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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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MAY, 1881.

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ART. I.—ERASTIANISM.

THE term Erastian is one of those "personal" epithets, as we may call them, which it is very easy to use, in controversial discussion, in a thoughtless and vague way. And it is by no means unimportant to consider, every now and then, the real significance which should be attached to such epithets. For in every case when we have a term of this sort used, either *in bonam* or *in malam partem*, an historical question underlies the terminological one. If I call a man, *e.g.*, a Comtist, I should know something of what M. Comte taught, and so put myself into the position of seeing how the epithet came to be applied to those who hold certain philosophical opinions. Instances of these personal epithets are numerous. For every notable leader of thought, whether in a more or less considerable sphere, has adherents or followers who are proud of his name, and opponents who detest it. It will be generally found, too, that the epithet as used to describe the *party* connotes more than could be accurately stated as appropriate to the *person* from whom the party takes its name. Some striking doctrine, or principle, which was brought into prominence by the original teacher, is intensified and exaggerated, either by his followers or by his antagonists, or by both, and the epithet acquires a controversial significance, which may be convenient for the sake of classification of opposing tenets, though it sometimes leads to an unfair estimate of the person from whose name the epithet is derived.

It will be my object in this, and a succeeding, Paper, to remind my readers of the actual circumstances which led to the publication of those treatises of Erastus which have made his name notable, and to give a summary sketch of his "Theses;" then, to show the manner in which the epithet Erastian came to be applied to the opponents of what may be called the strong *clerical* view of the Church; and, thirdly, to offer some remarks

on the practical bearings of the whole controversy upon the present condition of ecclesiastical affairs in the Church of England.

Thomas Lieber, or Liebler, known by his Græco-Latinized name of ERASTUS,<sup>1</sup> has sometimes been termed a German "heretic," and sometimes a German "divine." Neither of these appellations can be strictly predicated of him. He was, indeed, once excommunicated by the Heidelberg presbytery on suspicion of being an anti-Trinitarian; but "the sentence was reconsidered and removed" shortly after it had been pronounced, "Erastus formally declaring that no one could hold the doctrine of the Trinity more firmly than he."<sup>2</sup>

Again, the appellation of "divine" suggests the idea that Erastus was a professed theological writer, even if it does not lead persons to regard him as an ordained minister. His profession was, however, that of a physician, and he published several scientific treatises on medical subjects. But he felt and exhibited great interest in theological questions of the day, and was recognized by such men as Bullinger and Gualter at Zurich, and by his opponent Beza at Geneva, as not only a man of learning, possessed of "eruditio eximia et singularis," but also a man of "vera et sincera pietas," well versed in the Scriptures, and one who had faithfully laboured in "spreading the Gospel." The fact is that we should regard Erastus as, in modern parlance, an intelligent and cultured layman, who joined with earnest zeal in the religious discussions which rose out of the circumstances of his life at Heidelberg, where he held the post of physician to the Elector Palatine, Frederick III. The most appropriate title, then, for him is that by which he is denominated in the preface to the posthumous edition of his "Theses"—viz., "Medicus et Philosophus." The circumstances which induced Erastus to write on the subject of Excommunication, and to lay down those "Positions," from which have been gathered his views concerning the relation between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions in a Christian country, are thus notified in the remarks prefixed by Erastus himself to the last MS. edition of his "Theses," and addressed "pio et veritatis studioso lectori."

It is now sixteen years ago, (he says) since some persons were seized with what I may call an excommunicatory fever ("febre quadam excommunicatoria correpti"), which they decked with the name of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and did contend for as holy and enjoined by God upon the Church, and with this they vehemently sought to infect

<sup>1</sup> This was a fashion of those times. Compare the well-known names, Desiderius, Erasmus, Ecolampadius, and Melancthon as the learned equivalents for Gerhard, Gerhardson, Hausschein, and Schwartzerd.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclop. Brit.*, sub voc. Erastus.

the whole Church. The method they proposed was that certain Presbyters should sit in the name of the whole Church, and judge who were worthy, and who unworthy, to come to the supper."<sup>1</sup>

Erastus proceeds to say that he was astonished at their proposing to take such a step, when scarcely a thirtieth part of the people understood or approved of the Reformed doctrines, and when they were surrounded by hostile religionists. It was rather a time, he thought, for doing all that could be done to attract, rather than to do anything to repel, adherents. He remonstrated, but his remonstrances were in vain. At that time he held the opinion that excommunication was commanded in Scripture, but that the method they proposed was not laid down there. Anxious to see what method was most suitable, and least likely to disturb the Church, he betook himself to study the subject. He studied ancient, "scholastic," and recent writers, but, not satisfied, "he went back to Holy Writ." Here he was especially struck by the fact that in the divinely ordered Jewish Church and commonwealth there were not two diverse courts of judicature in morals—a political and an ecclesiastical—but only one. "What, then, was there," he asked, "to prevent the Church now also, since God had graciously conferred on it the gift of Christian magistracy, from being content with *one government?*" Erastus did not, however, enter into public disputation until forced to do so. Things were brought to a crisis by the visit of a certain Englishman to Heidelberg, who had left England ("propter rem vestiariam"), in consequence of the controversy as to vestments, and, wishing to take a Doctor's degree at Heidelberg, proposed a dispute concerning "things indifferent, and vestments." This was not allowed, but the Englishman proposed some theses in favour of presbyterian discipline.<sup>2</sup> Erastus then thought it well to circulate in MS. some of the thoughts which he had jotted down on the subject. The friends to whom he first sent his MS. do not seem to have dealt with it either in a kind or a candid manner. He then revised his material, and contracted it into a certain

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<sup>1</sup> My quotations are translated from the original edition of 1589. It is entitled, "*Explicatio Gravissimæ Questionis utrum excommunicatio, quatenus Religionem intelligentes et amplexantes, a Sacramentorum usu, propter admissum facinus arcet; mandato nitatur Divino an excogitata sit ab hominibus.*" The lxxv. Theses are followed by the "*Confirmatio Thesium,*" and some letters of Bullinger and Gualter are *ad calcem operis adjectæ.*

<sup>2</sup> Hooker (*Pref.* ii. 9) alludes to this visit, and speaks of the disputant as one who, coming to "a church ordered by Gualter's discipline, and not by that which Geneva adoreth," and "craving leave to dispute publicly defendeth with open disdain of their government that 'to a minister with his eldership power is given by the law of God to excommunicate whomsoever, yea, even kings and princes themselves.'"

number of propositions ("Theses"); thinking thereby to obtain for them easier circulation through many hands. This plan, he says, was to a great extent successful, so that they were widely made known, and those who had been unwilling to read them, when asked by him to do so, were now compelled to read them, even against their will. His opponents, he complains, would not meet him fairly in argument, but tried to prevent his "Theses" being read, and averred that a medical professor had no right to interfere with theological matters. To this Erastus makes a spirited reply: and he concludes his preface by stating that "he revised his hundred 'Theses'" ("sub incudem revocavi"), reducing them to seventy-five, and placing them in proper logical order; and explaining some things in them more clearly, and proving some things more conclusively; doing his best, indeed, to satisfy, so far as could be done in so short a treatise, "all lovers of truth."

These "Theses" were not printed and published until 1589, some six years after Dr. Liebler's death. A mystery was attached to their publication, for place and printer are concealed under fictitious names.<sup>1</sup> Beza, who upon the appearance of the "Theses" in their printed form published the reply to Erastus, which he had before composed and circulated in MS., supposes the book to have been printed in London, or some town in England. And it has been affirmed, on Selden's authority, that Whitgift had the book published, in order to confront the growth of Presbyterian notions of church discipline in England.<sup>2</sup> Beza's treatise is entitled "Tractatus Pius et moderatus de vera excommunicatione et Christiano Presbyterio impridem pacis conciliandæ causa. Cl. V. Th. Erasti D. Medici centum manuscriptis thesibus oppositus et nunc primum cogente necessitate editus." It will be interesting to cite here Hooker's view of this controversy. He considers that, in the disputation, Beza and Erastus have "divided very equally the truth between them; Beza most truly maintaining the necessity of excommunication, Erastus as truly the non-necessity of lay-elders to be the ministers thereof."

Together with the seventy-five "Theses" is published a reply by Erastus to Beza, entitled "Confirmatio Thesium," and to this are appended some letters of Bullinger and Gualter, in which those Zurich divines express their concurrence with the opposition

<sup>1</sup> Pesclavii, apud Baocium Sultaceterum.

<sup>2</sup> Warburton says that "Erastus' famous book *De Excommunicatione* was purchased by Whitgift of Erastus' widow in Germany, and put by him to the press in London under fictitious names of the place and printer. This Selden discovered, and has published his discovery in the book *De Synedrüs.*" See the passage cited from Selden in Thorndike's works (Anglo-Catholic Library), vol. i. part ii. p. 741 note.

which Erastus was making to the institution of a rigid Presbyterian régime at Heidelberg.

The primary question, then, which stands at the centre of the reasonings of Erastus in the treatises mentioned is the question of excommunication. He takes a strong lay point of view in opposition to a strong clerical point of view. He argues for a wide liberty; the Presbyterian ministers who oppose him argue for a "strict discipline," a discipline which shall not only embrace clergy, but also laity, and shall be independent of any civil tribunal.

The argument of the revised "Theses" may be briefly summarized thus. Excommunication is defined as consisting in exclusion, not from the invisible spiritual societies of believers, but from the "outward, visible, political" society: an exclusion from the Sacraments, especially from the Lord's Supper, after an investigation by the elders (*præunte seniorum cognitione*), the object of the exclusion being that the sinful parties may repent, and be received into communion again ("Th." i.-viii.). The question is then propounded whether any command, or example, from Scripture can warrant the exclusion from the sacraments of a professed believer, because of sinful life ("Th." ix.). "Theses" x. to xxiii. are an endeavour to show that, in the Old Testament and Jewish economy, no one was on account of moral delinquencies repelled from the Sacraments. (By the sacraments Erastus understands the Passover, and "other rites, ceremonies and sacrifices." The uncleanness which excluded certain persons from worship was a *ceremonial*, not a *moral* taint.)

The argument then proceeds on the assumption that the "sacraments" of the Old Testament were, as to their meaning, to be identified with ours—the Lord's Supper, *e.g.*, corresponding to the Paschal feast, as Baptism does to circumcision ("Th." xxiv., xxv.). Our Lord never forbade any one to partake of the (Jewish) sacraments, and never censured any one for using them; and He participated in public worship with Pharisees, Sadducees, and publicans. He did not command Judas to abstain from the Supper. It was not his will that his visible Church on earth should be circumscribed by narrower limits than those which were laid down among the Jews.

As, then, God commanded all that were circumcised to participate externally in the same sacraments and ceremonies, while He enjoined that the wicked should be coerced and punished by the sword and other penalties: so, also, it is now Christ's will that all baptized persons, or Christians, holding right and sound opinions concerning religion, should use the same outward ceremonies and sacraments, but that criminals should be punished by the magistrate with death, exile, imprisonment, and other such penalties. The Parables of the net, the marriage feast, the tares, seem to bear upon this point ("Th." xxxi.).

The Apostolic writings are to the same purpose. In 1 Cor. xi. Paul, in reference to disturbances connected with the Lord's Supper, makes no mention at all of "interdiction" from the Supper. Why? Because he knew that the use of the Sacraments in the Church was not that the vicious might be punished by exclusion from those ordinances (*alium esse usum quam ut eorum negatione morum vitia punirentur*). And so "he enjoins that every one should examine himself: he does not lay down the rule that some should examine and approve the rest" ("Th." xxxv.). The Sacraments were never intended to be *penal* instruments; and it is good that we should hope the best concerning any one who uses them ("Th." xxxvii.). The sacraments are not superior in authority and dignity to the Word, and we do not seek to exclude anybody from hearing the Word. Some will say, "the Word was appointed for all men, the Sacraments for the converted only. Granted: but I am not speaking of Turks, or unconverted men, but of those called by God into his Church, and implanted therein; of those who approve of Christian doctrine; of those who, at any rate in outward appearance, desire to make due use of the Sacraments" ("Th." xxxviii.).

In the fortieth "Thesis" and what follows, Erastus deals with the Scripture passages on which his opponents rest their arguments in favour of excommunication (Matt. xviii. 15, &c.; 1 Cor. v.; 1 Tim. i. 20; v. 17, 20). The principal points worthy of note in Erastus' interpretation of these Scriptures are these: he considers that the passage in Matt. xviii. refers not to any authoritative exclusion from Sacraments of public offenders, but to the pious dealing with, and settling of, private injuries. And he interprets the clause, "Tell it to *the Church*," as meaning that the injured person was not to appeal to a heathen tribunal in vindication of himself until he had brought the matter before the *Jewish Sanhedrim*.

Erastus interprets the phrase "delivering to Satan" of the Apostolic prerogative of inflicting diseases and death upon grave offenders. He repudiates the argument for two sets of elders based upon 1 Tim. v. 17. He also denies the applicability of Matt. vii. 6 to the refusal of Sacraments to persons professing to be Christians. He draws a distinction between "shunning the company of the wicked," and "excluding persons from a Sacrament." (*Illa poena quidem est politica, hæc sacra. Illa præcepta nobis est, hæc mandata non est.*—"Th." lxvi.)

He does not wish to condemn "the holy Bishops who, soon after the Apostles' times, commenced" the practice of excommunication; but he holds that they acted upon grounds of expediency rather than on warrant of Scripture ("Th." lxix.). The design with which "excommunication" was introduced was that, "by means of it, there might be some restraint of, and

some penalty for, viciousness. "But afterwards, when the Church got possession of the sword—that is, when the magistrates had become Christian"—the bishops still maintained that authority, partly because they believed it was divinely ordained, partly because they did not like to give up so formidable a weapon of coercive power. The opinion about excommunication was strengthened by a superstitious view of the Sacraments ("Th." lxx.). Erastus says that all must be aware of the baleful effects of Papal excommunications, and that it was not to be expected that modern administrators of it would necessarily be *meliores vel continentiores* than those of olden times ("Th." lxxii.). He would advocate an analogous government in the Christian Church to that employed in the divinely ordered Jewish commonwealth ("Th." lxxiii., lxxiv.), and not have a new kind of judicature established which would reduce the magistrate to the condition of an ordinary subject. Such a tribunal *de moribus* is not enjoined in Scripture, though Erastus holds that in cases of doctrine (*de doctrina*) the magistrate ought to consult experts (*consuli a Magistratu semper debent in ea exercitiores*).

In the case of churches living under an ungodly government (*videlicet Pontificio vel Turcico*), pious arbitrators should be chosen to settle disputes, and together with the ministers to admonish, and reprove, and to punish, if necessary, by some public mark of reprobation, but not to excommunicate ("Th." lxxv.).

A survey of this short treatise shows that Erastus was inspired with a fear of clerical (or ecclesiastical) despotism;<sup>1</sup> that he was in favour of a large charitable construction of motives in regard to all who openly professed themselves to be Christians, and were willing to join in public worship; that he objected to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper being made the instrument of penalty to any; and that he considered that, in a Christian country, *coercive* jurisdiction should be left solely in the hands of the civil rulers.

The fact that Erastus argued not only against a particular method of excommunication, but against any exercise of prohibitive jurisdiction on the part of a separate "spiritual" court, in reference to the Lord's Supper, was capable of being understood as if he meant to deny any official *status* to the clergy.

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<sup>1</sup> He was not alone in this apprehension. A remarkable letter of Gualter (to Count Ludovic of Witgenstein, Aug. 26, 1574) speaks of an *ambitiosus rigor* which needed to be curbed, and was in danger of bringing in *novam in Ecclesias tyrannidem, Pontificia nihilò tolerabiliorem*. Later on occurs this passage: "*Emergent hinc novæ tyrannidis cornua, et paulatim cristas attollent ambitiosi Ecclesiarum pastores,*" &c. Bullinger, too, in writing to Peter Dathe, speaks of an *oligarchia ecclesiastica* springing up, against which Erastus was right to protest.



It is important, therefore, to note that, in subordinating the "ecclesiastical" administration to the magistrate, Erastus always contemplates the rulers as Christian, and as doing nothing contrary to the Word of God: and, while he repudiates two distinct jurisdictions, he does not on that account confound lay and clerical functions. He specially remarks (with reference to Uzziah's case, which was brought up against his theory of "magisterial supremacy"), "*Hoc considerandum aliud esse res sacras curare et gubernare, aliud agere. Multas regit res Magistratus quas ipse per se non facit.* And so Uzziah might order, govern, and rule the priests, and arrange their duties according to what God prescribed, but he might not sacrifice or offer incense"<sup>1</sup> (*C. T.* iii. 1). In the same chapter, which is entitled *De munere et distinctione Magistratus*, Erastus lays down that all right government of men is visible or invisible:

Of the invisible (internal, heavenly, spiritual) province God is the Governor; of the visible (external, human, corporal), the only ruler is the magistrate. A commonwealth in which there are two distinct and equal magistracies is a monstrosity like an animal with two heads. The Papal solution of the problem of government is that the ecclesiastical power is superior to the civil, and that this must be therefore subordinated to that. Hence the saying *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho*. If we reject this method of adjustment, it remains that we must accept the civil magistrate as supreme in all departments, but bound to consult specialists in each department (*consultere peritos debet, quorum consilio administret; vel idoneos homines cuilibet muneri præficere qui suo nomine recte singula curare velint ac possint*). It must be understood, however, that as in civil matters the magistrate may not transgress the laws of the State, so "in disposing and ordering sacred affairs or those connected with Divine Worship, it is far less legitimate for him to depart from the prescribed Word of God: this he is bound to follow as a rule in all things, and never to depart even a hair's breadth from it." The *gubernatio externa* is divinely committed to the magistrate, both in respect of civil life and of religious life. There cannot be two jurisdictions in a country "where rulers and subjects profess the same religion, and that the true one." Where it is otherwise, some sort of division of jurisdiction is tolerable (*In alia in qua videlicet Magistratus falsam tuetur sententiam certo quidem modo tolerabilis videri fortasse possit divisio rectorum*).

We are now in a position to see that the views held by Erastus himself fall considerably short of the developed "Erastianism" which was afterwards made matter of reproach in controversial discussions. "Indeed, it may be doubted" (as Dr. Lee points out<sup>2</sup>) "whether, with the exception of the Genevan

<sup>1</sup> Compare the language of our Article XXXVII. ("Of the Civil Magistrate").

<sup>2</sup> In an interesting preface to an English edition of the "Theses," published in 1844. In this preface Dr. Lee vindicates the Church of

divines," the Reformers "did not all of them maintain something very much resembling" Erastus' theory of the supremacy of the Christian magistrate in respect of ecclesiastical matters in the country where he held jurisdiction. The reason of this is that they regarded "the Church and State as one subject, or *suppositum*, considered under two different aspects or relations—being the Church in relation to religion, the State in relation to temporal and secular affairs; the same men being the State as they were men; the Church as they were Christian men." This, indeed, is practically Hooker's theory: not that he actually identifies the Church with the Commonwealth, for he distinguishes them "in nature," one from the other; but he holds that the Church is the Commonwealth on its spiritual side, and in respect of religion, while the Commonwealth is the same community in a different aspect and different relations. But they are not two "corporations," independently subsisting, each by itself.<sup>1</sup>

Erastus quotes, with approbation, a passage from Wolfgang Musculus, in which he denounces as *nocentissimus error* the view taken by some advocates for ecclesiastical discipline—viz., that the Christian magistrate was to be regarded in an entirely secular light, and placed on a level with a heathen ruler (*quasi nihil a profano magistratus pius differet, etc.*—"Th." lxxiv.).<sup>2</sup>

It may well be that in the 16th century some of those who were deeply interested in the emancipation of the human conscience from superstition, and yet were unwilling to give it over to anarchical individualism, were induced by a reaction from the burdensome sense of Papal tyranny to overrate the power and goodwill of princes, and to imagine that they would necessarily find in the "civil power" that justice and liberty of which hierarchical pretensions and Papal claims had to a great extent deprived the Church.

In our own land the opposition of *regal* to *papal* supremacy (an opposition which was really a development of former conflicts between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction), became, as we all know, a prominent factor in the national Reformation in its legal and governmental aspect. The earlier Anglican view of the Royal Supremacy did in fact, to a considerable extent, agree with Erastus' view of "magistracy," as exercised in a Christian land, and upon Christian principles. During the

Scotland from the charge of Erastianism, and at the same time shows that the epithet "Erastian" does not necessarily infer such a formidable indictment as some of those who used it supposed.

<sup>1</sup> See *E. P.*, Book viii. 2-7.

<sup>2</sup> The "civil magistrate" is generally spoken of in all the Protestant Confessions with remarkable respect—sometimes as *Vicarius Dei*. The *Confessio Basileensis prior* condemns those "turbulent spirits" (*turbarum spiritus*) who assert "that magistrates cannot be Christians."

twenty years (1568-1589) which elapse from the date at which the "Theses" were first circulated among the Continental Reformers to the date at which they were published, the struggle going on in England between the "Prelatist" and "Puritan" parties was a contention for the supremacy of the "magistrate" as against the supremacy of the "Presbytery" in ecclesiastical matters.<sup>1</sup>

A complication of the whole controversy regarding the proper adjustment of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions in a Christian State was produced in the further issues of the Puritan Revolution. Both parties in that conflict contended for the power to enforce a uniformity of doctrine and discipline. The question was, where the authority was to reside, what was to be the ultimate jurisdiction? On the one side, was urged the *jus divinum* of the presbytery, as opposed to the coercive jurisdiction of the chief magistrate. On the other, whilst the prerogative of the Sovereign, as supreme in ecclesiastical as well as in civil causes, was stoutly maintained, the *jus divinum* of bishops was asserted as a countercheck to the Presbyterian claims; and the claims of royal prerogative were pushed into an extreme and mischievous theory of passive obedience and non-resistance. When the Puritan revolt against the arbitrary policy of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud had been successful, and a Scotch policy was in the ascendant, as indicated in the fact that the Solemn League and Covenant was signed by the Members of Parliament, it seemed as if "Presbyteral" domination were in a fair way of succeeding to "Prelatic" rule. But the lay and legal mind of the Parliament came into opposition to the prevalent ecclesiastical tendencies as these were manifested in the Westminster Assembly of Divines. In that assembly, the small party of ERASTIANS, who "did not except against the presbyterial government as a political institution proper to be established by the civil magistrate, but were against the claim of a divine right," represented a large and important section in the House of Commons. The Westminster divines again and again pressed the claims of "the Church" as contrasted with merely civil authority. Their view is most concisely formulated in the first section of chapter xxx. of the Westminster Confession: "The Lord Jesus, as King and Head of his Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of Church officers distinct from the civil magistrate." By this government is meant the authority to inflict and remit "Church censures," which are "admonition,"

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<sup>1</sup> Bishop Sandys, writing in 1573 to Henry Bullinger, and giving a summary of the new disciplinarian ideas, places first in his list the assertion by "these new orators" that "the civil magistrate has no authority in ecclesiastical matters. He is only a member of the church, the government of which ought to be committed to the clergy." "Zurich Letters" (1st series)—Letter cxiv. (*Park. Soc.*).

“suspension from the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper for a season,” and “excommunication from the Church.”

“The fiercest contention,” says the historian of the Puritans, “between the assembly and the Parliament arose upon the power of the keys which the former had voted to be in the eldership or presbytery.”<sup>1</sup> Selden and Whitelocke spoke strongly against any excommunication whatsoever; the former arguing (as Erastus had done) that excommunication was a human invention; the latter contending that excommunication was not proper *pastor’s* work, and questioning both the commission and the competency of the *ruling elders*. Nor did he think the discipline proposed to be necessary. “I have heard many complaints,” he said, “of the jurisdiction of the prelates who were but few; now in this ordinance there will be a great multiplication of spiritual men in government, but I am of opinion that where the temporal sword is sufficient for punishment of offences there will be no need of this new discipline.” Eventually, the Parliament passed an ordinance, allowing certain presbyteries to suspend from the Sacrament in specified cases of ignorance or scandal, with a proviso, added to the rules laid down, that there should be a final appeal from the Church courts to the Parliament. There were also further limitations provided. “By these provisos,” says Neal, “it is evident that the Parliament were determined not to part with the spiritual sword, or subject their civil properties to the Church, which gave great offence to the Scots Commissioners and to most of the English Presbyterians, who declaimed against the ordinance as built upon Erastian principles, and depriving the Church of that which it claimed by a divine institution.”

Here, then, was a revival and a development of the Erastian controversy on a far wider scale than that on which it had originally been conducted. The Presbyterian divines contended that the independence of the Church was at stake: the Parliamentary statesmen contended that civil liberty was put in hazard. They objected to the multiplication of irresponsible “judicatories” within the kingdom, and contended that coercive power of Church-government should be in the hands of the civil magistrate.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neal’s *Hist. of Puritans*, vol. iii. chap. vi.

<sup>2</sup> In the answer of the House of Commons to the Scots Commissioners they remonstrate against the blame which has been laid on them as if they were reluctant to “settle religion,” only “because they cannot consent to the granting an arbitrary and unlimited power and jurisdiction to near ten thousand judicatories to be erected within this kingdom; and this demanded in such a way as is not consistent with the fundamental laws and government of the same, and by necessary consequence excluding the Parliament of England from the exercise of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction.”—(Neal, *ubi supr.*)

The Presbyterians did not approve of any control of "Church censures" by the civil power, and the term Erastian became thenceforward a term of reproach, applied to all who advocated the subordination of ecclesiastical tribunals to the civil magistrate, and to all who "deny that Christ has appointed a distinct and independent *government* in the Church for the regulation of its affairs." The English Presbyterian under the Commonwealth was in a somewhat ambiguous position. To a certain extent the Presbyterian form of Church government had been adopted as the recognized form of the National Church, but the limitations above alluded to were incompatible with the complete Presbyterian platform, and "presbytery" was not, therefore, fully established. Independents and sectaries were now, from the side of *liberty*, as antagonistic to "discipline" and "eldership" as Episcopalians and Royalists had been from the side of *authority*; and what seemed to the strict Presbyterian to be anarchical toleration more and more prevailed. He wished to give all due honour to "magistracy," but he was unwilling that it should be confounded with "ministry." He attempted to hold the mean between the "Anabaptist" and the "Erastian." This is illustrated by the following extract from an exposition published shortly before the Restoration :<sup>1</sup>—

Now as the magistrate must take heed of Anabaptists on the one hand, who offend in defect, and give him too little ; so he must take heed of Court clawbacks, who offend in excess and give him too much. They make a god and idol of him for their own ends, obeying his commands against God's commands, and preferring great men's wills before God's holy word. Those cry up kings as Gods, calling them unlimited, independent, not to be questioned by any authority, &c. Thus the Arminians, to curry favour with great ones, and the better to suppress synods, super-superlatively extolled the power of the magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs ; and this is the policy of many sectaries in our days to cry up magistracy, that they may the better cry down presbytery, which they know would curb their errors and profaneness. Thus Erastus, a physician, but rotten divine, puts all Church censures into the hand of the magistrate, and so confounds magistracy and ministry together, which are two distinct offices, having distinct bounds and duties belonging to them which they must not transgress upon pain of God's displeasure. If Uzziah the king will be so bold as to offer sacrifice, which belonged to the priest, let him expect a leprosy for his pains (2 Chron. xxvi. 18-22).

The Anglican view of the ecclesiastical situation at that time may be inferred from the writings of Bramhall, Sanderson, and

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<sup>1</sup> An exposition of the 82nd Psalm, entitled *The Beauty of Magistracy*, by Thomas Hall, B.D., "Rector of Kings Norton, in Worcestershire," published in 1659, and inserted in Swinnoek's Works (Vol. iv. pp. 147, &c.).

Jeremy Taylor.<sup>1</sup> All three writers insist strongly upon the royal supremacy, and on the ultimate subordination of ecclesiastical persons and causes to the royal authority. They vindicate the position of bishops and the function of synods, but declaim against the *clerical* claims of the Presbytery in strong language. "The Presbytery pretends mightily to the sceptre of Jesus Christ as the Pope does to the keys of St. Peter," says Taylor.<sup>2</sup> "The discipline," says Bramhall, "is the very quintessence of refined Popery, or a greater tyranny than ever Rome brought forth."<sup>3</sup> Sanderson ranks the "disciplinarians" with the Papists in respect of their exclusion of the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. Anti-papal as they profess to be, he says, they are like them in this point, that they take away from kings all ecclesiastical power, authority and jurisdiction, and claim them for themselves alone, and their classes and assemblies. The "Erastians," on the other hand, another species of Reformers, "deprive clerics entirely of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and assign the whole right of the external government of the Church in every respect ("ex asse et in solidum") to the Civil Magistrate." To his own mind, the truer and safer opinion is one between the two extremes. The right of making ecclesiastical laws is vested in "a legitimate synod": yet so that the exercise of its right or power should in every Christian commonwealth be dependent on the authority of the supreme political magistrate."<sup>4</sup>

With the Restoration, the Erastian controversy, in the *technical* sense, "was transferred to Scotland,"<sup>5</sup> and it is, indeed, specially a Presbyterian controversy. But the change in the balance of the English Constitution effected by the Revolution of 1688, the new point of departure in State policy manifested in the Toleration Act, the secession of the Non-jurors, and the influence of the Jacobite faction both in political and ecclesiastical matters, brought about in many of the English clergy a considerable modification in their views of the royal supremacy. And a "High Church" party arose, whose *clerical* claims<sup>6</sup> were adverse to the tolerance and comprehension advocated by the Liberal, "Low Church," or "Latitudinarian" party, and led to an ambitious view of the status and functions of the Convocation,

See especially, Sanderson's *Prælectiones*, vii.; Bramhall's *Fair Warning to take Heed of the Scottish Discipline*; and *The Serpent's Salve*, Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium*, Book iii. c. 3. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Duc. Dub.*, iii. 3, Rule 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Fair Warning*, &c., c. i.

<sup>4</sup> *Prælectio*, vii. §§ 29, 30.

<sup>5</sup> See Cunningham's *Historical Theology*, ii. 581.

<sup>6</sup> Hallam speaks of them as "distinguished by great pretensions to sacerdotal power, both spiritual and temporal" (*Constit. Hist. of E.*, ch. xvi.).

such as would co-ordinate it with, if it did not make it independent of, Parliament. These claims were, doubtless, entitled to be called *anti-Erastian*. It may be doubted whether they were judicious.

WM. SAUMAREZ SMITH.

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## ART. II.—OUR OLD INDIANS.

BY ONE OF THEM.

IN the first number of *THE CHURCHMAN* appeared a true and graphic account, by Canon Ryle, of the various parties, sections, and "schools of thought" in the Church of England at the present time. Though Dr. Ryle's enumeration of their several species and varieties is extensive, it is not, and does not claim to be, exhaustive. In particular, he omits one subdivision of our ranks sufficiently numerous, distinct, and influential to deserve a separate notice, the more so as they are marked off by common characteristics, and are as much banded together as any other of the groups which were named by Bishop Ryle. As indicated by the heading of this article, they are "Old Indians," claimed as "*ours*" as being among the Evangelical Churchmen whom this magazine is intended to represent. The writer does not speak as their mouthpiece, nor lay claim to photographic accuracy in his portraiture of them. Sometimes, indeed, he may, on the principle *ex uno disce omnes*, assume that his fellows think the same as himself; but in the main he will endeavour to keep to the inductive method from actual facts that have come under his own observation. And in generalizing them, he would follow the fashion of our Indian agency houses, and while trying to give a correct account, qualify it at the foot by *E. E.*, or errors excepted.

Old Indians then, as every one knows, are simply retired members of the various services or of the mercantile class in India, who having finished their work there, are now settled at home. They have all these features in common—considerable knowledge of men and things, comfortable incomes, and leisure, with average capacities for employing it, according to their individual tastes. But there have been great changes in their characteristics from time to time, corresponding to the changes that have passed over home life, and changes in the administration of India. The genuine old Indian who had grown up before the charter of 1813, was a favourite subject of satire at home, and was cleverly caricatured by the caustic pen of Theodore

Hook. He was usually wealthy, of the Nawaub type, not burdened with much religion, and satisfied to indulge his oriental habits of ease and luxury with his fellow Indians in London, Cheltenham, or Bath, rarely caring to turn his energies to politics or other home pursuits. He was supposed to be very impracticable and behind the age; and one of Lord Palmerston's axioms seems to have been that Indian life was rather a disqualification for Indian statesmanship, the success of Munro, Malcolm, Elphinstone, and others, notwithstanding.

It is interesting, and sometimes amusing, to see as we look back on our Anglo-Indian history how religion and morality out there have risen or fallen with their level in life at home. Under the government of Sir William Langhorne soon after the Restoration, and before the godliness of the Commonwealth had died out from the city, orders were in force at Madras that no one person was to be allowed to drink at one time more than half a pint of arrack or brandy, or a quart of wine. Every guest who exceeded the limits was to be fined twelve fanams: and the householder who supplied the liquor, one pagoda. Lying, profane swearing, even absence from morning or evening prayers, were subject to a fine of four fanams for each offence; while prostitution, brawling, and duelling, were still more severely punishable. Still, as might be expected, these barriers availed little to stem the flood of profligacy that flowed from the Court of Charles II. through the land. The annual letter of the pious chaplain Warner, to the Court of Directors, contains the following sentence:—"I have been told by several that persons here are a good deal more civilized than they formerly were. If it be so, there is great reason to admire the patience and long-suffering of God, but with all cause to fear that if these things be not reformed, He will not always keep silence." Fifteen years later, in 1691, the Court of Directors wrote: "We would likewise desire our President, Mr. Yule, whom God hath blessed with so great an estate in our service, to set on foot another generous charitable work before he leaves India—that is, the building of a church for the Protestant black people, and Portuguese, and the slaves which serve them, who have now no place where they may hear the Word of God." But soon after this, the religious deadness of the eighteenth century overspread our country, and it was not till the beginning of the nineteenth that the spiritual welfare of India attracted any practical interest. The charter of 1813 was a grand step in advance, and during the past sixty years of 1800 for the most part grew up those Evangelical Indians with whom this Paper has to do.

Let us endeavour to sketch their genesis, to use the scientist slang, their training, their theology, their use and influence at home, and their continuous obligation and duty to India, con-



cluding with a few thoughts on our policy in that vast field of responsibility.

First, then, how did this distinct body of Evangelicals originate? They were not the disciples of a great reformer, such as Luther or Calvin; not as a sect like our Independents and Baptists, separating themselves from the National Church on account of some special rite or tenet which they did not accept; not even like the followers of Wesley and Whitfield, who had no quarrel with our Prayer-Book, and were rather cast out of the Church than self cut off; nor have they enlisted under any one great leader.

“Nullius addicti jurare in verba magistri”

might be their motto. We may safely say that this movement is primarily to be regarded as part of that great wave of spiritual revival which, from the beginning of the century, has, by the grace of God, swept over Christendom, and especially over our own territories and the United States. It is to be traced to the sovereign, though not arbitrary, distribution of His spiritual gifts by the Great Head of the Church. We may see in it the answer to the prayers of those holy men, Simeon, Browne, Martyn, and Corrie; the reward of the labours of Wilberforce, Grant, and the rest of “the Clapham Sect;” the men whose efforts were blessed to the removal, by the charter of 1813, of that masterpiece of antichristian policy, the exclusion of missionaries from the Honourable Company’s Indian provinces. Already had the labours of those holy chaplains, the Serampore missionaries, and a few sporadic laymen in India, begun to tell; but the accessions to the little band rapidly increased in after years, till it became, to use the language of inspired poetry, a great army as the host of God. As in all the works of Nature, so in those of Grace, we see the law of unity in life, but infinite variety in its manifestation. Thus it was in the additions to the Evangelical ranks in India. Some left home already alive unto God; some were converted during their first voyage—notably one who continues to this day, after fifty years of energetic labour as soldier, administrator, but, above all, Evangelist. Several were led to Christ by the holy lives and loving pleadings of the missionaries at whose station they might be, or of godly chaplains. Thus some would ascribe their conversion to our Church missionaries in Tinnevely or Travancore, the London missionaries in Bangalore or Vizagapatam, and some to the American Baptists, Judson and his fellows, on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal. A very remarkable proof of the power of prayer was granted in the case of the Madras Engineers. Two young officers, having agreed to unite in persevering prayer for their corps, were

permitted to see the great change from death to life in the majority of their comrades. Some of these became as much distinguished for their skill and success in building the spiritual temple, erecting the "new light" houses for the Gospel, and guiding channels for the water of life, as they have been in corresponding departments of public works in the material world. In one of our Sepoy regiments, a subaltern, by example and personal pleading, was instrumental in the conversion of nearly all his brother officers; while the zealous and faithful but eccentric labours of the German missionary, Hebich, won for a whole regiment the honourable nickname of "Hebich's Own." It was in this regiment that the Bishop of Madras, after dining by invitation at the mess, was asked to conduct their usual family prayers. At the three Presidencies the apostolic labours and lives of the great Presbyterian missionaries, Wilson in Bombay, Duff in Calcutta, and Anderson at Madras, were fruitful among Europeans as well as natives; and so was the ministry of our own Church missionaries in the little unpretending Church mission chapel in Blacktown, successively filled by Ridsdale, Tucker, Moody, Ragland, and others. Among these the venerated John Tucker was eminently blessed by the spiritual wisdom and single-minded faith given to him, to the building up and binding together the Evangelical officials, civil and military, at Madras; so that, under the favoured rule of the honest-hearted Marquis of Tweeddale, with his excellent Marchioness, and under the command-in-chief of Sir Peregrine Maitland, the most important civil and military posts at the Madras Presidency were filled by members of Mr. Tucker's congregation.

In furtherance of the divine plan, and in answer to the prayers of the saints, offered up with much incense, through the Heavenly High Priest, India was blessed with a series of bishops such as Heber, Turner, the stately Daniel Wilson, and Cotton, in Calcutta; Corrie, Dealtry, and Gell, of Madras; Carr and Harding in Bombay; and such Governors as Lord William Bentinck in Bengal, Sir Robert Grant in Bombay, and Lords Tweeddale and Harris in Madras.

Thus were our old Indians gathered out of every department of official or non-official society in India—civil servants, officers in the army and Indian navy, medical men, merchants, and officers in the mercantile marine.

It will be easily seen that the training, education, and establishment of this heterogeneous band would vary as their first convictions had been formed. Those who had been converted under any missionary or chaplain would cling to the same source for food and instruction; those who owed their conversion to a layman would probably still look to him. But in all cases diligent

searching of the Scriptures, and regular habits of earnest prayer would be assisted by periodical gatherings for Bible reading and brotherly fellowship ; while religious biographies, such as Henry Martyn's and Brainard's, our Puritan divines, missionary reports, and religious periodicals supplied the chief reading. Learning has not been a characteristic of the Indian Church. Though most men had the beginning of a fair education, according to the then standard, at Haileybury and Addiscombe, and their minds had been enlarged by more or less acquaintance with the oriental tongues, still Indian official life is not favourable to reading. Religious men looked for truth to the fountain-head, rather than the artificial channel. They knew little of Church history ; and of patristic divinity, nothing. But they had ample opportunities for study by observation, and gaining knowledge of human nature by experience. Their secular training in the judicial, revenue, or administrative departments, gave practice in many valuable ways in the discernment of truth, sifting of evidence, weighing opinions, and reliance on the great principles of truth and justice. The army is an excellent school for Christian discipline, as we see exemplified in the centurions of the New Testament. The Christian soldier does not answer again, or confer with flesh and blood, but obeys orders, regardless of risk or discomfort. In every civil office, and in all the staff appointments in the army, facility was acquired in writing, method in arrangement, and accuracy in accounts and statistics. Public speaking was hardly ever necessary, and consequently never studied or practised. The social habits of our "Old Indians" combined a generous hospitality with modest simplicity, avoiding wasteful luxury and ostentation, fashionable novelties, and worldly amusements.

We now come to the most important part of our Paper, the theology or religious views of the Old Indian Evangelical. Though drawn from life, the description is taken chiefly from South India, and from the generation that has passed or is passing away. It will be expected that religion, fostered under the circumstances already stated, must be of the spiritual rather than the ecclesiastical type. Indeed, it may be fitly described as directly antagonistic to the school which, under its Tractarian, Puseyite, and Ritualistic phases, has now developed into the portentous exhibition of every Romish corruption in our National Protestant Church. The sacrifice of the mass, auricular confession, sacerdotal vestments, adoration of the consecrated elements, monastic institutions, prayer for the dead, and Mariolatry, are now to be seen in our Church, in open defiance, not only of the Bishops, but of the highest judicial tribunals of the land. Opposed to all this, as has been remarked, our old Indian holds that the Catholic Church, instead of being limited by episcopacy,

comprehends, as defined in the Prayer-Book, in its visible aspect, all the baptized, or all who profess and call themselves Christians; and in its spiritual or invisible sense, it is the blessed company of all faithful people.

Our old Indian, again, rejects the pretension that grace is only conveyed by Sacraments, which are only efficacious in the hands of Priests ordained by Bishops tracing their order in unbroken succession from the hands of the Apostles. He acknowledges and obeys his Bishops when they rule, after the Apostolic examples, and not as lords over God's heritage; but he cannot trace the Tractarian doctrine of Apostolic succession in our Articles or Ordinal, and he knows as a fact that divine grace and the gifts of the Spirit have been largely poured out on the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the Continent, on our British Presbyterian Churches, and on the orthodox Nonconformists of our country and America. He has not only seen among them bright examples of holiness of life, but he knows that God has honoured them by using them equally with, or even more than, Episcopalians, to give the pure Gospel and the whole Bible to Madagascar, the Sandwich Islanders, the South Sea cannibals, and the Burmese and Karens, while they have been beforehand with us in British India and China. So taking up Peter's argument, the old Indian says, forasmuch as God gave unto them the like grace that He did unto us, what am I that I should withstand God? On the other hand, he sees that the Sacraments of the Apostolic succession have failed to secure spiritual life (according to the Scriptures) throughout unreformed Christendom. So he accepts the Prayer-book forms, explained and qualified as they are by the Articles and Catechism. He believes the Sacraments to be means of grace, but so far from being the only means, he knows that they are only efficacious where the grace of faith already exists in the recipients. In the case of infants he believes that, as in the corresponding initiatory rite of circumcision, children are admitted on the faith of their parents, the intervention of sponsors being introduced to guard against the *opus operatum* theory. The strong and confident language of our Office for Baptism he accounts for in the very intelligible explanation that forms of common prayer must be framed for believers.

With respect to the Lord's Supper, it appears to the old Indian that to bring in privily, under the cuphony of the Real Presence, the transubstantiation of the Roman Mass, with all its sacrificial paraphernalia, is a dangerous deceit. He has received the sacramental pledges of the New Covenant in company with Lutherans, Baptists, or Congregationalists, at the hands of a minister of his own Church, in an emergency at the hands of a minister of another Church, in a tent or shed, with no

other vestment than a black alpaca coat, or even white jacket, and has found the Lord's presence as real, and his fellowship with the brother communicants as near, as any priestly robes or cathedral high altar could make them. Consequently he has little sympathy with the restoration of old churches or building of new, fitted for the celebration of the Mass, but ill fitted for preaching the Gospel and for congregational worship.

In short, the old Indian is a Protestant. He is fully convinced that the Romish Church is predicted in the Apocalypse under the symbol of the woman on the beast, the mother of harlots and abominations; that the Reformation was a gracious interposition of the Almighty to extricate us from her wiles and her doom; and that a conspiracy to undo that holy work, and to restore us, blindfold and bound to sacerdotal despotism and idolatrous superstitions, is to be resisted to the uttermost.

Finally, notwithstanding all that has been said, our old Indian claims to be a true and loyal Churchman, and for the very reason that he seeks to maintain Protestant evangelical and spiritual religion, he accepts the Prayer-book. He believes its liturgy and rubrics are to be construed by the Articles and Homilies, and in accordance with the glorious Sixth Article all its requirements are either to be found in the inspired Scripture, or to be proved thereby. However much opposed to apostolic succession, he prefers episcopacy as of undoubted antiquity, and practically the best form of ecclesiastical order.

Let us now see what has been the special position and work of the old Indian company of the Evangelical army in our Church at home. Is it too much to suggest that they have been raised up and specially prepared by the great Captain to aid in the defence of England's pure Reformed faith in the present crisis? They have by the divine wisdom been placed at head-quarters in all the great organizations for the maintenance and dissemination of pure Evangelical truth, according to the principles of our National Church. On the committees of the Church Missionary Society, the Jews' Society, Colonial and Continental, Pastoral Aid, Irish Church Missions, British and Foreign Bible, Religious Tract, and some other Societies, they have for the last forty years supplied the chief part of the working staff. Many have now passed on to the upper chamber, but the names of such civilians as Farish, Thomas, Carre Tucker, Donald Macleod, and Frank Maltby; of such soldiers as Generals Alexander, Browne, Clarke, Lake, and Lavi; of the merchant Strahan, and many others, are still held in loving honour and remembrance for their zealous labours on London committees. Many have warred a good warfare in the provincial towns in opposing Ritualism, and working for the Evangelical cause both by supporting Societies and by personal

efforts among the people. Usually they have, at least on first coming home, shrunk from platform work; though Herbert Edwards, by his first speech after the Mutiny, electrified Exeter Hall to the delighted astonishment of our old and best C.M. speakers. And Charles Browne having been hardly persuaded to plead for the Bible Society at Teignmouth, spoke so effectively that the Association Secretary felt he could not do better than serve up the speech again at the subsequent meetings where he appeared.

And now, what remains for our old Indians as their special work and obligation? Surely it is still the same—first, to contend earnestly for the maintenance of the true faith at home; and next, to strive together for the annexation of India to the empire of Him who is the only legitimate King of kings and Lord of lords. Their motto must still be India and the Gospel. They are still living on the hard-earned revenues of the Indian Rayet. True, they may have worked hard in the country for their pay, but do they owe nothing for their pensions, so liberal when compared with the ordinary incomes of professional men at home? Let them still give their money and their labour first and foremost to the great agencies for evangelizing India by our Protestant missions, the circulation of the Holy Scriptures in the tongues of India, by Christian education for males and females, and by providing wholesome literature. Foremost among such agencies, in addition to our Church Missionary Society, may be mentioned the Christian Vernacular Education Society, which specially took its rise from the mutiny of 1857, and the Zenana Society and Society for Female Education in the East.

It is also their special duty to promote, by all their influence, sound policy for the rule of India. Our old Indian well knows that the most essential element in that policy is to honour God and His Holy Word; to be just, and rule in the fear of the Lord; and to promote the spread of the Gospel. The old theory of religious neutrality, and the later phrase of two capacities, official and personal, must not be substituted for honest whole-hearted allegiance in every capacity to our Master and Lord. This element has also been sadly wanting since the mutiny, no less than before. We have laid ourselves open to the rebuke pronounced on the proud and worldly Belshazzar. True, the Queen, in her proclamation after the mutiny, did acknowledge the true faith and the one God; but our statesmen have for the most part listened rather to the counsels of expediency and the dictates of Parliamentary tactics. We still clutch our opium revenue, and in spite of the much-belauded minute of John Lawrence, the Bible is still treated with the same indignity as ever, and this indignity has tended to keep conscientious

Christian men out of the Educational Department, and the tenets of Bradlaugh or Francis Newman find acceptance with the young Brahmans, trained under our Government professors and masters. Let us then plead for the healing of the bitter waters by the establishment of voluntary Bible classes in Government schools, try to improve the finances of India by withdrawing from opium, and reducing our expenditure on ourselves and our armies, and by promoting the irrigation and communications of the country. Finally, and above all, let all our old Indians consider themselves bound by a silent compact in a voluntary prayer union, that the divine blessing may rest on every European employed in India, that our officers may be peace and our exactors righteousness, and at length the New Covenant promise be fulfilled in our eyes that all shall know God from the least to the greatest.



### ART. III.—THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NATIONAL CHURCH.

#### II. THE MEANS AND PROSPECT OF ENFORCING THE LAW.

**I**T seems to be supposed that because the proceedings under the Church Discipline Act and the Public Worship Regulation Act have turned out cumbrous and expensive, and, it is said, dilatory and uncertain, therefore those Acts are worse specimens of legislation than their companions in the volumes of the Statute Law which have not been made the subject of such animated contests in the Courts. No idea could be more unfounded. There is scarcely one of our Procedure Statutes which would have come scatheless out of such an ordeal as the unfortunate Public Worship Regulation Act has undergone. We are not concerned to defend this "common whipping-boy" of legislation, as it has been most justly called; but merely to remind an indignant public that they were not necessarily the greatest sinners upon whom the tower of Siloam fell. The Judicature Act, for instance, which was passed in 1873, contained a series of new rules for simplifying the procedure of the Courts of Common Law and Chancery. This production of Lord Selborne's was found to be absolutely unworkable; and a new and revised set of rules was set afloat by the Act of 1875. The writer of this Paper has had the curiosity to count up the number of reported decisions on doubtful points in these rules, which have been noted up against them by a practising barrister of his acquaintance, and it may interest the lay reader to hear that, in a space of time less by one year than the Public Worship

Act has been in existence, the number of cases amounted to more than 400. The writer is assured that each of these cases represents some ambiguity in the language, which might have been easily provided against beforehand by the framers of the rules, if only it had been foreseen. It must be remembered that these rules were not pitchforked into existence, as the Public Worship Regulation Act was, amid the howling tempest of contending parties, but were tenderly nurtured to a mature birth by a few carefully selected experts in the quiet of their chambers. If each of these 400 points had been litigated with the same perseverance and the same pecuniary resources which have been lavished on the Public Worship Regulation Act, let any one ask himself What would have been said of the success of our great judicial reform?

Whatever fault we may find with the pitfalls left in the Public Worship Act, those pitfalls have now been at great expense pretty well lighted up and fenced off by legal decisions; and we ought (if we are wise) to think many times before throwing away these results to embark again on the same process.

The Ritualists determined to dispute every possible point; and when people do this, being perfectly within their right, their opponents must meet them, and are also perfectly within their right in doing so. A point settled, however, is a point closed, until the Legislature again opens the floodgates of confusion.

The process of settling the law, civil as well as ecclesiastical, is continually going on, and one by one the doubtful points are freed from doubt; but the Legislature from time to time thinks it can hasten the process, and the usual result of impatience invariably follows. Whatever may be the advantages of fresh legislation, it always creates doubtful law.

Now we are not going to vindicate the character of the Public Worship Act, even including the result of the decisions upon it, as a legislative achievement; but what we do say is, that we ought to be very careful in our next efforts in that direction to maintain the ground already won—to amend, in fact, and not to reform.

One great error in this Act is indeed, from the point of view of scientific legislation, an error of principle. It is a maxim in legislating on procedure that the law should always be invoked on the responsibility, as well as at the risk, of the party; that one party or the other should be responsible for each one of the preliminary steps, so that if any step is wrong the litigant should only have himself to blame. It is so in all our civil procedure. You issue a writ against your opponent; you must see for yourself that it is in the right form; if it is irregular, no one is to blame but yourself. Your opponent has



to put in his defence in a certain time ; if he fails to do so, it is his own fault. But the Public Worship Regulation Act violates flagrantly this elementary maxim. The complainants transmit their "representation" to the Bishop ; but so far as the Act is concerned, except when they adopt the *forum domesticum* of their Diocesan, they do not hear of it again till the judge receives it for trial. In the meanwhile, the Bishop is to do this, the registrar that ; the papers are to be "transmitted" hither and thither ; Bishops are to be appointed to act for other Bishops, and all this according to fixed times and seasons ; and if any of these steps miscarry, the unfortunate complainants have to bear the costs, as well as the disappointment, of a failure which has occurred through the laziness, inattention, or stupidity of somebody over whom they have no control whatever. No doubt, in practice, the solicitor attending to the case keeps his eye on his offspring, following it about and attending on it at more or less distance, according to the courtesy of the official for the time being in charge of the papers ; but this is purely a matter of favour on his part.

Hence arose (as might have been expected) the first miscarriage under the Act. Proceedings were taken against Mr. Bodington, of St. Andrew, Wolverhampton, in February, 1877. He took no notice of the proceedings, but Lord Penzance felt compelled to dismiss the suit, because in the course of the previous proceedings—by reason of a muddle between the Bishop and the Archbishop—the "representation" had not been transmitted to the defendant within the twenty-one days specified by the Public Worship Regulation Act. Many have been the miscarriages of proceedings under this Act, and much money and trouble have been wasted in settling doubtful points and ambiguities contained in it. But the Archbishop was more or less responsible for the Act, and it was no doubt felt to be the duty of loyal Churchmen under those circumstances to do their best to make it workable. Here, however, was the first mishap.

Then came the cases of Mr. Dale, of St. Vedast, and Mr. Tooth, of Hatcham. Mr. Dale's practices had brought upon him monition and inhibition. It turned out that the patronage of the church had been originally in the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's alternately ; but during Mr. Dale's incumbency the share of the Chapter had been transferred to the Bishop of London, who, as Bishop of the diocese, was Mr. Dale's ordinary. Now the Act directs the Bishop of the diocese to require the parties in the first place to submit to his decision, and if they do not, then he is to "transmit the representation" to the Archbishop, who in his turn is to require the judge to hear the matter at any place within the diocese or province or in London or Westminster. It is also

enacted that if the Bishop is patron, the Archbishop shall act for him; and if the Archbishop is patron, the Crown may appoint an Archbishop or Bishop instead. In this case the Archbishop required the judge to hear the matter "at any place in London or Westminster, or within the diocese of London, as you may deem fit;" and offered him for the purpose the library of Lambeth Palace. Now, legally, Lambeth is not in London, nor in Westminster, nor in the diocese of London. The Queen's Bench Division decided that upon the legal construction of the Act, the Bishop, being interested in the patronage, was incapacitated from "transmitting the representation" to the Archbishop, and that the judge could not sit at Lambeth. So Mr. Dale got off. Similarly, in Mr. Tooth's case, the fact that the judge sat at Lambeth was held to invalidate the whole of the proceedings.

The mistake of the Legislature consisted not only in taking the responsibility for the preliminary steps out of the hands of the litigant, but also in not drawing a clear line between irregularities which are of sufficient importance to invalidate the whole of the proceedings, and those of minor importance, which ought to admit of being set right or waived, where it can be done without injustice to either party. Any of our readers will be told by his solicitor that this distinction holds in all the temporal Courts; and if the solicitor practises also in the Ecclesiastical Courts, he will be able to tell the same story of their practice before 1874. But this distinction is ignored in the Public Worship Regulation Act. Take the case of the judge sitting in the wrong place; this may possibly be very important where both parties are willing to appear in Court; for it might be a grave hardship to a man, whether plaintiff or defendant, to be obliged (we put an extreme case) to follow the judge about the country, wherever the salubrity of the climate or the convenience of the judge's own domestic arrangements should lead him. But when the defendant does not appear, and is content that the case should be heard in his absence, what on earth can it matter to him whether the judge sits at London or San Francisco? No doubt the other party may have reason to complain, but if he also is content to waive the irregularity, why should he not do so? Rules of procedure, whether laid down by statute or otherwise, are intended to promote justice and to prevent injustice; and it is a serious error to introduce a technicality which serves neither of these purposes.

Here, then, is another matter on which the Public Worship Act may be usefully amended. We do not indeed feel clear that the Act was properly interpreted in either of these two cases of Dale and Tooth. They were only decisions of the Court of first instance, and no appeal was brought. That, however,

does not lessen the desirability of altering language which was even susceptible of the construction there put upon it.

It is an extremely fortunate circumstance that, in 1874, the Legislature entertained sufficient doubt as to the success of the new procedure which they were providing, to leave the old procedure under the Church Discipline Act of 1840 still open as an alternative. The proceedings against Mr. Mackonochie, as well as those against Mr. Edwards, of Prestbury, have always been under the Church Discipline Act. In THE CHURCHMAN of April last the proceedings against Mr. Mackonochie were related down to the time when (in December, 1874) he was condemned for the second time. The monition and suspension ordered were not published till June, 1875, and it was not till March, 1878, that any notice was taken of his continued refusal to give back to his parish the old service of the church of which he had so long deprived it. The judge, being loth to press him, refused on that occasion to do more than warn him again; but on the 11th of May, 1878, the warning being as usual disregarded, the judge suspended him for three years. He might have been "signified" and sent to prison, but advantage was taken of the fact that the proceedings were under the old practice and not under the Public Worship Act, and the more lenient sentence was inflicted.

Then commenced the litigation in the Common Law Courts as to the validity of this suspension. Mr. Mackonochie, or the English Church Union in his name, appealed to the temporal Courts. Application was made on their behalf to the Queen's Bench Division for a prohibition against this last suspension. It was a delicate and subtle question, depending for its solution on a number of abstruse legal technicalities. Suffice it to say, that in all probability there would have been no fault to find with the sentence if, instead of being a sentence of suspension, it had been "significavit" and imprisonment; nor any fault to find with the actual sentence of suspension if it had been applied for in a fresh suit against Mr. Mackonochie, instead of in the suit then already existing—viz., that in which the monition had been issued in 1875. In the Queen's Bench Division the majority of the judges—viz., the late Lord Chief Justice Cockburn and Mr. Justice Mellor—thought that the objections were valid, and that the sentence of suspension passed by Lord Penzance ought to be prohibited; while Mr. Justice Lush, who has since been promoted to the Court of Appeal, was of a contrary opinion. The case was appealed, and of the five judges who heard the appeal, three—viz., Lord Coleridge and Lords Justices James and Thesiger—upheld Lord Penzance's sentence, and reversed the decision of the Queen's Bench Division, but only by a majority of one, inasmuch as the Lords Justices

Brett and Cotton agreed with the Court below. Taking the two Courts together, there were four judges on one side and four on the other. The Ritualists have appealed to the House of Lords, but their appeal has not yet been decided by that august tribunal. The result of this appeal will also settle whether Lord Penzance or the late Lord Chief Justice Cockburn was right in the dispute between them over the ecclesiastical procedure.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, in order to avoid the doubt so raised, a fresh suit was commenced against Mr. Mackonochie in 1878; but when the case had been heard, and everything was ripe for sentence, the Court of Arches refused to pass a sentence of deprivation. We need not explain the grounds on which Lord Penzance came to this conclusion. For some reason or other, which, though possibly justifiable, is none the less to be lamented, no appeal was brought from this refusal; and Mr. Mackonochie is left for the present to do as much harm as in his uncontrolled discretion or indiscretion he shall think fit. Under these circumstances there is, of course, very little reason why he should have presented his appeal to the Lords against Lord Penzance's suspension, which expires of its own accord this month of May; but doubtless those who found the money for the costs in the first instance thought that there was a chance of getting it back again. If that appeal is unsuccessful, there seems no reason why the former suit against Mr. Mackonochie should not be utilized to procure deprivation in a summary way. The doubts which in former cases have been thrown out as to the possibility, or at all events the propriety, of depriving in a summary way, without a fresh suit, for continued disobedience, must be reconsidered in the light thrown upon the whole question by more recent investigations and discussions. But this, of course, is for Mr. Martin and his advisers to consider.

The proceedings against Mr. Edwards, of Prestbury, who has changed his name to De la Bere, were actually commenced so long ago as 1874. Their commencement had been delayed by unsuccessful applications by Mr. Edwards to the Vice-Chancellor Bacon and to the Court of Appeal in Chancery, to stop them by prohibition on technical grounds; applications characterized by the latter Court as "quite unfounded and absolutely frivolous." Many of the charges involved the same points as were at that time being contested in Mr. Ridsdale's case, and after the evidence had been taken in the Court of Arches, the suit stood

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<sup>1</sup> Since this paper was written the judgment of the House of Lords has been given on Mr. Mackonochie's appeal. It is a unanimous judgment against Mr. Mackonochie, and in support of Lord Penzance's jurisdiction.

over by the consent of both parties until after the Ridsdale judgment. At last, in July, 1877, the Court of Arches gave judgment against Mr. Edwards for the usual nonconformities. Instead, however, of the simple monition not to repeat the offences, which, so long as there was any decent ground for holding that the Ritualists had *bonâ fide* doubts as to the law, and for believing their own assertion that they would obey it when finally ascertained, had been considered sufficient sentence, the counsel for the parishioners asked the judge to decree a sentence of suspension in the first instance, and so save the expense and delay of a second application, such as had been found necessary in the Purchas and Mackonochie suits, in case Mr. Edwards was really going to defy the law. The judge assented to this course, and after giving the gentleman an opportunity of saying whether he was or was not going to conform to the Liturgy, of which opportunity he did not think fit to avail himself, suspended him for six months. By this time the legality of enforcing a monition by suspension in a summary way without a fresh suit had been questioned, as we have already described, in the proceedings against Mackonochie; but the course taken in *Combe v. Edwards* avoided this difficulty. It should be observed, however, that it could not have been done if *Combe v. Edwards* had been a suit under the Public Worship Regulation Act, which prescribes monition alone as the sentence to be pronounced in the first instance. However, Mr. Edwards took no notice of his suspension, but continued to officiate with all his illegalities as before. Application to enforce the sentence was made to the Court in June, 1878. By this time, however, the question, whether the sentences of the Court could be enforced at all without a fresh suit, was being hotly contested in the Common Law Courts in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*, and the Dean of Arches thought it better to wait till the point was settled. As we have mentioned, the point could not be considered settled so long as Mr. Mackonochie's appeal to the House of Lords had not been decided; and accordingly a fresh suit was instituted against Mr. De la Bere, seeking to have him deprived of his benefice of Prestbury for his continued disobedience and contempt of the decrees of the Court.

With much reluctance, Lord Penzance, on the 21st of December last, decided that deprivation of his benefice was the proper sentence to inflict on this man, who would not carry out, on his part, the terms and undertakings on the faith of which he had obtained the benefice; and on the 8th of January in this year, sentence of deprivation was formally and solemnly pronounced. But the difficulties of the unfortunate parishioners of Prestbury are not yet over; for immediately on the sentence being pro-

nounced, Mr. De la Bere applied, as Mr. Mackonochie had done before, to the temporal Courts for protection. He says the sentence of deprivation is void, and ought to be prohibited, for two reasons: first, because Lord Penzance sat at Westminster when he delivered his judgment; and secondly, as it appears, because the original sentence of suspension, which was passed in the first suit in 1877, was bad by reason of the opportunity given to the defendant, before the sentence of suspension was pronounced, of saying whether he would or would not conform to the Liturgy; and inasmuch as one of the offences charged in the second suit was the offence of officiating while under this suspension, therefore, says Mr. De la Bere, the sentence of deprivation passed in the second suit was partly for doing what was really no offence, and consequently the deprivation itself is null and void. Many strange surprises turn up in the vicissitudes of legal warfare; but we think there need be no apprehension felt as to the result of Mr. De la Bere's objections. As to the first point, the judge must have known well, after the cases of Tooth and Dale, how important a technicality is the spot where he places his chair; and we think that he would not have willingly thrown on the parishioners the unnecessary expense and delay of fighting a doubtful point, and consequently that he must have considered the question, and come to a clear conclusion; that any objection to his sitting at Westminster would be untenable. The other objection must surely be too far-fetched to succeed.<sup>1</sup>

By far the most serious blot yet discovered in the existing law of ecclesiastical procedure is that which was brought to light by the Bishop of Oxford's case. It looks as if the English laity had actually no means of enforcing any duty upon any clergyman; as if it is to be a matter of grace and favour on the part of the Bishop of the diocese, whether the parishioners shall or shall not be allowed to claim in a legal manner what is after all their own birthright.

The circumstances of the case were somewhat special, and it is necessary to bestow a little attention upon them before we can understand the exact effect of the decision. Mr. Carter, the rector of Clewer, in the diocese of Oxford, was a notorious non-conformist, and Dr. Julius, one of his parishioners, was minded to attempt the restoration of the Church Service. For this purpose he applied to the Bishop of Oxford to allow proceedings,

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<sup>1</sup> Whatever may be thought of the Public Worship Act, we really fail to see that there is any ground for saying that the Church Discipline Act is unworkable. The Bishop of Peterborough, indeed, is reported to have said in the late debate in the Lords that it has been found to be unworkable; but his Lordship's language, perhaps, may be taken to mean only that the Act required some amendment. If so, we agree with him.

not under the Public Worship Act (which distinctly gives a veto to the Bishop), but under the Church Discipline Act. This Act in effect says that in such a state of things "it shall be lawful" for the Bishop *either* to issue a commission of inquiry, *or* to send the case at once by letters of request to the Court of Appeal of the province. The Bishop of Oxford refused to take either course, contending that he had an uncontrolled discretion under the language of the Act. Dr. Julius, on the other hand, contended that, under the Act, it was the Bishop's duty to do one thing or the other—either to issue the commission, or to send up the case by letters of request; and being also advised that the proper way of enforcing this duty was by applying for a mandamus to the Queen's Bench Division, moved accordingly. This application was, as every one knows, acceded to in the Queen's Bench Division; but their decision was reversed on appeals to the Court of Appeal and the House of Lords; and consequently Dr. Julius failed in his attempt to compel the Bishop of Oxford to do his duty.<sup>1</sup>

This episcopal veto is, indeed, a new discovery; and if there are no means of getting over it, the Legislature must provide a

<sup>1</sup> When we say his duty, we refer to the solemn undertaking given by the Bishop at his consecration, to correct and punish the disobedient and criminous within his diocese, "according to such authority as you have by God's Word, and as to you shall be committed by the ordinance of this realm." It is difficult to conceive language better calculated to call attention to the candidate's duty of using both his spiritual influence and his statutory powers. Most wisely and sensibly this is combined with the duty of maintaining quiet and peace; so that the Bishop is not to feel himself compelled by his oath to rush into litigation if he can attain his end by the influence of persuasion. This is the true discretion vested in the Bishop; and no doubt the framers of the Church Discipline Act intended to leave this discretion exactly as it was before, and accordingly used the words "it shall be lawful." It is contrary to common sense to suppose that they intended to relieve Bishops of the duty cast upon them at their consecration, inasmuch as no alteration was made in the Consecration Service. Bishop Mackarness never attempted to deny that Mr. Carter was "disobedient and criminous," but took his stand on the non-obligatory force of the words of the Statute. It seems that in argument each side relied solely on the Church Discipline Act, and that the state of the law before that Act, so far as it could be ascertained, was only referred to by way of illustration. When Lord Justice Bramwell asked how there could be any third alternative between holding that the words "it shall be lawful" were compulsory, and holding that they gave the Bishop an absolute discretion, he was in effect assuming that there was no duty cast upon the Bishop unless it could be found in the language of the Act itself. It is not a little remarkable that nobody pointed out the duty cast upon him by his consecration oath, which would seem to suggest a very sufficient explanation of the purely permissive language of the Act of Parliament. The late Dr. Stephens could have done so; but unfortunately he had died before the case came to the Lords. Perhaps something may be ascribed to the absence from the House of Dr. Julius' two leading counsel when their turn to reply came.

remedy. The Church Discipline Act was passed in 1840. The mandamus in the Bishop of Oxford's case was applied for in 1879. What is the explanation of the circumstance of no Bishop attempting to obstruct the course of justice during the thirty-nine years since the Act was passed?<sup>1</sup> Must it not be one of two things, either that the Bishops have felt it to be their duty not to do so, or that prosecutions have not been of the frivolous and vexatious character which is said to need the check of the episcopal veto? If the former explanation is correct, it follows that the sense of even the Episcopal Bench has admitted the right of the people to enforce their just claims in the manner provided for that purpose by the law of the land; if the latter, then that the pretended fear of vexatious litigation is based on no foundation of experience. If the Bishops had this discretion before the passing of the Church Discipline Act, the dilemma only becomes so much the more forcible from the greater length of time elapsed.

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to say that we are very far from finding fault with the decision of the House of Lords. If we may say so without presumption, it seems perfectly correct upon the arguments before them. Dr. Julius' argument came to this, that the words "it shall be lawful" in the Act meant "it shall be obligatory." It lay upon him to make this out; and he failed. That is all. We assert that a "dispensing power," whether claimed by King or Bishop, is, on far higher grounds than the language of the Church Discipline Act, unconstitutional; and we use the word unconstitutional in the sense of Hallam's definition—viz., "A novelty of much importance, tending to endanger the established laws."<sup>2</sup>

We maintain that the rights of the people rest on grounds independent of the Church Discipline Act; that these rights are recognized in the consecration oath of the Bishops, and even in the Church Discipline Act itself.

This last remark requires a little explanation, and the explanation will incidentally suggest a method, which we do not remember to have seen noticed elsewhere, whereby justice and

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<sup>1</sup> The case of Mr. Randall is no exception. The Bishop did indeed refuse to allow a suit, but on the ground that Mr. Randall had discontinued his illegal proceedings. The object of the proposed suit had been already attained. There was obviously no violation here of the Bishop's consecration oath to correct offenders.

<sup>2</sup> Even the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, while it gave an episcopal veto in the case of proceedings under it, provided, by way of a safeguard, that the reasons for the exercise of the veto should be put in writing and deposited in the registry. But there is no such safeguard in the Church Discipline Act.



right may yet be obtained, even if a Bishop shall again refuse his aid in a proper case.

The 19th section of the Church Discipline Act contains the following language :—

Nothing hereinbefore contained shall . . . . prevent the Archbishop of the province from citing any such clerk before him in cases and under circumstances in and under which such Archbishop might, before the passing of this Act, cite such clerk under and in pursuance of a Statute passed in the 23 Henry VIII. intituled "An Act that no man shall be cited out of the diocese where he or she dwelleth, except in certain cases."

The Statute of Henry VIII. here mentioned recites, in its preamble, the evil against which it was directed—viz., that people were cited out of their own dioceses to the Courts of the Archbishops ; and enacts that no person thenceforth shall be so cited out of his own diocese, except in certain cases.

We need not go through these excepted cases ; the case of an appeal is one of them, and the case of letters of request is another. The particular exception to which we desire to call attention is as follows :—

In case that the Bishop, or other immediate judge or ordinary, dare not nor will not convent the party to be sued before him.

Now the jurisdiction of the Court of Arches has, ever since the time of Henry VIII., been limited and bounded by this Statute. It will be observed that the Statute is, in the language of lawyers, a *disabling*, not an *enabling* Statute. It does not *give* any jurisdiction to the Archbishop's Court, but cuts down the previously existing jurisdiction to the limits specified in the excepted cases. It would seem to follow, therefore, that under this Statute of Henry VIII. the Arches Court has original jurisdiction when the Bishop will not or dare not act. This original jurisdiction is recognized and preserved by the 19th section of the Church Discipline Act, and would seem to be still available in such a case as that of Mr. Carter, of Clewer.

However, it is enough for our present purpose to point out that both the Statute of Citations and the Church Discipline Act do, in fact, recognize the impropriety of the Bishop refusing justice, inasmuch as they provide an alternative remedy for the aggrieved party in such a case.

It will be of extreme importance to bring these constitutional rights and remedies clearly before the Commission which is about to be appointed. Nothing is more likely than that some of the less used remedies provided by the Ecclesiastical law may be overlooked or forgotten. This must not happen if it can be helped ; for there are minds so constituted as to be

more impressed by the fact that our mediæval ancestors did, effectually provide against injustice, than by any common-sense reflections that injustice ought to be provided against. For the benefit of such people it is essential to bring out clearly before the Commissioners, and so before the public, that this notion of a Bishop's veto on the course of justice receives no sanction from precedent or history. We are perfectly prepared to argue the question on those grounds alone, if necessary. To any one, but moderately acquainted with constitutional history and law it will appear strange enough, while to one who adds to that a familiarity with the old ecclesiastical law it will appear perfectly astounding, that a superior should lay claim—not to pardon the offence of an inferior against other people, but—to take a side,<sup>1</sup> and burke at the outset even the investigation of the charge.

But it is after all a question to be settled on the most elementary considerations of common sense. The bishop who claims to veto an investigation has either discovered the merits of the case by proper investigation, or he has not. If he has not, what right has he either to punish or to acquit? If, on the other hand, his investigation of the case has been sufficient to discover the truth, why should not the same method be extended to other tribunals now fettered by what are thus shown to be unnecessary legal technicalities? These technicalities, the rules of evidence and the order and form of proceedings, have no magical sanctity; they are justifiable only so far as they tend to elicit the truth, and prevent the prejudice arising from irrelevant considerations. If they are, after all, useless for insuring a fair trial, why not abolish them altogether? If a better mode of trial is *ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu* of the judge, why keep up any technicalities at all? It would be far cheaper to proceed in such a summary way before Lord Penzance. It would be far easier to procure evidence by merely reading a few paragraphs from a newspaper, than to insist on *vivâ voce* evidence on oath, with the sanction of a possible prosecution for perjury as the fate of a false witness.

And this extraordinary hole-and-corner veto is put forward as conducing to justice, when applied in favour of one side only, though the very men who claim it would be the first to denounce it if there was any prospect of its being applied against them, as well as in their favour. Not even a Ritualist would care to trust himself for good or for ill to episcopal "discretion."

The very fact that the claim to interfere is made in favour of the clergy alone, shows that it is not seriously believed by anybody to conduce to justice or any other good purpose. It is mere

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<sup>1</sup> *Litem suam facere*. The right of pardon stands on a different footing altogether, and must not be confounded with it.

“esprit de corps;” the natural wish of one professional man to stand by his professional brethren “through thick and thin,” as the saying is. But the Bishops are not made “judges in Israel” for the purpose of indulging in feelings of this kind.

It really does seem absurd, at this end of the nineteenth century, to have to argue before English Bishops for the constitutional right of Englishmen to the English Church. What in the world are the Bishops and clergy paid for, if not for the benefit of the Church, of which, let it be observed, they form but a very small fraction? The Church requires certain services from the clergy, and the episcopal government of the clergy is for the good of the Church, and not primarily for the good of the clergy. No doubt this truth was not unquestioned before the Reformation; but it cannot be too often impressed on the public that, since that time at all events, the position of the clergy, Bishops included, has been (and is intended to remain) that of ministers, not masters; and that the great Statute to which appeal is so frequently made, has for its object, as well as its title, the Submission of the Clergie, not of the Church.

The views of the Church at large on this matter cannot be better expressed than in the language of one who derives from his position a title to speak in the name of the laity, and from his antecedents and character a right to be heard by the Governors of the Church. We allude to the present Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Coleridge, who expressed himself as follows:—

The strong and sensible observations of Lord Stowell in Mr. Stone’s case were indeed made in a case of doctrine, but they are to the full as true in a case of ritual practices, whether these ritual practices are or are not performed for the sake of the doctrines which they express. “That any clergyman should assume the liberty of inculcating his own private opinions in direct opposition to the doctrines of the Established Church, in a place set apart for its own public worship, is not more contrary to the nature of a National Church than *to all honest and rational conduct*. It would be a gross contradiction of its fundamental purpose to say that it is liable to the reproach of persecution, if it does not pay its ministers for maintaining doctrines contrary to its own.”

And again:—

I am really unable to see the hardship or absurdity of an officer of the Church being forced his whole life long to obey on a particular matter the law of his society, when it has once been declared to him by proper authority.

Is this, or is it not, true? Is it, or is it not, common sense?

So again, Lord Selborne, the Lord Chancellor, said, in his speech on the Archbishop’s motion for a Royal Commission,

that it was quite clear we ought to make obedience a condition on which clergymen could hold their preferments. Lord Selborne's title to be heard on such a subject with respect is certainly not inferior to that of Lord Coleridge.

The Bishops must look to it that they do not allow their notions of public virtue and public duty to fall behind those of their flocks. Nobody wants to punish a Ritualist, however strongly the Ritualists may assert the contrary; we only want our Church services. We certainly do not want to imprison anybody, if we can get our Church services in any other way. We do not want to prevent Ritualists, or any other Dissenters, from enjoying the form of worship which pleases them, but we want our own. Lord Selborne says it would be much better if the period allowed by the Public Worship Regulation Act within which the clergyman must conform, had been three weeks instead of three years. This we cordially agree to, and not the less cordially because, if the period had been only three weeks, Messrs. Dale and Enraght would never have been sent to prison last year.

The proposed Commission will do good if it enables some of the Bishops to shake off a little of the timidity which has allowed them as a body to coquette with this impossible claim. To inquire, and inquire, and again to inquire, has ever been the refuge of weak statesmen, because it has the appearance of care and circumspection. A council of war has a proverbially bad name. There is really nothing to fear. It is clear that Ritualistic dissent must die in the next generation at least; for whatever excuse may be made for those of the Ritualistic clergy who were ordained before the law was ascertained, that excuse cannot avail the young men who, from henceforth, present themselves for ordination, and know perfectly well that they are undertaking to obey the law laid down by the recent decisions. They cannot take orders with a lie in their mouths.

The Bishops must choose one thing or the other; they cannot be allowed to blow both hot and cold. If they can persuade the Legislature that they are the persons who should be responsible for the clergy doing their duty, be it so; let them have the responsibility. But they cannot be also irresponsible; the laity in that case must have their remedy against the Bishops instead of against the clergy. The laity require certain duties from the clergy, and so long as these duties are supplied, it is to a great extent immaterial who is responsible for supplying them. We by no means admit, however, that the laity are not interested in the government of the clergy by the Bishops; on the contrary, they are deeply interested in being served by ministers in an independent and legally secure position. They are deeply interested in preserving the clergy from sinking into

a state in which they could be bullied by their superiors, as liberal Romanists have been in France. But until there is some chance of the Bishops offering to take upon themselves the responsibility to the laity of keeping the clergy in order out of their own resources, we need not further discuss this alternative.



#### ART. IV.—THE INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS;

OR, THE EXHORTATION AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER.

**T**HE frequent repetition of any passage may produce two very opposite effects on the mind. It may lead to such an intimate acquaintance with both the detail and the spirit of the passage as we shall never gain by a single hearing; or it may produce such a habit of unthoughtful listening as will lead us never to give any serious attention to the real meaning of the words. We have a most remarkable illustration of this latter tendency in our use of the Address at the commencement of Morning and Evening Prayer. We have all heard it thousands of times, and we are all in the habit of standing up respectfully while it is read Sunday after Sunday, and in some cases day after day, at church; but it is a question whether out of the multitude of either readers or hearers there are very many who have given any very careful attention to its meaning. It is generally supposed to be an introductory address to the public worship of the day—something, that is, which may prepare the mind for the various services in which we are about to engage; so that it may possibly appear to some to be an act of great presumption if I venture to suggest that it is nothing of the kind, and that it was introduced into our Prayer-Book for a wholly different purpose.

To prove my point let us first recall the history of its introduction. In the Prayer-Book of A.D. 1549 the morning and evening services commenced with the Lord's Prayer, and there was no public confession of sin. I fear, therefore, that we must give up the beautiful theory that our services have been constructed as one harmonious whole, beginning with confession of sins and ending with thanksgiving; for until A.D. 1552 there was no separate act of confession in either the morning or evening services. The reason was that until that time the Church of England had taken no decided line on the subject. Our Reformers had not fully emerged from Popery, and the old practice of auricular

confession still lingered amongst them. Thus in the Communion Service of A.D. 1549 we find the following passage:—

If there be any of you whose conscience is troubled and grieved in any thing, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me or to some other discreet and learned priest, taught in the law of God, and confess and open his sin and grief secretly, that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort that his conscience may be relieved, and that of us (as of the ministers of God and of the Church) he may receive comfort and absolution, to the satisfaction of his mind, and avoiding all scruple and doubtfulness; requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general confession not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confession to the priest; nor those also which think needful or convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins to the priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confession to God and the general confession to the Church.

But the three years that followed A.D. 1549 were years of most important progress, and accordingly in the Prayer-Book of A.D. 1552 two great changes were introduced.

In the first place the passage in the Communion Service was materially altered. Instead of coming to "a discreet and learned priest" the person with a grieved and troubled conscience was invited, as he still is, to come "to some discreet and learned minister of God's Word;" and instead of being recommended to confess and open his sin and grief secretly, he is invited simply to "open his grief," and that without any reference to secrecy; while the latter part of the passage, which requires that no offence should be taken at the use of auricular and secret confession to the priest, was struck out altogether.

From these changes it appears that in the course of the three years a great change had taken place in the mind of the Church of England. The system of auricular confession to a priest had been abandoned, and public confession was recommended in its place. If people were in spiritual anxiety they were invited to go to a minister of God's Word, "that by the ministry of God's Holy Word" they might "receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice;" but the practice of auricular confession to a priest was no longer recommended, or even regarded as a matter of indifference.

Up to that date, however, there was no form of public confession in the daily prayers, and in order to carry out the change of opinion it became necessary that a new form should be prepared. Thus at the same time that the Reformers expunged from the Communion Service the passage which recommended the non-condemnation of auricular confession, they introduced the public Confession now standing at the commencement of our daily prayer, and they called it "general" in contradistinction to "auricular."

But they did not place it there alone. They followed it, as we should have expected them to do, by the Absolution; and, more than that, they also introduced a series of texts on the subject of repentance and confession, and then added this short address to justify the course they were adopting.

Thus the one object of the "Dearly Beloved," or Introductory Address, is to show that public worship is the chief occasion for the confession of sin. I am well aware that in the latter part of it mention is made of four of the other parts of public worship—viz., thanksgiving, praise, the hearing of God's Word, and prayer—but a very slight attention to the passage is sufficient to prove that they are not mentioned with the view of preparing our minds to take a part in them, but simply to show that there is no time so suitable for the confession of sin as when we are uniting in those other parts of public worship. The sense of the Address would not be in the least changed if, instead of making any particular allusion to thanksgiving, &c., the writers had written "Yet ought we most chiefly so to do, when we assemble and meet together for the various acts of public worship," for the leading object of the Address is to declare that public worship is the chief occasion for the confession of sin.

That this is the true purport of the passage is confirmed by the fact, that in the confession the minister is identified with the people. When he invites them to confess his language is, "Accompany me," and when he leads them in their confession, he does not sit like a priest in the confessional, or even stand while the congregation kneel, as if they were confessing before him; but he is directed to kneel with them, so that the whole body, minister and congregation together, may kneel before God in the humble, united, and public acknowledgment of sin. With this the Absolution is in perfect harmony, for in it the minister disclaims for himself anything approaching to judicial authority. All that he claims for his office is the power and commandment to declare and pronounce; while he distinctly teaches that it rests with God Himself to decide and bestow; as in the words, "He pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly repent and unfeignedly believe His holy Gospel."

Thus the four passages inserted A.D. 1552 all hang together. The texts teach the duty of confession; the Address declares that it should be a part of public worship. The Confession is the Church's public substitute for that which had before been secret and auricular, and the Absolution expresses her decision in favour of a declaratory absolution by a minister as against a judicial absolution by a priest.

E. HOARE.

## ART. V.—LIFE OF BISHOP WILBERFORCE. VOL. II.

*Life of the Right Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, D.D., Lord Bishop of Oxford, and afterwards of Winchester.* With Selections from his Diaries and Correspondence. By his Son, REGINALD G. WILBERFORCE. In three volumes. Vol. II. Portrait and two Illustrations. Pp. 446. Murray, 1881.

THE first volume of the Life of Bishop Wilberforce was briefly reviewed in THE CHURCHMAN as soon as it appeared, rather more than a year ago. That volume was edited by the Rev. A. R. Ashwell, Canon of Chichester. Canon Ashwell was a divine of ability and learning, respected by many of those Churchmen who were surprised to find that he had been selected to write the Memoir of Bishop Wilberforce. The Bishop was willing to be ranked as a High Churchman, or as an Evangelical High Churchman—very strong in regard to “the Church,” but both in private and in public he always repudiated *ultra*-Churchmanship. Canon Ashwell, however, was chosen to write the Bishop’s Life. He died while the concluding pages of the first portion of the work were passing through the printer’s hands.

In the Preface to the second volume, Mr. Reginald Wilberforce refers to the “lamented death” of Canon Ashwell. It was necessary, he says, to find a new Editor for the subsequent volumes:—

Having in the event been obliged to undertake the task which he left unfinished, I feel that I ought to state the reasons which induced me to incur so heavy a responsibility. Doubtless, as a general rule, a son is the person least capable of writing his father’s life. Accordingly, in conjunction with Mr. Murray, I endeavoured to discover a writer in whom the various conditions necessary for carrying on the work were approximately satisfied; but to every practical suggestion that was made some objection occurred, which in the end proved fatal. The next step was to consult a few of my father’s trusted friends, and particularly some of those who had originally suggested Canon Ashwell’s name in connection with the work. They insisted that I must do what I could myself, and they generously offered me their counsel and assistance. . . . It is hoped that in this volume the lines traced by Canon Ashwell will not have been departed from.

Mr. Wilberforce adds that “Canon Ashwell’s notes respecting the letters and entries in the Bishop’s diary which he thought it desirable to insert, have been scrupulously adhered to wherever it was possible to do so.” This second volume, therefore, bears traces of the bias of the Editor of the first volume. In the chapter on the Gorham Controversy, Mr. Wilberforce states that “he has had the advantage of the supervision of the Right Hon. Sir R.



Phillimore." The Lord Bishop of Ely, also, we learn from the Preface, has given assistance in the preparation of this volume. On the "grave subject of Confession," says Mr. Wilberforce, especial prominence has been given to the Bishop's views. In stating this fact, Mr. Wilberforce asserts that the pamphlet published "shortly after the Bishop's death," a pamphlet professing to contain his last utterances on the subject, "is in reality only a partial report of what he said on the occasion to which it refers."<sup>1</sup>

The first volume closes with the end of the Hampden controversy; the period of the present volume is 1848-1861.

In the year 1848, February 11, Archbishop Howley died, and on the 20th of February, just after the announcement that Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Chester, was appointed to the See of Canterbury, Dr. Wilberforce wrote a letter to Miss Noel. It is the first in this volume of many references to the subject of pre-ferment. The letter runs thus:—

I am very glad it is Chester, not the others. Now about myself: I feel that if it had not been for the Hampden controversy I should have been put there. Now, when I think this I have rather a sad feeling, as if I had made a great mistake, and thrown away a great means of usefulness. But this is only a *feeling*. I *know* that God has ordered all, and I really do not believe I would have it otherwise, and I am sure it would have been a most *trying* position for me. Is this what you wanted to speak of to me?

On March 9th, in the Bishop's diary, appears a mention of a "literary breakfast." The Editor remarks that breakfasts of this type were at that time much in fashion. "Of the great literary clubs—Grillions, The Club, and Nobody's—the two first breakfasted as well as dined together on certain fixed days, and many members of these clubs—among others, Macaulay, Rogers, Hallam, Lord Carlisle, and the Bishop—continued this custom in their own houses." From the private diary of Lord Carlisle a

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wilberforce makes this statement, probably, as a reply to the remarks in the *Quarterly Review*. An ably-written and exceedingly interesting review of the first volume appeared in the *Quarterly*, No. 297 (Jan., 1880), and the writer, according to report a High Churchman distinguished as much for his learning as for his loyalty to the Reformed Church of England, took occasion to protest against Ritualistic teaching and practices. He quoted from Bishop Wilberforce's Address (un-written) delivered to the Rural Deans of his diocese at Winchester House, July 15th, 1873, four days before his death. Notes of the Bishop's discourse were freely taken by many present, and "a precious pamphlet," says the *Quarterly Review*, edited by the late lamented Bishop of Guildford, was prepared and published. This pamphlet, however, Mr. Wilberforce appears to depreciate; he dismisses it as only "a partial report" of the Bishop's utterances.

passage, describing a breakfast given by the Bishop, in 1852, is quoted by Mr. Wilberforce, as follows:—

Breakfast with the Bishop of Oxford, Hallam, Macaulay, Milman, Argyll, Ashburton, Bunsen, Murchison, Milnes. Extremely agreeable, and would have been still more so but there was a tendency to talk very loud and all at once. It was at first a little too polemical for the party, running on the strong division against Bennett the night before in the House of Commons, and how near the doctrines of purgatory and practices of confession a clergyman of the Church of England might go to. I think almost all were against restricting liberty by legislation.

In the spring of 1848, the Bishop writes to Miss Noel about an Ordination at Wantage:—

I administered the Holy Communion to 160, amongst them a large number of young people whom I confirmed<sup>1</sup> here last year. We went home to dinner at 3—a party of clergy, some from Oxford, some from the neighbourhood. At 4 we went to afternoon service, and Archdeacon Clerke preached. At 7 we went to an evening Litany and sermon, and I preached to them. We had some talk in the evening, an 8 o'clock prayer next morning, and after breakfast I came away. Butler is working the parish with admirable diligence and, at present, success. He seems to me more to combine the good of the Evangelical party with the devotion of the High Church than almost any young man I know. His only danger is on the latter side.

In November, 1848, in a letter from the Bishop, appears the following:—

Friday morning the school service and sermon in poor Ryder's old church, where fifteen years ago I had preached for him, he even then greatly mistrusting my doctrine, and beloved Sophia<sup>2</sup> being, I well remember, quite melted under sounds which spoke to her of other days and her father's church.

Some of the most interesting portions of the Bishop's diary recall his bereavement. Many touching passages bring before us the man as he was in secret before God; they reveal at the same time the depth of his sorrow and the strength of his trust.

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<sup>1</sup> As to Confirmations in former days, in some parts of the country at all events, we may quote the following story:—"At a certain large town a local publican presented a petition to the Bishop, asking for pecuniary compensation for loss of trade. He stated that his was the principal inn in the town; that Confirmations used to be held only occasionally; that when they were held hundreds of young men and women used to come into the town, remaining there all day, and coming at night to his house—the girls in their white confirmation dresses; that he there gave a ball, which was always very largely attended; that owing to the changes which the Bishop had introduced he had lost the profits he had been accustomed to make."

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Ryder, the Bishop's sister-in-law.

The following verses, written in 1848, recall a visit of husband and wife to Torquay in 1827 :—

The sea breeze breathes as softly as it did breathe of old,  
 The ships are gathered, as of yore, within their ocean fold,  
 The bluff rocks breast as proudly the mad waves' war and surf,  
 The streamlets steal as gently throughout the emerald turf;  
 The little waves still leap upon the sparkling sand,  
 And cast, with hissing murmur, their burden on the strand :  
 All is as when we looked on it; the lanes through which we  
     walked,  
 The turret stairs we mounted, the banks on which we talked;  
 Flowers, bright as those we gathered, spring where our wild  
     flowers sprung,  
 And still the birds sing sweetly, as if to us they sung;  
 But *thou* hast left me here alone, and oh! my heart is sore,  
 And from these eyes the bitter tears now cannot choose but  
     pour;  
 For when silver waves are murmuring, and flowers are gleaming  
     bright,  
 And when soft airs are sighing, in evening's rosy light,  
 I miss my fond hand's pressure, and the music of thy voice,  
 And the deep light of thine eyes, which made this heart rejoice ;  
 Till oft I long in sadness to break the weary chain  
 Which binds me to this earth, and be with thee again;  
 But then a still voice near me falls on my inmost heart,  
 Still whispering to me, " Faint not, nor from thy burden start;  
 In love I did appoint it thee, and I am ever near  
 To share thy hidden anguish, thy stifled sob to hear :  
 Look to My Cross and Passion, and dare to follow Me,  
 Nor say that earth is barren whilst I am there with thee."

Writing from Lavington, June, 1851, the Bishop says :

Twenty-three years ago to-morrow, and the sun shone on me as I came out of that church the most blessed of bridegrooms, having won her whom I had loved, as few love so young, ever since the vision of her beauty enchanted my early boyhood. How has wave followed wave from that day to this! Oh! and how has mercy and loving-kindness and forbearance and compassionate forgiveness been multiplied and abounded upon me year after year.

In 1849 appeared a "Journal in France," by Mr. Allies, a young High Church clergyman, whose conduct on a former occasion had been severely censured by the Bishop (vol. i. p. 405). "The Journal," writes the bishop, "is the most undisguised, unblushing preference for Rome I almost ever read." From Mr. Allies he endeavoured to obtain some retractation or explanation of the opinions advanced, but in vain. He then determined, acting on Dr. Lushington's opinion, to take legal proceedings. Baron Alderson, however, "and others," insisted

that if the case "came before the Courts, the Church would be the sufferer." A declaration was somehow extracted that Mr. Allies "adhered to the Articles of the Church in their plain, literal, and grammatical sense;" and he promised not to publish a second edition of the Journal. In a letter to Mr. Allies, we may observe, the Bishop had stated that the language of the Journal as to the celebration of the Mass and as to the Eucharist seemed to him "to contradict the explicit teaching of our Church in her condemnation,<sup>1</sup> in the Twenty-eighth Article, of the Roman dogma of Transubstantiation." Further, the whole tone of the "Journal," as to the Church of England, seemed to the Bishop "depreciating and even insulting." Mr. Allies, indeed, wished "to make out that he might hold all Roman doctrine except the Pope's supremacy, and yet remain" a Minister of the English Church. The Bishop called upon him, in solemn terms, to renounce the emoluments which he exercised and enjoyed on the condition of holding Articles which he publicly contradicted. It was after the Bishop had determined to send the case to the Court of Arches, and had retained counsel, that Baron Alderson, a friend of both parties, intervened. He had a very great affection for Allies, he wrote, on the 21st April, and, while admitting his errors, he would set against them a self-denying life, &c. In a second letter he wrote that he had seen "Manning, Pusey, and Richards . . . Edward Coleridge and his brother the Judge. They all certify to me that the discussion of this subject will unsettle MANY [small caps. in the text] minds which for the sake of the peace of the Church it is desirable to keep quiet, and that an extensive schism would be likely to be the consequence of further proceedings. I do myself believe they are right." This curious letter was accompanied or quickly followed by an apology and retraction from Mr. Allies, and Dr. Wilberforce, "after consulting the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London," resolved to abstain from originating legal proceedings. In a letter to the Archdeacon of Oxford, dated May 18th, his lordship briefly stated, for the information of the clergy, that

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<sup>1</sup> "I quote words of yours," wrote the Bishop, "which seem to assert a bodily presence of our Lord in the Holy Sacrament; and these, without further explanation, you allege are justified by the assertion in our Catechism of His *Spiritual* presence. To my quotation of passages, in which you justify (1) the adoration of the Holy Sacrament, though it is distinctly condemned in the Articles and in the dogmatic statement appended to our Communion Office; (2) the invocation of saints; (3) the use of relics, &c., you say nothing. You cannot, I conceive, acknowledge the authority of my office, without allowing that you are bound on my requiring it, as again I do, to explain, justify, or retract distinct passages in your published work, against which I except as directly contradicting the letter and spirit of our Articles and Formularies." Firm language, worthy of a Chief Pastor.

he had accepted the "submission" of Mr. Allies. On the 27th of August the following letter was sent:—

*The Bishop of Oxford to the Rev. T. W. Allies.*

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—Owing to my not being in the habit of seeing the *Tablet* newspaper, I have only just become aware, through the Oxford paper, of the existence of a letter stated to have been addressed by you, on the 2nd of June, to the editor of the *Tablet* newspaper, containing the following words:—"I adore (at the celebration of the Eucharist), with the adoration due only to God the Lord Jesus Christ, truly, really, personally, and substantially present under the species of bread and wine." I shall be obliged by your informing me if that published letter is to be attributed to yourself, and if you adhere to the doctrinal statement contained in the words above quoted, and, if so, whether you consider them as reconcilable with the doctrine of the Prayer-Book and the Articles of the Church of England, taken in their strict, literal, and grammatical sense.

I am, very sincerely yours,

S. OXON.

On September 3, the Bishop received a letter from Mr. Allies apprising him of his intention to resign the living. Shortly afterwards Mr. Allies was received into the Church of Rome.

In February, 1850, Colonel Phipps wrote to the Bishop of Oxford, thanking him in the Prince Consort's name for his speech at Willis's Rooms on the proposed Industrial Exhibition. The Bishop appears to have taken a leading part in inviting persons to help in this work.<sup>1</sup>

In March of the same year, the long-expected judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Gorham case was delivered. On this subject we cannot, in our present notice, even touch; but we may remark that Bishop Wilberforce, referring to the doctrine, condemned "this vile judgment," while, in referring to the tribunal he declared that "purely spiritual questions ought to be left to purely spiritual judges." At the same time, however, he said that the "*just* Supremacy of the Crown" ought to be maintained. Bishop Blomfield introduced a Bill providing that all cases affecting doctrine should be removed from the Judicial Committee to the Upper House of Convocation. The Bill was thrown out by a majority of thirty-three; most of the Prelates, including the Archbishop, remained neutral. Bishop Wilberforce supported the Bill as being "the only safe move at present!"

In May, 1851, the Bishop spoke on the observance of Sunday. He felt bound to do all in his "power to protect those who wish

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<sup>1</sup> One of the answers which he received runs thus:—"John Bright begs to inform the Bishop of Oxford that he declines to have his name on the Committee intended to interest the working classes in the Exhibition of 1851: his many engagements rendering it impossible for him to give any attention to the subject."

to spend their Sundays religiously." He did not think that the Fourth Commandment "applies to us in the Christian Church,"<sup>1</sup> but, at the same time, he would not consent to any opening of Museums or other public exhibitions on that day. (Vol. i. p. 377.)

In September, 1850, the Bishop of Oxford wrote to Mr. Gladstone, from Lavington, concerning one of those who had entreated him a little while before not to bring Romanizing teaching on the Lord's Supper before the Courts. "My stay here has let me see much of Manning. . . . He is lost to us :—

He has gone back into those early times when, what afterwards became their corruptions, were only the germ buds of Catholic usages; he has fully accustomed his mind to them; until a system which wants them seems to him incomplete and un-Catholic. . . . Few can at all understand what his and my brother's present state are to me."

The Bishop's letter shows how groundless was the assertion that the decision on Baptismal Regeneration drove Archdeacon Manning to Rome. Mr. Gladstone, we read, dwelt on "the refusal of the Bishops to propagate a declaration that the Gorham judgment was neither the law nor the faith of the Church of England." In the year 1841, however, Manning "had made up his mind that unity was a first law of the Church of Christ, and that therefore the position of the Church of England was tenable only as an extreme and anomalous case." Writing in 1850, Archdeacon Manning "admitted that his teaching was nearer to that of the Roman Church than to the Church of England of that day," by which he meant, in effect, the teaching of the Reformed Church. "For many years," we read, "he had no sympathy with Protestantism, and what he termed the compromises of the Reformation." "The opinions of 1841 had strengthened year by year."

The Gorham judgment served as a pretext, but it is clear that the Archdeacon was in heart a Romanist years before. In November, 1850, he went over.

In 1850, Mrs. Ryder, the Bishop's sister-in-law, died. He writes:—

Perhaps you have not heard of the blow which has fallen upon us and very specially on poor G. D. Ryder and beloved Mrs. Sargent, who has now only Mary left of that lovely family of seven, with whom God enriched that happiest of parsonages, Graffham. . . . Newman was at Ryder's, but I thought it best not to see him.

Of Mrs. Sargent, the beautiful old lady to whom the preceding

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<sup>1</sup> The Bishop wrote that he could not join in any petition resting the obligation of the observance of the Sunday on the Fourth Commandment. No explanation is given, however, of the prayer in the Communion Office which all Churchmen are directed to offer after the reading of that Commandment in Divine service.

letter infers, many will recall the chivalrous and deferential manner with which the Bishop always treated her. For twenty years (from 1841 till her death in 1861) she lived with the Bishop, superintending his household and taking care of his children. Her affection for him is charmingly described in one of her letters:—

I must ever feel that his tenderness is one of the best blessings I possess: it is quite impossible for any one to know how I prize it, and what a balm it has often been to my bruised heart. Surely the sight of him is “gude for sair een.”

The allusions to the Ryders in the Bishop's diary above quoted leads us to a painful subject. Three brothers of the Bishop, two brothers-in-law, and his only daughter and son-in-law went over to Rome. The article in the *Quarterly Review*, from which we have already quoted, states that the Bishop—no one who knew him will doubt it—was thoroughly loyal to the Reformed Church of England. “His anti-Romish utterances,” we read, “are as strong and as grand as any that are anywhere to be met with; and he meant every word that he said—perhaps a little more. Indeed, he never made any secret of his uncompromising detestation of the whole Popish system, with the depths and the shallows of which he showed himself intimately acquainted; his vigorous understanding often enabling him, in a few manly sentences, utterly to demolish the sophistries of its advocates, whether of the Anglican or of the Romish communion; as well as to expose the essential hollowness of the system, together with its fatal tendencies—moral, intellectual, and social.” But it was the misfortune of Wilberforce, continues the *Quarterly*, that he was appointed to Oxford in the year when Newman's desertion brought matters to a crisis; he found himself floated by a rapidly rising tide, amid currents and eddies which were enough to perplex the ablest of steersmen:—

It may be suspected, without a shadow of disloyalty to Wilberforce's memory, that had he brought to the episcopate certain other gifts besides those splendid qualifications for government with which we have already credited him so freely, it would have fared better with the Church of England at this time. Enthusiasm sometimes requires to be guided, as well as promoted; to be checked, as well as to be guided; and only checked in one direction in order that it break out more usefully in another. Wilberforce's leading idea was to promote *activity* in his diocese. He welcomed earnestness, *as such*, wherever he found it; and flattered himself that he should always be in time to check or to restrain the men, who, in the meantime, availed themselves of the sanction of his great name and authority to push forward their own well-meant (but by no means always judicious) crotchets. Conscientious of his own powers of government, of his personal influence, of

the loyalty and devotedness of the great bulk of his clergy, Wilberforce often suffered things to go too far in a direction which in his inmost heart he entirely disallowed. In consequence he was occasionally destined to make the dreary discovery that some of his lieutenants had played him false, had been wanting in honesty. An explosion in the diocese was sure to follow, and this did more than alienate confidence from him. It created downright suspicion and distrust, which was not the less reasonable, because *personally* he did not deserve it. The mischief, however, had been done, and could not be undone. The offshoots of error could never afterwards be eradicated. A more wary, or let it be called a less trustful, spirit would have selected his lieutenants with more caution; would have been more solicitous to cut off occasions of offence; would have considered that a diocese is for all time, whereas a bishop's incumbency is but for a brief span of years; and that allowance, if not encouragement, given at one period to unsound principles and unlawful practices, *cannot* be withdrawn at another; lastly, would have bethought himself, that when a bishop's three brothers, two brothers-in-law, only daughter and son-in-law, not to mention many of his personal intimates, have lapsed to Romanism, the outer world *must needs* look on suspiciously, and be prepared to misinterpret every act of his which may seem to point in the dreaded direction. And will any one say that those men were to be severely blamed, who, educated in a widely different school, and beyond all things solicitous for maintaining purity of doctrine, as well as resolved to be found faithful themselves to the teaching of the Church of England, declaimed passionately against what, in their eyes, was nothing less than the betrayal of a sacred trust?

Elsewhere, in this *Quarterly Review* article, the great success of Wilberforce, as a Bishop, is discussed:—

If you were called upon (this was once put to one of the Bishop's greatest intimates) to state wherein lay the secret of Wilberforce's success, what should you say? In his *power of sympathy*, was the ready answer; and it was probably the true one. There never was a more enthusiastic sympathizer with his clergy. He was large-hearted, liberal, and generous to a fault; prompt to enter into every one's needs, difficulties, discouragements, prepared to throw himself heart and soul into any project which seemed to him capable of being successfully worked, and which had good for its object. He was courageous also in such matters to the verge of indiscretion; evinced no official stiffness about initiating a novelty provided it carried on its front the promise of good; but, on the contrary, must walk straight to the front, and take the lead in whatever experiment seemed to him worth the trial. And then how he graced the leadership which by common suffrage would have been assigned to him, even had it not been his by right! His ready eloquence, his delightful manner, his genial warmth, *ensured* the success of whatever he undertook. In the friendship of men of the school called the "Evangelical" he had an inherited claim. But then he also reckoned men of the very opposite way of thinking among his chiefest friends, and had a



measure of generous sympathy for all. In this way he not only drew strangers to himself, but bound them fast when they once came within the sphere of his immediate influence. His temperament effected more; it conciliated prejudice, broke down opposition, cemented confidence and affection.

Let the whole truth, however, be stated. The man's gifts and graces being such as are now described, and the ends to which he directed them so admirable, are we to believe, continues the *Quarterly*, that we have been reading of an ecclesiastic without a flaw? By no means.

His very excellences were a snare to him; his very gifts and graces proved his most effectual drawbacks. He was *too* clever, *too* self-relying, whereby he often put himself in a false position, and exposed himself to unfriendly criticism. Again, he was *too* persuasive, *too* fascinating in his manner, *too* fertile in expedients, and thus he furnished not a few with pleas for suspecting him of insincerity. Sure of himself and unsuspecting of others, he was habitually *too* confiding, *too* unguarded in his utterances. But, above all, his besetting fault was that he was a vast deal *too facile*. The consequence might have been foreseen. He was sometimes obliged to "hark back"—to revoke—to *unsay*. This bred distrust. Notwithstanding his thorough mastery of the principles of Anglo-Catholic divinity, it may be questioned whether, at the outset of his career, he had that clear perception of *where* to draw the line, which in one so conspicuous as he was, early entrusted with such a vast amount of responsibility, is even indispensable; especially if his lot be cast in perilous times, and in what way he emphatically termed a *transition* period of the Church's history. Accordingly, Wilberforce would sometimes adventure the partial allowance of practices against which, on mature reflection, he must have seen that he would have acted more wisely if he had, from the beginning, set his face like a flint. He was (one can but repeat it) too fond of being "all things to all men"—too apt to commit himself through his very versatility and large-heartedness. All this did harm.

The truth and force of these remarks cannot be denied.

To return, however, to the volume before us.

When the Papal Bull was issued establishing a Roman hierarchy in England, meetings were held to protest and petition Her Majesty. Mr. Wilberforce's expression—"A second Titus Oates' fever seemed for a short time to have seized the nation"—is not, to say the least, remarkable for its accuracy or good taste. It is true that the irritation or indignation was very great, and meetings were held all over the country. A meeting was to be held at Reading. The Bishop, in writing to his brother the Archdeacon, remarked that he had "some apprehensions from the Low Church party;" . . . he rather expected "to be blown up!" "I believe Lord John will do nothing but try, like a cunning little fellow as he is, to puzzle the scent of his own trail, by turning out Tractarianism as his bagged fox."

Lord John Russell was "cunning" or clever enough, no doubt; but if any one desires to see an exhibition of cleverness in managing a meeting, he may read the Bishop of Oxford's speech (p. 57), in which he checks the applause which not unnaturally followed a reference to Romanists within the Reformed Church by asserting that to introduce discord into such a meeting was a sin against God!

After describing the Oxford gathering, Mr. Wilberforce remarks that "a counter protest was got up by some of the Buckinghamshire clergy of an extreme school, who, in fact, took the line taken by Lord John Russell in his published letter to the Bishop of Durham—viz., that there was no danger to the Church of England by reason of the Papal Bull, but that the real danger lay in the existence of concealed Popery within her fold." Omitting the words "of an extreme school," is not this description just and true? The Bishop's reply to the "Rev. W. R. Fremantle, the Rural Dean who had forwarded the protest," seems to us, we must confess, singularly weak. Its adroitness is undeniable.

Mr. Wilberforce, as we have said, has thought fit to stigmatize independent men as "extreme." We never heard that Dean Fremantle belonged to an "extreme school;" but nothing is easier for a member of a Palace clique than to describe a clergyman who takes his own line—without waiting to see how his Bishop goes—as "extreme," or a "Puritan," or as "wishing to become notorious." On the page preceding that which gives the letter to "my dear Fremantle," Mr. Wilberforce indulges in a sneer at two clergymen who came to the opening of a church in gowns. The gowns were their own; the surplices belonged to their parishes. But Mr. Wilberforce can see no principle in the reluctance of two clergymen to agree with his father about a surpliced procession. He says:—

The following story furnishes a proof of the Bishop's tact in dealing with men who wished to become notorious for conscience' sake. A new church was about to be opened by the Bishop, and a number of neighbouring clergy were invited to be present at the ceremony. Arrangements had been made for the clergy to walk into the Church in procession in surplices, the Bishop last. The procession was formed, all was ready, when the Rector came to the Bishop, saying, "All will be spoilt: two clergy are come in black gowns, they declare they will wear them in the procession; they are come for the purpose of thus openly showing their Evangelical principles." The Bishop replied, "All will be well, they will go in surplices." The Rector assured the Bishop that this was impossible, and that any remonstrance he might make would only cause a disturbance. The Bishop, after again reassuring the Rector, said to the clergy, who were formed two and two, "Gentlemen, are you ready?" and, receiving a reply in the affirmative,

he stepped along the ranks—accosted the first black-gowned clergyman with “ Good morning, Mr. ——. Will you have the kindness to read the first lesson for us this morning ?” Then passing to the second, with the request that he would read the second lesson, the two fled to find surplices, and the procession went into Church with the two clergy clad as the others.

We have heard this story in various forms; and a good story it is. As to the Bishop’s “ tact” there will, probably, be no difference of opinion; but whether or no his son’s remark, that these two clergymen “ wished to become notorious for conscience’ sake,” is justified by the story as he himself gives it, it will not be easy for all readers of the Bishop’s “ Life” to agree. At the present day, no doubt, certain dignitaries (we will not say “ of an extreme school”) find a peculiar pleasure in processions; and surplices with hoods (particularly the Oxford M.A.) look prettier than gowns. Hence the old custom of meeting in the vestry is set aside; and the clergy, robed, are marshalled two and two to walk across the garden through the churchyard and up the church. But if a clergyman, older perhaps than his Bishop, eminent for piety, zeal, and learning, prefers not to take out of his parish the surplice which belongs to the parish, or from other reasons prefers, in a day of excessive ceremonial to keep to old-fashioned ways, why on earth should he be frowned upon, or even openly rebuked? We have heard of at least one answer to Bishop Wilberforce on this point which put him to silence.

In December, 1850, the Bishop “ described his position as to the two parties in the Church,” in these terms:—“ I am for the party of the Church of England and nothing narrower.” Replying to a letter from Dr. Dallas, he declares that he has held and will hold what he esteems the truth of both parties, and the party violence of neither. He says:—

MY DEAR FRIEND,—It is utterly untrue that there has ever been any change in my opinions, or that I have encouraged, promoted, or protected Tractarianism (properly so called), or that I do not see its tendency towards Rome, or that there has been any uncertainty in my course. I was a Church of England man of the school of Hooker, Beveridge, and Andrewes, and so I am now. I *always* held the doctrine of the Apostolical succession, *vide* my first sermon before the Bishop of Winchester; of Baptismal Regeneration, *vide* my sermons before the Queen. I always held the great Evangelical truths as the life of my soul; I always opposed real Tractarianism—*i.e.*, the putting tradition into the place which Holy Scripture alone can occupy, ceremony in the place of substance, giving to the Sacraments the character belonging only to our Lord, craving after confession and absolution, &c., as sacramentals.

At the same time, in a letter to Lord Ashley, he speaks of

opposition to *bonâ fide* Romanizing tendencies in the Church, "by which (says the Bishop) I mean the revival of a system of auricular confession, sacramental absolution, the sacrificial character of the Lord's Supper,<sup>1</sup> the denial of Justification by Faith, &c. &c." In the same letter the Bishop declared that he had dropped no one truth of his Evangelical education. Shortly afterwards, in a letter to his brother, he says: "I had a satisfactory Ordination. . . . Not one Low Churchman in the set. What a remarkable feature in our present state and how very full of hope."

Chapter iii., including the years 1850-2, relates to Dr. Pusey, who was privately inhibited.<sup>2</sup> The chief points discussed are the adaptations of Roman Catholic works of devotion, and private confession. On July 16, Mr. Justice Coleridge wrote to the Bishop that the prosecution of Dr. Pusey would unsettle the minds of many, &c.—the same story as in the case of Mr. Allies, a story since then oftentimes repeated, with disastrous consequences to the Church.

In September, 1852, writing to Mr. Gladstone about the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford, vacant by the death of the Duke of Wellington, the Bishop, as the managing man, explains why the Duke of Newcastle was not brought forward:—

I should far prefer him, but I am convinced we could not carry him, and by starting him may bring in Harrowby or Shaftesbury. I have, therefore, advised that we do not oppose Lord Derby.

The Bishop was afraid that Lord Derby, if opposed, would be "brought in as the Low Church candidate; the whole effect of Gladstone's contest and success would be lost."

When Lord Derby's Government fell, Lord Aberdeen (Dec. 19) was summoned to Osborne. Mr. Gordon, private secretary to his father, having communicated this, the Bishop replies immediately as follows:—

*The Bishop of Oxford to the Hon. A. Gordon.*

December 20, 1852.

MY DEAR MR. GORDON,—I have to my closest intimates for six months past said that it seemed to me, humanly speaking, that the security of

<sup>1</sup> How far matters have advanced since Bishop Wilberforce wrote these words may be estimated by well weighing one fact. In 1879, the Rev. E. P. Willis, Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon (the Bishop's pet college) wrote a pamphlet to prove that the Eucharist is a sacrifice! (The pamphlet was reviewed in the last CHURCHMAN.) The Vice-Principal of Cuddesdon pleads for the "five mystic colours" and "sacrificial vestments!"

<sup>2</sup> Jan. 24, 1853. The Bishop, at Clewer, "resolved that none should be admitted who could not whilst in it be contented with the spiritual aid of Bishop or Chaplains, or that it would become a nest of true Puseyites. Also on a full and absolute removal of crucifixes."

the Church and the Throne turned on whether the Queen got Lord Aberdeen or one of the other chiefs of the mere Whig party as the Prime Minister on the certain fall of Lord Derby's Government. I will, God helping me, make it my daily prayer that he may be strengthened for the great sacrifice he is making and guided in all his ways. Will you, if you find a spare moment, say to Lord Aberdeen in one word what I feel on the matter? I am most sincerely yours,  
S. OXON.

"Our friends are in at last," wrote the Bishop to his brother. When the new Chancellor of the Exchequer was opposed by Mr. Dudley Percival, the Bishop warmly supported Mr. Gladstone's candidature. In writing to Prince Albert, he spoke of the degradation of the University "in this disgraceful contest;" and he took the opportunity of telling H.R.H. the feeling about Lord John Russell's conduct "in administering the patronage of the Crown." In writing to Dr. Farley, asking him for his vote, he pleaded "the interests of our Apostolic Church," and asserted that the Church's interests were most deeply involved in maintaining Mr. Gladstone in power.

In Feb. 1853, the Clergy Reserve question came on in the House of Lords. The Bishop of Oxford was anxious to support his political friends; but the difficulty was that Archdeacon Bethune had sent him a petition strong in opposition. Writing to "My dear Gordon," the Bishop begs him to consult his father, the Prime Minister. "I am certain I could do more for the right cause by awaiting the debate." To speak early was, in fact, as he said, being "near the wind," and Lord Aberdeen advised the Bishop not to do a doubtful thing, but to wait. The Duke of Newcastle had been consulted, and the following letter from his Grace is rather curious:—

MY DEAR LORD, ABERDEEN,—Though sorry not to have the benefit of an early announcement of the support of the Bishop of Oxford, I can have no hesitation as to the wisdom and propriety of your advice to him. It would never do for him to play the part of Balaam and, being called by Bethune to curse his enemies, to bless them altogether.

I am, yours very sincerely,

NEWCASTLE.

In March, 1853, the Bishop announced to his brother that "Jackson of St. James's is to be the new Bishop. Longley is offered Lincoln if he wishes to change. It is quite a *respectable* appointment." Lord Aberdeen, it seems, told the Bishop of London that a good time was coming for the "men who for the last eight years had been systematically excluded." In the month of April Mr. Gordon said to Bishop Wilberforce: "If the Bishop of London were to be taken, my father would appoint Bishop of Salisbury."

## ART. VI.—THE CHURCH OF ROME AND THE LAND WAR IN IRELAND.

THE correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal* gives an account of the interview of the Irish Bishops at Rome with the Pope :—

The audience of the Irish Bishops with Leo XIII. took place on Wednesday, Nov. 10, in the Vatican. The Pope having recovered from a temporary ailment, granted audience to six Prelates—viz., Archbishop Cashel, Bishops Limerick, Ross, Cloyne, Kerry, and Bishop-elect Kingston, Canada, late P.P. Dungarvan. His Holiness, after dwelling upon the manifold evils of the Church, pointed to his own position as a prisoner in the Vatican, subsisting on the alms of the faithful sent from different countries. Indeed his needs were supplied as by a miracle. Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Cooke [he of the "*laborantem agricolam*" argument,] as chief spokesman, now presented their offering of *Peter's Pence*, offering at the same time their heartfelt acknowledgments for the promptitude and liberality displayed by his Holiness in sending a donation in aid of the distress of Ireland. After sundry complimentary interchanges, the Pope asked to be told something concerning the agitation now reigning in Ireland. The Bishops then explained that agitation was the usual mode by which the people expressed their demands for great reforms. The Pope then observed that he had two matters especially at heart—the one was the preservation of the faith in Ireland, the other was that the union between priests and people be carefully preserved, and that no revolutionary principles take root among the Irish Catholics. The Bishops then assured his Holiness that they only wanted by a legal and constitutional agitation to force the Government to change the laws by legislation, and thus to make substantial change in the relations between landlords and tenants, so disastrous in past ages to Ireland.

The offerings of Peter's Pence then ensued :—

Cashel	.	.	.	.	.	£2,766
Cloyne	.	.	.	.	.	1,065
Limerick	.	.	.	.	.	860
Kerry	.	.	.	.	.	400
Ross	.	.	.	.	.	360
Waterford	.	.	.	.	.	1,350
Down, &c.	.	.	.	.	.	300

£7,001

In addition to this the Bishop of Meath [Dr. Nulty, of whom more anon] brought £1,650, raising the Pence up to £8,651.

It was mentioned that in the districts where the agitation was remarkable, the attendance of the people at religious functions was not diminished, not even in Limerick on the day after the Parnell meeting.

If it be asked, what was the origin of the payment of Peter's Pence, and when was it actually imposed upon Ireland?—the learned author of "Fables respecting the Popes in the Middle Ages" finds positive internal evidence in the Donation of Constantine itself, strong enough to prove it to have been of Roman origin between 750 and 774 A.D., and adds that "to the best of his knowledge there are no Papal documents extant, with the exception of the one about Ireland, in which the payment of tribute is demanded of the whole realm on the strength of the donation of Constantine, and the Papal chair claimed possession of an island which the Romans themselves had never possessed and had scarcely known. This was done by Hadrian IV., an Englishman by birth, and at the desire of the English king, Henry II., the Pope conferred on him the dominion over the island of Ireland (1155), which, "like all Christian islands, undoubtedly belonged of right to St. Peter and the Roman Church. And, indeed, England has paid heavily enough for being an accessory to so great a fraud, and for sharing the fruits of such an imposition put forward by an intrusive Church. And the full measure of this retribution does not seem altogether exhausted as yet, nor the strong purpose to act in partnership with the Papal power in the government of Ireland. The infallibility of the Sovereign Pontiff is deeply concerned, as well as his supremacy, in this matter. This latter claim touches not alone doctrine, but also discipline. Faith and morals are the Pope's special concernment, and his rights as Universal Bishop entitle him (wherever the Bull *Pastor Aeternus* is promulgated, at least is accepted with allowance) to intervene in all human affairs, be they secular or be they sacred, all the world over. He is now Universal Bishop, and every Bishop and Priest is subject to the Pope directly, and may accordingly be dismissed without apology or any account being given—in fact, without appeal. And there is in this wide claim over human action, whether of priest or of layman, the "intrusion of an external authority between the ruler and the subjects;" and, in a word, "the Church of Rome has brought itself into direct and visible antagonism with civil allegiance throughout the world." With Papal supremacy and infallibility thus deeply concerned and thus vitally implicated, there need be no wonder felt that the Pope should make all the inquiries in his power, and issue his sovereign commands to his Irish agents and subjects on the engrossing theme of the relations of landlord and tenant in unhappy Ireland. Addressing "his venerable brother, Edward McCabe, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland," the Pope writes to the following effect:—

After enumerating certain reasons for entertaining paternal benevolence for the Catholics of Ireland, at the same time he unhesitatingly

declares that it is their duty to be carefully on their guard not to allow the fame of their sterling and hereditary probity to be lessened, and not to commit any rash act, whereby they may seem to have cast aside the obedience due to their lawful rulers, lest by a disregard of moderation, justice might be violated, or the cause, however right in itself, be forced by the influence of passion into the flame of sedition. Referring to his former expressions in June and November, he warns the Irish people to obey the Bishops, and in no instance deviate from the sacredness of duty. And while he ardently desires every good gift for the people of Ireland, he also adds that order should not be disturbed. This manner of thinking and acting he pronounces entirely conformable to the ordinances and laws of the Catholic Church, and equally conducive to the interests of Ireland; (that) Ireland may obtain what she wants much more safely and readily if only she adopts a course which the laws allow, and avoids giving causes of offence. And he closes with warning that the Archbishop and his colleagues direct their efforts to the end that the people of Ireland in the anxious condition of affairs do not transgress the bounds of equity and justice.

This letter was followed by another, in which "Edward, Archbishop of Dublin," gives his opinions on the subject, and from this a sentence or two may be taken to prove how far this prelate at least re-echoed the voice of his Infallible Master:—

An attempt may be made to distort the words of His Holiness, and to make it appear that the Holy See is hostile to the demand of the country for the repeal of harsh laws which have brought misery and crime among us for long generations. Is this the object of the letter of the Holy Father? Most certainly not. He knows the injuries inflicted on our people by the present land code, and he prays that these injuries may be speedily redressed by a change in the laws from which they flow; but whilst he blesses our determination to obtain justice for an oppressed tenantry, *there are in the agitation, as carried on, things which he cannot approve.* No better exponent of the Holy Father's views can be had than the Holy Father himself, who draws a *wide distinction between the end aimed at and some of the means employed to achieve that end.*

The people, he said, should be encouraged in doing what was right. In the present agitation, as carried on, there were certain things which he could not approve of. The people should be duly impressed with the duty of keeping always within the bounds of law.<sup>1</sup>

We must now request the reader to take note of the limitations clearly laid down by the Sovereign Pontiff, both upon the objects to be sought and the means to be used by the Irish in their "agrarian difficulties." "Probity" was to be observed, which it is clear pointed to honesty in the payment of rents due, and

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<sup>1</sup> The letter of the reigning Pontiff bears date January 2, and Archbishop M'Cabe's is dated January 9; and both were first published in Ireland in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 10th.



“moderation” was to be practised so as to avoid rash acts and rebellious or seditious movements against the constituted rulers, such as erecting unauthorized tribunals, using popular violence, or practising intimidation. They were also to obey their Bishops (on the assumption that these Bishops would advise them as above). And in fact they would have neither “luck nor grace” unless they proceeded in conformity with the regulations of the Catholic Church and the laws of their own country. All this was clearly against the Land League, just as Dr. McCabe had also previously denounced its immoral, irreligious, and illegal objects and methods of action. This manifesto of the Pope, however, met with scant respect, and even Archbishop McCabe’s pronouncement in re-echo was curtailed audaciously by some of his own curates in the public reading of it.

We must now give a brief account of a very different kind of document, which filled four pages of the *Freeman’s Journal* (the great organ of the Romano-Irish priests and hierarchy). Extensive citation from this document is needless, as the writer, in words beyond mistake, has committed himself to the principles and modes of procedure of the Land League, making only a reservation against deeds of violence and scandalous escapades, &c. &c. He eulogizes Mr. Parnell “for providing a thoroughly effective remedy (for the evils Mr. Gladstone could not cure, while he greatly stimulated them)—namely, a voluntary and peaceable combination of tenant farmers to obtain their just right, accompanied by a stern but discriminating ostracism of traitors.” That there is no overstrained interpretation in all this will be manifest from the comment of the *Freeman’s Journal*—that nothing can be bolder and firmer than the eulogy which the Bishop bestows on the Land League. The *Nation* even goes further; and to crown all, the chairman of the Land League exults in the adhesion of Bishop Nulty; and a Mr. Moore, at the Clara monster meeting, called, and not in vain, for a unanimous vote of thanks to the Right Rev. Dr. Nulty, of Meath, for “his magnificent advocacy of the principles of the Land League.” And to make it still more evident, not only that Dr. Nulty, but the great body of the Irish priests (if not also of the Bishops), concurred, we have now only to quote the *Irish Times’* report of words used by the reverend chairman of a meeting of the Central Committee of the Land League held in Dublin:—

The priests of the country are determined to take such decisive action that it would be impossible for the Government to pass them over and arrest other people, so that the Government must bear the responsibility, if they act thoroughly, if they are not cowards—as I believe they are—of arresting the priests in our country in the forefront of this battle. Then, having arrested us and put us in prison I say they will touch a chord in the Irish heart that has not yet vibrated

It will strike a new key when the Government arrests the priests of the country. We dare them to do their worst, and we say this because of our devotion to the Land League principles, and because we do not wish our people to suffer while we are safe. I say that, in speaking these words, I speak not only my own sentiments, but the sentiments of the priests of the whole country, who are heart and soul with this League movement, and are determined to stand or fall by it until such time as they have *planted the banners of victory upon the ruins of landlordism in this country.* (Applause.)

Instead of abstract criticism we may give some facts, also some expressions of high legal authorities upon the several characteristic items of the Land League programme as played out in furtherance of the object which it aimed at securing.

And first of all, in reference to *the unwritten law* set up against the Law of the Queen, which displays itself in the emphatic condemnation and censure by which public opinion visited any one who had the rashness to run counter to the expressed wishes and desires of the whole community—it must be remembered that Mr. M. F. O'Flaherty, a Co. Galway gentleman, has given the following accurate description of the Land League laws, and the manner in which they are worked. He writes, *Daily Express*, March 21:—

That he believes it is correct to say that so far as the written rules of the Land League are in question they may be regarded as what is legal; but it is the *unwritten law* of this body which is really operative and effective, and this prescribes ostracism the most cruel against those who refuse to obey its orders, and higher degrees of punishment still for persistent contumacy against its edicts. Obedience, implicit obedience, is demanded from all, otherwise, the boasted cohesion and loyalty would have no basis to rest upon. Thus the well-to-do tenant—the man who is happy in his home and his relations with his landlord—must now, as a matter of absolute personal safety, stand side by side with the idle, the worthless, and the outcast, to try and help this class to force by threats and falsehood concessions from the landlord—who has ever been a loser by the connection.

The Prelate, however, says: "The assertion, therefore, of the tenants' claims *cannot* lean on crimes of lawlessness, but it must regard the perpetrators of these wicked deeds as its deadliest enemies." This is all very fine on paper, but, as a matter of fact, the assertion of these "claims" proceeded to such a pitch of intolerable lawlessness as to necessitate the passing, by a Liberal Ministry, of the Act for the Protection of Life and Property, also an Arms Act for Ireland. The Prelate again expatiates, in a sublime generalizing way, upon "public opinion," and pronounces it "just, discriminating, ubiquitous, active, vigilant, &c. It can never fail to discover and censure real offenders, and it can never punish any one unjustly, for a whole

community can never conspire or chastise with the censure of public opinion any one who does not really deserve it."

We now present from Mr. Serjeant Heron's speech at the State trials the following extract:—

What was the language of the placard at Bohola?—

"Traitors in the Camp!

"A year has now passed by since you pledged yourselves never to take a farm from which another had been evicted or surrendered because he was unable to pay the rent. Have you adhered to and supported that pledge? Banish the land sharks from the society of honest men. Leave their corn uncut, their potatoes undug, and themselves to wither under the people's curse along with the land-grabbers."

That placard was repeated at Miltown, and ended with "Look out for land sharks—God save Ireland!" If this was not a conspiracy the learned Serjeant did not know what it was. The traversers themselves admitted the conspiracy. Convict them on the evidence; acquit them if they could.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Forster has laid it down that the non-payment of rent was mainly due to the teachings of agitators, who were misleading the people. We give now the citation issued by a Land League Court, as a specimen of the unanimity of "public opinion":—

DEAR SIR,—After our meeting this day, the following resolution was unanimously adopted and carried:—Resolved that Mr. E. Kelly, of Knocknahilla, be written to by our secretary, calling on him to appear personally to give explanations to the enclosed statistical Complaint of Grievance, 16th Dec. 1880.

The Land League requires the personal attendance of all parties concerned, &c.

J. O'BRIEN, *Hon. Sec.*

The following resolution was unanimously carried:—"That Mr. Kelly be written to by our secretary to abide the decision of the League. Your personal attendance is required on 20th inst., to give your adhesion to the above resolution."

These men were tried at Ennis assizes, but got off free. As to co-operation, a well-known P.P. used these words as chairman of a large Sunday meeting:—

Although they had been charged by Judge Fitzgerald—(groans)—with crimes they had never committed, still it was their duty for their own conscience's sake never to be guilty of any crime, never to touch the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Serjeant Heron read passages from the pastoral of Archbishop McCabe warning the people against committing crime of any description. He read that pastoral without note or commentary. Those sentiments the Archbishop had expressed in the canonical discharge of his duty, to be read from the altars throughout the country on a particular Sunday; and when his Grace's name was mentioned at the meetings there was a cry, "Away with him! away with him!! Down with him! down with him!"

hair of the head of any landlord, agent, or bailiff, but to maintain a passive resistance to all unjust laws. In the face of the Coercion Act, shun the land-grabber, avoid him as the Jews of old avoided the leper—(great cheering).

Mr. Justice Fitzgerald at Tralee explained the system thus:—

The general system he found pursued was that they had determined beforehand, and it was one of those remarkable signs of a wide-spread organization in this country, that they meet at a given point, armed and disguised, and the evicted tenant is apparently put by force into possession. . . . And the reinstated occupier is put in possession, and when asked to give it up, says, "I cannot give it up, because the Land Leaguers in the neighbourhood would come down on me."

Judge Barry, at Limerick Assizes, can only exclaim in a certain case:—

"Another of the discreditable scenes! Trial by jury all over Ireland is a farce and a mockery, and so in Limerick county too. And I, as a Limerick man, say with pain and humiliation that the parties who have come into the jury-box are either perfectly incapable of understanding evidence, or determined, while understanding it, to *violate their oaths and not act upon them.*"

Here is more of the coercion of the unwritten law, and "of public opinion more just and discriminating, than its public instructors—for, *a whole community can never conspire or chastise with the censure of public opinion anyone who does not really deserve it.*" So says Dr. Nulty.

The next case is that of James Walsh, charged with having conveyed a threatening message about giving up a farm. The defence was that the prisoner was obliged, at the risk of his life, to convey the message in obedience to the command of an armed party. Judge said this was no defence. Jury acquitted. Judge exclaims, "This out-climaxed all the extraordinary jury scenes in that court!"<sup>1</sup>

And now we come to another feature—namely, mutual hostilities and downright insubordination among the higher ecclesiastics of the Roman Mission in Ireland. The most notable exhibition in this way relates to a letter which was sent to the

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<sup>1</sup> The following exhibits an hyper-climax to the above out-climaxing exhibition. Mrs. and Miss Moore stand their trial for forcible possession of a house from which for non-payment of rent they had been ejected. They plead compulsion by a party of armed men, who assault and eject occupants, and compelled a man in occupation to entertain them with dance music on his fiddle. After a lively dance, the representatives then bind the man of the house and his wife together with ropes, swear him never to return, cut off some of his whiskers, which they hand as a trophy to Mrs. and Miss Moore, and then batter the poor ducks against the wall as a "memento mori," and depart. The jury acquitted; "for a whole community can never conspire or chastise with the censure of public opinion any one who does not really deserve it."

Pope—not in reply—but as an original independent opinion volunteered on the subject of the appointment of a Papal Legate in England.<sup>1</sup>

Then came the battle over the ladies, in which Archbishop M'Cabe is an assailant and Archbishop Crooke a vigorous defendant. The language in both instances is very violent. The Eatanswill editors are outdone by the Irish Archbishops. Then we have the battle of the Cork priests. The Bishop rusticates them, and Archbishop Crooke intervenes in their behalf. The parishioners collect £250, and the matter is referred to Rome. And the last news is that Archbishop Crooke has had to apologize in writing.

Yet all this is but a small thing compared with the fact—which nothing but perverse contentiousness can deny—that the land war in Ireland is nothing short of a war of religion and race, and the extinction of the old Church of Ireland, by the expulsion and beggaring or levelling of the landlords, is the consummation that is so devoutly aimed at and pursued. And the sore and sad preliminary effects of this land war are already apparent in the western and southern dioceses of the Irish Church; in which the annual sustentation funds are in a state of deficit, and many of the clergy are noticed as liable to reductions upon their already slender stipends. The impoverishment of the landlord class, and their being in so many instances, along with their families, forced to leave their happy homes, must inevitably reduce the number of attendants upon the churches; and the voice of prayer and praise shall cease to be heard in our midst, lifted up to heaven in the sweet pure words of holy and classic harmony, in which saints and martyrs and men of God presented the highest aspirations of their souls with blessed acceptance before the throne of grace.

These are no alarmist tones—these are no promptings of cowardice nor visions of imagination. Unless England wants to lose Ireland, the loyal subjects of one class must not be despoiled and degraded to carry out the sham theories of land tenure which have proved impossible of realization elsewhere. Let justice be done all round, and neither the gentlemen nor Churchmen will repine at the results.

PHILIP DWYER.

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<sup>1</sup> The atheist affair at Paris, and Mr. Parnell's intimacy with M. Rochefort and Victor Hugo, extracted from Archbishop M'Cabe a stinging censure in his Lenten instructions against "seeking allies from the ranks of impious infidels, who have plunged their own unhappy land into misery, and are sworn to destroy the foundations of all religions. Will Catholic Ireland tolerate such an indignity?"

## Reviews.

*The Organization of the Early Christian Churches.* Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, 1880. By EDWIN HATCH, M.A., Vice-Principal of St. Mary's Hall. Rivingtons. 1881.

IN reviewing recently the second volume of "The Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," we made especial reference to the contributions of Mr. Hatch. The book before us, the Bampton Lectures for 1880, contains much valuable evidence, arranged and analyzed with skill, upon an important and deeply interesting subject. Whether the reader agrees with the conclusions at which Mr. Hatch arrives, or differs from them, he will rate highly, we believe, the research and ability of the argument, its tone and temper. He will find that the author has known how to test the documents in which evidence is contained, and also to weigh the value of the evidence. It is a great matter to sift, so that readers may see with clearness both what are facts and what are probabilities.

We may show our readers the character of this work by giving a few extracts from its chief chapters.

The fifth chapter is headed "Clergy and Laity." The author first takes "in detail the several functions which in later times have been regarded as the special and peculiar functions of Church officers;" and secondly, he inquires "how far they were regarded as special and peculiar functions in the first two centuries"—Preaching: Baptism: the Lord's Supper: Discipline.

1. In regard to the function of preaching, it is clear, from both the Acts of the Apostles and St. Paul's Epistles, that "liberty of prophesying" prevailed in the Apostolic age. It is equally clear that liberty of prophesying existed after the Apostolic age. In the first place, one of the most interesting monuments of the second century consists of a sermon or homily, which was preached probably by a layman at Rome, a fragment of which has long been known as the Second Epistle of Clement, and the remainder of which has come to light in two forms—a Greek MS. and a Syriac translation—within the last five years. In the second place, the Apostolic Constitutions, which are of even a later date, expressly contemplate the existence of preaching by laymen: "Even if a teacher be a layman, still, if he be skilled in the Word and reverent in habit, let him teach; for the Scripture says, 'They shall be all taught of God.'"

2. In regard to baptism there is no positive evidence, but there is the argument *à fortiori*, which arises from the fact that even in later times, when the tendency had become strong to restrict the performance of ecclesiastical functions to Church officers, baptism by an ordinary member of the Church was held to be valid, although, if an officer might have been found, it was held to be contrary to Church order.

3. In regard to the Eucharist, the only explicit evidence is that of the Ignatian Epistles. . . . It is clear from them that the Christians of the cities to which they were addressed had held other meetings besides those at which the officers were present, and that in those meetings the bread had been broken

and the Eucharist celebrated. The practice is reprov'd, but the reproof is a gentle one: "Break one bread," "be careful to have only one Eucharist," "let that be the valid Eucharist which is celebrated in the presence of the Bishop, or of some one commissioned by him." It appears from this that the celebration of the Eucharist without the presence of the Church officer, was not of itself invalid. It is inconceivable that any one who held the view—which has been ordinarily held in later times—that the presence and action of a Church officer are essential to the valid celebration of the Eucharist, would have used the language of mild remonstrance, or would have brought arguments to urge the expediency of submission in this, as in other respects, to constitute authority.

On the fourth point, the exercise of discipline, Mr. Hatch points out that in 1 Cor. St. Paul addresses the whole community. In the Epistle of Clement the whole community is addressed. So also as to Polycarp.

"Whether, therefore," says Mr. Hatch, in summing up, "whether we look at preaching, at baptism, at the Eucharist, or at discipline, it seems probable that the officers were not conceived as having, as such, exclusive powers. In other words, the existing evidence in regard to the functions of Church officers, so far from establishing, tends to disprove the existence of any conception of the nature of their office, other than that which is gathered from the terms which were in use to designate such office. It supports the hypothesis that they existed in the Christian societies, as those who bore the same names existed in secular societies, for the general superintendence of the community and the general control of its affairs, that all things might be done decently and in order!"

Showing how, in course of time, Christian ministers came to be spoken of as *priests*, Mr. Hatch remarks that "in earlier times there was a grander faith. For the kingdom of God was a kingdom of priests. Not only the 'four-and-twenty elders' before the throne, but the innumerable souls of the sanctified upon whom 'the second death had no power,' were 'kings and priests unto God.' Only in that high sense was priesthood predicable of Christian men. For the shadow had passed; the Reality had come; the one High Priest of Christianity was Christ."

Such language, as correct, as thoroughly Scriptural, as it is eloquent, especially suitable for these sacerdotalist days, we quote with pleasure.

In Chapter VI., "The Clergy as a Separate Class," appear several striking passages. Here is one:—

We shall see that the isolation of the clergy, as a separate class of the community, became at length inevitable. They had a separate civil status, they had separate emoluments, they were subject to special rules of life. The Shepherd Bishop driving his cattle to their rude pasturage among the Cyprian hills, the Merchant Bishop of North Africa, the Physician Presbyter of Rome, were vanished types, whose living examples could be found no more.

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*The Ornaments Rubric: its History and Meaning.* A Series of Papers contributed to the "Penny Post," re-arranged, with Additions and Corrections. Pp. 72. Parker & Co.

WE have here, in substance, a condensed re-statement by Mr. James Parker of his previous attacks on the Ridsdale Judgment, which were noticed by Mr. Kennion in *THE CHURCHMAN* last July, as well as by Canon Swainson, in his able "Historical Enquiry."

As it seemed to us, Mr. Parker's arguments had been entirely refuted. Canon Swainson had proved incontestably the authority of the Advertisements. Mr. Kennion had shown strong ground for believing that the 30th of Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions was intended by her to be the "other order" which, by the Act, she was empowered to make, and that the Advertisements were little more than an explanation of the Injunctions, although, in a legal point of view, the Advertisements might be more certainly relied on than the Injunctions. Further, he had shown that, as the legislators of 1662 insisted on absolute uniformity and exact obedience—not to a "minimum," but to the whole of what was ordered, while the thing they required was the surplice only—they cannot possibly have intended the long-forgotten vestments to be included in the rubric; that the contemporaneous exposition of the law continued two hundred years has confirmed this view; that by the established rules of legal interpretation we are to look not to the words of the Act only, but to the intention of the legislators, and to the sense of the words as THEY understood them; and that consequently the Folkestone decision was right and Mr. Parker wrong.

And now, what is his reply to these arguments? Simply nothing but to ignore both them and the facts on which they are founded. And although, in his preface, he professes to provide historical data, so as to enable his readers "to form a just opinion of the matters at issue," the greater part of his work is entirely wide of the mark. Of the Queen's letter to the Archbishop in 1571, of the Articles presented to her in 1583, of the Canons of 1603, of the discussion between the Lords and Commons in 1662, of the title and purport of the Act of Uniformity itself, and of what was done under it—of all these things he says nothing.

His notion, and an utterly mistaken one, is that the Folkestone decision rests almost exclusively on the Advertisements, as "prospectively" "a repeal of the Act of 1662" (p. 71). But against the validity of the Advertisements, in modification of Elizabeth's Act, he has little to say except what he had said before, that the Queen refused to give them the sanction of her name before and when they came out, for which there were very obvious reasons, but which does not militate against the fact that they were issued by her orders, and that she afterwards acknowledged them. To disprove this, which is most clearly proved, Mr. Parker has nothing to say, except that the advertisements were not mentioned in a Proclamation of the Queen's in 1573, when they might or might not have been noticed; and that in a letter of the Bishop of London to Zuinglius (the date of which is not given) he said, "Nothing of the law had been modified or altered." To these objections we do not think any weight can be attached.

About the Injunctions Mr. Parker has made two remarkable blunders. In his letter to Lord Selborne he argued that the 30th Injunction, in ordering the clergy to wear the habits used in Edward VI.'s "latter year," refers to their outdoor dress only. But he omitted from his quotation of it the words "in all places and assemblies both in the church and without."

This omission had been pointed out by Mr. Kennion; but we find in this new pamphlet this Injunction quoted with the very same omission.



But this is not all. Mr. Parker now (p. 44) represents the Injunctions as having been published *before* the Act of Uniformity of 1559; whereas they appear on the very face of them to have been composed immediately before a general visitation, which took place two or three months *after* the Act was passed!!! Of course, if they had preceded the Act, they could not have taken effect under it. And then there might have been some weight in Mr. Parker's historical criticism on the Advertisements, whereas a right understanding of the date and object of the Injunctions makes the Queen's conduct intelligible and the whole history consistent.

As to the last revision, what Mr. Parker mostly relies on is the authority of Bishop Cosin. But what Cosin might think or intend in his own mind might be very different from the intention of the Legislature. And after all, there is nothing of Cosin's to favour Mr. Parker, except some notes which he had written many years before and never published; while there are two things which go strongly the other way. First, that in the notes which he prepared in 1661 for the purpose of that revision, he showed that he did not wish to alter the rubric, except by making it an exact copy of the section in Elizabeth's Act—that is, that he wished to leave the law in this respect unaltered. And secondly, that by all his conduct after the passing of the Act, he showed that he considered the surplice, and that alone, to be the legal “ornament of the minister.”

We should like, before we conclude, to ask Mr. Parker one or two questions. Suppose he could prove his point, what good does he think would result, either to the Church of England, or to the Church of Christ at large? Does he expect to unite the whole Church of England in the wearing of the vestments and accepting the doctrine involved in them? If not, does he think that the keeping up of these party badges, the turning of the Church of England into a confederation of mutually antagonistic congregations, will tend to increase her spirituality, or to strengthen her for the work she has to do and the battles she has to fight? Does he think it will help forward the cause of reunion or comprehension, and incline the millions of our countrymen who are estranged from us to join us again?

Or, looking at the Lord's Supper as a feast of Love, intended, among other things, to show that the Lord's people are “one bread and one body,” and to unite them more and more closely in “one holy bond of truth and peace,” &c., does Mr. Parker think that the parading of party colours, the display, AT SUCH A TIME, of those differences of opinion which, while “we know in part,” unhappily prevail among us, can either edify the Church, or please Him who would have us perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment?

If, as Mr. Parker thinks, the “Puritan party” has not acted rightly, let the High Church party show their opponents a more excellent way.

We commend to their notice some wise words of the Bishop of Lincoln on prayers for the dead. “Of this also I am persuaded, that nothing profits without charity (1 Cor. xiii. 1); and if any act which we desire to do, and which is not necessary to be done, is likely to give offence to others, it ought to be forborne in the spirit of love” (*Guardian*, 22 Dec. 1875).

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*Sparkling Rhills by the Wayside; or, Thoughts on the Book of Psalms.*  
By the late Rev. D. T. K. DRUMMOND. Edited by Mrs. DRUMMOND.  
London: Nisbet and Co.

THIS handsome volume contains the substance of expository lectures on the Book of Psalms, delivered at St. Thomas' Church, Edinburgh, by the late greatly beloved and venerated minister of that church. The con-

gregation is the most influential of the congregations of the English Church in Scotland, and its pastor, the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, was for many years the most trusted and honoured leader of that misrepresented community. To know Mr. Drummond was to love him; a piety which placed him amongst the foremost of those who walked closely with God in his day, was combined with great shrewdness and clearness of intellect. Without possessing brilliant oratorical endowments, his gifts were solid and all his qualities pre-eminently those of the pastor. Great firmness of purpose and unusual clearness of principle existed in him side by side with a singular geniality, great tact, unfailing good temper, well-sustained spirits, and a great fund of humour that flowed throughout his conversation like a fertilizing brook through some green meadow, carrying beauty and pleasantness everywhere. Like Apollon of old, he was mighty in the Word of God. The studies of this volume extend consecutively over the entire Book of Psalms. They were not intended for the press, and have been reproduced in their present shape from the stores of a loving memory and from notes. The accuracy of the reproduction is admirable, for those who had the pleasure and privilege of Mr. Drummond's friendship will readily recognize in this volume the characteristics both of his style and of his mode of thought. The treatment, without being critical, embodies the results of criticism, and evidences the hand of one well acquainted with what has been said and written on that part of the Sacred Book with which he deals.

The Psalms are pre-eminently the expression of the experience of the Church of God in all ages. No one can really appreciate them till they have themselves passed through the deep waters of temporal and spiritual trial. Till then, their language must continue to be rather a sound than a sense. They are not only expressions of experience, but they are also authorized guides to devotion. It is to the lessons of holy freedom of utterance and confidential pleading with God, the *rapprocha* of the New Testament, that the Church of Christ is peculiarly indebted. With the exposition of such a book as this, a man of the character and gifts of the late Mr. Drummond was peculiarly qualified to deal. The book is accordingly singularly helpful and profitable, deeply experimental, and pervaded with a profound earnestness. It has likewise much freshness and considerable elegance of expression. We especially commend it as a book for the closet. One brief quotation will illustrate the style:—

“As for me, I will behold Thy face in righteousness, I shall be satisfied when I awake with Thy likeness.” There can not be a moment's doubt that these words refer to no earthly awakening, but to the great awakening at the last, when we shall see Him as He is. No longer in the land of mists and shadows; no longer with clouds and darkness between us and Him, but eye to eye, and face to face. Yes, I shall be satisfied. All will be right at the very first glance, for I shall see Him on His throne, my joy and my portion for ever; and I shall be satisfied. When I see Him as He is, shall I not be fully satisfied? To behold His glory, and to see the “King in His beauty,” and behold “the land that is very far off.” Shall I not hear His praises echoed and re-echoed through the angelic hosts in the “new song” of the redeemed: “unto Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood.” All that holiness and justice and love could do, done for me. Aye, and when I wake up after His likeness, I shall no longer see myself, but see myself in Him, changed from glory to glory, made like unto Him for ever, bearing the image of the great King, for I shall see Him as He is.

*Peter Waldo: The Reformer of Lyons.* By Rev. J. N. WORSFOLD, M.A.  
John F. Shaw and Co.

THERE are many, probably, who know little more respecting Peter Waldo than that he was a great Reformer, and that his name is connected with the Waldensian Church. Therefore the author of the work now under notice has done well in giving information concerning some of the principal events in the life of this remarkable man, who, whether or not he was the founder of the Vaudois Church, performed a great and important work in the cause of Christianity. He was one of the first who based his faith and his teaching on the pure Word of God, and not on the verdict of the Church, or on her interpretation of that Word. And following this rule, in practice as well as in precept, he gradually worked himself right, studying the Bible in sincerity, and praying for the light of God's Spirit. Of his sincerity there can be no doubt; even his mistakes show it. How faithfully he acted up to his convictions may be seen by the account of his conversion and subsequent conduct. We read:

The rich burghers of Lyons attends a banquet with his fellow-citizens of high degree. Ere the feast is over one of the guests becomes a stiffened corpse. What was but a temporary emotion in the hearts of others, became a life-long force with Peter Waldo (p. 2).

This incident roused him and caused him to ask, "What shall I do to be saved?" a question to which in those days it was more difficult to find the true answer than it now is. As the author remarks: "There were two ways of appeasing an awakened conscience in fashion at this time. One, to sell one's goods, and found a monastery—another (if the seclusion of a monastery was disliked) was almsgiving:

Our merchant chose the last. From that day he devoted a large portion of his wealth to the claims of poverty. But still his heart is not at peace, all his alms-deeds cannot assure him of the forgiveness of his sins. Nevertheless, his path is onward;—an incident, though usual, yet equally Providential with the sudden death of his townsman, gives a fresh impulse to his search after God. On the evening of a Lord's Day towards the end of the year 1173, as Peter traversed the streets of Lyons, he stopped a moment to listen to a minstrel singing the glories of voluntary poverty. The gravity of the singer's manner, or some words of the ballad, fell like a spark on the dry wood of Waldo's susceptible nature, and he invites the troubadour to his house.

Of what passed between them we have no record, but we must suppose that Waldo gained something from the minstrel better worth learning, than the mistaken notion that voluntary poverty was a duty necessarily required of Christians, a notion which in his more enlightened days he abandoned. But at that time he only saw men as trees walking. He was however desirous of seeing more. He wished to master the whole Bible, and with great difficulty obtained a worn out copy of the Word of God, which he bought at an enormous price. What a reproach to those who have the Scriptures lying by them, and yet never look into them! Waldo did more than merely read them: he translated several of the books of the Old and New Testament into the vulgar tongue.

Owing to their renunciation of wealth, Waldo and his followers obtained the name of "the poor of Lyons;" they did not themselves assume this name; they called themselves the poor in spirit, which (it must be confessed) was the more arrogant of the two titles. They also adopted a peculiar garb, a distinction which was objected to by Pope Innocent III, who rightly remarked: "The kingdom of God consists not in vestments." And yet, with a strange inconsistency, the same Pope blamed them for having their hair cut like other men. But their peculiarities in dress, as well as their assumed poverty, were too much in accordance with the spirit of the Church of Rome to have entailed persecution on them from

this quarter. The *real* objection to them, in the eyes of that Church, was their faithful preaching of God's Word. And this it was which caused the separation of Waldo from the Romish communion. This occurred in 1181, under Pope Lucius III. The Archbishop of Lyons warned Waldo and his followers to cease from preaching from the Scriptures; Waldo was willing to make a compromise by offering to substitute reading and expounding for preaching. This did not satisfy the Archbishop, and, as Waldo could not make any further concession, the result was that both he and his followers were excommunicated. In spite of this, however, they continued to flourish. The second blow struck at them was dealt by a Council which the Pope convoked, and in which they, in company with other so-called heretics were condemned. But even then the Archbishop felt it was not prudent to lay hands on Waldo, as he had many friends in the city of Lyons; he was, however, obliged to leave that town, and fled first to Dauphine, then to Holland, afterwards to Picardy, and from Picardy to Germany, and finally retired to Bohemia, where he ended his days about the year 1197, having left traces of his teaching wherever he sojourned. The career of this faithful servant of God verifies our Lord's words: "If any man is minded to do God's will he shall know of the doctrine." It shows what the honest, unprejudiced study of God's Word can effect. As to his moral character and that of his followers, the testimony of their enemies the monks, who wished to damage it, sufficiently proves it to have been unimpeachable. We will quote their own words:—"Their only fault is that they exclaim against the Romish Church and its clergy." Another says: "They conduct themselves only too religiously; their manners are strict; their speech prudent and reserved. Their pleasure is to speak of God and of saints, of the necessity of seeking good and avoiding evil; in a word, they are everything that is praiseworthy. They have such a horror of falsehood and of useless or unnecessary oaths, that they even avoid such phrases as 'in truth,' 'in conscience,' from fear of weakening their speech."

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## Short Notices.

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*Anglo-Israelism and the Great Pyramid.* An Examination of the Alleged Claims of H.M. Queen Victoria to the Throne of David; and of the Reasons for Fixing the End of the Age in 1882. By the Rev. BOURCHIER WREY SAVILE, M.A., Rector of Shillingford, Exeter, Author of "The Primitive and Catholic Faith," &c. London: Longmans and Co. 1880. "The true length of the Grand Gallery of the Great Pyramid, so wonderfully important *now* as touching 'the approaching end of the age' . . . absolutely fixes the epoch as *not later* than August 6, 1882, for the terrible events we anticipate."—*The Banner of Israel*, April 7, 1880.

We have copied the title-page of this curious pamphlet, quotation and all. The editor of *The Banner of Israel*, it appears, is "the principal advocate of the Anglo-Israel School," and with him Mr. Savile has held "a controversial discussion." Mr. Savile, to quote again from the preface, was for a time "led to think it possible that the Anglo-Saxons, as a race, were lineally descended from the Ten Tribes." Further examination, however, convinced him that he had been labouring under a delusion. Hence the controversial discussion, and in due course the pamphlet (114 pages) before us. Time is precious, and our space is

limited; we will therefore simply quote five of the "ten most prominent points" which, according to Mr. Savile, are held by Anglo-Israelite controversialists—viz., "(6) That the ALTAR and PILLAR of Isaiah xix. 19, 20, are none other than the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, which was built by Divine direction—is a complete Messianic monument; and every inch in the passages symbolizes a solar year, with one exception, when it symbolizes a month instead. (7) Thus the descending passage of 985 inches in length represents human nature growing worse for 985 years, from the Flood to the Exode. (8) The ascending passage of 1542 inches to the entrance of the grand gallery represents human nature improving from the Exode to the Nativity, during a course of 1542 years. (9) That inasmuch as the grand gallery contains 33,950,000 cubic inches of space, that symbolizes the number of the inhabitants of the British Isles as they will amount to at the census of 1881. (10) That the grand gallery being 1881.7 inches in length, it signifies the duration of the Christian Dispensation from the Nativity to the end of the age, and teaches that this dispensation of grace will come to an abrupt and sudden close on August 6, 1882."

*Robert Hall.* By the Rev. E. PAXTON HOOD. Hodder & Stoughton. 1881.

This is one of Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton's welcome series, "Men Worth Remembering." Mr. Paxton Hood, well known as a pleasing and suggestive writer, has done his work with judgment; no part of his sketch is too long, or feeble, or dry. The description of the great Baptist's ministry in Cambridge is, perhaps, particularly good; but we must put a note of interrogation after the remark that Robert Hall "would have been glad to hail for his people such ministrations as those represented by James Martineau or William Channing." The book opens with a quotation from Bulwer Lytton's "The Caxtons;" the old Captain admires in Robert Hall's Life its *courage*, young Pisistratus its *fulness*, great thought, great study, great action.

*The Churchman's Altar Manual.* Guide to Holy Communion: with the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, and a selection of appropriate Hymns. Griffith & Farran. 1881.

The Compiler of this "Altar Manual," or "Guide to the Blessed Sacrament," shows in the very first page of his "Instruction" to what "school" he belongs, or, at all events, what doctrines he wishes to teach. "The Church," he says, "has ever looked upon the Holy Eucharist as the highest act of worship that can be offered to Almighty God, and has impressed upon all her faithful children the absolute necessity of assisting at this holy celebration on every Lord's Day at least." (The italics are ours.) "Every baptized Christian is bound, therefore, to be present at the Holy Communion once on Sunday, unless some great obstacle prevents him, even though he may not be intending to communicate at that particular time." Again: The Compiler states, on the second page, that "This do in remembrance of Me" ought to be translated "Offer this for My Memorial;" might be translated, in fact, "Perform, celebrate, or offer" this. On the third page he asserts that "the Holy Eucharist has ever been called by the Church the Eucharistic Sacrifice" (the italics are his). Again: The Compiler explains away the statement of the Catechism, "verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful," by quietly remarking—in the face of Art. XXIX.—that the faithful was "the common name in early times for all Baptized Christians." Again: The Compiler says: "Discerning the Lord's Body—i.e., perceiving by faith the Lord's Body and Blood, under the outward veils of Bread and

Wine." Again: The Compiler says: "We should communicate early, and without having taken any food if possible." So much for the "Instruction." Turning to the "Devotions," we find a special prayer "at the Oblation of the Elements of Bread and Wine," "Receive, O Holy Trinity, this Oblation . . ." Once more: Before the prayer of Consecration comes the following prayer:—

Most merciful God, look graciously upon the gifts now lying before Thee, and send down Thy Holy Spirit upon this Sacrifice, that He may make this bread and wine the Body and Blood of Thy Christ. Amen.

*Sermons.* By EUGENE BERSIER. Translated from the French. London: R. D. Dickinson. 1881.

These sermons by the eminent Parisian preacher contain many passages of deep interest. On page 78 appears a quotation from the Funeral Orations of Bossuet. "I am moved by that noble old age," says the eloquent preacher, "I am moved by that great voice which opposes with such authority eternal realities to the splendours of the world which is disappearing." But from Bossuet's journal one learns that, when exhausted with sickness, he was labouring to get his nephew, one of the lowest characters of those times, made a bishop; he plied the Jesuits, for whom he had a great aversion; and lamented lack of strength to ascend the staircase of Versailles to plead his nephew's cause before the king.

*Notes and Extracts on Misunderstood Texts.* By Mrs. Maclachan, Sen. (of Maclachan). Nisbet & Co. 1880.

We looked at several expositions of "Texts" here and there in this book, but after reading the remarks on pages 116 and 117, we put it aside. Opening with a quotation, "The gift of the *Comforter*, like the gift of tongues, was also, to some extent at least, Pentecostal and *temporary*" (Dunn), this exposition of St. John xiv. 16-26 lays it down that "we poor weak believers in this parenthetical period" are not likely to know much of the consolation and joy from the presence of the Comforter; He, the Comforter, was sent to the *Apostles*!

*Hendricks the Hunter.* The Border Farm. A Tale of Zululand. By W. H. G. KINGSTON. Illustrated. Hodder & Stoughton.

We had a real respect and regard for the late Mr. Kingston. He was a sincere Christian, and all his books might be very safely recommended for reading in Christian families. As a story writer he was exceedingly popular: some boys preferred Mr. Ballantyne's Tales; but Mr. Kingston's had their own peculiar and great attractions. We warmly recommend the book before us; a youthful critic pronounces it one of his favourite writer's "best." It has a handsome cover, and will make a capital gift-book.

*Almuth.* The Messianic Enigma of the XLIX. Psalm Suggested, Explained, and Vindicated. By JAMES STEVENSON BLACKWOOD, D.D., LL.D., late Vicar of Middleton Tyas, Yorkshire. Pp. 416. Nisbet & Co. 1880.

This is a comment on the 49th Psalm, which many Biblical students may read with interest, though few, probably, will agree with the author's exposition. The Psalm is, undoubtedly, a somewhat difficult one. Bishop Hare wrote: *Nullus me Psalmus acrius aut divitius exercuit.* Dr. Blackwood states what appears to him to be the right interpretation and scope of it; a somewhat novel view, he rightly says, requires to be advanced with diffidence in the face of critically learned expositions. Nevertheless, the well-weighed opinions of a thoughtful, painstaking

scholar must be regarded with respect, whether we agree or differ. Dr. Blackwood takes *Almuth* (Al-muth, "unto death," end of Ps. 48), as "mysterious," "hidden." In verses 6-18 he sees "the enigma of redemption;" in verses 15 and 16 he sees "resurrection to glory with Christ." Verses 9 and 10 he gives thus:—

But very precious shall be the redemption of their soul,  
And shall cease for ever,  
That he may live for evermore victoriously,  
Nor see the grave—yea, though he see it.

*The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church.* A Series of Discourses on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By R. W. DALE, M.A. Fifth Edition. Hodder & Stoughton. 1880.

An ably written and thoughtful book, which the devout student may read with interest and profit.

*Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's.* By W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A., Minor Canon in St. Paul's Cathedral. Pp. 300. Elliot Stock. 1881.

This will be judged by readers of a certain class an exceedingly interesting book; and even of those who have little of the antiquarian spirit, many will find these chapters in the story of the metropolitan cathedral full of information and very readable withal. In the brief preface, Dr. Sparrow Simpson, who is one of the Honorary Librarians of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and known as an Archæological writer, gives the following account of his work:—

For some time past my hours of leisure, which have been only too few and far between, have been devoted to researches in the history of the Cathedral of St. Paul. I have enjoyed for twenty years the great honour of being a Member of the Cathedral Body and Keeper of its Records, and each succeeding year has but increased my love for the stately Sanctuary and its solemn Services, and augmented my interest in its venerable Archives. In the present volume I have endeavoured to embody in a popular form some of the results of my studies, in the hope that many who are repelled by Original Documents expressed in mediæval Latin, may read these desultory "Chapters" in the History of Old St. Paul's, and share with me in the absorbing interest which gathers round the subject.

We must add that this book is tastefully printed in old-faced type, on antique paper, and is bound in imitation panelled calf, with yellow edges. It is a handsome volume.

*The Ark of Christ's Church.* A Sermon preached in the chapel of Lambeth Palace on the Second Sunday in Lent, March 13, 1881, at the Ordination held by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. By WILLIAM CADMAN, M.A., Rector of Trinity, St. Marylebone, and Prebendary of St. Paul's. Printed at the Archbishop's request. London: Kerby and Endean. 1881.

Such a sermon ("The Ark of Christ's Church"), preached on such an occasion, by such a man, needs but few words from us in calling attention to it. Mr. Cadman speaks after a Ministerial experience of forty years: his words are wise and weighty. The text chosen was Matt. viii. 24, 26; the divisions are "Danger," "Safety," "Duty," "Deliverance."

We have received from Messrs. C. Kegan Paul and Co. another volume of the valuable *Pulpit Commentary*, edited by Canon SPENCE and the Rev. J. S. EXELL; a handsome volume, well printed and bound, and

cheap. This volume contains *Judges* and *Ruth*. With the exposition and homiletics in the Commentary on the Book of Judges, the work of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Lord ARTHUR HERVEY, we are much pleased; they are worthy of the high reputation of that eminent scholar and divine.

*Thoughts on Education.* By the Rev. I. GREGORY SMITH, M.A., Vicar of Great Malvern, and Prebendary of Hereford; late Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, and Bampton Lecturer. Pp. 62. Oxford and London: James Parker and Co.

Prebendary Smith has evidently given much thought to the subject of Education; and these three able essays, "The Study of the Classics," "Books for Children," and "Education or Instruction," are well worth reading.

We have received two copies of really charming Illuminations, or Chromo-picture Texts, "*The Lord Knoweth*" and "*I have Loved Thee with an Everlasting Love.*" These are worthy of a good frame. An explanation of each picture, with copies, may be had from Miss E. J. RIDDELL (care of Rev. J. W. Werninck, Wareham, Dorsetshire). The prices are low, considering the excellence of the pictures; and the profits are entirely for charity. Smaller cards, at from 3d. to 6d. each—French and English texts—are very good.

For an admirable little book, with a very tasteful cover, "Words of Encouragement, Counsel, and Help for Sunday School Teachers," (Elliot Stock), we are indebted to the Rev. GORDON CALTHROP. *Labourers together with God*, is the title of his thoroughly practical work, the chief object of which is the encouragement of the Teacher. We warmly recommend these "words," sympathizing, suggestive, spiritual.

From Messrs. W. Hunt & Co. we have received a pamphlet, *What shall We Do? or, True Evangelical Policy.* By SAMUEL GARRATT, M.A., Honorary Canon of Norwich. The opinions held by Canon Garratt in regard to the Church Association prosecutions are well known. This is an interesting pamphlet, and deserves to be read with respect.

Several very tasteful cards of a novel kind have been sent to us by a lady who is engaged in works of charity. "Alpine Souvenirs"—dried flowers, with texts of Scripture—are extremely pretty; they show much taste and skill. Some of them are especially suitable for gifts to the bereaved. (The prices are from 1s. to 1s. 6d.). These "Alpine Souvenirs," and Easter Cards, may be obtained from M. S. S., Royal, Torquay.

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## THE MONTH.

APPLICATION has been made on behalf of the Incumbent of Miles Platting, first to the Queen's Bench (Mr. Justice Grove and Mr. Justice Lindley), and then to the Court of Appeal, Lincoln's Inn (Lords Justices James, Brett, and Cotton). Mr. Green is a prisoner in Lancaster gaol for contumacy, and a writ of *habeas corpus* was moved for. The applications were



dismissed. Neither a new Judge nor a new Court, it is again declared, was constituted by the Public Worship Act.<sup>1</sup>

In the House of Lords, on the 7th, judgment was delivered on the appeal *Mackonochie v. Lord Penzance and Martin*. The Lord Chancellor thus concluded:—

These authorities, therefore, are sufficient to reduce the question whether there is any reason against the exercise, in the case of disobedience to a final decree, of the same powers which can be exercised in case of disobedience to citation or an interlocutory order, to one, not of jurisdiction, but of mere ecclesiastical procedure. And there is at least one distinct precedent on record (prior to the cases of "*Martin v. Mackonochie*" and "*Hebbert v. Purchas*," before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council) of a sentence of suspension *ab officio*, affirmed by the Court of Delegates, for disobedience to such a decree. This is "*Jones v. Jones*," 1671, which was brought before the Delegates from the Consistory Court of Bangor ("*Rothery's Return*," No. 63). The clerk, who was defendant and appellant in that case, was articulated for not reading the prayers of the Church in what was alleged to be the proper and accustomed place. Having been, by decree having the force of a definitive sentence, admonished to do so, he appeared in court, and "peremptorily refused to obey the monition." For this the Bishop suspended him *ab ingressu ecclesie*, and ordered him to show cause why he should not be suspended *ab officio*. On a later day, not having appeared to show cause, he was suspended *ab officio*. These orders were affirmed, on appeal, both by the Court of Arches and by the Delegates. The result appears to me to be that the appellant in the present case has failed to show that the provisions of either of the statutes on which he relies are in any way contravened by the suspension of a clerk in holy orders *ab officio et beneficio*, for contumacy in disobeying a monition, forming part of a decree having the force of a definitive sentence pronounced against him in a suit regularly instituted under the Church Discipline Act; the sentence of suspension being pronounced in the same suit; and that this is nothing more than a question of ecclesiastical procedure. Into any reasons of expediency either for or against the existence of such a power in

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<sup>1</sup> *The Guardian* (April 20th) says:—If, as we understand is the fact, the decisions of the Final Court of Appeal about vestments are to be challenged once more upon their merits in Mr. Green's case, no doubt the arguments will be interesting and instructive, and the result may be important. It is alleged by some learned persons that the Elizabethan "Advertisements" never had any formal authority accorded to them in the Province of York, whatever may be their legal value in that of Canterbury. Now, it will be remembered that the Judicial Committee advised that these "Advertisements" must be "read into" the Ornaments Rubric. Should it be established that the "Advertisements" are of force only in the Southern Province, then Mr. Green can hardly be held guilty for disregarding decisions based on them, benefited as he is in the diocese of Manchester. It will also be then demonstrated, if it be not so now, that there is no final cure for our troubles about ritual save amended Rubrics.

Ecclesiastical Courts, or for or against the exercise of it under circumstances like those of the present case, I do not think it proper for your Lordships to enter. If the Ecclesiastical Court has not exceeded its jurisdiction, the judgment of the Court of Appeal ought to be affirmed, and being of that opinion I now move your Lordships to affirm that judgment and to dismiss the present appeal with costs.

In a speech on behalf of the Society for the Irish Church Missions (*Record*, April 11th), Lord Cairns said:—

The persecution of the converts was the point that we were now led to consider, and there was a noticeable fact to be mentioned here—that no man, woman, or child in any part of Ireland, who had been under the Mission influences, had ever once taken part in any of the Land League meetings, seditious controversies, or murderous assaults. This was a very remarkable as well as transparent fact. What did it prove? Could we not see in this one matter sufficient reason to acknowledge that the Irish Church Missions were resulting in moral as well as spiritual benefit to that unhappy country?

Whatever may be the result of the debates on the Irish Land Bill, Mr. Gladstone's speech in introducing the measure, explaining its different very difficult clauses, will go down to history as one of the greatest efforts of his genius.

The Duke of Argyll found himself unable to accept certain provisions of the Land Bill. In an impressive speech he explained to the Peers that nothing but an absolute sense of duty in relation to a question of immense and far-reaching importance, could have compelled him to separate himself from his colleagues, and especially from his friend the Prime Minister, with whom he had enjoyed twenty-nine years of a close political connection—a connection, said his Grace, “on my part, of increasing affection and respect.” In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone announced the resignation of the Noble Duke “with the deepest concern, alike personal and political.” Lord Carlingford, who as Mr. Chichester Fortescue was Chief Secretary for Ireland, succeeds the Duke of Argyll as Lord Privy Seal.

The electors of Northampton have again chosen Mr. Bradlaugh<sup>1</sup> to represent their borough in the House of Commons. At the General Election he defeated Mr. Phipps, the leading Conservative candidate, by 675 votes; but in this contest his majority was only 132. The difference is made up of a falling off of Mr. Bradlaugh's supporters to the number of 390, and

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<sup>1</sup> The Court of Appeal unanimously affirmed the Judgment of Mr. Justice Mathew in the Bradlaugh case. The appeal was dismissed with costs, and although Mr. Bradlaugh gave notice of a further appeal to the House of Lords, it is difficult to believe, judging by the ordinary course of events, that any different decision will be arrived at. The Lords Justices declared, in the forcible language of Lord Justice Bramwell, that “it is about as plain a case as ever came before a Court of Justice.”

an increase of 253 votes to the total number polled by the Conservative. The *Record* says:—

Nonconformists of Northampton have once more disgraced themselves and the country to which they belong by supporting an Atheist and a Republican as a fit exponent of their views in the House of Commons. We regard the Northampton election as nothing less than a most ominous portent for Nonconformity. It is becoming more clear every year that Dissent is rapidly degenerating into a merely political system. The old-fashioned Dissenter . . . would have stood aghast at the proceedings of his successors. Eccentricity of demeanour and voice furnish insignificant material for the charge of cant and hypocrisy compared with the speeches of the Nonconformist friends of Mr. Bradlaugh. When one of these declared that "as a religious man" he felt bound to support Mr. Bradlaugh, and another felt that "one of his first duties as a Nonconformist to the principles he held dear was to do his best to see that Mr. Bradlaugh was not thrown overboard on theological grounds," there is no wonder that Mr. Bradlaugh speaks so sneeringly of Christians.

Nonconformists who are not committed to the policy of the Liberation Society, says the *National Church*, and who can therefore allow their natural judgment to have free exercise, are beginning to realize the full significance of such cases as that of Jones *versus* Stannard.<sup>1</sup>—

The older men had, no doubt, a recollection of similar cases, such as were mentioned by Lord Selborne in 1871, but to the younger it has evidently been an unexpected though salutary lesson. A correspondent in the *Christian World* probably speaks for many others who have been thus enlightened. "We may shout," he writes, "as we like that we are Jews and never were in bondage, but Pilate is in the Judgment Hall all the same. One good effect, it is to be hoped, will follow from this trial: that we shall see less popular clamour about our imaginary freedom, and less ravings against the trammels of the State Church. Dwellers in glass houses should not throw stones." Mr. Baldwin Brown, the well-known Independent minister, is quite as emphatic. His words in the *Nonconformist* of March 24 are these:—

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<sup>1</sup> On this "Huddersfield Chapel" case (see CHURCHMAN, p. 459 and p. 474), some curious comments have appeared in *The Congregationalist*. The Editor replies with some soreness to the criticisms of *The Catholic Presbyterian* as to the Erastianism and doctrinal unsoundness of Congregationalists. The Presbyterian magazine had said:—"It looks as if the old Evangelical beliefs were not flourishing among English Congregationalists." The Independent magazine, in reply, reminds the Scotch Presbyterians that "those who live in glass houses," etc., but, further, says:—"We have no wish to reproach our brethren, or to indulge in self-righteous complacency for ourselves. The pressure of the age is on all of our Churches, and the part of Christian wisdom is for each one to strengthen the hand of his brother, instead of magnifying and proclaiming his weakness to the delight of the common foe."

“Let us for very shame have done with the tone of lofty superiority which we are so fond of assuming with regard to creed-bound churches. We are ourselves more miserably bound than any of them. They at least have ancient creeds, and are judged with some relation to the development of Christian thought. But ours is arranged for us, apparently, by the committee of a society, with the aid of an unofficial circular to a few ministers and laymen, and it will be dealt with according to the strictest letter should it ever be brought into Court.”

In a powerful and brilliant speech Earl Cairns denounced the Transvaal arrangement.

A Lay Memorial has been presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by upwards of 22,000 men of influence and position in the country :—

We, the undersigned, lay members of the Church of England, beg leave hereby most respectfully to express to your Grace our firm attachment to the doctrines and ceremonial, established in the Church of England at the Reformation, and set forth in the Book of Common Prayer ; we desire to represent to your Grace that whilst we are most anxious to maintain such reasonable latitude of opinion and practice as is not inconsistent with the teaching of the Formularies, Articles, and Homilies of the Church of England, taken in their plain grammatical sense, or with a faithful adherence to the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, as interpreted by the custom of three hundred years, we, nevertheless, feel ourselves constrained to enter our solemn and emphatic protest against the toleration, within the Church of England, of any doctrines or practices which favour the restoration of the Romish Mass, or any colourable imitation thereof,—any reintroduction of the Confessional,—or any assumption of sacerdotal pretensions on the part of the clergy, in the ministration of the Word and Sacraments.

The Bishop of Manchester preaching in Manchester Cathedral, (1 Cor. chap. xi. verses 23–26), on the administration of the Lord's Supper, said :—

Apparently the usage in the apostolic age was simplicity itself, founded as nearly as possible on the actual institution of Christ, and this was evidenced by the accounts given by the Apostles, which even made it doubtful if the consecration was the act of a special minister, and not rather of the whole assembly. He was not going to argue as to which was the better way to administer the Sacrament, the mode adopted now, or that in vogue in the Apostolic age. To his mind that was best which best answered its purpose; and if the mode of the Church of England answered its purpose, was edifying, scriptural, and in accordance with what they believed to be the mind and the spirit of Christ, he did not see why they should alter it because the Christians of the Apostolic age pursued a rather different form. The Eucharist—the great sacrifice of thanksgiving—was to be three things. It was to be an act of loving remembrance; it was to be a means of spiritual

grace and strength; and it was to be an interest for keeping alive and propagating the great central fact of Christianity, the death of the Lord—the great foundation-stone on which they built their faith and hope. What some people called the highest view of the Holy Eucharist seemed to him to be the lowest. In a book called the “Server’s Mass Book,” edited by a clergyman of the Church of England, it was asserted that “when the priest has consecrated the elements upon the table, every crumb on the paten and every drop in the chalice has become the body, blood, soul, spirit, and divinity of Christ.” Now, he could not distinguish that from the grossest materialism.

Sir Charles Reed, M.P., Chairman of the London School Board, and Dr. Punshon, the eminent Wesleyan preacher, have passed away.

By permission of the Archbishop a meeting was held in the library of Lambeth Palace on behalf of the Waldensian Church. The Dean of Canterbury moved the first resolution:—

Resolved, that, in view of the painful privation endured by the pastor of the Vaudois Church, in the Valleys of Piedmont, it is desirable to take immediate steps for raising a capital sum of not less than £12,000 in order to augment their stipends.

The Prime Minister’s budget—his eleventh, which he described as probably his last—disappointed probably the majority of his supporters. Its finance had nothing dazzling, or surprising about it.

Mr. Stanhope’s Bill, which, if carried, would make short work with the sale of next presentations, was recommended to the House by Mr. Gladstone. Nonconformist speaking against time has stopped its course.<sup>1</sup>

A prosecution has been instituted against Herr Most, editor and in part proprietor of the *Freiheit*, for the atrocious article which appeared in that Socialist journal with reference to the murder of the Czar.

Several arrests have been made in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> The revolt of Archbishop Croke against his ecclesiastical superior is one of many signs of restlessness in the Romanist Church in Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Leatham approached the abuses of private patronage in the Church of England from a rather bitter Nonconformist point of view. Mr. S. Wortley’s amendment recognized with clearness the existence of evils connected with the exercise and disposal of Church patronage which call for speedy legislation. The debate was useful.

<sup>2</sup> “On a recent Sunday, at Parsonstown,” says the *Daily Telegraph*, “the officer in command of the troops was a Roman Catholic, Lieutenant Keatinge. Of course he fulfilled his devotions like the rest of the congregation, and, as he was not asleep, he had to listen to the short address from the altar which the Irish priests generally substitute for the regular sermon familiar to the English Church. Soon he found that he and his men were really listening to a Land League oration, and he did not choose that they should be exposed to the influence of a speech spiced with

## THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.

ON the 19th, at his house in Curzon Street, after a month's severe illness, died the Earl of Beaconsfield. The genial weather of the previous week had done something to restore the strength of the invalid, and it was hoped for a short time that he was on the way to recovery; but, with the sudden return of the east wind, the tendency towards improvement was checked, the weakness rapidly increased, and on Monday, the day before his death, the physicians relinquished all hope. It is a melancholy coincidence that Lord Beaconsfield died on the anniversary of the day on which, twelve months before, he had left Windsor Castle after tendering to Her Majesty his resignation as Prime Minister of England.

The leading journal says:—

“The heavy sleep at intervals,” which was mentioned in the reports of Lord Beaconsfield's condition on Monday evening, became in a short time heavier and more continuous, the breathing and the pulse became more frequent, while the latter gave signs of increasing weakness. Once, and once only, two hours after midnight, the breathing was distressing for a short time, but the distress passed away. Lord Beaconsfield took nourishment, and was quite conscious when aroused; but the nourishment was of no avail; the heaviness of sleep passed into the sleep of death—so calmly and so placidly that the moment of the great change could scarcely be observed. Death took place at half-past four.<sup>1</sup> A struggle and suffering might have been feared

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condonation of turbulence and full of social discontent. He therefore stood up, and gave his men the word of command to march out. This necessarily disturbed the congregation. . . . The priest, thunderstruck, paused; the soldiers, gathering up their muskets, of course made some stir; women fainted, and some of the congregation rushed away; while the soldiers, quickly and calmly obeying their officer, marched out of the building and got into line outside. There a mob threatened the young officer, but his men formed around him, and the troops unmolested marched off. It is remarkable that this is the first time such an incident has occurred, though political speeches from the altar are common, and Catholic soldiers always attend mass in the nearest chapel.”

<sup>1</sup> By the bed of the dying man were Lord Rowton, Lord Barrington, Sir Philip Rose, the three physicians, and some of the confidential servants.

With regard to the nature of Lord Beaconsfield's illness, it appears that he had for several years past suffered more or less from attacks of gout complicated with bronchitis. While in office his health was very far from strong, and people little suspected how ill and weak he often really was. No previous attack, however, was anything like so severe and so prolonged as the one which has now proved fatal. The present illness began in the form of general bad health. On the 20th of last month Lord Beaconsfield felt so unwell that he sent for his regular physician, Dr. Kidd, who has continued to attend him throughout. Dr. Quain was

in the case of one who had battled with disease so long; but happily these fears were groundless, and the life of him who had been the moving power for so many years in the great events of the world's history closed in perfect repose. . . . During this trying illness Lord Beaconsfield was most patient, and though he suffered much was most uncomplaining. He appreciated the attention shown him, and was always ready to adopt the advice and suggestions offered to him, more especially when the grounds on which they were offered were explained.

The *Times* continues :—

The marvellous interest manifested in Lord Beaconsfield's illness could in no wise be more clearly shown than in the mass of communication which daily flowed into Curzon Street and into the houses of the physicians. Among the most touching letters were those from little children, expressing their hopes that "his lordship would recover." Letters came from the aged telling of the cures effected by certain remedies in their own cases exactly the same as Lord Beaconsfield's.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Court Circular*, on the evening of the 19th, appeared this paragraph :—"The Queen received this morning with feelings of the deepest sorrow, the sad intelligence of the death of the Earl of Beaconsfield, in whom Her Majesty loses a most valued and devoted friend and counsellor, and the nation one of its most distinguished statesmen."

The Berlin correspondent of the *Times* telegraphs that the

also called in for consultation, and subsequently Dr. Bruce was summoned to act as physician in constant personal attendance during the period the other medical men were away. The form which the illness took was a regular attack of gout in several of the joints, complicated with severe bronchitis, which was a source of great difficulty to the doctors.

Saturday, the 19th of March, was the last time that Lord Beaconsfield dined out. He was then the guest of the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House. A week later he held a consultation with some of his political friends and colleagues for the last time. The subject discussed was Lord Cairns' proposed speech in the House of Lords condemning the course taken by Ministers on the Transvaal question. There were present Lord Cairns, Lord Salisbury, Lord Cranbrook, and Lord Barrington. Lord Beaconsfield was then very weak, as he had been ill some days.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Beaconsfield never had been a strong man, took no muscular exercise, was rarely seen on horseback, and suffered terribly from fatigue and general debility. It was, say those who sat with him in his last illness, nervous energy that kept him alive. The nourishment he took cost him many an effort; and towards the last he derived small support from this prop of life. Knowing the necessity, he yielded to it, as far as he could; and those about him, as well as many who were precluded from being near, exerted themselves in devising and even in preparing such food as he would be most likely to take. The Queen sent every kind of delicacy that might tempt an invalid to eat, were it but the least morsel.

tidings were received in that city with much sorrow. The bulletins from Curzon Street during the previous fortnight had been awaited and scanned with eager interest. All the Berlin evening newspapers had biographical articles on the illustrious statesman, and all wrote of him "in a tone of the highest respect and admiration."<sup>1</sup> The French, German, Austrian, and Italian newspapers, as a rule, we may add, have written in the same strain.

The *Times* says:—

There was much that was dignified and still more that was brilliant in Lord Beaconsfield's career, and on those parts of it even his enemies, not always chivalrous in their attacks upon him, will prefer to dwell at the hour of his death. The doubts which sometimes tried the allegiance of his followers—though when the time for action came no leader was ever more loyally obeyed by a proud and powerful party—will be forgotten in regret for the loss of a chief who, whatever his faults, added many remarkable pages to the history of English Conservatism. No dissentient voice will break in upon the tribute of admiration, in which foes, we are sure, will cordially join with friends, that must be paid to Lord Beaconsfield's high courage, his unswerving purpose, his imperturbable temper, and his versatile mastery of Parliamentary tactics. His oratorical gifts, though not comparable for artistic effect and passionate power with those of Mr. Bright, or even with the accomplished fluency and skilful command of facts in which Mr. Gladstone is unrivalled, were, perhaps, rarer than either, and will not soon be matched again in the House of Commons.

The *Standard* regards the national grief as something more than regret for a popular and brilliant public man; it is the manifestation of a feeling that we have lost in Lord Beaconsfield a great pillar of the State, and an intrepid supporter of the empire. His was a nature pre-eminently well qualified to contend against difficulties, and to inspire others with the courage which he felt himself. . . . It is impossible to deny that times may be in store for us when the want of such a man will be sorrowfully and universally acknowledged.

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<sup>1</sup> A well-known diplomatist in Berlin was not long ago conferring with Prince Bismarck in the latter's private cabinet, when the conversation chanced to turn on the Berlin Congress and the conspicuous part which the chief Plenipotentiary of Great Britain had taken at it. "There," said the Chancellor, pointing to the wall, "there hangs the portrait of my Sovereign, there on the right that of my wife, and on the left there that of Lord Beaconsfield."

<sup>2</sup> Some of the smaller critics made themselves merry over a remark in one of Mr. Disraeli's works, that he was "born in a library." During his last illness, it appears, Lord Barrington asked him one day where he was born. "I was born in the Adelphi," he replied, "and I may say in a library. My father was not rich when he married. He took a suite of apartments in the Adelphi, and as he possessed a large collection of books, all the rooms were covered with them, including that in which I was born."



Lord Beaconsfield, says the *Daily News*, was not merely a Prime Minister :—

Men have held that place, and held it successfully, who had not Mr. Disraeli's varied Parliamentary gifts. As a debater he held his own with the very greatest of his time. He must have been one of the very foremost speakers in the House of Commons, even if he had never led a party and never attained to high office. On the other hand, he achieved for himself a literary success so distinct that in its own way it had no rival. . . . No man could have done the things he did, could have made the way he did, without having in him many of the true elements of greatness. In public or private life no man had won to himself more faithful and more loving friends. Lord Beaconsfield had an unstinted admiration for genius or talent of any kind. Those who knew him say that he was incapable of prolonged resentment or of any ungenerous feeling towards an adversary. It is not too much to say that much of the brightness, the vividness, the colour of English political life is blotted out for the time with the passing away of Lord Beaconsfield.

The *Daily Telegraph* says :—

We think that this feeling of bereavement—of positive personal lack and loss—will be experienced throughout the realm upon news of the death of the Earl of Beaconsfield by the vast majority of Englishmen and Englishwomen, as heavily and deeply as though each had lost a friend or relative. To all who enjoyed the privilege of his personal acquaintance, from the Queen on the Throne, who laments “a most valued and devoted friend and counsellor,” to the youngest of those political associates upon whom he was never weary of lavishing generous encouragement, such a demise is, of course, a sharp calamity. But the countless thousands of his fellow-countrymen who knew him only in affairs, in public life, in books, in speeches, and in newspapers—these also, in a sense, were of his constant company, and these will be among his true and faithful mourners, knowing how he loved England, and how he served her, doing his political duty.

The *St. James's Gazette*, says :—

It was the confidence with which he looked forward to a great place in the world's esteem when he was gone that made him so patient under long-continued disappointments, and so indifferent to the abusive criticism of which he had so large a share down to the day of his death. . . . After the general election of 1874 his career, his character, his abilities came into full light for the first time. At no previous period of his life can he be said to have been popular; but now he enjoyed for a while all the popularity he could have coveted—all the “recognition,” as it is called; and though (this we can say of our own knowledge) he was conscious at the time that the uses of his popularity and its very justification were being destroyed by the timidities, the quiddities, the perversities of his colleagues in power, we all know that he never lost his hold on the mind of the country; that he did not lose it even amidst the roaring revulsions of 1880.