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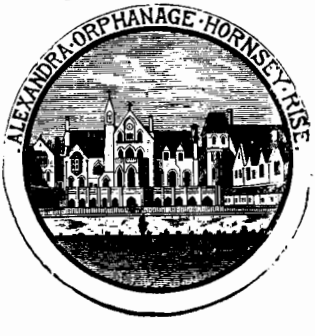

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THE

CHURCHMAN

FEBRUARY, 1902.

ART. I. — ON THE COURSE OF PROTESTANT THEOLOGY IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

I.

IN the sixteenth century the chief religious forces which have since animated the world burst into action with a primal energy. It was a century during which, in a singular degree, the chief motive powers of Europe were simultaneously at work; in which German originality, and Swiss independence, and French organization, and English comprehensiveness, were all brought into action on the same supreme subject; the controversies being diffused, and the conflicts at the same time concentrated, by the use of a single learned language; so that all the various national and personal influences, which it now, notwithstanding all our means of communication, takes years to bring face to face with one another, were in immediate contact. The presence of foreign professors, like Erasmus and Peter Martyr, at our own Universities, is but a striking illustration of the manner in which all the elements of life and thought were brought together in one long struggle at that time; only, alas! to be too much separated again, by the action of the Reformation itself in developing national churches and national impulses, and thus breaking the bonds, both of language and religion, by which Europe had become so closely united. An attempt to sketch, even in outline, this vast scene of theological convulsion would be involved in inextricable difficulties, amidst which all practical interest would too probably be lost. It is proposed, therefore, in these papers, to endeavour to illustrate, by means of the leading controversies, some of the great principles which were at work, and thus to point out, perhaps, the cardinal truths and realities which, though often unconsciously, are the real centres

of our struggles at the present day. A writer of distinction spoke not long ago of "the arid theology" of the sixteenth century. The expression recalls a criticism of the historian Hallam on "Romeo and Juliet," which he describes as full of "frigid conceits." They are conceits, no doubt; but the man must be singularly constituted who regards them as frigid. In the same way the sixteenth century is full of theologies; but a man must have a strange view of human nature and human history who can call them arid. At all events, they split Europe into two great camps, which have been more or less at war ever since; they evoked new and momentous forces in the Roman camp as well as in the Protestant; they opened the springs of new religious ideals, new literatures, new devotions—in a word, new worlds. It is not from arid sands that such fruits spring. Let us endeavour to appreciate in some measure the influences which gave birth to such results.

Consider, in the first place, as a matter of fact, the impulse from which the whole movement started. If we look at it from the point of view of a statesman, it is obvious that the first great public act in the momentous history is the Diet of Worms of 1521. From that moment the authority, not only of the Pope, but of the Emperor, was challenged, and was successfully held in check in one at least of the great States of the Empire, not merely by a religious reformer, but by the powerful and authoritative Prince who was at the head of that State. From that moment the Empire, and the Church within the Empire, was no longer at one, and the long series of public acts commenced by which the Protestant world was called into existence and consolidated. Upon that followed in the next ten years the memorable Diets of Augsburg and Spiers, and upon them the various leagues, treaties, wars, councils, and synods in which the principles and results of the Reformation were developed and settled. But the Diet of Worms centres around Luther, and it is in the action taken with respect to him, by the Pope and the Emperor on the one side and the Elector of Saxony on the other, that its vital importance consists. This, however, is but the political aspect of the fact that the motive ideas of the Reformation arose out of Luther's teaching and experience. No other influence had really threatened either the Pope's authority or Roman doctrine. The new learning of humanism, even in the keen and satirical hands of Erasmus, had not been able to effect any practicable breach in the great fortifications of antiquity, wealth, and power within which the existing ecclesiastical system was entrenched. That system had a profound hereditary hold on the minds and the spiritual apprehensions of men. They might distrust it or dislike it;

but, in Butler's phrase, they were not so certain that there was nothing in it; and when any dispute with it came to the final issue, they were not prepared to defy it, with all the possible consequences. But Luther succeeded in convincing a number of strong men that it might be defied; he defied it himself, and he laid down the principles on which his supporters might stand in maintaining a similar defiance. We have to look, therefore, to the cardinal principles of Luther's teaching if we are to understand the germ from which the Reformation sprang. In a still higher degree we must look to that teaching if we are to appreciate the main currents of the reformed theology. There were other theological influences, of course, side by side with his; but until his death, in 1546, his voice was certainly the most potent in the theological controversies of his day; and even after his death his teaching became, in great measure, the touchstone by which a large part of the reformed theology was tested.

What, then, were the great principles with which Luther gave this new influence to the world? It is a received maxim on this subject that the Reformation rests on two principles—a formal and a material one; the formal one being the supreme authority of the Scriptures, and the material one being the doctrine of justification by faith. That maxim is true enough as far as it goes, but it does not take us to the root of the matter. As to the formal principle, that of the supreme authority of the Scriptures, not only had it been asserted by men like Wycliffe and Hus, but we find St. Thomas Aquinas, under the first question of his "Summa," in Article VIII., laying down that the authority of the Scriptures in any discussion carries with it the weight of necessary argument, whereas the authority of the doctors of the Church has merely the force of subsidiary and probable argument; and he quotes the saying of St. Augustine which played so large a part in subsequent Protestant discussion: "Solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum auctorem eorum in scribendo errasse aliquid firmissime credam . . . alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem quod ipsi senserunt, vel scripserunt." Perhaps, indeed, it was not until the Council of Trent that this principle was formally disregarded by the Church of Rome. It was a principle which came to the front in the course of controversy, but it did not constitute the vital germ of Reformation life and thought. That is to be seen in the other principle, justly called the material one, of justification by faith, which accordingly became of necessity the watchword of the controversy.

But it is requisite to look even beyond this principle, to its first apprehension in Luther's experience, if we are duly to appreciate its import. What had brought this principle into such prominence and intensity in Luther's consciousness? It was not any theological controversy, not the pressure of any scholastic argument, not the dispute about indulgences, nor any other public occasion whatever; it was simply his personal spiritual experience in realizing the relation of his soul to God. The craving of his soul, to which every other was secondary, was for peace with God, and for the love of God. To obtain this peace he had entered a monastery, and submitted himself for years, with the utmost strictness, to its hard discipline; but he failed to assure himself of peace with God. He remained sensible of his sin, of the deep imperfection attaching to all his efforts, even the best; and he felt himself unworthy of God's favour and love. The main point was that it was not enough for him that his faults and sins should be forgiven, in the sense of due satisfaction being made for them, either here or hereafter, in this life or in purgatory. For the penalties of sin he cared comparatively little; the great trouble was that sin stood between himself and God, and prevented his living in the assured sense of God's favour. The forgiveness he cared for was not a material but a personal forgiveness. As he himself put it, in one of his paradoxical sayings: A man forgiven by God would feel himself in heaven although in hell, and a man not forgiven by God would feel himself in hell although in heaven. The personal relation of mutual love and trust between himself and God was what he cared for, and what he was striving for, and this seemed to him to be rendered impracticable by his inveterate sin and corruption.

It is the idea of this personal relation which it is essential to grasp with full distinctness and intensity if the cardinal doctrine of the Reformation is to be realized. It is quite possible to work out a whole system of theology without apprehending this personal relation, or taking any practical account of it. God may be regarded as the Supreme Judge, the Father of our spirits, but at an unapproachable distance; and the soul's relation to Him may be mainly regarded as that of a subject to a sovereign, or, if that of a child to a father, yet of a child held at too great a distance to have intimate personal relations with its parent. So far as this is the case, the sense of sin and guilt becomes the sense of having incurred an incapacity or a penalty, and the urgent question is in what way each particular sin or failure can be atoned for, or have amends made for it. The sense of intimate

personal relationship may be hardly realized as possible, and the absence of it, consequently, may not be a perpetual grief. This is really the key to the whole of that Roman and ecclesiastical system of penance, confession, and satisfaction, against which the Reformation waged such war. It was a system for making amends and procuring pardon for particular sins; and from that point of view it had a certain reasonableness, or could at least be presented in a fairly reasonable form. But to the great mass of men and women who submitted to it, the question of their personal relation to God no more arose in their minds than the question of their personal relation to the Emperor in the case of their violating some imperial ordinance. The Emperor personally was nothing to them, nor they to him, except so far as they came into conflict with his authority in respect to the particular ordinance in question; and all that he expected of them was that they should bear the punishment, or make the amends, which the law or the ordinance required. Even the recognised and important distinction between *culpa* and *pœna*, guilt and punishment, did not necessarily touch the central point of the matter. *Culpa*, or guilt, might be regarded as simply a standing liability to *pœna*, or punishment, until the requisite amends were made. It need not involve, and under the prevalent feeling now under consideration it did not involve, that sense of personal disfavour, of the loss of peace and communion with a beloved person, which is the craving from which the reformed principle takes its rise. A similar point may be considered in reference to the word *forgiveness*, which has practically two meanings, or a double meaning. It may mean the remission of a penalty, the passing over of an offence, with scarcely any reference to personal relations between the person who forgives and the person who is forgiven. But it may also mean the restoration of personal relations, with scarcely any reference to the remission or removal of the material consequences of the offence. In family relations there may be offences of which the consequences are irreparable, and for which the offender must permanently suffer, but which may, nevertheless, be perfectly forgiven, in the sense of entire love, confidence, and favour being re-established between the offending and the offended relatives.

Now, this is the distinction which was brought out with a new vividness by Luther's consciousness and Luther's experience, and which gave rise to the revived apprehension of St. Paul's doctrine of justification. He wanted to know whether he could be assured of his personal acceptance with God; whether he could be taken again to his Father's heart, and live in the light of his Father's countenance. That, he

was sure, he could not know, he could not claim, upon the ground of his own condition, or upon the basis of any obedience of his own. Justification meant being forgiven in the personal sense of the word—taken into favour, given the position of a good child in the heavenly Father's household, or, in technical language, accounted righteous before God. It did not mean, and does not mean, forgiveness in the mere material sense of being relieved from all the penalties of sin. Many of those penalties may be permanent in this world, and may have their effect on our position in the final judgment; but they need not interfere with the blessed personal relations towards God of filial confidence, trust, love, and perfect peace.

Now, justification, conceived in this sense, can only be an act of personal grace, and it may be, and in human relations it often must be, granted from motives which are quite independent of the merits or acts of the person to whom it is offered. It may be offered to a son for the sake of his mother, to a husband or wife for the sake of a child, to another for the sake of a friend; but whatever the cause for which it is offered, there is one thing indispensable to its enjoyment, which is at the same time the only means by which it can be enjoyed. It must be believed and accepted. Not to believe or accept a forgiveness thus offered is, indeed, a renewed offence of the highest kind; it is a refusal of love, an act of ingratitude, which must cause a greater personal separation than ever. But, on the other hand, if it is accepted, it must be accepted simply as an act of grace; and, though it involves the highest obligations for the future, yet to attempt, in accepting it, to plead any merits of one's own, past, present, or future, would be felt among human beings to be evidence of a total want of appreciation of the grace with which the forgiveness is offered. Such is the gracious, natural, human analogy, by which the doctrine of justification for Christ's sake by faith only may be best illustrated. If a father may offer forgiveness to a son for his mother's sake, we may well conceive of God as offering us forgiveness for Christ's sake, for Christ's love, Christ's suffering, Christ's perfect obedience; and in this sense the righteousness of Christ may well be regarded as covering us, and being imputed to us, not in any fictitious sense, but as the offering for the sake of which God receives us again into His favour, and admits us to communion with Him, if we do but believe Him and accept His love, with all it involves and requires. It may, perhaps, be said, in passing, that there seems something more natural and reasonable than appears often to be realized in the old theological language respecting our Saviour's having fulfilled the law for us, not only by His death, but by His life, and having thus given satisfaction to

God's justice. It seems evident, at least, that if the human race had not presented one single instance of the fulfilment of the law of its nature, if every being in human form had failed to realize the Divine ideal, it would have been impossible for Divine satisfaction to have rested on such a race. Whereas, on the other hand, when that ideal had once been realized, an earnest had at least been afforded of the fulfilment of the Divine purpose, and God could once more say of the nature, at least, which He had created, that it was very good.

But we are not here concerned, as a matter of controversy, with the arguments on which the doctrine of justification by faith rests, except so far as is necessary to illustrate its meaning as the starting-point of the reformed theology. The considerations which have been adduced are of importance as illustrating the fact, that the cardinal principle of the Reformation was the revival in men of a sense of their personal relation to God, as the beginning and the end, the Alpha and the Omega, of their religious life. But unless it could be proclaimed to them that that relation was one of peace and love, it would have been impracticable to revive such a sense. Unless men have the assurance that they are at peace with God, they inevitably shrink from Him. They hide themselves among the trees of the garden of the world whenever they hear His voice. They may set up, and may develop infinitely, ecclesiastical systems for acquittal and discharge from His judgments; but they will not dare to take His hand, as it were, and look up to Him face to face, and live in assured trust and love towards Him. Yet it is this latter feeling which is necessary to bring out the full strength of the human soul. It is only when a man can say, in the full sense of the words, "O Lord, my Strength and my Redeemer," when he is assured that the eternal God is his refuge, and that underneath him are the everlasting arms, that the full truth, energy, and independence of his nature can be exerted. But this is the new life which was revived in Christendom by the exhibition of the truth of justification by faith. It was not merely proclaimed, it was exhibited in action. The denunciation of indulgences, and the long controversy which followed, had the effect of gradually familiarizing the minds of all thoughtful and earnest men with the grand truth, that they could all claim the forgiveness, the favour and the love of God, whenever they believed His promises for Christ's sake, and would accept them. An enormous cloud of apprehension was lifted off their minds, and they were able to look even the Papal system in the face, and to act on their own consciences, in defiance of all consequences, whether in this world or in the next.

This revived sense of peace with God became everything to them, and altered all the proportions of their religious and moral life. It explains the reason for much that might otherwise seem barren controversy respecting such questions as the relation of faith and good works. What was really at issue, in all the disputes which prevailed on that subject during the sixteenth century, was not so much the truth as the balance of truth. The history of religion exhibits a perpetual oscillation between the relative attractions of the first Commandment and the second. Our Lord said that the first of all the Commandments is: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind." "This," He said, "is the first and great Commandment, and the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." That first Commandment is so high an ideal that human nature is constantly inclined to do unconsciously what an eminent and beautiful writer—the author of "Ecce Homo"—actually printed, and to act as if our Lord had said: "The first of all the Commandments is, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."[1] It is possible, at all events, to pursue so earnestly a religion of good works towards our neighbour, as to put practically in the second place a religion of love towards God. That was in the Middle Ages, and is now, one of the dangers of the Roman system. Its orders of monks, with their lives of self-sacrifice for the good of others, may so dazzle the minds of men and women as to make them forget that the true law of human nature, as declared by our Lord, is not that we should love our neighbour more than ourselves, but that we should love God with the whole heart and soul, and our neighbour as ourselves. What was aimed at by the first principle of the reformers was to restore the true balance in this respect—to make trust in God, love of God, peace with God, the supreme object of men's lives.

In this effort their temptation, perhaps, was to overweight the balance in the other direction. As Archbishop Benson once said, if you make a ship roll too far on one side, it can hardly be saved from sinking without rolling back, in the first instance, too far on the other. But, at all events, this is the key to the whole reformed teaching on the subject of good works, and when duly applied, it guards effectually against any danger in that respect. "Love God," said the Reformers, "with all your heart and soul, and love to your neighbour will follow"; but it is too possible, if you forget the proportion which our Lord establishes between love to

[1] "Ecce Homo," fifth edition, p. 156: "To love one's neighbour as one's self was, Christ said, the first and greatest law."

God and love to your neighbour, that your very enthusiasm for good works, your very "enthusiasm of humanity," as it was called by the writer just mentioned, may be so exclusively developed, as to blind your eyes to the nature of your relation to God, and thus gradually to weaken all those higher qualities of the human soul which depend on your duly realizing that relation. These controversies, in short, were not controversies on points of abstract theology, but between two great conceptions and systems of life. The reformed ideal was that of the life of men justified by faith, living all alike, clergy or laity, men or women, in the faith and love, as well as the fear, of God, clinging to His peace and His communion as the supreme privilege of their lives, and serving their neighbour in their ordinary vocations as their duty might require. On the other side, taken as a whole, was a system of life in which men and women lived, indeed, in the fear of God, but without full assurance of peace with Him, never assured of their personal forgiveness, always apprehensive of the punishments, in this world and the next, due to their particular sins, and striving, by heroic and often admirable efforts of self-sacrifice for their neighbours, to make amends for their faults, and to win some remission of evil for themselves and others. The struggle, however disguised under various forms of controversy, is a struggle as to the preponderance of the first or the second Commandment. But the first Commandment can never retain the preponderance which is given to it by our Saviour except on the basis of the assurance of the free personal forgiveness of the soul for Christ's sake. Then, when it knows that that forgiveness is freely offered to its faith, it can give its whole heart to God without reserve, and then its duties to its neighbour appear in their natural form and proportion, and it devotes itself to them without exaggeration, in pursuance of the ordinary claims of life.

This consideration, it may be observed, will explain the keenness, and, alas! sometimes the bitterness, of some of the controversies respecting the nature of justification by faith which arose, in the course of the century, among the Reformers themselves, and which it will be sufficient, from this point of view, briefly to refer to, without pursuing them in detail. Such, in particular, was the remarkable controversy with Osiander. He, although firmly asserting the truth of our justification for Christ's sake, and not for any merits of our own, yet urged that it must be for the sake, not of what Christ had done for us, but for the sake of that which He produced in us, by the infusion of His own righteousness, that we were accounted righteous before God; in fact, he

practically revived that interpretation of justification which treats it as meaning to make righteous, instead of to account righteous. Our Saviour, he represented, had redeemed the world by His life and death, and had thus made our justification possible; but we can enjoy that justification only when, by union with Christ through faith, His Divine life becomes our righteousness. In technical language, this amounted to teaching justification by infused, instead of by imputed, righteousness, and it was at once opposed with the greatest earnestness by the leading Reformers, including Melanchthon. He urged at once that such a doctrine made our justification or forgiveness dependent, after all, on ourselves, on our own condition, and not on the sacrifice made for us by Christ. Osiander's teaching, he said, withdraws the honour due to the Mediator, obscures the grievous nature of the sin which remains even in those who are partakers of the righteousness of Christ, destroys the chief consolation of pious souls, and leads them into a state of perpetual doubtfulness. In fact, Osiander's theory struck at the very nerve of the reformed doctrine, because it deprived men of the right of claiming God's favour and peace with God for the sake of Christ alone, and consequently of entering into the enjoyment of that peace immediately and without reserve. A man must wait, according to any such theory, until he can satisfy himself that the righteousness of Christ is duly working in him, before he can look up to God in full confidence as His justified child. The danger and mischief of it was not that it was a technical theological error, but that it barred the way to that life in the light of God's countenance which, from the first moment of awakening in the soul, the Reformers desired it to realize. So, again, the contention of others, like Major, that good works were necessary to justification, was similarly resisted at the outset; not because there was the slightest question, in the minds of any but a few fanatics, that good works and righteousness are an essential part of a Christian life, but because it was essential, for the purpose of maintaining a free relation of trust in God, that His forgiveness should be recognised as offered to us of His own grace and favour, antecedently to anything that we have done or might do. In one instance after another, the Reformers of the first half of the sixteenth century checked with the utmost earnestness any tendency to misapprehend the nature of the forgiveness and justification, of the free admittance to God's favour, which they proclaimed, or to obscure our claim to it by putting forward any conditions for it but the merits of the Saviour Himself. What they were guarding against was not a mere erroneous doctrine respecting the terms of salvation, but the danger of weakening that sense of peace and free communion

with God, which was the very ground on which they stood and the air in which they breathed.

It will be considered in subsequent articles how this principle worked itself out, in the course of the century, upon other great theological questions, such as the Sacraments and predestination; but, as a conclusion to the present article, it may be pointed out that these considerations materially affect the practical character of that "formal principle" of the Reformation to which reference was made at the outset. "The Word of God" assumes a new character to men under the conscious belief of their immediate communion with Him, and of their living in the daily light of His countenance. It was one thing to uphold the Scriptures as the supreme authority, the ultimate law of the Church, and another thing to regard them as a daily lamp to the feet, and a light to the paths, of those who were under God's direct guidance and who looked up to Him for that guidance day by day. The astonishing feat by which, at the very commencement of the German movement, the New Testament, and soon afterwards the Old Testament, were placed, in the vernacular, at the command of the German people, had an immense effect in deepening and maintaining this feeling. Within a few years after the first note had been struck, every man and woman who understood Luther's German had the means of living under the daily influence of the Word of God, as contained in the Holy Scriptures. That expression, *the Word of God*, did not mean in Luther's mouth, nor in the mouths of the Reformers, merely the canon of Scripture. It was not the mere letter of the canon which they had in view as a fixed and, as it were, legal authority. But God Himself was recognised as speaking in those Scriptures; the words of our Lord in the New Testament, the words which He spake by holy men and prophets in the Old Testament, were felt to be His voice, bringing those who read them into direct communion with Him. The Scriptures thus established and maintained a relation between God and man by the same means as that by which such personal relations are maintained among ourselves—by mutual voices and assurances. There was thus a greater elasticity about the conception than has often prevailed in later times. But one thing was the centre of all the life and all the teaching of the Reformers —that God was speaking to them as their reconciled Father, and that they were in direct communion with Him; and in that faith they felt themselves independent of any human power, whether embodied in Church or State. It was this feeling, above all, which gave to human life that new impulse and energy which constituted the Reformation so momentous an epoch in human history.

HENRY WACE.

Art. II.—SOME ASPECTS OF THE CONFESSIONAL.

THIS article is written just as the Round Table Conference held at Fulham has completed its deliberations; it does not, therefore, pretend in any way to consider or discuss the proceedings of that Conference. There is no material, save purely confidential statements or utterly unreliable gossip, for any such treatment. We can well afford to wait for the official report of the proceedings. But the published scheme laid before the members by the Bishop of London suggests some considerations which, even in the absence of that report, may well be taken note of. The subject was outlined for discussion as follows:

> "1. The Meaning of our Lord's words (in John xx. 22, 23; Matt. xviii. 18) and their use in the Ordinal, as affecting the conception of the Priesthood.
>
> "2. The Practice of the Church—
>
> "(*a*) In Primitive Times.
>
> "(*b*) In the Middle Ages.
>
> "3. The Meaning of the Anglican Formularies and the Limits of Doctrine and Practice which they allow.
>
> "4. Practical Considerations."[1]

It will be agreed that the lines of inquiry here laid down were wise and proper, but, unhappily, the time at the disposal of the Conference amounted only to four sessions. Within that limit it is scarcely possible that all the lines of inquiry submitted should have received anything like full and adequate attention. It may be remembered that the prior Conference, although it sat longer, was unable to do more than glance at the latter half of the subject laid before it; and it may have been that the recent gathering found itself in the same plight. In that case the latter part of the subject is likely to have received less attention than it called for.

Under the circumstances there may be an advantage in directing attention to some practical considerations as to the teaching about Confession and Absolution now prevalent in the Church of England, especially such teaching as is addressed rather to the general public than to the clergy alone, to the simple rather than the learned, and, as to much of it, primarily to children. Possibly some evidence and a few comments suggested by it may be of use to Churchmen in giving their earnest attention to the report of the Conference when it sees the light.

I. It may be well first to note the interpretation now put by many High Churchmen, who might not be included in

[1] *Guardian*, January 1, 1902.

the more extreme wing of the party, upon the Prayer-Book references to Confession under special circumstances. It is a sign that the practice of resorting regularly to the Confessional has reached quarters hitherto little affected by it. Perhaps a good example of this may be found in the volume on "Confirmation," by the Bishop of Vermont, in the new "Oxford Library of Practical Theology," a series meant for the use of the devout laity. In the main the volume is not of the very extreme type, but Bishop Hall says:

> "While no priest has a right to require a special confession, or to press it as an obligation, this privilege should be plainly put before candidates for Confirmation, with reference both to their immediate preparation and to subsequent needs that may arise in their life."
>
> "We all have our individual doubts and perplexities to be solved, our sorrows to be borne, difficulties to be overcome, temptations to be wrestled with, sins to be repented of, and (thank God!) our aspirations and yearnings to be realized. Most of us from time to time need the help of encouragement, sympathy, or counsel in these varied experiences of life. All should feel assured, certainly not least the young Christian in the early stages of a religious life, that they can turn with confidence and naturalness to their spiritual pastor for such help as they may need and desire. Many a young man, who has thought his temptations and sins quite exceptional, might have been saved from despair and recklessness if only he had 'opened his grief' to some wise and sympathetic friend (who so natural a counsellor as his clergyman?) who could 'bear gently with the ignorant and erring, for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity'"[1] (pp. 122, 123).

This passage is fairly typical. The attitude taken up by the Bishop is already that of many who can hardly be classed with the most ardent Neo-Anglicans. The passage appears, however, to encourage a habit of more or less regular resort to the Confessional. Confession is to become, not a rare and exceptional, but possibly a frequent act; not a medicine, but a regularly taken food or stimulant. And if this is to be so, there must be provision for it. Accordingly the clergy are advised to make their preparations. As an example, let us take the suggestion offered to the clergy by the Rev. Percy Dearmer in his recent manual, "The Parson's Handbook." In some "Notes on the Seasons," under Christmas Eve, he says:

[1] Heb. v. 2.

> "Care should be taken that this service does not interfere with the opportunities of those who wish to make their confessions. A paper on the notice-board, giving the hours at which the clergy can be seen and their initials, will be a great help to timid people; and the clergy should put on their surplices and stoles, and sit in readiness at such hours. The form for giving absolution after private confession is provided by the Prayer-Book in the office for the Visitation of the Sick. This form must be intended to be used at other occasions; for no other is provided for those who seek absolution in response to the Exhortation in the Communion Office" (p. 203).

I need not stop to discuss the strained and rather illogical inference as to the form of Absolution. It is enough to note that here there is no talk of special need; it is the Church's season, not the individual's condition, which is uppermost. The arrangement which Mr. Dearmer suggests for Christmas Eve is one which in some churches prevails continuously throughout the year. We have churches in which Confessional-boxes are as conspicuous as in Roman Catholic churches; churches where public notice is always accessible as to the hours at which confessions are heard; and, apparently, churches at which peripatetic spiritual directors meet penitents from all parts who have been informed by advertisement of the fixtures.

These developments of the policy represented by Bishop Hall, of Vermont, have, of course, a distinct doctrinal basis. Penance is claimed as a Sacrament, and as a Sacrament of the Gospel. Mr. Vernon Staley's familiar little volume, "The Catholic Religion," will supply a specimen of this teaching as offered to the general body of Church-people. Mr. Staley says that "Our Lord's authority can be traced directly for the institution [as a Sacrament] of . . . Penance" (6th edit., p. 256). Explaining that repentance has three parts—contrition, confession, amendment—he says:

> "Contrition leads naturally to confession, or the truthful acknowledgment of sin. Confession is self-accusation, and the acknowledgment of wrong-doing to God. God demands confession as a condition of pardon. 'If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.'[1] A willingness to confess is an evidence of contrition. The most searching confession is that made privately before a priest" (p. 292).
>
> "It is only upon such private confession that the soul

[1] 1 John i. 9.

can receive the direct assurance of pardon which Christ Jesus empowers the priest to pronounce" (p. 292).

"Our Blessed Lord has given His priests power and authority to absolve from all sins, and He surely meant them to use that power. But before they can fully do so, it is needful that those seeking absolution should confess their sins. Thus we may be quite sure that private confession, as an outcome of real contrition, is a practice well pleasing to our Lord"[1] (p. 294).

Here, again, there is no talk of any special need, but of habitual resort, because Confession and Absolution are the only channels through which normally pardon is to be obtained.

Here is the way in which the same doctrine is conveyed by the widely disseminated St. Bartholomew's Church Tracts (No. 9, "Are Your Sins Forgiven?"):

"'But do you mean to say that we can't be forgiven in any other way except by the Absolution of the Priest?' Well, I haven't said anything of the sort, have I? Almighty God can forgive in any way that pleases Him, of course. What I have been saying is that it has pleased God to give to certain men the power to forgive the sins of penitent sinners in His Name. I say that Absolution is the appointed remedy for deadly sins committed after Baptism. That the words of Absolution are a means whereby we receive forgiveness, and a pledge to assure us thereof. And if you do not know this you have not heard the full Gospel" (p. 8).

We may note in passing that the encouragement of resort as a regular habit to the Confessional seems in conflict with the teaching of some, at least, amongst the leaders of the Oxford Movement. The late Canon Carter, of Clewer, in his "Doctrine of Confession in the Church of England," says:

"Confession is essentially the exceptional and remedial element of Christianity. The Holy Eucharist, prayer and self-discipline, teaching and divine illuminations, are the proper rule, and ought to be the sufficient food of the life of the Baptized. Their intended effect is to refresh and strengthen, increase and perfect, by a progressive advance, the regenerate nature in its eventful course, till it attain its consummation of bliss in conscious union with God in Christ. More ought not to be needed. But because such grace is often hindered, or may decay, or even be lost, the remedial ordinances are given to renew the faded, or debilitated, or departed life" (p. 231).

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[1] See Dr. Pusey's "Statement on Sacramental Confession," p. 385, etc.

So also Canon Carter seems to have been accustomed—at all events in his prime—to lay stress upon the distinction between the Roman Church and the English Church (as he read her formularies) in the matter of Confession. Thus, in the preface to the second edition of his manual on "The Doctrine of Confession in the Church of England," he meets in this way some objections of the *Quarterly* reviewer based on the custom of the Roman Church. The rule of the one Church, he says, is "compulsory," but "our system . . . is voluntary" (pp. viii, ix), and the distinction is called "vital." In truth, the distinction is a broad and serious one; but the teaching mainly followed now does not seem to admit its existence.

In regard especially to children, the modern method rather follows Pusey's advice, who, referring to the dictum of the Council of Trent on another point, says that "the ordinary and right custom among the faithful is to bring their children to Confession from the time they are seven years old, and it is a great negligence in parents to omit doing so" ("Advice on Hearing Confession," p. 159). With this agrees the teaching which appears to make Confession a necessary preliminary to Confirmation and first Communion. How far this is actually insisted on one must hesitate to say; but the evidence of the manuals shows that it is at least regarded as the ideal course. This is very plainly stated in the tract, "Confession in the Church of England," by the Rev. J. P. F. Davidson:

> "As a matter of fact, there are so many topics of necessary spiritual guidance on which parents either do not or cannot speak, that of all Confessions none have been more fruitful in blessed results than those of children, both boys and girls. For, at that age, the tendencies to sin are growing unconsciously, the dangers of the world are unsuspected. And there is nothing, I feel sure, of graver spiritual moment—and this assurance is corroborated by all experience—than to check in the bud all such evils before they have grown too strong for control by gentle warnings and tender guidance and advice. This has been so repeatedly forced upon me that in Confirmation classes I have found it necessary to insist on Self-examination as one part of the instruction. A few simple and testing questions are drawn up on the Three Baptismal Vows. These are read out to the children in the Church. They are taken home where parents, if they will, may see them. And the answers are read privately to the priest by each child kneeling in the presence of God, as the simple and natural Confession of the young life. The necessity of this has come

> home to me in the startling fact, that you may often find deadly sin upon the conscience even at that tender age. And if we believe that the Holy Ghost is given in Confirmation, surely it is the bounden duty of every priest, by every means in his power, to see that no child is presented in that state, with sin unconfessed and unabsolved, slurred over instead of repented of, to receive that Holy and Awful Gift" (pp. 12, 13).

The children's manuals have been so often quoted that I need not reproduce their way of putting the doctrine of Penance. They show, however, that children are taught to believe that Confession to a priest, followed by Absolution, is the normal way in which pardon for sin may be obtained; they are enjoined to go to Confession before their first Communion, which doubtless implies readiness to go to Confession as a condition of being confirmed, and they are encouraged to make after-resort to the Confessional a regular habit.

II. A practical consideration which arises in every discussion of the Confessional is the difference between mortal and venial sin. It is a distinction about which it would seem that even children should have very clear views. According to "A Little Catechism for Little Catholics," which is amongst the most widely used of the extreme Anglican manuals, one of the "Three chief Precepts of the Church" is "to go to Confession at Easter, and *whenever we are in mortal sin.*" But the popular literature of the school is far from explicit in its guidance as to the distinction suggested. Mr. Vernon Staley in "The Catholic Religion" says:

> "A venial sin is as the cooling of friendship, a deadly sin is as the breaking of friendship between the soul and God. Venial sin is more of the nature of an infirmity, whilst in deadly sin there is an element of wilfulness" (p. 224).

The little manual, "Pardon for the Penitent," offers only this guidance:

> "It is well . . . to go to Confession whenever we have fallen into any grievous or mortal sin. Mortal sin means deadly sin which destroys the life of God in the soul" (p. 4).

It will probably be agreed that this definition is worthless, and can convey nothing clearly to simple minds.

Does anybody marvel at the inadequacy of these definitions? He will hardly marvel if he remembers that the distinction between venial sins and mortal sins has been one of the standing difficulties of the Confessional since first it grew into power. The position is a most curious one, for—

1. The distinction is insisted on. And yet—

2. There is no authoritative guidance either for the Roman or for the Anglican Confessor.

The Council of Trent throws little or no light on the subject; the Tridentine Catechism for the guidance of clergy refrains from definition. The medieval doctors held that a Confessor was not expected to decide between venials and mortals; and yet the Roman Church—followed by the Anglican teachers, so far as we have seen them—virtually compel him to do so. The amount of controversial literature on the subject, and the contradictory character of the positions assumed is enough to turn the brain of any young Anglican priest anxious to see his way plainly.[1]

Now, it cannot be suggested that the distinction laid down is of no importance. Controversy of quite another kind forbids us to entertain any such view. Do we not know that it is just upon this question of venial sin that some other persons, very far indeed from the Roman Church, have fallen into grievous peril? Has it not been through a habit of drawing and justifying distinctions of this kind that some teachers have fallen into gross Antinomianism?

Who and what are to be the guides of English Confessors in this matter? The clergy who sit to hear Confessions have, be it remembered, to act in a judicial capacity, to decide the most intimate and perplexing questions, to give judgment on things, many of which must be and should be utterly beyond all personal experience of their own. If they follow Pusey, they will go straight to the Roman casuistical literature, to the guidance of the canonized Liguori, and to like unlovely sources. Let me quote here from a little volume on "Sacramental Confession," by the late Dean Howson, published in 1874. He said:

> "I was once walking in Switzerland from one village to another with a priest, when our conversation fell upon the Confessional. I said to him that I thought this system, based as it is upon the distinction between mortal and venial sin, is both cruel and deceiving. 'Yes,' he said, with a shrug of the shoulders; 'and no one can draw the line between mortal and venial sin.' Then he added with another shrug, '*The Casuists can.*' On this I asked him what real effect resulted from the training of the Clergy on the casuistical method of moral theology. He answered, 'It is the destruction of all religion.' I ought to add that this man was at that time surrounded by the respect of his parishioners, and that he himself had been a professor in an ecclesiastical seminary.

[1] *Vide* H. C. Lea, "Auricular Confession and Indulgences," ii. 259.

"For the sake of elucidating, to those who have hot studied this subject, some characteristics of this system, I will state a case which by others will be recognised as familiar. Here is half a crown on a table. I desire to possess it, though it is not mine; and, no one seeing me, I appropriate it, or, in the plain honest language of the English people, I steal it. Now, is this a mortal or a venial sin? 'Here,' say the Casuists, '*we must distinguish;* we must take into account to whom the half-crown belonged.' So far as I can make out from Liguori,[1] whose moral theology is at present in very high honour and officially approved, the sin in his view would be mortal if the coin were stolen from a beggar, but venial if it were stolen from a rich nobleman. Various opinions, however, on such a subject would be considered *probable;*[2] and yet we are concerned here with the tremendous distinction between mortal and venial sin, between eternal separation from God and the temporary loss of His favour.

"Now I say that a compulsory Confessional system based on such principles, or rather such absence of principle, may easily cause distress of mind when there ought to be peace and joy, or may produce the belief that we have been forgiven when there has been no true repentance at all; while in every case it puts a fearful power into the hands of a fallible priest in a matter really belonging to the transactions of the human soul with a Merciful Father, through a sufficient Saviour, in the strength of the Holy Ghost" (pp. 35-37).

This, then, is a practical difficulty to which we may hope that the Conference gave due attention.

III. Closely connected with it is another, the question of Direction. Pusey, indeed, argued that it was hardly the business of the Confessor to give direction; but this is a contention which cannot well be sustained. Certainly the Roman precedent is clear enough on this point. The Confessor is to decide what is best for the spiritual interests of the penitent. The Confessor must be obeyed; he may become

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[1] Prebendary Meyrick's "Moral and Devotional Theology of the Church of Rome, according to the Authoritative Teaching of S. Alfonso de' Liguori," published in 1857, ought to be well known and carefully studied. In one diocese at least of our sister Church in America, I observe that it is made a text-book for theological students.—Howson.

[2] To the fifth and tenth of Pascal's famous Provincial Letters, which exposed the immoral consequence of the Jesuit doctrine of Probabilities, should now be added the sixth chapter of Professor Huber's recent "Order of the Jesuits" (Berlin, 1873).—Howson.

the despot of the family, and rebellion against him may be punished by the refusal of Absolution—a virtual condemnation (as the penitent must believe) to the pains of hell. The Roman doctors insist so fully on the blind submission of the devotee to the decision of the priest that we ought to have some more definite understanding as to the extent to which this authority is admitted and followed in the English Church. Of the evils into which it has led and must lead it is unnecessary to speak.

IV. Finally, as an insignificant detail, and yet one which is not without a certain eloquence of its own, we may fairly note the connection in which this teaching of the Confessional is found. It will be remembered that the body of English clergy from whom it comes in our Church is constantly, almost regularly, providing recruits for the Church of Rome. The advocacy of the Confessional goes with significant adherence to the exposition of other doctrines, neither Catholic nor primitive, and therefore not admitted by our own Church. Thus, the position assigned to the Virgin Mary and the Saints, and the appeal to them for intercession cannot be ignored. The common form of Confession seems to begin thus: "I confess to Almighty God, to Blessed Mary ever Virgin, to all Saints, and to you, my father;" and to end thus: "Wherefore I beg Blessed Mary, all Saints, and you, my father, to pray to the Lord our God for me." That is the form given in "Catholic Prayers for Church of England People" (edited by A. H. S.), where "How to Make a Good Confession" immediately and very significantly precedes the chapter on the Mass. In this volume the curious may find "Devotions to our Blessed Lady," "Vespers of our Blessed Lady," "Rosary of the Blessed Virgin," "Litany of the Blessed Virgin," and other Roman devotions. *Noscitur a sociis.*

A. R. BUCKLAND.

ART. III.—THE AUTONOMY OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

THE isolation of the Church of Ireland has recently been the subject of a very important debate within the walls of Trinity College, Dublin, but that insularity was merely discussed from the standpoint of a certain small but clamorous party in the Church of England. So far as adoration of Christ in the Sacrament, non-communicating attendance, the

use of the Confessional, and other practices hailing from medieval times are concerned, the Church of Ireland is, and shall, we trust, always remain, in a position of splendid isolation. But, generally speaking, that Church, although of late years separated by Act of Parliament, is still united in her Liturgy and her Articles, her doctrines and her missions, with the Church of England. Her insularity, however, so far as regards doctrines untrue and uncatholic, which were unknown in the times of the Œcumenical Councils, which lack the authority of Scripture, and which run counter to the express teaching of our, I may say, common Prayer-Book, is due in a large measure to that spirit of autonomy, that bold independence of our island Church, which emancipated her by a slow but successful process from the shackles of that Church which is, of all the Christian churches in the world, least deserving of the name Catholic, the Church of Rome.

Of the process by which that autonomy which we prize so dearly was won, I will offer a brief account. For a fuller history of the subject readers are referred to the well-known works of Professor Stokes and Dr. Olden.

From the days of St. Patrick to the first quarter of the eleventh century the Celtic succession remained intact. But when the Danes established themselves in Dublin and adopted Christianity, they refused to conform to the Celtic Church. They sent not to Armagh, but to Canterbury for their Bishops. Canterbury was at that time, unhappily for herself, in communion with the Church of Rome. This was the first connection, although an indirect one, between the Churches of Ireland and Rome, but it was clearly a movement non-Celtic in its origin and intention. Lanfranc and Anselm appointed five "High Bishops" of Dublin. Of these, Donat, the founder of Christ Church Cathedral, was the first. But the election of Gregory in 1121 to the See of Dublin, and his consecration by Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, caused such a stir among the Bishops of Ireland, and especially "the Bishop who dwelt at Armagh," that this connection with Canterbury was broken off. In the meantime the Roman Pontiff sought to strengthen his position in Ireland and to introduce the Roman system by means of Papal legates, who were generally selected out of the Irish Bishops and who presided at the synods, and by the foundation of the monastic Orders in the land.

Of these legates, Gillibert was the first. He presided at the Synod of Rathbreasil (1118), where the country was divided into twenty-four dioceses with two archbishoprics, those of Armagh and Cashel. Previously to that arrangement there had been some two hundred Bishops scattered through the

country, the towns, and the monasteries, where they occupied a subordinate position to the coarb, performing their spiritual offices at his bidding; but now the Bishops are placed in their proper position at the head of the Church, and it was adroitly secured that they should be partisans of Rome.

Malachy, the famous Archbishop of Armagh, was the second of these Papal legates. A great friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, he caused the Cistercian rule to be introduced into Ireland, built a monastery at Mellifont (the Sweet Fountain), and did his best, as Bernard tells us, to establish everywhere "the Apostolic sanctions and particularly the usages of the holy Church of Rome," which were displayed with all state and ceremony at the opening of the Church at Mellifont. Through the instrumentality of Malachy, the Roman method of chanting the canonical hours was introduced; confession of sins, which had been voluntary, was made compulsory; and the Irish were prohibited from marrying their deceased brother's widow. And the people, who, according to Bernard's statement, were "without moral principle, savage in their rites, impious as regards faith, Christians only in name, and, worse than all, paid no tithes or firstfruits, did not contract lawful marriage, did not go to confession or know of penance," were completely reformed. "The barbaric laws were abolished; those of Rome were introduced; the usages of the Church were adopted in all directions, and those of a contrary character abandoned." But how, we ask, could Bernard himself have known any of these marvellous changes—the most marvellous in his eyes clearly relating to confession and penance—save through Malachy? And is Malachy a trustworthy reporter of his own "success"? But Malachy was not content with having weaned the people from the Celtic faith, which was so distinctly non-Roman, even in such points as the manner of tonsure and the keeping of Easter; he was so desirous of setting the Papal yoke more firmly upon the necks of the Irish that he undertook, apparently of his own accord, a journey to Rome to request palls for the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel. But Innocent II. did not respond to the request of this unauthorized and overzealous servant, and, like an English visitor of modern years, he returned snubbed but not disheartened. Some twenty years afterwards, however, Cardinal Paparo distributed the desired palls to the Archbishops at a synod held in Kells. It is said that some three thousand ecclesiastics attended that meeting; but a number of the Northern clergy were opposed to the institution of the archbishoprics of Dublin and Tuam, and the legate had no executive to carry out his other enactments, which were defied by the Irish chieftains.

We next find Gelasius seeking to make the religious teaching in the country uniform by having a resolution passed at the Synod of Clane that no lector should be appointed who had not been educated at the great school of Armagh.

Another landmark in the history of the Church of Ireland is reached when we find the Anglo-Norman knights invading the land, and seeking to carve out small principalities for themselves with the sword. The Welshmen—most of whom were illegitimate sons of a fascinating Welsh Princess—were followed by King Henry, who took over the country as a gift from the Pope without striking a blow. In that famous Bull of Adrian which conferred Ireland upon King Henry, merely stipulating for Peter's pence, the following sentence occurs: "We do hereby declare our will and pleasure that for the purpose of enlarging the borders of the Church, setting bounds to the progress of wickedness, reforming evil manners, and increasing the Christian religion, you do enter and execute therein whatsoever shall be for God's honour and the welfare of the same."

Shortly after Henry's state entrance into Ireland, which overawed the natives by the magnificence and multitude of his train, the Synod of Cashel was held, and the Romish use, then in vogue in England, was introduced by English influence into Ireland.

The next remarkable occasion in which we find the Pope interfering in Ireland—on which he had since Henry's invasion been levying Peter's pence—was when the ill-fated Edward Bruce was induced, on the invitation of Donald O'Neill, King of Ulster, and the princes and nobles and the Irish people, to invade the land and wrest it from English rule. The Irish chieftains appealed to the Pope to sanction these proceedings, declaring that, for want of a proper authority, both justice and equity had failed in the land, and promising that Bruce, whom they had elected King, would make "to the Irish Church a full restitution of those possessions and privileges of which she had been damnably despoiled." But the Pope adhered to the compact of Adrian, and issued a Bull excommunicating all who supported Bruce against the English (1315 A.D.). That Bull, however, was unheeded by the Irish. Can it be truly said that the Irish, who were thus excommunicated by bell, book, and candle, were members of the Roman Church, and can that Church be called the Church of the land? History, which is not the strong point of the Roman see, answers "No."

We now come to the famous Statute of Kilkenny, 1366, which did not refer to the whole of Ireland, but only to the English pale. By that Act the use of the Gaelic was forbidden

to Englishmen and to Irishmen living with Englishmen, and every kind of alliance between the two races was forbidden within the prescribed bounds, and it was enacted that no Irishman could be inducted into a living or admitted to a monastery among the English. It is generally supposed that that statute emanated from "the brutal Sassenach," but the Act was signed by three Archbishops and five Bishops who owed their promotion to the Pope, and some of whom were actually consecrated at Avignon, where the Papal court was then held. The Roman Catholic Church was as largely responsible as the English Government for this iniquitous measure, which was, however, more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Its only apparent result was the constant bickering and jealousy it sanctioned between the Irish and English monks, the latter of whom were a distinct race attached to the Roman customs, while the former still retained the discipline of the ancient Celtic Church.

It seemed that it was impossible to unite such incongruous elements in one body, but the Reformation solved the difficulty. The movement, which arose in England out of a conflict between the Pope and King Henry VIII. for the supremacy, spread to Ireland, where many of the educated clergy and landed proprietors resented the usurpations and interferences of the Roman Pontiff. The great nobles of the country, whom the Pope showed himself so ready to excommunicate, were not eager to espouse his quarrel with England, and in 1536 the Dublin Parliament declared that "the King, his heirs and successors, should be supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland."

Simultaneously with these political measures Archbishop Browne of Dublin sought and obtained an order for the renewal of the relics and images of both his cathedrals, which, he said, "took off the common people from the true worship." Accordingly, the images of the Virgin and the Staff of Jesus, which were supposed to work miracles, were destroyed, and the Archbishop then proceeded to tour through the country, issuing directions to the different clergy "to repudiate the unlawful jurisdiction usurped by the Bishop of Rome, and exhorting them to put all their trust and confidence in our Saviour Jesus Christ, who requireth nothing but that we should repent and forsake our sins and believe steadfastly that He is Christ, the Son of the living God."

The Pope was not willing, however, to lose his power and revenues in Ireland, and the Bishop of Metz wrote a letter in his name to the chieftain O'Neill, urging him to suppress heresy, and negotiations were commenced with the King of Scotland and the Emperor Francis with a view to wrest

Ireland from the English dominion. The Irish chieftains, however, gave the Roman cause but a lukewarm assistance, and Lord Grey's decisive victory over the rebel forces completely broke the power of O'Neill, and made him "renounce obedience to the Roman Pontiff, and recognise the King as the supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland under Christ."

Of that breach between Rome and England the Reformed Church of Ireland is the constant witness, though not the direct result; for the Reformation did not interrupt the historic episcopate that was established by St. Patrick in the land. No actual change of any extent was made in our ranks by a movement to which all the Bishops, with the exception of Walsh of Meath and Devereux of Kildare, who were immediately deprived, conformed. And in 1563, when Elizabeth was on the throne, Adam Loftus was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh by Archbishop Curwin of Dublin, who had been appointed by Mary and consecrated according to the Roman Pontifical. The Reformation in Ireland was not, therefore, a radical upheaval, a new point of departure, but a phase that passed over our Church, purifying and spiritualizing it, and which, without interrupting its episcopal succession, delivered it from the usurped authority of the Bishops of Rome.

When, then, did the Roman Catholic hierarchy that now claims Ireland for its own begin?

The first actual conflict between the King and the Pope that might be said to bear upon that question was when Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, died (1543). The King appointed Dowdall to succeed him, but the Pope nominated Wauchop. Dowdall secured possession of the see, but Wauchop attended the Sessions of the Council of Trent from 1545 to 1547, and signed the proceedings as Primate of Ireland. Thus he became the father of the titular hierarchy that was set up fifty years after in the titular Synod of Drogheda, 1614 A.D., when orders were obtained directly from Rome. This was the first attempt to organize a second Church in the land, and as its orders were not Celtic, but Roman, it was clearly an importation, and cannot be regarded by any stretch of imagination as the lineal descendant of the ancient Irish Church. In the following year we find the Bishop of Derry complaining that the Vicar-General had placed priests in every parish—"rude, ignorant, and vicious fellows, who carried the natives with them."

From that date the Church of Rome has continued to send her emissaries to Ireland, and taken full advantage of every unwise move the English Government has made. Who can tell, for instance, how many millions of the natives were lost

to the Reformed Church of Ireland by the veto put on the translation of the Prayer-Book into Irish? With the natives in their many quarrels and wars, Cromwellian and Williamite and Georgian, the Roman priests, who were now being drawn from the ranks of the people themselves, threw in their lot, and thus have identified themselves to a large extent with the fortunes of the masses in the land. But to be the hereditary Church of St. Patrick they have no claim, for that belongs to her who still professes the faith of St. Patrick, free from later Romish superstitions and inventions, who still possesses the ancient ecclesiastical structures of the land, holding them from time immemorial and not by Act of Parliament, and who can show an unbroken line of Bishops of Armagh from the days of the national saint. By this triple line of evidence the Protestant Church of Ireland is shown to be the National Church. While faithful to the doctrine of the all-sufficiency of Christ, she is still loyal to the Catholic faith as expressed in the Œcumenical Councils, holding the mean between the extremes of Nonconformity on the one hand and of Rome on the other.

We have now to consider the effect of disestablishment upon the Church of Ireland.

That Act did not disestablish us as the Church of Ireland; it simply separated us from the State and cut us off from our revenues, and thus, while completing the work of the Church Temporalities Act and the Tithe Rent-Charge Act, made the Church it struck at more autonomous than ever. That it was not required to improve the lives and overhaul the methods of the Irish clergy, and that it was a political concession to the Nonconformists and Roman Catholics who clamoured against the burden of supporting a religion they did not profess, is established on the testimony of Mr. Gladstone, the woodman who did not spare the upas-tree. In a speech delivered by him in 1868, when he brought in his Bill for suspending appointments in the Church of Ireland, he said: "We must all accord that Church the praise that her clergy are a body of zealous and devoted ministers, who give themselves to their sacerdotal functions in a degree not inferior to any other Christian Church." Froude, whose Oxford principles would not allow him to favour our Church, declared that "for the previous fifty years no body of men in the whole empire had been doing their work more loyally and admirably; that they were loved and trusted by the peasantry, even the Catholic peasantry; that they had ceased to be a grievance; that no one asked or wished for their disestablishment except, perhaps, the Catholic hierarchy." And he significantly adds: "And the Castle authorities can say how far the Catholic hierarchy has shown itself effectively grateful."

There was no deficiency suggested in religion or morality, and the learning of the clergy was everywhere recognised. Fitzgerald, Reeves, Jellet, Magee, Alexander, Salmon, and Travers Smith are household names in the Church, and they were then in the vigour of intellect and the prime of life; and that hierarchy, which looked with a jealous eye upon the endowment of the Established Church, had nothing but praise for the estimable and edifying lives of the Protestant clergy. As Dr. Moriarty, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry, wrote in a letter to his clergy in the year 1867: "They are accomplished scholars and polished gentlemen. There is little intercourse between them and us, but they cannot escape our observation. And sometimes, when we noticed that quiet and decorous and moderate course of life, we feel ourselves giving expression to the wish: 'Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses.'" From the disendowment of the Irish Church that Roman hierarchy "dropt off gorged." A magnificent endowment was given to their college at Maynooth, which they use exclusively for the benefit of their candidates for Holy Orders. But they failed to gain any accession from our ranks, as they fondly hoped. Cardinal Cullen's pious wish, expressed in an article in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of June, 1868, in which it was declared that "Protestantism had no other hold on its followers than the mere temporal endowments. The great motive is money. Remove the inducement, and they will become the followers of Rome," was doomed to disappointment. Few, if any, of our clergy were found attached to the loaves and fishes. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, even when the sister Church of England, with which she had been united by Act of Parliament in 1801, seemed sunk in torpor and sloth, they had shown zeal and energy. New churches to the number of 500 had been built; 172 school-houses had been licensed for Divine Service, and 1,000 clergy had been added to their ranks. Over a million had been subscribed for the cause of education, and nearly half a million for the support of the orphans. Such was the condition of the Church of Ireland in the days preceding disestablishment. Since that fateful year of 1870 the voluntary contributions of the members of the Church amount to some five millions, and so far from seceding to Rome, the laity and clergy showed a greater devotion than ever to their historic Church in its hour of trial. Their loyalty had been of that deep kind that did not exhaust itself in bubble and foam on the surface, but flowed in a steady, irresistible tide to meet and master the barriers that legislation had ill-advisedly erected to stay its progress. There were no desertions to speak of

from our clerical ranks; indeed, the desertions have been from them to us. And no wonder, when we consider the intolerant ignorance of the Scriptures and the bitter animosity against England that characterize the great majority of their priests. This is the class that has benefited financially by the Irish Church Act; this is the class that will benefit financially by the foundation of a Roman Catholic University, which will, if established, become the hot-bed of fresh agitation and renewed hatred against the British Government. For a full and true description of the Roman priests in Ireland I commend my readers to a book, "Five Years in Ireland," written by an educated Roman Catholic, Mr. McCarthy; and I now pass on to consider certain changes, liturgical and constitutional, that were made by the disestablished Church, and which have not been sufficiently understood across the Channel.

With regard to our Prayer-Book, the preface of which, an Oxford work on that subject declares, speaks "with an heretical brogue," the changes that have been made are trivial compared with those made by the American Church. Ther were, indeed, many heated arguments in the General Synod over the Book of Common Prayer. Many resolutions were proposed regarding the offices of Baptism and Holy Communion, but the mind of the Church was against any change affecting doctrine. Certain minor changes were made for the sake of peace, on the principle that "what is imperfect with peace is often better than what is otherwise more excellent without it." We have added one question to the Church Catechism, and taken its answer from Article XXVIII.; we have substituted the form of Absolution in the Communion Office for that in the office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the rubric directing the use of the Athanasian Creed on certain days was omitted. We have not desired or dared to provide an alternative form for the ordering of priests, or to expunge the Athanasian Creed from our Prayer-Book. In our table of Lessons we have included the whole Revelation of St. John, and have omitted the Apocrypha; but absolutely no alteration was made that could in the slightest degree affect our position as the constant witness to Scriptural and Apostolic truth in the land.

The constitutional changes in the Church now disestablished by law were great and far-reaching. Diocesan synods, under the presidency of the Bishops, and consisting of all the clergy of the diocese and representatives of the laity in the proportion of one to two, were appointed to be held annually. At these synods representatives, clerical and lay, are elected by vote in the proportion of one to two to sit upon the various

Boards controlling the educational, financial, and spiritual work of the diocese, and every third year certain of the clergy and laity in the same proportion are appointed to represent the diocese in the General Synod of all Ireland, which is held once a year, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Armagh, the Primate of all Ireland. By these synods the Bishops are elected, provided the name put forward receives two-thirds of both the lay and clerical votes present; otherwise the name, with another, is sent up to the Bench of Bishops. A more friendly understanding has thus arisen between the clergy and the laity, who meet and consult together for the welfare of each diocese and for the general welfare of the Church. We have learned to respect each other; we do not suspect them of interested ends, and they no longer suspect us of ritualistic intentions.

So far we have gained. Financially we may seem, however, to have lost, for the tithes which had been ours since the Synod of Cashel of Henry II.'s reign were taken completely away, and the clerical incomes were cut off by one fell blow. But though stripped of their property the Bishops and clergy did not lose heart. They took counsel how they might repair this "sudden breach in one of the most ancient Churches in Christendom," and they succeeded in getting reasonable terms from the Government. As Government officials they could not be dismissed without just compensation, and every clergyman and Church official received a life annuity of the net amount of their stipends. It was found that the great majority of the clergy were willing to commute this. The idea was then conceived of forming a fund of these commuted incomes, which was invested in a body incorporated by charter, placed under the control of the General Synod, and called the Representative Body. Thus the Bishops and clergy showed their trust in the future of the Church by accepting her security instead of that of Government, and the proof of self-denial and self-reliance gave a stimulus to the laity, who rallied round the Church into which they had been baptized and of which they were communicants. The capital at the disposal of that body is given in its Thirty-first Report as £8,220,073.

We have thus found that, by an Act which seemed directed against its very existence as a Church, the Church of Ireland has gained a larger measure of independence than she enjoyed when bound to the chariot wheels of the State, and used by English politicians for political ends. We have the appointment of our own dignitaries, the administration of our own funds, and the making of our own laws, by which canonical obedience in matters pertaining to rites and ceremonies are

secured to the Bishops. This power has been exerted in no churlish manner, but in that spirit of wisdom, courage, and moderation, and in that high sense of our responsibility as the National Church of the land, which has induced us to adopt in our relations to other religious bodies the rule of St. Augustine—

"In non necessariis libertas
In necessariis unitas
Sed in omnibus caritas."

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

ART. IV.—THE LIMITS OF OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS.

"WE don't know what to do with the Old Testament," was the saddening cry of a clergyman to me the other day. Personally I don't know what I should do without it. For this reason what has been helpful to me may be helpful to others. I find it the richest possible field for modern preaching. There is hardly a modern event in our crowded present-day life that cannot be illumined by the pages of Old Testament history. The lessons that are clearly drawn from those old-world events can guide us to the lessons that the same overruling Providence would have us learn to-day. The researches and criticism of scholars have their legitimate field, but one result (no doubt unintentional) has been to generate a sort of fear of the Old Testament, lest he who uses it should be guilty of misinterpretation or ignorance of the latest "Athenianism."

What Professor G. A. Smith says in his preface to his work on the "Minor Prophets" applies equally to the historical books of the Old Testament: "The prostitution of the prophets is their confinement to academic uses. One cannot conceive an ending at once more pathetic and more ridiculous to these great streams of living water than to allow them to run out in the sands of criticism and exegesis, however golden these sands may be." What he says in his following sentence of the prophets I would also claim for the historian and poet. The historian wrote and the poet sang, and "the prophets spoke for a practical purpose. They aimed at the hearts of men, and everything that scholarship can do for their writings has surely for its final aim the illustration of their witness to the ways of God with men, and its application to living questions and duties and hopes."

Surely, if our Lord and His Apostles made what some would call a free use of the Old Testament in preaching and teaching, we may do so too? Surely we may lay down as a first canon of Old Testament exegesis that *whatever interpretation or colouring our Lord and His Apostles gave to Old Testament history, poetry, or prophecy by quotations or allusions we may accept without hesitation, and work out for exegetical and homiletical purposes?*

Does it matter that the human authors did not foresee the construction or interpretation that would be put on their words? St. Peter asserts that the prophets themselves did not understand all they said, particularly in regard to what would afterwards be interpreted plainly enough of the sufferings of the Messiah. "Of which salvation the prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you, searching what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow. Unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto *us* they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the Gospel unto you with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, which things the angels desire to look into."

Does not this quotation imply that such interpretation, which could not have been given by the prophets of the old canon, is legitimate? The words of the Old Testament may not be limited in exegesis by the human horizon of the prophets; on the contrary, that fuller meaning was the intention of the Spirit of Christ that was in them. It was plain after the Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this is that aspect of the Old Testament that makes its words live to-day; for in its pages we thus read of the life and work of Jesus Christ, and it is these that we are to preach as practical living truth, as good for the twentieth century as the first.

Does the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah refer to the Messiah? Some say the author did not intend his words to do so. Our Lord quotes them of Himself on the eve of His sufferings. Philip began at the same Scripture and preached Jesus.

Had the Flood and Noah's escape in the Ark, or the crossing of the Red Sea, anything primarily to do with Christian baptism? Had the story of the brazen serpent anything to do with the Crucifixion? Had the muzzling of oxen anything to do with the payment of the Christian minister? Is it conceivable that the writers of these things had any idea of the use that would be made of them? Is the use therefore wrong? Surely we may include the human authors amongst

those who ministered not unto themselves, but unto us, and make use of their work for the spread of the Gospel?

The story of Jonah, the healing of Naaman, the fate of Lot's wife, the irregular distribution of the manna, and many other incidents from the historical books, are used to illustrate vital principles or eternal truths. May we not use them too?

It will take the preacher some time to exhaust this field of interpretation if he confines himself to those incidents only from Old Testament history which are interpreted for him in other parts of Scripture. It sometimes happens that the Old Testament supplies the key to the interpretation of the story. Thus it is at the sweetening of the waters of Marah. Thus Ezekiel puts his finger on the moral failings that were at the root of Sodom's sin—failings that have wrought the downfall of every empire that has crashed into the dust. Thus does the preacher in Deuteronomy make use of the preceding history; thus does Micah of the story of Balaam. And the moral thence drawn is one which Christ Himself endorsed. The use that later New Testament writers made of the work of their Old Testament predecessors is similar to the use that later Old Testament writers made of what had gone before, but fuller and more progressive. We who have the double inheritance of both covenants may make a fuller use of both than either did or could well do.

I would claim, therefore, that it is a canon of legitimate exegesis that we have all the privileges and freedom of interpretation and application that was exercised by Old Testament prophet, or by our Lord, or by His followers. They did not alter the facts of history, nor may we, but they accepted the credibility of the writers to say the least, and made use of what was written.

It was by the preaching of Christ from the Old Testament that the Apostles and their co-workers built up the primitive Church. There are two essential premises in the argument for the Messiahship of Jesus. The one is the testimony of eye-witnesses to facts, the other is the predictions of the Old Testament. The neglect of such preaching at the present day will not persuade men to believe on Jesus as the Christ. We cannot, as Churchmen and believers, allow ourselves for one moment to be fettered by critical views which *confine* the teachings of Old Testament history or prophecy or poetry to the obscure events of the limited surroundings of the author's lifetime. It is eminently helpful to be able to discover the historical occasion of a psalm, to breathe its atmosphere, to see the hues of its local colouring, but to deny Messianic interpretations because possibly or probably the eyes of prophet, or psalmist, or historian were blind to the

future application is to throw away the trowel with which the stones of Apostolic facts were laid and cemented.

It was from the Old Testament that Apollos mightily convinced the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah. It was to the Old Testament that the Beroeans appealed as the ultimate test of the position taken by St. Paul and his helpers. It was to the Old Testament that St. Paul ultimately appealed in his apology before Agrippa, an apology which embraces all the lines of evidence and argument that could well be adduced: "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest."

Here is personal testimony to facts by a credible witness, chiefly and centrally the fact of the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. Here is the general reasonableness of a belief in resurrection, a national hope shared by the twelve tribes and bound up with the national religious life. Here is the practical success of work carried out in the world on the lines indicated. But above all these there is the fulfilment of what Moses and the prophets said should come.

There is no flaw in the position. It is a question of the personal attitude to the prophets—"Believest thou?" The only limit is the limit of unbelief. If we believe that the Old Testament is "the Scriptures of the prophets" we may so interpret it, and we include history and poetry with what is more technically termed prophecy. Our Lord began at *Moses* and *all* the prophets, and expounded unto them in *all* the Scriptures the things concerning Himself. This is the field of Old Testament interpretation, the things concerning Him. Who shall venture to limit it?

The only limit of exegesis that we are bound to observe is that laid down in Article XX., that the Church may not so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. This limit, faithfully observed, will keep our interpretations within reasonable bounds, because it will keep them in proper proportion to the whole. Christ is the centre and aim of all Old Testament exegesis. His character, His kingdom, His work, His life and death and resurrection, may be read as plainly there as in the New Testament.

If we are to wait till an imperially federated school of modern criticism has stamped a few selected passages of Old Testament as Messianic before we dare to preach Christ from the Old Testament, we shall probably end by never preaching Christ at all.

It is the fashion to talk about Primitive and Catholic Church practice. It was the universal practice of the primitive Church fearlessly to preach from the Old Testament that Jesus is the Christ. Some of the men who did so were

"illiterate amateurs." As regards modern criticism (I speak foolishly), so am I. But these same illiterate amateurs "had been with Jesus," and their preaching turned the world upside down.

C. CAMERON WALLER.

ART. V.—WHAT IS TO BECOME OF THE CHURCH?

WHAT is to become of the Church of England? I know that the question has a catch-penny air, and that because of this some of her members will be strongly tempted to dismiss it as beneath their attention. But, unless I am mistaken, there are a good many other people who are revolving this inquiry, or something very much like it, in their minds. Behind them there are many more who have not yet put their feelings into words, but nevertheless are conscious of all the anxiety which this question implies. That anxiety is, in fact, very much wider than any public expression of it which has so far been made.

There are always people ready and content to dismiss any such questionings as the work of wicked alarmists, who have some sinister ends to gain by causing uneasiness in the minds of others. There are always the persons who are so very comfortable themselves that they only want to be left alone, who do not mind by what concessions an enemy is bought off if only they themselves can be allowed to go on in their own placid way. And there are always the people who have been mesmerized by that blessed word "moderation"; who never felt enthusiasm for anything or indignation against anything; who believe, or seem to believe, that all would be well with the world if its affairs could be conducted without the help of the zealots, the enthusiasts, and the really active people who make things "hum." All these classes are likely to think that nothing threatens any serious danger to the Church, and that whatever sorrows may trouble us now will soon pass away, as sorrows have in other generations.

There is something to be said, it must at once frankly be admitted, for the plea that the Church has in the past gone through dangers every whit as serious as those which at present surround her. Before the great measures of reform were carried, which in the early part of the Victorian period so vitally and so happily changed the organization of the Church, she was, no doubt, in a very parlous state. The scandals associated with her life and the administration of her affairs had roused an indignation which was in no way

compensated for by widespread and convincing enthusiasm for righteousness within her. The language used about the Church in those days was such as the reader only of modern controversial literature can have little or no conception of. The most characteristic products of the late Dr. Littledale in trouncing the Low Churchmen were "as water unto wine" when compared with the common form indicative of the militant Nonconformist in pre-Victorian and early Victorian days. If the authorities of the Church had then in an obstinate spirit resisted all reform, it is scarcely possible that the link between Church and State should by this time have been anything more than a memory. The rise and progress of what was known as Puseyism increased the difficulties of the Church, and as late as the fifties there were men of intelligence, as well as men of energy, who thought that Disestablishment and even disruption could not long be avoided. They were wrong: the Church weathered that storm.

But, with all allowance for this, I do not think it is at present safe to indulge in blind and unintelligent optimism. The balance of political power has completely changed since the early Victorian days, and he would be a bold man who would, without hesitation, predict a sure majority for the union of Church and State in the House of Commons in 1912. Just now what the Church most urgently needs is peace, and that is just what she has no immediate likelihood of getting, if things go on as they at present are. She needs peace in which to readjust her relations to the State; peace in which to work out some system of self-government; peace in which to make up, if she can, the sad arrears of work amongst the poor at home; peace in which to prosecute her mission to the non-Christian world abroad. But before peace can come, she must find some remedy for her present sorrows and disorders. How will that remedy be found? At present there seem to be some curiously contrasting opinions upon the subject.

I. There are those who think that the acute strife of the last three years will die what may be called a natural death. It does not appear that they expect the end to come by the defeat of either of the two antagonistic schools of thought, but rather by the exhaustion of the fighting element on one side or the other.

If I understand them aright, they certainly do not contemplate any suppression of the very extreme party amongst the High Churchmen. They do not look forward to a time when the conflict will cease by the surrender of those who for so many years have brought one period after another of anxiety and of internecine strife upon the Church. They do not expect very much from the mild discipline of episcopal

displeasure, exercised upon no general plan, and presenting to the public eye the most curious contrasts in the treatment of offending clergy. In this, no doubt, they are right. The Bishops who would be really active are held in check by the others. And so it comes about that the present attitude of the Bishops is very much that of the gentleman who sought to put out a conflagration in his house by a carefully deliberate resort to a watering-pot. It is understood that the Bishops themselves, or some of them, do still retain a belief that the policy to which they seem committed will prove effectual. But outside the ranks of the people with whom it is a kind of impiety to dissent from a Bishop's opinions, and of those who only want peace, no matter at what price, there are no signs of this placid optimism being adopted. The most extreme teaching and the worst ritual extravagances have received some check. But a check is not the same thing as a sweeping defeat. Where men have given way it has been, as a rule, with an explicit intimation that they do *not* believe themselves to have been in the wrong. Surrender has been a policy for the moment, a matter of present necessity, the acceptance of a temporary set-back as unavoidable; it has not sprung from a conviction that the old ways had been wrong, and as wrong should never be resumed.

How, then, do the persons of whom I am writing suppose that the strife is to cease? Apparently by the exhaustion of the protesting party. Sooner or later, they predict, other Churchmen will grow tired of clamouring in vain for something to be done; of appealing, with but poor success, to the powers of the Bishop; of endeavouring to arouse the great mass of indifferent or inactive Church-people to some sort of regard for the welfare of the Church. When, at last, they are tired of protesting, the Protestant agencies will again lose support; less will on every side be heard of the scandals complained of, and after a while the pressure of public opinion, such as it is, will be removed. The crisis—if the title can be used for a condition of affairs so long sustained—will be over; peace, or our nearest approach to it, will at last return. Then also, this point being reached, out will come the, for a time, disused censers; out will come the tabernacles, hidden away for a space from the general eye; out will come the condemned manuals. The extreme clergy will start again, just where they left off. More modern Continental ritual will be introduced before English congregations; more bits of medieval superstition will be paraded before credulous persons as "primitive and Catholic" customs. And that is how some people think that peace will be restored to the Church.

For myself, I cannot help thinking that they are mistaken. Twice at least something like this has come to pass. But on one occasion the cause of sober Churchmanship was ruined by outbreaks of violence; on the other it was injured by wearisome litigation, and the sentimental dislike of the public to seeing clergy imprisoned, in effect, for ritual offences. It is not likely that the same causes will again be efficient, and in the meantime the steady growth of an intelligent appreciation of the principles at stake will render it less easy for indignation to die away. But it is not my present purpose to deal at any length with this prediction; I am only taking note of it as one view held.

II. There are Churchmen who think that Parliament will solve the question by providing new laws against clerical insubordination. I confess that this seems to me at the very least doubtful, and for many reasons.

There is, in the first place, the initial difficulty of getting attention for Church affairs. The House of Commons is not very well disposed to their discussion, and we can feel no surprise at the fact. There are not many constituencies in which what may for convenience be called the Protestant vote is so strong that their representatives can see their way in such matters without a shadow of anxiety. In most cases members, whilst uncomfortably aware of the reality of Protestant pressure, know that to be active in support of anti-ritualistic legislation is to risk the votes of High Church constituents, and so perhaps to lose as much support as may be gained. There are militant High Churchmen as well as militant Protestants, and the militant High Churchman has shown that he is quite capable of putting his Church views before his allegiance to any political party. That is a fact which affects ministers as well as private members.

Then there is the general feeling of the members of both Houses to be taken account of. Perhaps I am wrong; but it seems to me that a majority in each House consists of those worthy people who are devoid of any strong views on ecclesiastical questions. Their feeling towards faiths is one of amiable and all-embracing toleration. That anyone should be prosecuted at law for reasons of faith or practice seems to them a shocking anachronism. They forget that a clergyman prosecuted on account of ritual would suffer not on account of faith, but for non-performance of a contract, much as a landlord, or a tenant, or a party to an agreement for sale or purchase might suffer.

It may be answered, and quite fairly, that the House of Commons has already taken up a very definite attitude on the subject. That is so. On May 12, 1899, the following motion

was carried by a majority of 154: "That this House, while not prepared to accept a measure which creates fresh offences and ignores the authority of the Bishops in maintaining the discipline of the Church, is of opinion that if the efforts now being made by the Archbishops and Bishops to secure the due obedience of the clergy are not speedily effectual, further legislation will be required to maintain the observance of the existing laws of Church and Realm." It appeared to me at the time that this resolution was expressly devised as a kind of harmless sedative for disturbed Protestants, and without any serious intention of carrying into effect the threat conveyed. It will soon be three years since the resolution was passed. Nobody with any knowledge of the facts can pretend that the action of the Archbishops and Bishops, so far as any has been taken, has been "effectual." But what disposition has there been to give the Church the "further legislation" promised? None, so far as I am aware. Endeavours are again to be made in the session of 1902, and no doubt it is well that the subject should be kept before the mind of Parliament; but it is not easy to be hopeful as to the result.

Nor, if drastic legislation were passed, is it certain that it would effect the desired results. The Public Worship Regulation Act conveys a melancholy warning against too much reliance upon the strong arm of the law. It is probable that a short and simple Act merely removing the Bishop's veto (in most, if not all, cases), and substituting deprivation for imprisonment in the case of contumacious clergy, might excite no feeling; but there is some danger lest more drastic measures should again provoke a reaction in favour of the "martyrs." If, therefore, the legislation looked to is repressive legislation, I doubt its efficacy. Whether legislation, which gave the Church some measure of autonomy, would alter the situation is more than anyone can venture to say. At present such plans as are before the public offer no hope of change, but a further development which gave parishioners some measure of control over the services of the Church might do something. That, however, seems a very long way off.

III. But if peace does not come by the exhaustion of fighting elements, nor yet by legislative repression of the disturbing element, what else may happen? Prediction is an unpleasant exercise, for there is always the danger of being proved in the wrong by the crushing evidence of sober fact. But if one must enter upon it, I should expect two things to come to pass.

First, I imagine that the present condition of affairs will for a space continue very much as it is. The Bishops, who are

in earnest in their opposition to the pro-Roman activities of the Neo-Anglican School, will do their best. Their zeal and their courage deserve recognition. They have a hard part to play. The other prelates will continue their policy of something nearly resembling a masterly inactivity. The small advantages gained for the cause of law and order in some dioceses will therefore be compensated for by the quiet though resolute continuance of the advanced campaign in others. At any signs of the work of protest growing slack, there would no doubt, as I have already suggested, be a return to any minor things laid aside, and possibly fresh experiments in Continental novelties. The defence of the Church against these encroachments of thinly disguised Romanism would also continue. It might lose much or little in activity here and there, as the work lost for some the charm of freshness, and as hopes of effecting great changes grew less confident; but, at the same time, the protest would grow more intelligent. There is already an increasing disposition to be less content than of old with vague generalities and comprehensive denunciations; to learn something more of the real facts of the controversy—in fine, to know the why and the wherefore of denunciation, protest and defence. The two campaigns would therefore, I imagine, go on side by side, as now, until——

Until the second of these two things happened. And what is that? Here, no doubt, I reach very delicate ground, and my poor attempt at prediction may be received with contemptuous scorn by many who are wholly devoid of sympathy with Anglo-Romanism. But, whether men like it or not, I cannot help fearing that the end of this controversy is most likely to be found, as the Archbishop of Canterbury himself seems once to have feared, in Disestablishment and disruption. There are those who will scout the bare possibility of any such issue; but, after all, things do not refrain from happening merely because we do not like them. Let us see what is to be said for this supposition.

Is it expected that the Unionist Government will remain for ever in office? At present, no doubt, its position is numerically a very strong one. At present, too, the forces of the Opposition are so hopelessly divided that they cannot do very much harm. But who that has any knowledge of political history supposes that these conditions are bound to continue? Sooner or later—perhaps rather sooner than later—a change is inevitable. And what then? So curious has been the revolution in popular feeling since the doctrines of the old Manchester School were in the ascendancy that there is little probability of Radical leaders going to the people with plans for any serious revolution in the conduct of our foreign

affairs. It is, they protest, domestic legislation which has been neglected, and domestic legislation which must be their first cure.

Now, when they consider the merits of planks for the party platform, is it possible that Disestablishment should be left out? It will fairly be replied that the subject was ignored at the last election, and the objection is sound. But the circumstances of that election were so peculiar that no argument can safely be based upon this precedent. There is far more probability of truth in the predictions of those who urge that the next Radical majority will be one returned with a commission, amongst other things, to disestablish the Church.

Let it be remembered that there are ecclesiastical, as well as political, facts in favour of such a view. The extreme Anglicans have already become a Disestablishment party.[1] It would be a mistake to suppose that their threats are merely idle talk. An Established Church is not their ideal, unless the Established Church can manage its own affairs, and,

[1] Some, indeed, of its leaders have long been in favour of Disestablishment. In the case of Mr. G. W. E. Russell the following quotation from the *Liberator* (January, 1902, p. 5) may be of interest: "Mr. G. W. E. Russell, speaking at a meeting of the Cymru Fydd Society in London, on December 5, dealt at length with Disestablishment. He told how he was first induced to take an interest in it by the conflicts of 1868. He was then a schoolboy at Harrow, but the discussions in Parliament and the country made a permanent impression on his consciousness and memory, and he then and there threw in his lot with the party of Disestablishment. From that time down to the present he had never wavered in the profound conviction that Establishment was in itself an evil, and Disestablishment in itself a good thing. That resolution was not altogether an easy and profitable one, for, looking back on twenty years of political life, he said advisedly that his bitterest and most unscrupulous opponents at elections had been the clergy of the Established Church, and those who worked under them. The tendency of Establishment was to deaden spirituality, encourage undue subservience to the powers that be, and to quicken an unhealthy appetite for the loaves and fishes. The evil to the State consisted in the fact that it supplied the State with a false conscience. After the election of 1885, during the reign of the Tory Government, Disestablishment naturally fell into abeyance; but in 1892 it received some recognition from the leaders of the Liberal party, which meant Mr. Gladstone. With an intimate knowledge of Mr. Gladstone, he repelled and repudiated the idea that he took up Disestablishment in order to serve the political exigencies of the hour. He was guided by the principle of the right of the majority to decide. As to Mr. Gladstone's views with regard to the Disestablishment of the Church of England, it was a question on which, as far as Mr. Russell knew, he never revealed his inmost mind. It could only be got at by hints and inferences, and Mr. Russell's impression was that as years went on he was more and more grievously disappointed with the part English Establishment played in public affairs, and increasingly dissatisfied with the part it played in questions of national conscience and duty."

perhaps, also control those of the State. Those conditions are not, and are not likely to be, fulfilled in Great Britain. What precisely they expect to get from Disestablishment it is not, indeed, easy for other people to see. They are not in a majority, and could not expect to control a Disestablished Church. They would suffer, like other people, from the financial and social results of Disestablishment and Disendowment. They might even fare very badly under a popular Church franchise. But in any case there remains the fact that they seem to be courting Disestablishment.[1] If, therefore, a political party makes the separation of Church and State a plank in its platform, it will not find its policy opposed by a united Church party; it will have the advantage of finding a certain number of Church-people openly in its favour. In the Church itself it will confront a body torn by internal strife. Perhaps an urgent peril might for a time frighten some members of the contending sides into forgetfulness of their difficulties, but present appearances seem to be against such an assumption. It is impossible to say how far the condition of affairs has influenced the old Church and State feeling, once so powerful in lay as well as clerical minds; but it would not be surprising if another Disestablishment Bill showed that it had been most seriously attenuated.

And if Disestablishment and Disendowment come, what then? The mind shrinks from contemplating the bitter rivalry, the keen strife, which must in that case at once ensue. Can it be supposed that the Disestablished Church would arrange its affairs in so loose a way that the Vicar of St. Alban's, Holborn, and the Vicar of St. Paul's, Onslow Square, would both find themselves equally happy within it? Does it not seem almost certain that one side or other would have the mastery, and that the beaten party would secede? There is too much reason to fear that disruption must be the almost certain sequel to Disestablishment.

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[1] The following extract from a speech by Mr. J. Fisher at the public meeting of the Midland Counties Branch of the Liberation Society (*Liberator*, January, 1902, p. 11) doubtless exhibits the general view of the Society just now: "They had not many legislative achievements to record, and the public mind had not been friendly to any reforms. Still, they were not without encouragement. The Church was divided and discontented, and put forth demands which could never be met so long as the Church was established by law. Mr. Fisher subjected the scheme of the Church Reform League to an exhaustive criticism, and showed that there was not the slightest probability of its provision being approved by Parliament. He found much encouragement in the principles and aims of the Churchmen's Liberationist League, which were in all essential respects like their own. Enlightened Churchmen were now realizing that Disestablishment alone would make adequate reforms possible."

There may be—doubtless there are—Churchmen who can view such a prospect without emotion and without alarm. But it is not easy to share their feeling. Whether we consider the loss to the State or the loss to the Church, the blow to the organizations of the Church or the harm (though perhaps only temporary) to its spiritual life, it seems difficult to contemplate such an issue to the present controversy without shame, as well as misgiving.

How grave, then, must be the responsibility of those whose defection from the path of sober loyalty to Holy Scripture and the law of their Church threatens us with this catastrophe!

G. A. B. ANSON.

ART. VI.—EASTER SERVICES IN JERUSALEM.

SO many people are doubtless arranging just now to spend Easter at Jerusalem that the following notes of my own experiences may possibly be of service in some quarters.

Greek Passion Week is the time of the year when Jerusalem is thronged with "orthodox"—mostly Russian—pilgrims, who come by thousands to worship at the Tomb of our Lord, and be present at the "Miracle of the Holy Fire." It is affirmed that on the Easter Eve of each year a flame descends from heaven into the Holy Sepulchre, kindling all the lamps and tapers there. This fire is then given out by the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs to the crowd of pilgrims through two holes in the walls of the Sepulchre. The origin of this extraordinary superstition may be traced to a singular legend, told by Eusebius, of the transubstantiation of water into oil for the use of the lamps on Easter Eve in Jerusalem. But legends have a way of growing, and in the nineteenth century it began to be believed that an angel came and lighted the lamps which hung over the Sepulchre.

Originally all the Churches represented at Jerusalem partook in the ceremony of the Holy Fire; but the Roman Catholics, after their expulsion from the church by the Greeks, denounced it as an imposture, and have never since resumed their old complicity in the affair.

The Holy Fire, like all the other services at Jerusalem during the Greek Easter, is interesting enough to attract even yet people of every nationality to see it. Having myself "assisted" at these various ceremonies under circumstances exceptionally favourable for detailed observation, I will now endeavour to give a circumstantial account of what I saw in the order in which the events occurred.

The first day of the week being Palm Sunday, a very pretty service was held in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Everybody present carried a palm-leaf in one hand and a lighted taper in the other. After a short Mass up at the altar of the Greek chapel facing the Tomb, a procession was formed, consisting of acolytes, the choir, and the priests and Bishops. Then came the Patriarch, and immediately behind him both the Russian and Greek Consuls and suite in full uniform, but on account of the limited space the consular cavasses prevented the rank and file of worshippers from joining the procession. The solemn array walked three times round the Holy Sepulchre, and then drew up in front of the entrance to the Tomb, where another short service was gone through, the Patriarch sitting meanwhile on his throne opposite the Holy Sepulchre.

The church was closely packed with people of every nationality, and lines of Turkish soldiers were present to keep order. There being over 7,000 Russian pilgrims alone in Jerusalem, and most of them attending all the services, it is easy to imagine the picturesque effect of this dense mass of people carrying lighted tapers and waving palm-fronds in their hands.

When the service was over, the Consular parties attended a reception held by the Patriarch, at which, according to the Oriental custom, there were handed round jam and water, liqueurs, and small cups of Turkish coffee. After this a few drops of rose-water sprinkled over each guest intimated that the reception was at an end.

The next important service, called the "Washing of the Feet," was held on Thursday. This is meant to commemorate the Last Supper of our Lord. As it takes place out of doors, in the courtyard of the church, the time fixed for it was 7 a.m. The hour is early out of consideration for the pilgrims, many of whom had been standing ready since the previous evening, so great is their anxiety to secure a good place. At 6.30 a.m. we wended our way through a perfect maze of narrow lanes, belonging to the Greek hospice of Gethsemane, our cavasses having the greatest trouble to open a passage for us through a compact crowd of beggars of every description. The lepers and the blind were the most unpleasantly conspicuous amongst them. After seemingly interminable wanderings over various roofs and up and down several flights of extremely greasy, slippery stairs, we at last reached our destination, and found that some wooden benches had been placed for us on one of the terraces of the hospice. As this immediately overlooked the courtyard of the church, we were able to enjoy a splendid view of the whole proceedings.

In the centre of the courtyard, surrounded by a triple line of Turkish soldiers, a raised platform had been erected, at one end of which stood the Patriarch's throne. On each side of this were six seats for the Archimandrites, who had to act the parts of the disciples. The courtyard was crowded with people of many races, whilst every roof, balcony, and window of the surrounding buildings was alive with clusters of onlookers. Against the wall of the Greek Convent of Abraham a wooden balcony had been temporarily propped up, and decorated by an olive-tree stuck into it. Standing upon the balcony was a priest, who continuously read in a loud voice the chapters of Holy Scripture bearing on the ceremony enacted.

Having kept us waiting for about an hour, the patriarchal procession at last emerged from the church. In front came the acolytes, carrying crucifixes and incense; after them the choir and priests; then the twelve Archimandrites, who represented the disciples, all in gorgeous red satin robes elaborately worked in gold thread. Behind them appeared the Patriarch in a magnificent red and gold brocade robe, with his beautiful mitre of wrought gold and precious stones on his head. After a short prayer, the Patriarch sent two Archimandrites (representing the disciples Peter and John) to inquire whether "the Supper was ready." Having approached the platform, they returned with an affirmative answer, after hearing which the Patriarch and all the Archimandrites solemnly mounted upon the platform, and sat down to listen to the singing of the Greek choir (which was really more like howling than singing).

When the priest on the balcony read out the words, "He . . . took a towel and girded Himself" (John xiii. 4), two priests came and disrobed the Patriarch, fastening a towel round his waist and throwing another over his shoulder. They then held a handsome silver enamelled bowl of rose-water, and the Patriarch, representing our Saviour, went the round, washing the right foot of each disciple (beginning with Judas and finishing with Peter). The latter at first had to decline the honour, but finally gave in, when the Patriarch admonished him in the words, "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with Me" (John xiii. 8). After drying each foot with his towel, the Patriarch kissed it, and the Archimandrite kissed the Patriarch's hand in return. The whole of that scene as it is written in the New Testament was thus gone through, even to the sending away of Judas on his dreadful errand.

To the educated and sensitive mind it is a repulsive ceremony, being apparently the most sacrilegious of all; but on the Russian peasants, who are like children, and have to

be treated as such, it is said to have a moving effect. Certainly it appears to impress them in a way we cannot understand. They are wonderfully devout people, and by their faces one can see that they are in imagination gazing upon a sacred scene, instead of what seems to us a hideous mockery. One cannot really help admiring their faith and simplicity.

Apart from the ceremony itself, the scene presents a picture of kaleidoscopic variety, with the brightly-coloured attires of the Bethlehem and Ramala women, the many-hued garments of the Arabs, the Turkish uniforms, the sombre dresses of the Russian peasants, and here and there a sprinkling of European fashions. At any time a crowd is most interesting to watch, but an Oriental crowd is simply fascinating.

After the washing of the feet, a great many people went to see the so-called "Auction of the Holy Fire," which is held on the same day in a Coptic church close by. The highest bidder (usually some rich Copt from Egypt) acquires the right of being the first to light his taper on Saturday from the "holy" flame immediately it is handed out of the tomb by the Armenian Bishop. This privilege (which may cost occasionally as much as £120) is always eagerly sought for, as well as a minor one attached to it and included in the same price —that of being led in triumph by a procession of priests all round the sanctuary, and profusely censed the while.

Another picturesque scene which may be witnessed the same day is the return of the Mussulman pilgrimage from Nebi Musa (the tomb of Moses). This pilgrimage was first instituted by the renowned Sultan Salah-ed-Din (Saladdin), who feared that the numerous Christians who assembled in Jerusalem during Easter might succeed in reconquering the Holy City. Accordingly he devised this pilgrimage as a means of collecting a sufficient number of Moslems to counteract any such designs of the Christians. The insignificant fact of Moses never having crossed the Jordan did not deter the Sultan from carrying out his idea, and a tomb of Moses was accordingly discovered. This has been lately proved to be merely the tomb of a Greek hermit named Moses, who flourished and died in a Greek convent founded by St. Euthymius in the fourth century; nevertheless devout Moslems still believe it to be the resting-place of the Jewish prophet, and the annual pilgrimage to it never fails to attract a good many fanatics. The caravan starts from Jerusalem on the Friday preceding Palm Sunday and returns to the city the day of the "washing of feet." It is escorted by a band of music, flag-bearers, the mufti on horseback, howling and dancing dervishes and numerous Arabs, who perform native war-

dances with shields and sabres in their hands—the whole procession presenting a striking spectacle.

On Good Friday a midnight service is held at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, at which the story of the Cross is represented, and five sermons read in different parts of the buildings in the French, Russian, Turkish, Arabic and Greek languages. Towards the end of the Holy Week the services get very long, and the midnight ones last generally from 10 p.m. to 3 a.m., sometimes even to 4 a.m. As one has to stand all the time, attendance is very trying, and one is thankful when it is all over.

On Saturday at 1 p.m. we again went to the Holy Sepulchre to see the ceremony of the "Holy Fire." The church was even more densely packed than for any of the previous services: every balcony, even to the small recesses in the dome itself, was crowded with people who had thronged to be present at this most interesting, but also most barbaric, ceremony. Before the service began, all the orthodox Arabs in church chanted at the top of their voices a wild song, cursing the Jewish faith and extolling the merits of their own. The fierce gestures and grotesque contortions of the singers seemed a perfect outrage to the sanctuary; but as this shocking custom has existed from time immemorial, and the Arabs are greatly attached to it, every effort that has been made by the Government to abolish it has so far signally failed.

The service began once more by a procession (including upon this occasion also a representative of the Armenian Patriarch), which went three times round the Sepulchre. When the Patriarch, on the third round, reached the door of the tomb (which had been shut and sealed the day before in the presence of a Turkish official) he disrobed, and with the Armenian Bishop went inside, the door being firmly closed after them. A few seconds later they were handing out bundles of "miraculously" lighted tapers through two large circular holes on the sides of the tomb. Immediately the fire was seen to appear from these holes there was a tremendous rush towards the tapers. There is generally a fight to get the first light, for Arabs, Greeks, Russians, Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians are all anxious to be the first to light their tapers. The first taper that gets lighted is always sent to Bethlehem by a special messenger, who waits on a saddled horse outside the church.

We were upon a balcony between two parts of the church (the so-called Rotunda and the Greek Chapel of the Resurrection), and so had a good view of everything going on. The Greek chapel at our back was very dark and crowded with

Russian pilgrims, each holding a bundle of thirty-three slender tapers, meant to represent the thirty-three years of our Lord's life. The moment the fire issued from the Sepulchre all the bells in the church began to ring; the people—12,000 at the lowest computation—shouted, and altogether there was a tremendous noise. Those who got their bundles lit first rushed about among the others, spreading the fire, and immediately the whole place was a blaze of light. All the lamps of the church were also lit by the priests. It was wonderful how quickly it all spread. Those on the balconies let their tapers down by means of strings, and in such a manner got them ignited. We had been so busy watching the strange scene in front of us that we never thought of looking at the Greek chapel behind us. Suddenly we turned and beheld quite a transformation scene. The place that had been so dark before was now a perfect sea of flames. Those who have not witnessed it can have no idea of the effect produced by this compact mass of pilgrims, each holding a blazing bundle of tapers, which looked like torches. It was just the first view of it that was so beautiful, for afterwards the place got dark with smoke.

These simple peasants implicitly believe that God really enables the Patriarch, who has been praying and fasting all the week, to perform this wonderful miracle of making fire descend from heaven on to the Tomb of our Lord on this day of the year. They also believe that as it is "holy" fire it will not burn them, and so hold their hands in it and pass them over their faces and bodies, bathing in it as much as possible. It is a miserable fraud that is thus practised upon them; but the shock that the abolition of this ceremony would give to the devotion and faith of countless thousands is held to make it necessary as yet to continue a disgraceful and degrading imposture. The light is carried by the pilgrims to their homes, where they light with it all the small lamps in front of the eikons, or sacred images of the Saviour, or various saints, which are never absent from a Russian home. We, however, lacking their faith, were truly thankful to get outside after the ceremony, for the place was very close and smoky, and the day unusually hot.

The last, but not by any means the least, interesting ceremony in Passion Week is the midnight or Easter service. This commences at ten o'clock on Saturday evening, and generally lasts till about 4 a.m. on Easter morning. The Russian and Greek Consuls and staff again attend in full uniform, and it is customary for the ladies of the party to be dressed in white, as a sign that the time of mourning will be soon over. A large party having assembled at the Russian

Consulate beforehand, we once more set out for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, preceded by all the cavasses and men carrying "mashallas," or large native torches, fixed to a long pole. As, of course, there is no means of lighting the streets in Jerusalem, our torch-bearers proved eminently useful, the more so that the streets of the Holy City are all paved with slippery cobbles, and run up and down hill at all imaginable angles.

The service began as usual in the Greek chapel, then a procession, similar to those already described, was formed, and walked three times round the Holy Sepulchre. Then the Patriarch sat down on his throne, placed at the entrance of the Rotunda, and on each side of him, opposite each other, sat the Bishops. A sort of funeral service was now read, the clergy being robed in black and silver, and the worshippers holding tapers in their hands, as if they actually assisted at a Requiem. Shortly before midnight the Patriarch rose from his seat and entered the Tomb to have, as it were, a last look at the body of our Lord. A hush falls over the congregation, and then the Patriarch suddenly comes out of the Tomb, and in a loud voice announces that "He is not here; He is risen." At these words the whole church is suddenly lit up, all the bells begin to peal, and great is the rejoicing. The Bishops and clergy (now divested of their mournful attire and clad in their richest glittering robes) go up in turn to the Patriarch, who embraces them thrice, greeting them with the words, "Christ is risen," to which they answer, "Yea, verily, He is risen." After them the Consuls and suite go through the same ceremony, and in every part of the church the same thing takes place—friends and even strangers greeting each other with joy and brotherly love. The last part of the service consists of the ordinary High Mass and the administration of the Holy Communion, and is very long and tedious.

When all was over, we returned to the Russian Consulate to partake of the Easter supper, or, rather, breakfast (the Russian word "razgovliatsia" means literally to "break the fast"). A large number of pilgrims followed us, all carrying lighted tapers and singing a sacred hymn of praise, as they only know how to. The walk through the now quiet streets of the town on a perfect moonlight night, together with that beautiful singing of the peasants, all made an impression on one that would be difficult to define, and still more to forget.

The custom of Easter supper is purely a Russian one, the Greeks having nothing similar to it. It is an excellent institution, quite apart from the historical interest attached to it. After rigorously fasting for seven long weeks like the Russian peasant, or after merely standing in church for

several hours as we had done, one felt that the body also needed refreshment. Therefore, to find a table spread with dainties of every description made one feel at peace with all mankind, friend and foe alike. The special Easter dishes on this occasion are the "pascha" and the "kulitchi," the former being a sort of sweet cheese, and the latter a kind of cake, tracing its origin, I believe, to a Phœnician custom. It requires a special training to partake of the pascha with impunity, notwithstanding that it always has to be blessed, with all the other dishes, by a priest before being eaten. A conspicuous feature of the table is also the Easter eggs, which are exchanged by everybody with the usual salutations. Big baskets of them are sent each year from the Russian Consulate, with loaves of bread, to the various monasteries, personal friends, and to the Turkish prisons, where they are most thankfully received by the wretched prisoners, who all live in a state of perpetual semi-starvation. The Easter table is kept laid all the following week, supplanting the regular meals of the household, and everyone is made welcome, be he friend or stranger.

N. HENDERSON.

ART. VII.—THE ISLINGTON CLERICAL MEETING: A NOTE.

THE Islington Clerical Meeting of 1902 was in some of its aspects so interesting that it calls for more than passing mention. It was the first of a new series. We have, however little the fact may be noticed, left behind us the old Islington Meeting, with its private character and its sense of personal obligation to an individual. We have now to deal with a new Islington Meeting, an institution in charge of a Committee, a gathering over which the Vicar of Islington may or may not preside. If there are likely to be gains from the change, there are also likely to be losses; but, whilst the new method is still upon its trial, it is unnecessary to conjecture which will be the greater. It must, however, be noted that the first gathering under the new order was a very decided success.

But the distinguishing characteristic of the 1902 Meeting was not this mark of novelty; it was rather the manifest return to old paths. The outstanding feature of the papers and addresses was, without exception, the firm statement of what some people may possibly call old-fashioned Evangelical

principles. Although the best utterances of the day had a modern touch about them, they were in their substance a return to the message and the method of the old school. This was particularly apparent in the papers of the Rev. W. H. Stone and the Rev. A. B. G. Lillingston. Now, both the readers may be classed, for Islington purposes, with the younger men; their audience was in a degree unparalleled before composed of the younger men, and these papers were received and talked of with every sign of assent.

There is a significance about all this. There have been times of late when it almost seemed as though the great Islington gathering was to lose something of its individuality. There appeared to be indications—possibly unintentional and not even recognised by many persons—of a tendency to modify the old distinctive character, to avoid anything which stamped the Meeting beyond question as a gathering of men of one school of thought, and to make it merely a meeting of Churchmen without reference to particular ties or aims.

There were some who saw with pleasure and hope what they, perhaps hastily and wrongly, thought was a tentative endeavour to widen the Islington platform. From certain points of view there is much to be said for their position. But probably the great majority of those who come up year by year to the Meeting observed the apparent tendency with misgivings if not with absolute regret. Their view was that, whilst there is much to be urged in favour of a more general gathering, it was a pity to do anything which might impair the traditional character and influence of Islington. That character is protected by no constitution and defined by no laws. A High Church or a Broad Church Vicar might, if he cared to retain the gathering, alter its character absolutely, and no one could say him nay. But whilst the succession of Evangelical Vicars is maintained the inauguration of a definite policy of comprehension in regard to its message would, it is clear, be keenly resented by those to whom I refer.

They may claim that the Meeting of 1902 lends support to their position. The old lines were strictly adhered to, and yet there was but one weak spot in the long series of papers and addresses. Never, perhaps, was the attention keener, the general interest greater, the feeling of the Meeting more definitely spiritual and receptive. If there had been any resort to battle-cries, to catch-phrases, to the conventionalities which promise cheaply-won applause, this would hardly have been so. But these things were absent. And yet the speakers stood in the old paths. To me, and I think to many others, the fact is full of significance and hope.

X.

The Month.

THE reference in the King's Speech at the opening of Parliament to the Education Bill occasioned a good deal of anxiety amongst Churchmen. The future of Church day-schools cannot much longer remain in uncertainty. If the Bill should open up no new way of relief, many managers will hardly feel able to carry the struggle much further. But when this was written details were unknown.

The second Round Table Conference duly kept the end of the old year and the beginning of the new at Fulham. As its formal Report, which Dr. Wace is editing, may be looked for soon after the time when this number of the CHURCHMAN will appear, it is unnecessary to dwell on the work done at Fulham. Some evidence in regard to points which may or may not have been dealt with will be found, however, in one of the articles of this number. It is pleasant to learn that the Fulham discussions, over which Dr. Wace presided, were marked from first to last by the utmost cordiality and candour. We believe it is no secret that the Bishop of London regards the interchange of opinion, with the meeting of men who hold strongly antagonistic views, as being of itself a thing of promise and of real value. This may prove to be so, but it is also very easy to over-estimate the importance of such influence. The way in which the doctrine of the Sacrament of Penance is forced upon the attention of young and old has become so serious a blot upon the work of the Church that it would be folly to expect remedy merely from the discovery by either side that the other people were, after all, excellent fellows. There is quite as much peril as there is possibility of good in this kind of feeling.

The resignation of Dr. Randall, Dean of Chichester, served perhaps to remind some observers of the way in which controversialists often drop out of public sight. There was a time when, as Vicar of All Saints', Clifton, Mr. Randall was very much in evidence as an active worker amongst advanced High Churchmen. As Dean of Chichester he was a Vice-President of the West Sussex branch of the E.C.U., but he was not often heard of outside his diocese. He is succeeded in the deanery by Prebendary Hannah, Vicar of Brighton, a very much more moderate Churchman, although, curiously enough, he read for holy orders at Cuddesdon, the Theological College which, if we may draw inferences from *Roads to Rome*, has directed a good many men's minds away from their own Church to the charms of the Papacy. The new Dean belonged to much the same Oxford period as the late Bishop Creighton, the Bishop of Salisbury, and the Bishop of Rochester. His friends have, perhaps, anticipated for him the higher distinction to which those contemporaries attained.

A good deal of interest has been excited by a volume from the pen of Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree, in which he examines the conditions of life amongst wage-earners in the city of York. He organized a house-to-house inquiry, the results of which have been very carefully digested. Amongst his investigations one was made into attendance at Divine service in York. The census was conducted on March 17 and 24, 1901,

and it may be convenient to some if we quote Mr. Seebohm's statement as to certain of the results obtained by this inquiry:

"Of these total attendances—

"14 per cent. were made by those attending Roman Catholic services.

"43 per cent. were made by those attending Church of England services.

"38 per cent. were made by those attending Nonconformist services.

"5 per cent. were made by those attending Salvation Army and Mission services.

"Of course, the above figures do not represent the number of persons attending places of worship, for some would attend both morning and evening services. The exact number who attended twice on each Sunday is not known, but inquiry among those connected with various churches, chapels, etc., has elicited the opinion that upon the average about half the morning congregation attend again in the evening. This figure is a mere estimate; but assuming it to be accurate, we obtain 13,402 as the average attendance of adults at places of worship on each Sunday—that is, 28 per cent. of the adult population of York.

"In carrying out this census an attempt was made to ascertain the working-class attendance, and the enumerator at each place of worship was asked to discriminate as far as possible in his returns between the 'working' and 'upper' classes. The results show that 66 per cent. of the total attendances were made by the 'working class' and 34 per cent. by the 'upper' class. Obviously any such differentiation—based as it was merely upon appearances—must be a rough one, and too much importance must not be attached to it. Nevertheless, the figures are interesting, and tend to show that the proportion of the population who attend the public worship is very much the same in both the 'working' and 'upper' classes."

Of course, the value of such a census depends largely upon the extent to which it was kept secret; but on the face of it the figures suggest that the attendance at York is better than in London or in the large manufacturing towns either of the North or the South.

The *Record* of January 10 published an extract from the advertising columns of its own number for January 27, 1831, which at once suggests a parallel to the present condition of the C.M.S., and a precedent for one obvious way of meeting, at least in part, the financial difficulty confronting the Society. The advertisement in question contained an account of a meeting held in the previous November at Freemasons' Tavern, when "the present Financial Situation of the Society . . . was taken into consideration." "The Meeting," we learn, "was decidedly of opinion that although Donations would tend to relieve the difficulties of the Society, the assistance peculiarly required is an Increase of Annual Subscriptions; the augmentation of the Society's regular Income being indispensable to the support of its existing Establishments. Under this conviction many of the Members present increased their former Annual Subscriptions, or became Subscribers to the Fund for Providing for Disabled Missionaries." Then followed four resolutions. The first declared that the Society must either reduce its foreign expenditure or increase its income. The second ran thus: "That this Meeting, encouraged by the measure of the Divine Blessing which has been already granted to the Society's labours, and unwilling to abandon any of its Stations in Heathen Lands without an appeal to the love of Chris-

tians at home, recommends that a Subscription be now commenced to meet the present exigencies of the Society; and affectionately invites its Members to increase the amount of their Annual Contributions for the purpose of augmenting its Permanent Income." A list of subscribers followed. Four lay Peers and the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry headed the list; the familiar names of Bickersteth, Bridges, Cunningham, Fenn, Grane, Hoare, Pratt, Thornton, and Whiting were amongst those that followed. Mr. Stock's "History of the C.M.S." does not allude to this appeal, though the general situation in 1830 is stated at vol. i., p. 481.

Lady Wimborne, in a New Year's address published in the January number of the *Ladies' League Gazette* (a periodical always worth attention), dwells on an aspect of the current controversy with extreme Anglicanism which is too apt to be overlooked. Lady Wimborne says: "Dark as the picture sometimes appears when we look at the condition of our Church, at the growth of unbelief and irreligion in our country, which we know is being, if not produced, at any rate greatly increased by the system which we in this League are opposing, there is, we thankfully recognise in many a quarter, a work for God being done which perhaps may never be known till the end comes, but which in all ranks and conditions of men is drawing souls to Him, and which we cannot but humbly hope may form the germ of a purer and holier life in our land. Courage and hope, therefore, are needed. There is an attractive power in the Cross of Christ which will yet draw the world. It is becoming more and more clear that a mechanical and material form of religion, one which interposes a human being, erring and mortal as ourselves, between the soul and God, will never satisfy those to whom the great problems of life have once presented themselves. Everywhere men are hungering and thirsting for a faith that will satisfy, and the troubles through which the country has lately passed have brought many a one to that personal contact with the Divine which alone can give peace." There is always a grave peril lest in controversial work the spiritual side of the things at stake should be overlooked. This can never happen without grievous loss, and all Protestant agencies do well to keep the danger in mind. Rightly directed, their work must make for those happy results to which Lady Wimborne calls attention.

Mr. Bamber, of the London City Mission, whose work amongst canal boatmen was described in Mr. H. C. Moore's article last month ("Among the Water-Gipsies"), asks us to say that the £540 then needed for the Institute at Brentford has now been reduced to about £450. Subscriptions or donations for the work may be sent to Mr. J. H. Whitehorn, Treasurer, the Corner House, Chesterford Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.; or to Mr. F. Williams, Hon. Secretary, 11, Windmill Road, Brentford.

Reviews.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

National Education: Essays Towards a Constructive Policy. Edited by LAURIE MAGNUS. London: J. Murray.

CHURCHMEN who are considering with open minds the education problem, more especially in regard to secondary education, will find this volume of essays worth their attention. There is a strong plea for proper professional training and the registration of secondary teachers. The inspection of secondary schools is supported in an interesting essay by Sir Joshua Fitch. Commercial, industrial, and agricultural education will also be found treated with care. The question of the Church schools is handled by Prebendary Bernard Reynolds, whose wide experience gives him ample authority to speak. He explains the changes which he regards as necessary before we can reach peace in regard to this thorny subject:

"1. The alteration of the School Board system. There is not the least reason why members of School Boards should resent such a step, as those of them who have done really good work would certainly be placed upon the new bodies.

"2. The prevention of sacred subjects being brought into contempt for electioneering purposes.

"3. The control of elementary and secondary education by smaller bodies than at present, and more representative of the locality, such bodies being appointed by the County or Borough Councils, with representatives appointed by the Board of Education, by the religious bodies concerned, and by the teachers themselves, and by bodies who concern themselves with some special branch of education.

"4. The control of the religious teaching by the Church or denomination to which the children belong."

This volume should do good service just now.

The Vicar and his Friends. Reported by CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE, D.D., LL.D. London: Longmans and Co.

Dr. Geikie opens his work with a very charming picture of a Godly and most lovable country parson. He was also a man of learning, and thoughtful neighbours often gathered at his vicarage to talk of things near their hearts, *et quibusdam aliis.* Some of these conversations are here reported for us. It must be owned that their range is wide enough for them actually to have taken place, and that the occasional presence of rather foolish things also helps to give them a natural air. On the other hand, unless the rural gathering was one of a very exceptional character, the speeches are mainly too long and too literary in their character. Still, there they are, and between them they discuss in an interesting and suggestive way things as different as points of theology, the Hundred Best Books, and the incomes of the clergy. No intelligent Churchman should find the book dull.

Noble Women of Our Times. By F. D. HOW. London: Isbister and Co.

Mr. How has turned from Bishops to ladies, but without losing his habit of writing in an interesting way. His subjects are not the conventional selection. They include Mrs. Daniell, the soldiers' friend, Mrs.

Wightman, of Shrewsbury, Mrs. Sydney Lear, Mrs. Nassau Senior, Miss Agnes Jones, and other noble women whose examples cannot fail to help those who read this volume.

The Fireside. Conducted by the Rev. C. BULLOCK. *Hand and Heart.* Edited by H. SOMERSET BULLOCK. London: *Home Words* Office.

The volumes of these familiar magazines show that they are being kept well up to their known reputations. The *Fireside* is an excellent magazine for the home, whilst *Hand and Heart* should do good service as a magazine for parish use. Both are well illustrated and attractively got up.

The Novels of George Meredith. Pocket Edition. Westminster: A. Constable and Co.

We have received four volumes of this edition: "The Ordeal of Richard Feverel," "Beauchamp's Career," "The Egoist," and "Diana of the Crossways." The size is convenient, the type clear, the binding tasteful; in fine, when complete we should regard this as in every way an admirable edition of its kind.

The Story of some English Shires. By the late MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D. London: R.T.S.

This is a new edition at 6s. of the book originally issued in a costly form. Dr. Creighton's work always had the power of interesting the reader, and we do not doubt but that these chapters on some of the English counties will, in this more popular form, reach a new and much wider circle.

Widow Wiley, and Some Other Folk. By "BROWN LINNET." London: Seeley and Co.

A very charming series of sketches of rural character and life will be found in this volume. "Brown Linnet" writes with genuine skill, and the book deserves success.

The Universal Obligation of Tithes. By A BARRISTER. London: Elliot Stock.

This book is a strong plea for the principle of devoting a tithe as a direct offering to God.

CHIEFLY HOMILETICAL.

Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. The Book of Psalms. Books IV. and V., Psalms XC.-CL. By A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D. Cambridge: At the University Press.

Professor Kirkpatrick has now brought to an end his valuable and most convenient commentary. This volume is entirely worthy of his reputation as a sound and sober Old Testament scholar. It is, like its predecessors, complete in itself, so that the student who wishes to study any division of the Psalter will find the introductory matter in each volume. The commentary is, again, most useful, illuminating just those points upon which assistance is needed. There are details upon which it is permissible to differ even from Professor Kirkpatrick, but the work will commend itself to all save those whose sympathies are with a more daring and imaginative school of criticism.

The Church Epistles: Romans to 2nd Thessalonians. By E. W. BULLINGER, D.D. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.

Dr. Bullinger has reprinted his articles from *Things to Come*. The book is not primarily meant for the scholar so much as for the general reader. It will probably be agreed that some of the things upon which Dr. Bullinger insists are purely arbitrary; but his work may help some readers to a more careful study of the Epistles, especially in their relation to each other.

The Titles of Jehovah: A Course of Sermons. By the Rev. H. W. WEBB-PEPLOE. London: James Nisbet and Co., Ltd.

These sermons were preached without any thought of their appearance in book form, and on that account lack something of the carefulness of form which they might otherwise have had. But they are instinct with life, marked with the deepest reverence for Holy Scripture, practical in their application, and persuasive in their appeal. They deserve a wide circulation.

Apostolic Optimism and other Sermons. By J. H. JOWETT, M.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Mr. Jowett succeeded Dr. Dale. But he is not another Dr. Dale. His book hardly reaches the first rank in Nonconformist homiletics. He has vigour; but there is too little of Holy Scripture, and rather too much of rhetoric.

The Company of Heaven: Daily Links with the Household of God. London: Longmans and Co.

This is a book for devotional use, giving for every day in the year a text of Holy Scripture, together with short extracts in prose or verse from well-known authors. It should help to the realization of some aspects of the Communion of Saints.

Lessons from the Parables, for Home and School Use. By Mrs. W. J. TAIT. With a Preface by the Dean of ROCHESTER. London: Elliot Stock.

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