials has kept him almost silent on this, to many minds, one of the most important matters on which, when inquiring into the thinkings and doings of our ancestors, we are anxious for information.

Much fuller is his treatment of such Irish Church subjects as the lives of great Bishops, and the origin and history of great cathedrals. We shall glance with his aid at an example or two of each :

The story of the two Dublin cathedrals is bound up with the history of three Archbishops of Dublin—the Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly known as Christ Church Cathedral, with that of the Keltic St. Lawrence O'Toole, and St. Patrick's Cathedral with that of the Anglo-Norman Archbishops, John Comyn and Henry de Londres, who immediately succeeded him, and were the founders of St. Patrick's.

¹ "The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church," by F. E. Warren, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1881. Dr. Stokes refers to the work in his preface to "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. vii.

² For a complete catalogue of the relics of Christ Church, see Mant's "History of the Church of Ireland," pp. 78-81.

O'Toole was brother of the great King Dermot, or Diarmid M'Murrough himself. He was the first Archbishop of Dublin, and succeeded in 1161 Gregory, the last Bishop. He received the pall from Cardinal John Paparo, who at the Synod of Kells, in 1152, established the four archbishoprics of Ireland. Born in Co. Kildare, educated at Glendalough, he was raised from being Abbot of Glendalough to wear the archiepiscopal mitre at the age of twenty-nine. The archbishopric was not strictly territorial, for the ecclesiastical rule of O'Toole was exercised over the scattered Danish settlements all along the coast. At that time the See of Dublin was quite overshadowed by the glory and wealth and territorial possessions of the See of Glendalough.

St. Lawrence O'Toole ruled the See of Dublin for ten years previous to the Norman invasion. He had been a church-builder at Glendalough; he continued to be a great church-builder in Dublin. Sitric the Dane had founded the Priory of the Holy Trinity on the high ground at the right bank of the Liffey about the year 1038. O'Toole turned the old foundation into a monastery of the Augustinian Order of Aroasia, and it has stood ever since on its steep sloping hill, surviving, as Christ Church Cathedral, its sister foundation of St. Mary's Abbey on the opposite bank of the Liffey, and after many vicissitudes recently restored to all its early glory and beauty by the munificence of a Dublin merchant. It is now the cathedral of the Diocese of Dublin, and St. Patrick's is the national cathedral, standing in equal relations with all the dioceses of Ireland.

St. Lawrence lived to resist Strongbow, who came with the sword, and to accept the inevitable in the shape of Henry II., who came armed with the Bull of Adrian IV., and subsequently obtained at the hands of Strongbow and his wife Eva, who was O'Toole's own cousin, the lands and estates of Glendalough for his nephew, the Abbot Thomas.

This last Keltic Bishop is honoured as a saint; and his life, written while his memory was still fresh, tells us that he used to spend whole nights prostrate before a crucifix, and to go forth before dawn to pray in the cemetery for the departed. He lived by his cathedral, but paid frequent visits for retirement to the beloved and romantic Wicklow Valley, where the skies, shut in by frowning and gloomy mountains, look down on the secluded lake, with its round tower, its cashel, and its seven churches. Before St. Lawrence died in 1180, Kelt, Norman, and Dane were worshipping and ministering side by side in Dublin churches, and the Use of Sarum, superseding the old Keltic liturgies, was firmly established there, and continued till the first Act of Uniformity of Henry VIII.

The last Keltic prelate of Dublin was succeeded in 1181 by

John Comyn, the first Anglo-Norman Archbishop. Henry II. had resolved that no more Irish need apply for such promotions, and his resolution continued to be that of the English authorities, with very few exceptions, down to the present century. There were twenty-three Archbishops from St. Lawrence to the Reformation. Not one of these was an Irishman. There were twenty between the Reformation and the year 1800; of these, four only were of even nominal Irish extraction.

John Comyn was in deacon's orders when nominated to the See of Dublin. He had for some years been a useful agent of the Crown, and a warm supporter of Henry in his struggles with the Pope. Dr. Stokes has in a couple of lines described Comyn for us: "There was not one atom of a clergyman about him according to modern notions. He was one day an ambassador, the next day a judge, but never a priest or a pastor of souls." He had, indeed, acted as a judge in the North of England for several years before his elevation to the prelacy. As he was English in his origin, so also in his consecration. He was consecrated by Pope Lucius III., and thus introduced, whatever we may think of it, a succession direct from Rome.

On this subject of the succession of orders in the Church of Ireland, it has been a favourite theory that the Romish succession was introduced only after the Reformation, and that up to that period the Church had the succession purely and directly from St. Patrick. This view needs to be considerably modified. And while it may be safely maintained that the Church of Ireland has, and the Roman Church in Ireland has not, succession from Patrick, that succession is blended and inextricably confused with English and Roman orders introduced from time to time in the same way as that which we have just mentioned in the case of John Comyn. Very many Bishops of the Church of Ireland have been consecrated in England, and sent over with English orders. Doubtless those orders themselves were in part Keltic, but he who sets himself to prove that the orders in the Irish Church have come down in an unmingled succession from St. Patrick proposes to himself an impossible task.

The Norman Archbishop set two objects before him—the enrichment of the See of Dublin, and the establishment of St. Patrick's Cathedral. The Archbishop found the See poor, and left it rich. He secured the reversion by charter of all the estates of Glendalough. He advanced the archbishopric to the position of a great feudal dignity. He became a baron, with power to hold courts and execute justice. He had his seneschals, coroners, bailiffs, his prisons and his gallows. The episcopal gallows stood just outside the city walls, at the south side. Archbishop Comyn regulated all matters, from trials for murder down to the

weight of a loaf and the measure of a pot of beer, and this over a large portion of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare.

But (for there is a *but* in the lot of us all) Comyn lived under the provostship of the Dublin authorities, both of the Corporation and of the Castle. He resolved to be independent, and for that purpose he fixed his mind on erecting outside the walls a cathedral and a palace suitable for his high position. This was the origin of St. Patrick's Cathedral and of the adjacent old palace of St. Sepulchre,¹ now turned into a barrack for mounted police, while the archiepiscopal residence has been moved to the more fashionable quarter of St. Stephen's Green.

St. Patrick's had been a parish church for many years, and Boethius, in his "Scottish History," informs us that before the times of the Danes, in 890, Gregory, King of Scotland, made a solemn procession to this church. Anyhow, it had long been a church, bearing the name of the great Irish saint, before Comyn, on March 17, 1191, reopened it as a collegiate church, with thirteen prebendaries, whom he endowed out of the vast newly-acquired possessions of the see.

Comyn finished his days as a courtier and great magnate, ever watchful over English interests, and, so far as we can learn, entirely devoid of all care for the Keltic population, which under him and his successors were at best ignored.

The successor of Comyn, Henry de Londres, raised the College of St. Patrick to the rank of a cathedral in 1213, appointing a dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer, and placed the election of the dean in the hands of the chapter, which now consists of the dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, ten sacerdotal prebendaries, four diaconal and eight sub-diaconal.² All these matters are discussed and illustrated from many sources by Dr. Stokes in the eighth to the eleventh chapters of his book. We have three remaining chapters, under the titles of "Two Centuries of Anarchy," "The Wars of Bruce and of the Roses," and "The Celtic Church in Anglo-Norman Times," to which we can do no more than allude.

It is not merely that the Professor of Ecclesiastical History must needs keep his book within certain limits, that he has dealt in one chapter with two hundred years of time. No one knows better than Dr. Stokes how to fill ten chapters, and to fill them well, with the story of less than one hundred years. But the fact is that it is impossible to weave into a connected story the innumerable details of the chroniclers; you might as

¹ So called because at this time the subject of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Crusades for its rescue from the Turks, were in everyone's mind. The Temple Church and St. Sepulchre's in London, and St. Sepulchre's in Cambridge, date from the same period.

² Alan's Liber Niger, fol. 391: Marsh's Library.

well try to weave sand into a rope. We find, however, that English authority *in Church matters* was during these two centuries well established in all parts of Ireland. Even the most remote sees were often filled by Englishmen.¹ The first Parliament duly elected was held by Sir John Wogan in 1295; and we have not elsewhere met with an anecdote related by Dr. Stokes of a later Parliament of Sir John, which in 1311 ordered that "all business should be referred to a committee of ten persons, which committee was to be reduced by successive elections to one person, *quia se ipso dissentire non potest*"—a first-rate plan to secure unanimity and despatch.

If anyone should profess himself perplexed as to the sources of Irish discontent, disunion, and anarchy, surely he has already seen enough in the course of the above sketch to enable him to trace the greater part of it to the weak and vacillating government of the Anglo-Norman Earls, and to the unspiritual administration of Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics. What streams, we may well ask, of life-giving truth or knowledge, what currents of sympathy, during all these years, can we discover flowing from the greater and stronger to the smaller and weaker island? We have found no trace of such. On the contrary, we find a Keltic population trodden down, kept in ignorance and serfdom, while an Anglo-Irish population grew up in the pale, intermarried with the older inhabitants, and became in many cases *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*.

And then came the desolating incursion of Bruce, whom the unhappy Kelts had invited to help them against the foreigner, and who made Ireland, during the three and a half years of his occupation, simply a hell upon earth. This visitation was like that of an Eastern province under the ravages of an army of locusts. Ulster was thrown back, and the development of Ireland's resources was retarded a full three hundred years; the Anglo-Norman power was broken in Down and Antrim; the O'Neills had possession of Ulster as far east as Carlingford.

And now we must conclude this sketch of the period covered by Dr. Stokes' deeply interesting narrative. Division and misgovernment had degraded the unhappy island; the crushing of the Keltic inhabitants had kindled enduring hatred of England.

¹ Dr. Stokes sometimes makes a slip in details. He speaks of John, Bishop of Ardfert, a monk of St. Albans, who *resigned* the see of Ardfert. If Ware is to be trusted, this John was *deprived* by Pope Honorius III., and died at St. Albans in 1245. We have noticed a few other trifling errors, as on page 180, line 15, where the See of Glendalough is said to include the Danish settlements on the coast. On page 320, we doubt whether Connaught should appear in the list of counties, or Carlow in the list of liberties.—See Ball's "Irish Legislative System," p. 5. Each writer refers to the *Liber Niger* of Christ Church as his authority.

Religion had taken the shape of an universal monasticism, and monasticism had declined from its original purity. A foreign army under Bruce had pillaged and destroyed all classes alike ; and then, as if matters were not sad enough, the Black Death swept the Irish cities and villages, sparing no age nor sex. In 1348, to quote the words of a Kilkenny Franciscan, "that pestilence deprived of human inhabitants villages and cities, castles and towns, so that there was scarcely found a man to dwell therein, from Christmas Day to the sixth day of March. Eight friar preachers died in Kilkenny. Scarcely ever one alone died in an house ; commonly husband, wife, children and servants went the one way of death."

"Why," asks the professor, "prolong the mournful tale, which becomes the dreariest of the dreary in its recital? War, pestilence, misrule, neglect, had done their utmost, and English and Kelt alike were involved in one common ruin. Every attempt to remedy the state of Ireland only seems to have made the matter worse." Under the viceroyalty of Fitz-Clarence, second son of Edward III., who married an heiress of the great De Burgh family in 1352, was passed the statute of Kilkenny, which stereotyped all the old hatred and all the old disabilities of the Kelt, and accentuated for future ages the race distinctions which have been Ireland's bane. There was then and ever since an Irish party and an English party, only in pre-Reformation times the sympathies of Rome were with the latter, and were transferred at the Reformation to the former. The Reformation must needs either prove Ireland's great uniting power, combining different races in one Church, or it must accentuate the race opposition, by enrolling two opposed nations in two opposed Churches. Unhappily, its issue was of the latter kind, and an ill-advised precipitancy and insistence in Reformation work, for which there had been no preparation, did but aggravate existing troubles.

And such is the story of the past. What remains in store in the future there is no one living possessed of sagacity to reveal. That future may be politically and religiously brighter than the past, if in the sphere of politics "fairness" and "firmness" be the watchwords of an unvacillating Government, and if in the sphere of religion a spirit of enlightened inquiry were fostered among the Roman Catholic population, and if to this were presented by the Church of Ireland the spectacle of a Church united in itself, Reformed but Catholic, not ashamed of any usage or doctrine of truly primitive character, and filled with genuine love and sympathy for the troublesome and trying race which she has been too long accustomed to despise.

G. R. WYNNE.

ART. V.—THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

IT may very well seem a strange thing that in the nineteenth century of the Christian era there should seem to be a necessity for insisting on the transcendent importance of the death of Christ in faith's view of God's gracious revelation to man. Yet it is undeniable that not a few hearts among us are being sore troubled at the setting in of streams of thought, the tendencies of which are more or less directly, more or less obviously, to depreciate (in some sense) this cardinal truth of our most holy faith. The claims of *scientific*, as opposed to the teaching of the so-called *popular*, theology are pressed upon us. And it is assumed that the unique value and the supreme position which has been assigned to the doctrine of the Cross must fall before a philosophical assimilation of Christian dogma, even if not before a more critical examination of the soteriology of the Bible. We are henceforth, it appears, to correct the faith of our forefathers, which looked too exclusively to the blessed effects resulting from this blood-shedding of the Son of God. Modern thought has found difficulties in the belief which regards these blessings as having any such necessary connection with death. It will be less difficult, we are told, and more scientific to direct the Christian faith to regard rather the doctrine of the incarnation as the great central doctrine of the Gospel. Let the death of the Cross hold a secondary place to the incarnation of Christ, and (so we are led to believe) a great gain will result; a great stumbling-block in the approach to Christianity will be taken out of the way of the advanced thinkers of a thoughtful age.

And it is not by looking in one direction only that the current of this tendency is to be observed. Something of very much the same result may be seen coming from quite another quarter, where a mistaken sacramental system is made to subserve erroneous views of the extension of the incarnation, and the Eucharistic renewing (in some sense) of the sacrifice of Christ is made to deduct something, in faith's view, from the full doctrine of the Cross of Christ.

Careful observers can hardly have failed to mark in this matter something which may remind the traveller of what he has seen in the neighbourhood of Geneva—the converging and uniting of streams of different origins, which, though they may keep their own banks, and show still their distinctive colours, are yet flowing in just the same direction, running their course in the same channel, and combining their separate forces to form one full river.

It would be very wrong to make light of the difficulties of earnest inquiring minds being led, or desirous of being led,

towards the truth. It is possible, indeed, that an error is not seldom committed in assuming that these difficulties are always to be credited to the exercise of intellectual vigour, and the determination to be bold and independent in following after only that which is true. But there is undoubtedly a claim upon our sympathies in the intellectual difficulties of those who are really desiring to believe, and to accept the true faith of God's revelation. In listening to that claim, however, there may be a temptation sometimes to make concessions of that which we are bound not to concede. We may very willingly part with, even though it may cost us much, inherited prejudices as regards the teaching of Scripture on matters which properly belong to the sphere of physical science; but we must ever earnestly contend for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints. And assuredly we must beware of listening to the voice which would bid us attempt to save a wreck of Christianity by casting overboard anything of that which gives to the Gospel its offence, but which also makes it to be the power of God unto salvation.

Reserving for future papers some considerations on the doctrinal bearings of the subject, let it suffice for us at present to have our thoughts directed to the prominence which is given to the death of Christ in the whole scheme of revelation as made known to us in the sacred Scriptures.

And here let it be remarked, at the outset, that it is in truth a very unscientific process, by anything like a minute examination of details, to draw away attention from a comprehensive view of the history of God's dealings with the human race as a whole. And it is scarcely less scientific to ignore the power of certain accepted truths so to light up the landscape that facts—the significance of which may have been before hazy or beclouded—may stand out in distinctness and prominence, like mountain peaks against the sky.

A simple-minded, illiterate Christian may thus be really following a far more scientific method in clinging tenaciously to a doctrine which he may have little ability to defend in controversy, than the subtle reasoner or the well-furnished theological disputant, who by learned and critical arguments would seek to despoil him of that which is to him as the pearl of great price, and which he has proved to be the power of God and the wisdom of God.

The principle we are insisting on may very well be illustrated by applying it to the very point in hand. We all accept the truth contained in the words, "The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." It is a truth which scarcely needs to be interpreted by the words of St. Peter: "As of a Lamb without blemish and without spot, who verily was foreordained before

the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last days for us." But certainly this truth, set before us so clearly towards the close of the Bible record, has power to light up the whole horizon of Revelation, and to make teachings, perhaps otherwise obscure, to stand out distinctly and in sharp outline, gilded as with the rays of the rising sun, bearing witness to the glory which is revealed in the death of Christ.

We have here set before us an aspect of the Redeemer as depicted from the beginning in the purpose of the Most High—even in the eternal purpose of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of His own will.

And let it be well observed that it is not one of the sons of men, but a *Lamb*, and a *slain* Lamb, which we here behold by the eyes of faith.

The view even of the true humanity of the incarnate Son of God—important and blessed as that view is—is here, assuredly, made subservient (we might almost say is sacrificed here) to the imagery which represents His atoning death.

Was this, indeed, the archetypal idea of Christ in the Divine economy before the worlds were ?

Then, certainly, the ideas brought out and educated in the minds of men by subsequent sacrificial teachings must have been intended to prepare the human understanding, in a school of Divine instruction, to receive and apprehend this idea, afterwards to be revealed as the true Divine idea, the idea (speaking after the manner of men) in the Divine mind, of the one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.

And is it possible then, we ask, to refuse the claim of this truth to illumine the pages which tell of God's dealings with man in patriarchal and Mosaic and post-Mosaic times ? Shall we think it a scientific process, to take the microscope of our critical faculty to examine the details of these records in the dark, out of the light of this Divine and glorious truth ?

With this truth before us, who can doubt that sacrifice and sacrificial death must have had a Divine original ? If we can persuade ourselves that men were led to sacrifice by some impulse *from within*, some desire to acknowledge symbolically the death which was their due, and to seek reconciliation with God by, in any sense, offering death for death, then must not that inward instinct have been, in some sense, implanted by the Divine Spirit of truth ?

But it concerns us much more to observe how this truth sheds a clear light on the sacrificial narratives of early records of our race, and how in that light we can hardly fail to see their witness not only to the future atonement of Christ's death, but also to the *prominence* which that death should have in the faith of those who live in the light of Christ's Gospel.

“The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.” Can it be that there is no witness to Him and His death in the firstlings of Abel’s sacrifice; in the sweet savour of Noah’s offering; most of all in the great lesson of the land of Moriah: “The Lord will see to it”—“the Lord will provide”; in the prophetic word of the patriarch, which takes the name “Jehovah Jireh” as its seal: “My son, God will provide a lamb for a burnt offering,” and in the sacrifice which, after taking the knife to slay his son, Abraham, in obedience to God’s voice of mercy, now offers up “in the stead of his son”?

This is a tempting subject to dwell upon in detail, but in these brief papers we must steadfastly adhere to our purpose of directing attention mainly to broad and general views of the subject before us.

For this reason we must not tarry now to enforce the testimony of the Paschal Lamb. We shall have occasion, indeed, to refer to this more particularly in a future paper. But for the present it must suffice to ask, with the inspired words before us, τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός—Can we possibly suppose that there is here for us no witness to the Lamb of God—the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world—and no teaching of the stupendous importance of His death—the prominence in the Divine view, which should be also our view—of His saving passion, of His atoning blood-shedding?

So also as regards the whole Levitical system of sacrifice—as *a whole*, we must venture to affirm, without touching at all upon details, that in the light which shines upon it from the eternal counsel of God, and in that counsel from the Lamb slain, we must needs see—if we only look at it with enlightened eyes and through the glass of faith—teachings clear and distinct of the high and exalted place which in God’s revelation is assigned to the sacrificial death of Christ. “Almost all things are by the law purged with blood, and without shedding of blood is no remission.” We may be sure it is no truth of secondary value which in these words is set before us by the inspired writer.

But we are not to confine our view to the typology of the Old Testament. We have also a more sure word of prophecy; and prophecy, too, bears its witness to the same truth. We have the combined witness of type and prophecy pointing to the same object. And as our eyes follow their pointing we behold One—a Man of Sorrows, led as a lamb to the slaughter—on whom the Lord Jehovah has made to meet the iniquities of us all. And then looking back to the Lamb slain from the beginning in the everlasting purpose of God, we are sure that we have here a sure witness to the supreme importance for our faith of the death and blood-shedding of the Redeemer of the world.

In all this, it may probably be thought, we have only been

retailing simple and trite and obvious common-places. But our object in these papers is mainly to insist on the value—a value which is now too often depreciated—of truths which are simple, and teachings which are obvious, and which perhaps, just because of their simplicity and their elementary character, are in danger sometimes of being passed over or lightly regarded.

But in thus insisting on that which is trite and obvious, there is a further object in view. The truth of the Lamb slain is to be regarded in relation to another very obvious truth. We must insist upon it that it is in the highest degree unscientific not to take into account the connection between these two truths. And it is this connection which brings into view most clearly the prominence and importance of the death of Christ.

Man's death is a condemned death. Fallen man is a condemned being, condemned to death for sin; and we desire very strongly and earnestly to insist on the truth—we are sure it is a truth—that the death of Christ is to be viewed in the same view with the death of the sinner. And then this death of the sinner is to be viewed as something far more than the physical dying. What we commonly call death now is but the door—the door of passage into the awful realm and dominion of death and of him that hath the power of death—that is, the devil. Death *was* not the door only, but it included all that was beyond the door—all the awfulness of the judgment and condemnation, and the blackness of darkness, the terror of the region where the strong man armed kept his palace—the prison-house of the lost souls of men. Can there be—is there to be any deliverance from this terrible condition? How stupendous the importance of inquiry! Does not *all* for man depend on the answer to the inquiry? How all-important, then, the way of deliverance—if there be deliverance! What prominence must be due to the work by which deliverance comes!

And was there no connection between the death of the sinner man and the teaching of the sacrificial death of the innocent animal—the lamb without blemish, or the bullock without spot—which in a shadow was offered in death to take away the shadow of sin, and to make in a shadow a deliverance from death—an atonement for the sin of the offerer? It will hardly be seriously contended that no such connection existed. And, then, when we turn to the view of “the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world,” shall we think it possible that there is no connection between His death—the death of the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world—and the death of the sinners for whom He died? It is in death that the salvation of the second man, the Lord from heaven, meets and lays hold on the ruin of the first man.

And if it be so, that in any sense His death was for deliver-

ance from our death—our death of judgment and condemnation; if the death which He willingly died for us stands so co-related to the death which has passed upon all men for that all have sinned, that the one is the loosing of the other; if it be so that “as it is appointed unto men once to die, and after the judgment, so Christ was once offered ~~to~~ bear the sin of many,” then assuredly we must place the death of Christ in a position of supreme prominence in our view of the Christian faith. Of necessity it must have importance and prominence in proportion as we realize, by the teaching of the Spirit of truth, the real sinfulness of sin, and the awfulness of the condition of fallen man condemned to death for sin—condemned with a real condemnation to all that is in death and beyond what we call death, in proportion as we have a true view of the terrible misery of man appointed once to die, and to die the death which is the death of judgment.

Truly it is from the standpoint of the conviction of sin, the knowledge of our earthly things, the earthly things of our death and condemnation, that we must learn to regard aright the heavenly things of our great salvation. Therefore said the word of our Saviour: “If I have told you earthly things, and ye believe not, how shall ye believe if I tell you of heavenly things?” It is from the deep places of the valley of humiliation—of humiliation for sin—even from the lowlands of the valley of the shadow of death, that we can hope to obtain the clearest and the truest view of the lifting up of the Son of man upon the cross. And from this point of view we shall assuredly see it exalted—exalted in prominence, in the prominence of its true importance, the true importance of its bearing on the salvation of a perishing world.

Thus we are led on to the more direct teaching of the New Testament. We must be very brief. But we must begin by declining altogether to draw scientific distinctions between the teaching on this point of Christ and His Apostles, as well as between the testimony of one Evangelist and another. We are deeply impressed with the wonderful harmony, rather let us say the Divine unity, of the substance—the body of Christian teaching in the Bible, beneath the strange variety of clothing which it has received from the human element in many minds. We are persuaded that the Gospel according to Christ is also the Gospel according to Moses and Isaiah, and the Gospel according to St. Paul is also the Gospel according to Peter and John.

And then, as to the importance and prominence of the death of Christ in the scheme of Divine revelation in the Gospel, we will call St. Paul to bear witness in the name of all his brethren. And let it not be thought that St. Paul could make light of other doctrines of the Christian faith. In St. Paul's view there

was certainly no depreciation of the doctrine of the incarnation, no low view of the glory of the risen and ascended Saviour. In his teaching great was the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh; great, too, in his view, was the importance of the resurrection. "If Christ be not raised," he says, "ye are yet in your sins." And magnificent was his view of the ulterior results of the incarnation—the final triumph of the Redeemer, the glory to be revealed; the manifestation of the sons of God, when we, who have borne the image of the earthly, shall also bear the image of the heavenly; the deliverance of the whole creation from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. What, then, but the importance in faith's view of the death of Christ could have moved him to set it in a position of such prominence in his teaching? What else could have led him to declare, and to act up to his declaration, "I determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified"?

In this connection another consideration should be added of no small importance. It may be very briefly stated thus: That which is set before faith's view in the reception of the two holy Sacraments is not the incarnation, but the death of Christ.

As many as are baptized into Christ are baptized into His death, that they, through His death, may enter by a new birth into His life. Those who come to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper come to show the Lord's death, and to be made partakers, not of the flesh and blood of the life of His humanity in the days of His flesh (so understood, the flesh profiteth nothing), but of His body and blood as sundered in sacrificial death. It is His flesh as given for the life of the world, and His blood as shed for the remission of sins, which is the true *res sacramenti* in the Holy Eucharist. As Eve has her being from the wounded side of the first man in his deep sleep, so the Bride, the Lamb's wife, has her very being from the pierced side of the Second Man, the last Adam, even from the deadly wound of the death He died for her life. You may add to this, if you will, that the only memorial of Himself which Christ has left upon earth is the memorial of His death. He has left us no ordained remembrance of His incarnation, save as His incarnation is included in His passion, save as it is implied in the symbols of His body crucified and His blood outpoured for the sins of the world.

But we must hasten to advert to another consideration of great moment—one which appears to us to bring the greatest weight to bear on the matter before us. On one side and another we are hearing the mediæval question revived—If man had not sinned, would the Son of God have become incarnate? The testimony of Christian antiquity led up to an answer "No." The

voices of scholastic theology answered discordantly "Yes" and "No." The speculations of German mysticism declared the answer must be "Yes." We have no hesitation, however, in saying that, in view of "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," the only answer to that question should be, "There are no *ifs* in the higher region of the eternal counsels of the Most High." But no doubt those who now ask the question, intending to suggest an affirmative answer, do so with a desire to lead our thoughts to ulterior results of the incarnation—results connected with the high destinies appointed for the Being created to reflect the Divine Image, and to share in the Divine dominion—results, in a word, which have to do with the dignity of man's high calling, rather than with the low estate of his fall. Now, we may very well admit all that is here pleaded for. Nay, more: we may very earnestly contend for the truth which is here set before us. But we must still more earnestly insist on this—that when all this has been admitted, it will only add force to the argument that, wherever the purpose of the incarnation is set before us in Holy Scripture, it is always connected, not with the exalted dignity of man's vocation, but with the ruin which has been brought on man's history by the work of Satan and of sin. Can we have higher evidence of the supreme importance of the death of Christ, of the prominent place it should occupy in the faith of the Christian Church?

There *are* ulterior results of the incarnation. There must have been, we may say, higher purposes, in some sense, in view when the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us. But when we ask of the Word of God for what purpose the Son of God came into the world, the answer always is one which directs our thoughts to His death, or to His work of undoing the workings of the Evil One. Is not His very name—His appointed name because He should save His people from their sins—a witness to "the faithful saying, worthy of all acceptation that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners"? We are taught that His coming was to be the propitiation for our sins; that we might live through Him; to seek and to save that which was lost; to call sinners to repentance; to give His life a ransom for many; to break up the power of the lie in man's heart by bearing witness to the truth (the truth which, above all, is manifested by the Cross); to destroy the works of the devil; to reconcile all things to the Father; through death to destroy (bring to nought) him that had the power of death, that is the devil, and to deliver them who, through fear of death, were all their life-time subject to bondage. Have we here the answer from the oracles of God to the question, "Cur Deus homo?" Then, surely, we are not wrong in affirming that we have here a strange contrast—nay, rather a striking contra-

diction—to any *dictum* of modern scientific theology, which would declare, “Christ did not come into the world to die; He died because He came into the world.”

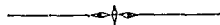
Why is it, we ask, that in answer to our inquiry, the ulterior purposes of the incarnation are never mentioned in Holy Scripture? Surely the answer must be one which will bear witness to the prominence, the stupendous importance, which in faith's view should attach itself to the redeeming death of Christ.

And is there no witness, we must ask, to the same truth in the prayer of Gethsemane, in the blood-drops of the agony, in the great cry of Calvary? Is there no testimony in the portents of earth and sky, in the darkness and the earthquake? Still more in the opening of the graves and the rending of the veil? Surely these are witnesses, whose voice, before silent, is bidden to tell of effects which result not from the incarnation of Christ, but from the death of the incarnate Son of God.

Here we must close for the present. In this paper we have aimed at nothing more than a sketch. And we are very sensible how imperfect a sketch has been set before the reader. Yet we cannot but regard it as sufficient—more than sufficient to show the subservience (in some sense) of the doctrine of the incarnation to the doctrine of the atonement, to show clearly the prominent position, the position of stupendous importance, which the death of Christ must ever occupy in the true faith of the Christian Church.

Assuredly they who, led by the spirit of truth, have learned the faith of the Apostles, have been taught like them to glory only in the Cross of Christ. And surely they who have learned to glory in nothing save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ will not marvel to behold in the heavenly vision “a Lamb as it had been slain,” and to hear in the new song around the throne the voice of those who say: “Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof; for Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed men to God by Thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and hast made them to be unto our God a kingdom and priests.”

N. DIMOCK.



ART. VI.—CANON JACKSON'S "RECOLLECTIONS."

A Pastor's Recollections. By Rev. Canon JACKSON, St. James's, Leeds. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row. Leeds: W. Brierley, 2, Bond Street.

THESE "Recollections" are a collection of short tracts written in former years, and now republished in their present form, giving experiences of ministerial work in the town of Leeds. Canon Jackson was ordained in the year 1844, and served his apprenticeship in the ministry under Dr. Hook, having been curate and clerk in orders of the Leeds Parish Church during the twelve years from 1844 to 1856. In 1846 he became incumbent of St. James's—a proprietary church without any assigned parochial district, and within a stone's-throw of the Parish Church of Leeds—a post which he held for ten years without severing his connection with the Parish Church. In 1856 he left the Parish Church, and devoted himself exclusively to the work at St. James's—exclusively, that is, as far as the work in the Parish Church was considered, but not in any other sense, for he has been connected with almost every effort of philanthropy and Christian usefulness which has been started in Leeds during his long ministry. There is hardly a public institution in the town that does not count him among its friends. When the history of the town of Leeds comes to be written, his name will hold a prominent place in the record of the last half-century. It is not, however, with his general philanthropic work or religious influence that the present "Recollections" are concerned. They are reminiscences of the pastoral side of his ministerial work, and refer mainly to his experiences amongst the people who were brought into connection with that church, which, through his strong personal influence, has come to occupy a remarkable place in the religious life of Leeds as a centre of evangelical religion. St. James's Church was originally a Lady Huntingdon Chapel, which passed by purchase into the hands of Church people in the beginning of the century. Canon Jackson's connection with the place commenced in 1833, when he became a Sunday-school teacher in the church of which he afterwards became incumbent. His work at St. James's has been continuous since that time. He still occupies the pulpit, and preaches to a large congregation, and directs the movements of a devoted body of workers. It is no uncommon sight at St. James's to see as many as 500 communicants assemble at a celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Of the kind of work and the spirit which has made St. James's Church, Leeds, what it is, these little reminiscences will give the reader a good idea. They are twelve in number, and an

enumeration of some of their titles will give the best general idea of their contents. "The Quaint Couple," "The Snowdens," "The Old Shoemaker," are titles which suggest their contents. These tracts are simple narratives of actual experience of some of the persons with whom the writer was brought into contact in the course of his pastoral visitation, and are illustrations of the kind of materials of which the congregation of St. James's has been gradually built up. "The Germany Man" is the title of another tract, and the very name is in itself an evidence to the discerning mind that these are not fancy sketches, but are drawn from real life. The touching story of "The New Curate" obviously belongs to the life of the Leeds Parish Church rather than to St. James's. "The Hard Request," "Ash Wednesday, or the Wages of Sin," "Put by," are other titles. "Esther Raine and her Teacher" is a vindication of Sunday-school work in narrative form. "The Fiddle's Best Tune," "The House on Fire," and "The White Hat," describe the miscellaneous contents of another of these tracts. Their lively titles will remind those who are personally acquainted with the venerable Canon that the earnestness of his life-work has not destroyed his power of appreciating the lighter aspects of life. He is a man who in the hours of relaxation can tell many a good story, and can exchange a joke with the quickest and most light-hearted companions.

"The Quaint Couple" is No. 1 of the series. It is perhaps as good an example as we can select as an illustration of these "Recollections." It is a story, simply told, of two simple and lovely lives. John and Mary were, indeed, lovely in their lives, and in their death they were not divided.

"What did you say you wanted?" I asked, and so putting my writing on one side, to have a fuller look at my visitors. They were a man and woman, both in advanced life. Let me first describe him. Imagine, then, reader, a little old man, thin and wiry-looking, with a countenance wrinkled and puckered up, and strong, grizzled hair and whiskers. He was attired in an old-fashioned blue dress coat, with brass buttons, and very narrow tails; a yellowish waistcoat, and trousers that fitted so tight they looked like pantaloons; gray stockings, and particularly well-blackened shoes. To complete the figure, you must conceive him with a hat that scarcely covered his head, and yet both hat and clothes all as clean and evidently carefully brushed as they possibly could be, and you have John Pallister before you.

And now for his companion, who by the manner she holds his arm must be a person in feeble health, and his wife. She ought to have been seen to be fairly appreciated. Was there ever old age more sweet and peaceful! Like her husband, neat in the extreme, and clean beyond what our smoky atmosphere and dirty streets would seem to allow, her brown stuff dress, and her simple shawl the pattern of other days, her close black bonnet, and her snow-white muslin cap; but above all, her face so calm, so gentle, with her flaxen hair yet without the least tinge of gray, parted meekly over her forehead; such was Mary Pallister, as dear and

true in her inward character as her outward appearance was signally prepossessing.

Mary answered my inquiry, not John; and I at once understood who was the presiding genius of my two visitors. "We want to see if we can get a hymn-book, sir, such as are used in your church."

In due course the hymn-book was provided and paid for. "No, sir, we do not wish to have it given; we came here to buy it; John has the money in his pocket." The book was carefully folded in a clean blue cotton handkerchief. "Take care thou dost not drop it, John," and the visitors departed. Their visit was of course returned.

'As might be expected, I was heartily welcome. Mary was sitting in a tall, box-like chair by the fireside. John was toasting bread for the tea, and the cups and saucers were all ready on the table.

I must be seated, they both exclaimed. I should not at all interrupt them; and if I did stop their tea a little bit, what did that matter? Would I have a cup?

And then Mary said, "And I should like you, sir, to hear John play; he has learnt ever so many of the tunes in the hymn-book." John blushed, and said something about being "nought of a player where a player came," and rather seemed to wish to avoid the exhibition of his abilities. But Mary was not to be denied, and so her husband had to put down his toasting-fork; making this compromise, however, that he "should nobbut play T'old Hundred now, not being quite at home with t'new tunes yet."

It certainly was a strange performance! The instrument was itself a most rare one; and it would be vain to describe the kind of harmony which John educed from it, as he thrummed with his old fingers on the keys, and worked duly through the well-known tune.

Mary listened with evidently great satisfaction, saying with more animation than her usual quiet manner exhibited, as John rose up to return to his bread-toasting: "Ah, sir, would you believe it? he made the piano himself only a year or two since, and he has since then learnt to play on it too, all by himself."

Yes, John was a wonderful genius. Not only was the piano his manufacture, but the cottage showed marks of his ingenuity and handiwork everywhere. The pictures were framed by him; the books on the shelves received their somewhat cumbrous bindings at his hands; he always repaired both his own watch and the American clock, which stood on the drawers; he mended his own clothes, which no doubt accounted for their extended term of existence and use; he did the larger part of the washing on washing-days, as Mary was not very strong. In fact he could do anything; make bread, cook, clean the house, make all sorts of wooden watch-cases and nicknacks; and really well deserved, what I used to say jokingly of him in after-days, that over the house-door there ought to be a signboard, with the inscription—

JOHN PALLISTER,
UNIVERSAL MAKER AND MENDER,
LIVES HERE.

The room of the good old couple became the place of a weekly cottage meeting, and a little centre of light and goodness in the neighbourhood.

But in the course of years both John and Mary became more and more oppressed by the infirmities of age. Mary had always been feeble, and

frequently very ill with spasms. Then John was her tender woman-like nurse. They had a store of simple medicines, and were both, but especially Mary, amazingly clever in regard to "herb tea," "real, good mint-water,"; and the virtues of "paregoric"; and so they for awhile did without the doctor. But this was not always to be so; Mary's attacks would not always yield to the nostrums in the corner cupboard; and John after awhile began to display the more serious symptoms of chronic bronchitis. And then Mary was nurse; forgetting her lameness, and her great debility, she hung over her husband with unabating care, as, struggling for breath, he sat up night and day in bed.

* * * * *

At the beginning of 1867, however, John passed away—in peace, but with great penitence of spirit—relying wholly, as he said, "on the blood of Jesus." He was seventy-five.

Everything that kindness and thoughtfulness could do was willingly done for the widow. But her widowhood was not for long. We read:

And so time passed on, More visits of Christian friends, more communions, more weakness, the same sweet placidity of face and deportment, the same trust in the Lord, "for I *know* He will never leave me nor forsake me. He says He won't; and He can't break His word." And then in the fearfully hot days of July, 1868, just sixteen months after her husband, we laid her beside him.

And there they rest together in the cemetery, a quaint old couple; but very good, very gentle, and very Christ-like!

St. James's Church has a hymn-book of its own which contains, in addition to some of the standard evangelical hymns, a large collection of Canon Jackson's own composition. Most of these hymns were written for special occasions in the life of the congregation, and are associated in the minds of its members with past events of joy or sorrow. Two of these hymns appropriately find a place at the end of the story of the quaint couple. We venture to print one of them. It illustrates a truth which is often overlooked by modern hymn-writers and hymn-collectors, that it is on simplicity and directness, and on a capacity for individual application, more than on other qualities that are sometimes more highly thought of, that the success of a hymn depends. The hymn is entitled "They Sleep in Jesus":

WHERE are the old, old faces,
Those that we loved to see?
How sad the vacant places,
Where dear ones used to be.
Where is the cordial greeting,
The warm affection's glow,
That marked each happy meeting
With comrades now laid low?

And yet for dear ones sleeping,
Who rest beneath the sod,
There is no cause for weeping,
If that they rest in God;

They now behold the Saviour,
 Their Bridegroom, Lord and Friend,
 Enjoy His love and favour,
 A love that cannot end !

But whilst, without repining,
 We leave them with the Lord,
 In faith and hope reclining
 Upon His certain word,
 That they who sleep in Jesus,
 We soon shall meet again,
 When Jesus shall release us
 From sin, and grief, and pain.

Yet still each sweet reunion,
 Brings back the dear ones gone,
 And fond hearts seek communion
 With the departed one,
 We miss the old, old faces,
 Those whom we loved to see,
 We mourn the vacant places
 Where dear ones used to be !

We have said that "The New Curate" does not refer to life at St. James's. It will interest many readers, as giving a view of the working of Leeds Parish Church in the time of Dr. Hook, as well as for the pathetic story which it contains. The time was the time of the Irish famine and the fever that attended it. The new curate was himself an immigrant from the Church of that distressful country, which, in spite of her faults and misfortunes, of which her English brethren are often not slow to remind her, sends a large contingent of men to recruit all parties in the English Church :

The Church affairs of a large parish are quite a world in themselves, and often a very absorbing world. What with services in church—which in the parish I am about to speak of came four times every day, along with the administration of baptism and churchings and the burial of the dead, the care of large day and Sunday schools, the visiting of the numerous sick and the relief of the poor, together with the part to be taken in the various religious societies—the minds of those officially connected with the church were kept in a continual occupation, and their time always found too little in comparison with the duties to be performed.

Let us take an ordinary day. Several of us who were curates lived together, in a very simple way, near to the church with which we were connected. We lived together for the sake both of economy and of Christian fellowship and support; for we wanted any money which was not needed for our absolute sustenance to meet the various calls from the sick and poor around us, and we were often greatly tried and perplexed with the cases with which we had to deal, so as to make the counsel of the more experienced a valuable common benefit.

We rose at six, and within a few minutes were assembled for a short service, wherein we blessed God for our preservation through the night, and dedicated ourselves afresh to His service for that day. At half-past seven two of us were at church beginning the early morning service,

which was regularly attended by a number of earnest souls, both young and old, rich and poor, some of whom came from a considerable distance. Before breakfast we had our own family worship. At nine the day-schools had to be opened with prayer, and afterwards religious instruction given to the elder scholars. From school the transition was naturally to the district, where the anxiously-expected visits were made until half-past ten, at which hour those of us who had not already been to morning prayers had to hasten to church to take the ordinary forenoon service, preceded by marriages and followed by baptisms and churchings, while the others continued to visit in their districts. In the afternoon at three came baptisms again, with churchings and burials and full choral service; the latter to be repeated at half-past seven, but now only read, for the convenience of working people and others who could not attend earlier. At the last service in church only one curate was usually present, the rest being otherwise fully occupied—some with classes of candidates for confirmation, or of communicants, others at evening schools, but all in one way or other. It was usually ten o'clock before we had wearily reached home to eat our simple supper, have our night devotions, and go gladly to rest. Such was the life of a curate in the large parish of —, as I knew it nearly thirty years ago; and such, doubtless, is it in many places now. Every day, as it has been shown, had its full share of work, and Sunday, however sacred, was no Sabbath, being the day least of all the seven a day of rest.

It was one day at the beginning of the year 1847, when most of the curates had already assembled in the vestry to be ready for the afternoon service—a service at which all of us made a point of being present, and which was largely attended also by the laity—that the vicar entered, accompanied by a gentleman of very striking appearance. He was above the usual height, strongly made, and of good figure, apparently about five-and-twenty (though really not quite so old as that), dressed in the mode then adopted by young men of fashionable life, and with somewhat of a foreign air, which latter was accounted for by his having just returned from a lengthened tour on the Continent.

"Let me introduce to you, gentlemen," said the vicar, "one who is about to become a fellow-worker with us—Mr. —. He is to be ordained, all being well, in the coming Lent."

We looked again at the stranger, and wondered whether the handsome, fashionable young man had formed any correct idea of the life he was about to enter.

After ordination, and when the work was fairly tackled, the newcomer showed the stuff that he was really made of:

There was the same lofty, noble bearing; but otherwise all was changed. Never did anyone seek to realize the idea of the sacred calling more than he did. He was the first and the last in all our numerous and heavy engagements, and never appeared to think he had done enough. In our daily duties there was that which tried both mind and body, but he seemed to rejoice in labours which by others were felt to be trying and severe.

Then came the fever:

It was the year of the Irish famine. . . . The immigrants brought with them not only hunger, but death. In a very short time the frightful Irish fever was epidemic in all the lower parts of the town. It was a dreadful time. We then buried all the pauper dead from the parish church, and I well remember that, on one afternoon, *twenty-three bodies*

were lying side by side as I entered the church to read that part of the Burial Service which is there said.

As might be supposed, the time was an especially heavy one for the curates who laboured in that part of the town where these people had settled themselves, and where the fever was raging, and nowhere was this so much the case as in that district which was under the charge of our new curate, and the senior clergyman with whom he was associated ; a most earnest and devoted man, who has since gone to his eternal rest.

The young and ardent worker took the fever himself, and gradually grew worse. Everyone did his best for him. He was removed to a healthy and airy house in the country, but it was of no avail :

He always, however, appeared conscious when the prayers were said by his bedside, as they were several times daily, generally repeated the responses, and invariably at the conclusion asked, "Are the poor people all taken to the hospital yet?" Then at times he would be highly excited, wandering and talking about the sick people, and calling for help to get them out of the cellars, and exclaiming against the cruel manner in which they were neglected. At other times he was in church beginning the service, or wanting "to read the lesson, only that someone had taken the Book away." And then he would relapse again into the comatose state, as the doctors called it, and lie for awhile still, seeming wholly unconscious of everything around him.

But it ended. One evening his strength appeared much more prostrated than before, while his mind seemed to have recovered a good deal of clearness and vigour, and he asked the usual question after prayers with still greater earnestness. Having received an explicit assurance that the poor sufferers were now duly attended to, he murmured, "Thank God ! I am very weary ; I should like to die" ; and his head, which he had partly raised, sank down heavily on the pillow.

"The Old Shoemaker" opens with a description of a service in a church which we again recognise as the Parish Church of Leeds, after its restoration by Dr. Hook. At the old shoemaker's house, every Tuesday night, was held a meeting of tract distributors, all working men. We cannot quote at length from this interesting tract, but we give the concluding paragraph and the short postscript attached to it. The latter is especially worthy of notice as an illustration of really effective work bearing fruit to perfection. Canon Jackson says :

Who can tell what may have been, and what yet may be, the results of the quiet, consistent piety of those sixteen working men, most of them advanced in years, and yet willing to give their time, labour, and means, so far as they had means to spare, for the kingdom of God's sake—their own lives thus supporting their Christian profession, and giving examples so greatly needed amongst our working men, and also, let it be said, so highly appreciated by them.

The postscript runs thus :

It ought perhaps to be stated that, from the families of this little group of working men, no fewer than eleven duly qualified schoolmasters and four laborious clergymen were added to the working staff of the church.

In "Esther Raine and her Teacher" the narrative is prefaced

by some remarks on the controversy as to the value of Sunday-schools. They will be worth quoting, as giving the deliberate judgment of one who has had so large and successful experience :

To those of us who have long been engaged in Sunday-school teaching, nothing can sound more strange and startling than such expressions and statements as have of late been uttered concerning this blessed work. To hear professing Christians ask, "Are Sunday-schools of any use?" is a question we should never have expected.

Well may we ask, What do these opponents of Sunday-schools expect? Do they look for Sunday-schools bringing *all* the children belonging to them to be true and living Christians? What ground have they for expecting such a result? If the ministry of the Gospel itself has but in general such feeble results, why should the Sunday-school be condemned because it is not more successful?

The proper question to be asked surely is this: Are Sunday-schools, *when properly organized and worked*, producing that amount of good which may fairly be considered a compensation for the labour bestowed on them? Are they doing a work—a really beneficial work—for the masses of the population, which no other instrumentality attempts to do?

We might easily multiply these quotations did space allow; but we have given enough to indicate the general character of this interesting collection of reminiscences, and to secure for them the notice which from their unpretending form they might have failed to win. The narrative form and the lessons which they convey would render some of them suitable for distribution as tracts.

C.

Short Notices.

The Prophecies of Jeremiah. Expounded by Dr. C. VON ORELLI. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

With this new volume of Messrs. Clark's "Foreign Theological Library" we are much pleased. It is quite as valuable as the learned commentator's work on Isaiah, lately commended in these pages.

A Catechism on the Church Catechism, the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany. With illustrations taken from Holy Scripture. By Rev. John THORNTON, M.A., Vicar of Ewell. Elliot Stock, 1889.

This book, so far as we know, is unique. The questions are printed on one page, and the Scripture illustrations on the other. The questions and answers are simple, and, as a rule, very clear.

The Rectory Children. By Mrs. MOLESWORTH. With illustrations by Walter Crane. Macmillan and Co.

A charming book for children; delightful in every way.

New Zealand. The Dioceses of Auckland, Christ Church, Dunedin, Nelson, Waipu, Wellington and Melanesia. By the Very Rev. H. JACOBS, D.D., Dean of Christchurch, New Zealand. S.P.C.K.

The "Colonial Church Histories" series, to which the interesting book before us belongs, will prove really useful. The Dean of Christchurch has done his work right well. He gives (1) the Missionary Period; (2) the Period of Organization; (3) the Period of subsequent growth and development.

A Winter on the Nile, in Egypt and in Nubia. By the Rev. CHARLES D. BELL, D.D. Revised edition. Hodder and Stoughton.

This very interesting work was reviewed in a recent CHURCHMAN, and we are glad to invite attention to a new edition. Among bright and pleasantly-written books of travel, it must rank high. Canon Bell is a Biblicist and poet, a shrewd observer, too, with much literary grace and power. The volume has a handsome cover and a good map.

Lilian's Hope. By CATHARINE SHAW, author of "Alick's Hero," "Only a Cousin," etc. John F. Shaw and Co.

Several of Mrs. Shaw's stories have been commended in these pages, and are probably well known to many of our readers. This is one of the best gift-books for girls.

Exiles of Fortune. A Tale of a Far North Land. By GORDON STABLES, C.M., M.D., R.N. Shaw and Co.

This is a capital Tale. Boys who remember Dr. Stables' "From Squire to Squatter," and "In the Dashing Days of Old," will be glad to add to their store another of his Tales, quite as good.

Blown to Bits. The Lonely Man of Rakata. A Tale of the Malay Archipelago. By R. M. BALLANTYNE. With illustrations by the author. James Nisbet and Co.

One characteristic of this popular writer's Tales is that a good deal of information is given. The story always goes with a swing; hardly a passage could by anybody be called dry; but with all his incidents, amusing passages, and so forth, he cleverly and wisely teaches. "Blown to Bits" is in this respect among the best of his many admirable books.

Dick Delver. A story of the Peasant Revolt of the Fourteenth Century. By the author of "Count Renneberg's Treason," etc. The Religious Tract Society.

An informing and interesting Tale.

Ways and Means. Voices from the Highways and Hedges. By ISABELLA FYVIE MAYO. With illustrations. The Religious Tract Society.

The papers in this book were originally written for the *Leisure Hour*, and deal with such social questions as "What is to become of the Girls?" "The Problems of Play," and "The Spirit of Hospitality." This is a handsome volume.

We heartily recommend *The Crew of the Water Wagtail*, a story about Newfoundland in the sixteenth century, by Mr. Ballantyne (Nisbet). How many years is it since we first reviewed one of his excellent Tales? All his writings are good, and likely to do good.

We are pleased to give a hearty good word for the Annuals of these capital Magazines: *Cottager and Artizan*, *Friendly Greetings*, *The Child's Companion*, and *Our Little Dots* (R.T.S.). The volumes are very cheap.

From Life, by Phoebe Allen, is one of the S.P.C.K.'s new volumes, well adapted for prizes or presents, or parish library.

Miss Holt's *Behind the Veil*, a Tale of the Days of William the Conqueror, is not unworthy of her reputation (Shaw).

To *The Aborigines of Australia*, a little book published by the S.P.C.K., we gladly invite attention. Written by Bishop Hale, it tells us about the Institution for the education of the aborigines, founded in 1850 at Poonindie, South Australia, by Archdeacon Hale, a missionary of the S.P.G.

Our Darlings (Shaw and Co.) is as bright and attractive as usual.

The December number of the *Art Journal* (Virtue and Co.) has a delightful etching of Harrow Church, and a very interesting paper, with illustrations, on Harrow School.

From Messrs. S. W. Partridge and Co. we have received the Annuals of the *Family Friend*, the *Infant's Magazine*, the *Friendly Visitor*, and the *Children's Friend*. All are good and cheap.

From Messrs. Nisbet and Co. we have received a number of really good Tales. At present we can merely mention *Laurel Crowns*, a story for brothers and sisters, by Mrs. Marshall; *The Earl's Yacht*, by Jessie Saxby, author of that delightful Shetland story, "The Lads of Lunda;" *Yours and Mine*, by Anna B. Warner; and *Where the Dew Falls*, by Sarah Doudney. Each book is tastefully got up.

One of the best little books in the biographical line, to our knowledge, is Miss Rigden's *By a Way they knew not*, or "Memorials of blind Fanny Winton." Like all Miss Rigden's works, it is spiritual and suggestive. A fourth edition has just been published. (G. Stoneman: 67, Pater-noster Row.)

The eighth volume of that useful Magazine, *The Church Worker*, merits hearty commendation. (Church Sunday-school Institute.)

The Langham Street Conference (Occasional paper No. 17) has been published by Messrs. W. Wells Gardner, Darton, and Co., and at the office of the Home Reunion Society (7, Dean's Yard, Westminster). The Preface to this paper gives (1) Origin of the Conference; (2) Constitution; (3) Methods; (4) Results. Then follow the resolutions agreed upon by the Conference. We quote the opening resolution as to the Christian Faith,

We agree: "I. In recognising the Bible as of Divine authority, and as the sole ultimate test of doctrine in matters of faith, as is expressed in the sixth article of the Church of England.¹ II. In accepting the general teaching of the Apostles' Creed, and the Nicene Creed, including of necessity the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement.² III. In recognising a substantial connection between the Resurrection body and the present 'body of humiliation.'

¹ See Appendix A.

² See Appendix A.

“IV. That saving faith in Christ is that self-surrender to Him¹ which leads a man to believe what He teaches, and to do what He bids, so far as he has opportunities of knowledge.”

As to the origin of the Conference, we quote as follows :

“The Conference may be said to have taken its rise from a very wide-spread conviction, that the disunion and discord prevailing at the present time throughout Christendom are in opposition to the intention and the precepts of the Divine Head of the Church. As it is for the state of things in their own country chiefly that Englishmen are responsible, it is natural that their attention should be especially directed to the want of friendliness and sympathy, and in some cases even the hostility, existing here between bodies alike professing faith in, and allegiance to, the one Lord. Whoever is responsible for the actual want of unity, fellowship, and co-operation, it is felt by very many English Christians, both within and without the Anglican Church, that efforts should be made, and should be accompanied by earnest and continued prayer, with a view to the removal as far as practicable of the present misunderstandings and suspicions which separate Christian communities, and to the establishment of a more than nominal brotherhood in the worship and service of the One Father, whom all alike approach through the One Mediator, by the gracious aid of the One Spirit.

“The infidelity and irreligion existing among all classes of our fellow-subjects, occasioning deep sorrow and searching of heart to many Christians, are felt by many who love truth and holiness, as a summons urging them to draw together, to seek to realize their substantial unity, to present an unbroken front to the error and sin of the world, and to enter upon combined efforts to bring the Divine remedy of religion to bear upon the ills which afflict mankind.

“Special circumstances have been the means, under Divine Providence, of drawing together some of those who have met in this Conference. The Home Reunion Society has for some years past made it its aim and endeavour to bring together members of the Anglican Church and Christians outside her pale, with a view to a better realization of the many important points of doctrine and practice happily held by them in common. An opportunity occurred, of which the Chairman of the Council of this Society availed himself, to gather in friendly and fraternal conference several ministers of the Congregational body who were most willing to meet a few clergymen and laymen of the Episcopal Church. Two members of the Conference, one a Nonconformist, the other a Churchman, had been brought into personal acquaintance through their common interest in the condition of the Coptic Christians in Egypt. Another Nonconformist member had corresponded with the Archbishop of Canterbury; having been led to do so by the published report of the Primate’s sermon at the opening of the Cathedral of Truro; and his letter, advocating the giving of prominence to truths held by Christians in common, had been forwarded to the Chairman of the Council of the Home Reunion Society. The zeal of the Dean of Worcester in the cause of Christian unity exercised an important influence in bringing together Christian men who for the most part had previously been personally unacquainted with one another, but who have found satisfaction in giving expression to their common attachment to the Christian faith, and their common endeavours after the Christian life.”

¹ Dr. Paton adds after “self-surrender to Him” these words: “which secures the grace which He bestows, and——”

The Bishop of Liverpool has published the address delivered at the opening of his Diocesan Conference. (W. Hunt and Co.) We earnestly hope it will be widely read and duly considered. We quote a passage from the portion which is headed, "Loose Views of Doctrine and Practice." The Bishop says :

"The other black cloud, or rather fog, which seems sweeping over our heavens, is the increasing laxity of opinion both about doctrine and practice among all professing Christians, which is a most painful sign of the times. As to *doctrinal* religion, multitudes all over England appear to see no difference between truth and error, and not to care what a minister holds or teaches, about the Inspiration of Scripture, or the Work of Christ, or the Atonement, or the Personality of the Holy Ghost, or the world to come, provided he is clever and earnest. Everybody is right, and nobody is wrong ; everything is true, and nothing is false ! A leading speaker at the recent Cardiff Congress spoke of the Thirty-nine Articles and Pearson 'On the Creed' as 'old-fashioned' books, which he supposed it would raise a smile to mention as standards.' And I cannot see from the report that anyone objected to this statement. The popular sermon in this day is far too often a mere exhibition of intellectual fireworks, very pleasant to the many hearers who only like temporary excitement, and dislike any preaching which pricks their consciences and makes them uncomfortable, but utterly destitute of distinct doctrine, and powerless to move hearts or affect lives. In short, a 'downgrade' theology is spreading and is popular everywhere, and earnestness and cleverness are the idols of the day. As to *practical* religion, the Ten Commandments seem forgotten, except the sixth and the eighth. The shocking indifference constantly exhibited about fornication and adultery, and the total disregard of the Sabbath among myriads of all classes, both rich and poor, are melancholy evidences that I speak the truth. All this is very sad. There is a God in heaven who sees all that is going on, and takes account. There is a judgment-day, and a world behind the grave. What will the end be ?

"Let me entreat my brethren in the ministry, both as their Bishop and an elder brother, to understand the times, and to be bold and faithful witnesses for God's truth. Yes ! witnesses. You cannot convert men, and give them eyes to see or hearts to feel. The Holy Ghost alone can do that. But you can be witnesses. Stand fast, both in public and in private, even if you stand alone. But you will not stand alone. I thank God there are hundreds of godly lay Churchmen who will stand by you to the last.

"Stand fast in the old belief that the whole Bible from Genesis to Revelation was given by inspiration of God, and that the historical facts recorded in the Old Testament are all credible and true. Do not be shaken by the vague assertions and big swelling words of those who sneer at everything supernatural, and talk about 'the laws of nature, the discoveries of science, and the results of modern criticism.'

"(a) As to the *facts mentioned in Genesis*, we may be content to stand by the side of Christ and the Apostles. They, at any rate, repeatedly refer to them in the New Testament, as real, genuine, authentic, true history. Were they likely to be deceived ? Did not they know ? The very supposition is blasphemy. I think we may rest satisfied with our old-fashioned views. We may safely continue to believe that Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were real persons, and that the events mentioned in Genesis were not myths, or pleasing romances, but really "took place."

THE MONTH.

AT a great Unionist banquet in Edinburgh, in honour of Mr. Balfour, the Chief Secretary of Ireland, the right hon. gentleman ridiculed "the frantic nightmare consisting of four Parliaments and four Executives."

The Stanley Relief Expedition arrived in triumph at Zanzibar on the 11th. Mr. Stanley received the following message from the Queen :

My thoughts are often with you and your brave followers, whose dangers and hardships are now at an end. Once more I heartily congratulate all, including the survivors of the gallant Zanzibaris who displayed such devotion and fortitude during your marvellous expedition. I trust that Emin Pasha progresses favourably.—V. R. I.

In a leading article on a Special Correspondent's letters about the "Anti-Tithe Agitation in Wales," the *Guardian* says :

The facts and figures contained in these three letters establish three points beyond the possibility of doubt. First, the Welsh clergy have been reduced by the anti-tithe agitation to a state of destitution which borders closely upon absolute want ; secondly, in proportion to their means, they have shown the most general sympathy with farmers during the agricultural depression ; and thirdly, the existing law affords them no protection in the possession and enjoyment of their legal property.

The Cambridge Correspondent of the *Record* (of the 6th) says :

Last week was observed as a week of Intercession for Foreign Missions, services being held daily in several of the churches. In the Henry Martin Hall a Prayer Meeting was held each afternoon and short addresses given on the subject of Foreign Missions, their needs and difficulties. On St. Andrew's Day a united intercessory service was held in Great St. Mary's Church, when the sermon was preached by the Rev. J. Armitage Robinson. The offertory was divided between the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society.

The Home Reunion Society has published a Report of an interesting Conference lately held between Churchmen and Congregationalists, under the presidency of Lord Nelson, the Chairman of the Society. A notice of the Report is given on another page.

The various protests against the "claim" of the Archbishop of Canterbury to try a Suffragan Bishop, says the *Guardian*, tend to confuse what the law is with what the law ought to be :

We are strongly of opinion that a court in which the comprovincial Bishops should sit and vote with the Archbishop would be a better court—we do not say than the court actually sitting at Lambeth for the trial of the Bishop of Lincoln, but generally—than a court composed of the Archbishop alone. But the amendment of the law is a different process from the declaration of the law, and it is to be wished that the distinction had been more clearly in view of framing the protests in question.

Sir Edward Guinness has given £250,000 for providing sanitary dwellings for the working classes in London and Dublin.