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A table of contents for *The Churchman* can be found here:

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_churchman\\_os.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_churchman_os.php)

first time acknowledged by the Frenchman who was intruded as Primate of Toledo. The faith of the Reformed Spanish Church is infinitely nearer the faith of Hosius than that of Archbishop Payá y Rico, who a few years ago was discovering—no, re-discovering—the bones of S. James in Galicia; and its members have this, too, in common with the Spanish Church of the first thousand years, that they do not recognise in the Primate of Italy any authority beyond the limits of Italy.

F. MEYRICK.

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### ART. III.—ARCHBISHOP THOMSON.

WILLIAM THOMSON, when he died in 1890, had been Archbishop of York for twenty-eight years. During so long a term of office a man of far slighter character must needs make some mark on his time; but Thomson was of a character whose strength was never in doubt. And although it is sometimes asked, What memorials of himself did he leave behind him? Where are the footprints of that strong tread of which we hear? yet those who know how things were and are in the North, and especially in his own diocese, readily acknowledge that Thomson's was a strongly-marked episcopate, and that the mark will not soon be effaced. He was born in 1819. Though a native of an English county, his parents traced back to Scotch families; and there are those, probably themselves of Scotch extraction, who profess to find in both the contemporary Archbishops, Tait and Thomson, unmistakable notes of the perfervid character which is thought to flourish beyond the Tweed. Thomson could hardly be called perfervid, but there *was* something of Scotland in his philosophic bent, and in the indomitable perseverance with which he indulged it. No school moulded his early boyhood; and though he was sent to Shrewsbury at a time when to have issued from that school was almost certainly to be a good classic, his tastes from the first leaned to philosophy and to science rather than to scholarship. The religious atmosphere of Oxford at that date was highly charged with electricity, but the storms seem to have passed Thomson by without effect. That he was an eager and untiring student is certain, though his studies ranged outside the usual limit of an undergraduate's reading and bore scanty fruit in the schools. But a little work on logic, which he published under the title of "Laws of Thought," brought him early into notice. There was much about it that was interesting. Logic was a more indispensable study for the

Oxford Schools at that time than in these days of alternative class-lists, nor had science yet risen to tempt the wavering student into other fields. The book itself was concise, masterly, and abounding in happy illustrations which bore witness to the unusual range of its author's reading. Above all, it was written, as some said, by an undergraduate—at all events, by one who had so lately emerged from the *status pupillaris* that it almost looked like an effort to lift his own recent examiners to higher logical levels. With this honour attached to his name, he took his first curacy in 1843, and there attracting the attention of S. Wilberforce, followed him as his curate to Cuddesdon. Thomson cannot be reckoned among the men to whom the great personality of Wilberforce proved irresistible: few men would have emerged from close association with that remarkable man without preserving some traces of it in his own character; but in this case the subordinate, soon to become the superior, brought with him a personality at least as vigorous and commanding, and remained unchanged by the connection. It would seem that, in spite of his failure in the schools, his powers had been recognised in his college, for after four years of a country parson's life he was recalled to Queen's to be at first one of its Tutors, and after a few years its Provost. Meanwhile his reputation had travelled beyond Oxford. The "Laws of Thought" had made his name familiar in most intellectual circles; and his Bampton Lectures on "The Atoning Work of Christ," preached in 1848, were an exception to the general rule of those days, that such sermons should—if possible—be orthodox, but certainly be ponderous and dull. Before becoming Provost, he made his first appearance in London as Rector of All Saints', Langham Place; and although his stay there was brief, in consequence of his Oxford promotion, yet it had been long enough to secure him the Preachership of Lincoln's Inn, when that office fell vacant in 1858. Thus Master of his college, and at the same time Preacher to the learned body in London, he was a man marked out for advancement in both those different worlds. The opportunity came first at Oxford, and found him ready to grasp it with singular vigour. Reform was in the air. The old system of things, alike in college and university, showed signs of collapse. It was only a question of the hand that should set the movement going, and of the direction which the movement should take. No hand had more to do with it than Thomson's. He belonged to a college where the need of reform was most visible, and where the reformer's hand would have most to do, if only there should be courage to do it. Thomson never lacked courage, and his case was a strong one. His arguments, reinforced by the vigour of his masculine style,

proved irresistible. He appealed to the Government to take action. His appeal was admitted, and led presently to the appointment of the University Commission, and to the labours of that Commission the Provost brought material aid. Hence no one was surprised when, in 1861, his abilities were recognised, and he was raised to the Episcopal Bench as Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. So far his advance had already been remarkable for a man who was indebted to no accident of birth for, at least, a favourable start—who had neither powerful interests behind him nor the glamour cast by a brilliant academical degree; but the advance was presently to become still more conspicuous, for in the following year the See of York became vacant, and, on Tait's declining to exchange London for the North, was offered to Thomson and accepted. Tait, as is well known, was soon afterwards translated to Canterbury, and the singular spectacle was presented of the English Church passing under the rule of two Scotch Archbishops, though Tait was much more Scotch than Thomson. As Archbishop of York, Thomson ruled the Northern Province for twenty-eight years, and it may be said that for diocese and province alike he helped to bridge over the wide interval which separates the Church of to-day from the Church of the last generation. At Tait's death it seemed not impossible that Canterbury would go to Thomson. Whether he would have accepted it is doubtful, for his Northern home had a firm hold on his affections, and he had a singular attachment to the great towns like Sheffield which formed part of his diocese. But the offer was not made, and he lived and died Archbishop of York.

Such is the brief outline of a great Archbishop's life, not differing, perhaps, so far in any special degree from the lives of many who have sat on the Episcopal Bench. True that he came to the Northern See a much younger man than most of his predecessors; but that is rather a difference of degree than of kind. Sometimes it has been thought his rise was more extraordinary than others because it was more rapid. It was rapid, no doubt—the openings came without his having to wait for them; but this hardly made it extraordinary. When it was thought necessary to account for it, sensational causes were suggested. He was a *persona grata* at court—his sermon on the Prince Consort's death had touched a royal heart—his views on university reform had found favour in high circles—the variety of his knowledge had arrested a certain minister's attention. But no hypothesis was necessary in explanation. Where a man's promotion is rapid and turns out to be undeserved, you have to account for an inferior man's success; but where the success is obvious, and the man is at least adequate

to his position, all that need be said is that the Government was clear-sighted, and knew a good man when it saw him.

That Thomson did a valuable work in his diocese is not a matter of doubt; what sort of a work it was, and of what character the man that did it, should be interesting to Churchmen of whatever opinions. He has not always had justice done to him. Fault has been found with his views by those who might be puzzled to explain what his views exactly were, but what no one ever said was that he was unequal to his great position. A Greek statesman was once counted worthiest because, while no one put him first, everyone put him second; the Archbishop might have been judged worthy of his office by general consent because, while exception might be taken to this or that point in his government, no doubt was ever cast on his vigour and force of character. He was commonly numbered among evangelical prelates by those who classify on hard and fast lines; it was truer to say that he had little sympathy with advanced opinions than that he was of the common evangelical type. In fact, the very strength and force of character which he possessed compelled him, as it were, by an irresistible law, to a certain singleness and concentration of view. Looking out on the world that lay round him, and estimating the hopes of its remaining or becoming religious, he conceived that the differences which to most men of that time seemed all-important were beside the real point. What had to be settled, the matter round which the conflict was really to be fought, was not whether the High Church or the Low Church should prevail, but whether Religion itself should survive or Materialism dethrone and replace it. As early as in his undergraduate days he had formed this opinion, and he never changed it. If circumstances compelled him to select between a High and a Low Churchman, no doubt he preferred the latter; they were less blinded, he thought, to the real conditions of the conflict. It may or may not have been a mistake as between the two parties; but this was the key to Thomson's Church views. He was not a Low Churchman first, and other things afterwards, as that position demanded; he was an earnest believer first and other things afterwards, as they seemed to be involved; and if he had to choose between High and Low, he chose with a certain weariness of spirit that any choice should be necessary. Indeed, there was much in the circumstances of his see that would have fostered such a disposition, even if it had not been natural to him. The diocese of York, if it has its moorland and valley, presenting only a sparse and uncultured people, has also its great industrial centres, where the crowds thicken into masses, and where men discuss with engrossing and fierce ardour all the

problems that touch the welfare or the prospects of Labour. At the time of Thomson's elevation Socialism in all its degrees and shapes was rampant there, and all the beliefs and unbeliefs which flourish in the Materialist soil. People might shut their eyes to facts, but the facts were there; or they might minimize the dangers that would result, but the dangers threatened all the same. The Archbishop believed that these masses of men might be dealt with; at all events, that an effort should be made to deal with them on some other principle than that of ignoring their existence. Whatever is the case now, such a belief was strange in the early days of Thomson's episcopate. But holding such a belief, and acting in accordance with it, he has modified to a degree of which we are hardly yet conscious the ordinary conception of the modern Bishop. Wilberforce did the same, we know, in his own fashion. He made it impossible that after him any Bishop of the old type should reappear; and though it is hardly realized yet, and perhaps will soon be entirely forgotten, Thomson's influence was of the same sort. Through his means it has become clear and accepted that a bishop stands in some relation to the masses in his diocese, as well as to his clergy; and that that relation is not carried out by ignoring them simply, by speaking of them as dangerous, or by sighing to think of their deplorable paganism and the unhappy social theories which possess them. He held that they made mistakes, no doubt, but that these mistakes were the natural fruit of ignorance; that their theories about the Church or about a clergyman's salary might be absurd, but that it was because no one had ever taught them anything else; and that it would be time to hold them impracticable, and to turn from them in despair, only when one had given them the chance of learning better. Now, all this constituted an entirely new departure. It was in the nature of things, people used to say, that for political discussion the masses, as well as their betters, should be addressed; but if the question were one of morals, or of philosophy, or of matters connected with religion or the Church, then to expect, or even to conceive of, such subjects being discussed with a gathering of working men was ridiculous. The situation, we recognise, is now entirely changed; but much of the alteration—we might say all of it—was due to Thomson's initiation. If a Church Congress is held in these times to be incomplete unless at least one working men's meeting adorns the programme, we must go back to Thomson's time and place and presidency for the innovation. If a Dean of Rochester finds his favourite audience now among the masses, if a Bishop of Manchester can spend upon them his closest arguments and most sustained reasoning, if, in fact, no clerical speaker of distinction can afford to

despise a power which brings those serried crowds within the spell of the platform, it is to Thomson that this obligation is due. He thought that it ought to be done, for much might result from the doing; and he showed that it could be done, for he did it himself. No doubt the lesson has since been enlarged in all directions. Bishop Fraser was trusted to hold the balance more than once between contending capital and labour; the Bishop of Durham issued from a closet of study to interfere in a strike too intricate to be otherwise unravelled; but all this is due to Thomson—due to the discovery which he made, or at least made notorious, that an archbishop can be the archbishop of his laity as well as of his clergy, archbishop of working men, socialists, agnostics, materialists, as well as of clergymen and of the classes. It is said of some one, whether to his praise or blame, that he invented the working man. Thomson did not invent the working man, but he placed him in an entirely new light, and subjected him to original treatment.

Such being the work which in his judgment he had to do, he proved to be singularly well equipped for it. All his life he had been a reader, and had at a very early age preferred to read books which were fruitful and suggestive of thought. He had dipped deeply into more than one science, and, whether it were a gain to him or a loss, he had a mind which refused to be satisfied with anything short of all that was to be known about a subject. Hence there was combined with an unusual versatility of mind a thorough knowledge of matters the most varied in their nature. Hence, in whatever subject he chanced to engage you, he persuaded you that it was there his natural bias lay, and that in that department, had he followed it, he must have been at the head of his fellows. And yet he had not repudiated the ornaments of life either. The sale of his library revealed that even the modern railway novel had not been outside the wide range of his sympathies; and though he never published a poem, it is well known that he composed in private, even after he became Archbishop. With equipments so varied and so favourable, he became—not at first, but by degrees—a great power on the platform, as well as in the pulpit. On such occasions he was, before everything else, argumentative and logical. He paid his working men the compliment of giving them the best he had to give. When he rose to address them they were sure that he would mean what he said; there would be no platitudes, no arguments *ad captandum*, no compliments fulsome or adroit, but straight and telling discussion, always conducted with a courtesy which was natural to him. In such addresses he would dwell mostly on practical topics, on questions that touched their everyday life

and conduct—the wisdom of thrift, the wastefulness of intemperance, the folly of betting; but he could still keep them with him when he turned to deeper themes than these, even when he rose to the questions of their highest spiritual interests. Was he so eloquent on such occasions? it was sometimes asked. Yes; he had a certain “unadorned eloquence” with a charm of its own, the eloquence of matter rather than of form, and owing its persuasiveness to none of the rules of rhetoric. Logical he always was: it was not surprising in the author of the “*Laws of Thought*.” But he also had the rare gift of clothing his arguments in plain and straightforward language, of which the terms were accurate and exact. Of what are called high flights, of excursions into the field of poetry and imagination, there was nothing. He always had something that he wanted to say, and when he had said it, it seemed to you that any other words would have been less adapted to his purpose. There was often humour, there was sometimes wit, but always there was solid sense, commanding logic, and the direct language which went straight to its mark.

He has exercised a great influence also in the Church by his action in regard of sanitary matters. The statesman's dictum, “*Sanitas, omnia Sanitas*,” has been widely adopted; and the question is often raised, What is the proper relation of the clergy to such subjects? Is it really a part of the pastor's work to look after the bodies as well as the souls of his people? Is it for him to take up the cause of sanitary dwellings, to meddle with the questions of overcrowded houses and fever hospitals? Opinions differ, and will differ: but what is certain is that Thomson felt no doubt whatever about the question, and that he was the first man in such a position to carry his opinions into action. He would not stand by and give to the sanitary movement a hearty but silent approval; he placed himself at its head; he stimulated it where it was sluggish; he shaped it where it was active. He was the natural president of a sanitary association in at least one large town in his diocese. And this again marked a new departure. If it is a matter of course now for such a movement in any diocese to look to its Bishop, not only for a seasonable address now and then, but for personal co-operation and help, the precedent was set at York, and as time goes on it will be more largely followed. It is sometimes said that such things are a serious inroad on the episcopal day—too short already for the work it has to do; but that was just the question which Thomson's precedent went to settle, that such work is not over and above, but is a proper portion of the episcopal labour, and has to be reckoned among its ordinary engagements.

A Bishop's life nowadays is one of constant pressure. The learned leisure, which a scholar-Bishop could once enjoy, has long fled from the episcopal palace. It is no longer the exceptional prelate who lives most of his life in the railway-carriage, like Bishop Wilberforce, or is seen emerging from the station carrying his own bag, like Bishop Fraser; such sights are too common to strike us. But the Archbishop of York was perhaps exceptional in this, that he had a singular variety of extra-clerical subjects on which he was an authority, and that meetings in connection with such matters incessantly demanded his presence. And he was not Bishop only but Primate. Multiply the number of sees in his province into the number of his special subjects, and it will be seen what a wilderness of demands his life had to meet. And we must remember, too, that he held out persistently against the creation of a Suffragan-Bishop, only consenting to such an innovation in his diocese among the shadows of his last few months. Not that this is matter for praise, nor do we mention it as such: rather it is a question whether it would not have been well, for his diocese as well as for himself, if the step had been taken earlier. For there are only so many hours in the day, and even these cannot all be devoted to work. Let a man be a Hercules in physical resources, and yet there is an end somewhere to his tether. And, besides, all episcopal labours are not exactly on a level. There are some which must be reserved for the master-hand, while others may be devolved on a Suffragan. And if this devolution can be practised safely, then with advantage both to the Bishop and the diocese, for thereby the ultimate resort is reserved for the greater need. But, obvious as this truth seems, it was never easy to bring it home to Archbishop Thomson. Conscious of unusual powers, and for many years enjoying vigorous health for their exercise, he was slow to learn the lesson never too easily learned, that a man's strength must be expected to give before it breaks. If he could do a certain work, then in his judgment he was bound to do it, for that was the meaning of being Archbishop. And because his constitution was strong, and his faculties for work were great, therefore he retained all the working strings in his own hand beyond the time one would have thought possible. That of late days some of his special work, which none else could do so well, might have been done better if he had sought earlier for help, is hardly more than a truism: it must have been so. And there were some voices in his diocese which said as much, perhaps, and complained that he was not ubiquitous. But the fault was a generous one, and came of a generous nature. So long as he felt conscious of power, so long would he spend himself upon his work: no one should

point to him as an Archbishop whose own work was being done by another. Even when the grip of a mortal disease was upon him, such as rarely fails to sap the endurance and try the nerves even of a strong man, he would not intermit his labour: the malady which conquered him at last had kept him company for many years, but it was never his master; he showed himself resolute, vigorous, powerful, to the end.

But how, with this resolve to keep all the strings of his work entirely in his own hands, how he did it was and still remains a matter of wonder. Great powers of work he had, no doubt. And the deep interest he took in all the graver subjects of thought must have made his work easier to him than it might have been. And, moreover, he did, in a sense, multiply the available hours of the day, for, like a well-known statesman of our own time, he was averse to exercise. In his curate days, at Cuddesdon, he must often have seen S. Wilberforce careering over the slopes of Shotover, and chasing the cobwebs from his brain by dint of sheer hard riding: at least, Thomson was not so impressed by the sight that he ever cared to reproduce it. Except in his rare holidays, he took no exercise whatever; and even in his holidays the exercise was quasi-scientific, for it was always taken in company with his camera, and came to an end the moment he had reached a favourable point of view.

It is worth while to notice, perhaps, some of the topics which had the greatest attraction for him. They were for the most part such as touched at some point the particular classes that occupied so many of his thoughts. Thus, he never wearied of speaking on temperance, though he did not speak as a total-abstainer. He had tried total abstinence himself at one period of his life, but it had not suited his constitution and his physicians forbade it. A kindred topic was thrift: and here his reflections were not confined to the benefit of the working classes only; he had a tender place in his heart for the worn-out clergyman whose closing days are darkened by poverty. How to persuade the working man to invest his savings and not drink them away, how to provide for the veteran incumbent whose removal would be well for the parish—he weighed these matters deeply, and not seldom spoke on them. And perhaps this is just one of those cases where it would have been happy if a Suffragan had been called earlier into existence. Could he have freed himself from some of the minor engagements that besieged his day, and devoted more time and leisure to some of these perplexing problems which had a special interest for him, he might have left ampler memorials behind him to witness to his rare powers. Again, he may be said to have led the way in the crusade against

gambling—that disappointing crusade which seems to end so easily in talk. It had been among his special topics for many years. A powerful discourse which he had preached on gambling in one of the Lenten series of sermons at Oxford is not yet forgotten. But in his vast diocese it was no longer the young men of easy means that he needed to caution against the contagion: the working masses suffered from the same virus, under their own special conditions. They suffer still; for the disease, if it is ever to pass away from them, will only do so when the example is set them from above. It may be interesting to observe the arguments on which Thomson mainly relied in conducting his case. Perhaps no one has yet discovered the major premiss which shall be irrefragable and convincing in the anti-betting syllogism, and perhaps no one ever will. Thomson's was neither better nor worse than that of others, but it is curious. No one man, he said, ever bet on equal terms with another. Now, the essence of fair betting consists in equality of chances between the two men, and two men can never bet with such an equality. One must win and the other must lose, and the requisite fairness would consist in the possible loss to one being exactly equal to the possible loss to the other. But in no case is the gain of the one equivalent to the loss of the other, and hence there can never be the equality which abstract fairness demands. We suspect that the author of "Laws of Thought" would have discovered a fallacy here; but, for ourselves, we confess that we are still in search of the major premiss.

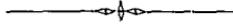
But of all the topics which appeared and reappeared in the Archbishop's addresses, none was more frequent, none more characteristic, than that defence of Christianity and its vital truths which smites Scepticism and Materialism in their strongholds. His plan of attack, though it varied in its illustrations and its details, was in kind always the same. He never stormed, he never gushed, but he was always argumentative and convincing. That he persuaded men is a bold thing to say, for who can tell when men are really persuaded? But that he laboured at all seasons to persuade men is certain, and that, if he failed, he left behind no one better qualified to succeed. But our considerations must come to an end. In a sense there is a world of things to be said about Archbishop Thomson, and in a sense very little. Very little because, by the nature of his position and circumstances, he lived away from the centre of events, and his absences from his diocese were few and far between. And hence his connection with matters of larger interest—bills in Parliament, judgments of the Privy Council—was only occasional and rare. And yet there is a world, too, that might be said by one who would trace out his life in

detail, for if it wanted in incident it never wanted in interest. His mind was so stored that he could not help being interesting; it gave out its stores so happily that interest always survived the occasion. As his real life was at Bishopthorpe, so it was at Bishopthorpe that he had to be seen if one wished to know the real man; and no one ever came under the charm of his hospitality there without feeling that he was a great man. That he was an impressive speaker in the House of Lords, and that in ecclesiastical matters the last word had not been spoken till he was heard, is well known. But in those cases he was not unique, not his own only parallel; there were many who spoke as well as he, and some who spoke much better. But elsewhere he *was* unique—or, at least, he created the precedent. Many of our readers will recall the interest roused by his appearance in 1887 as an advocate in his own cause before the Court of Queen's Bench. One might have been sure that his case would be strong, for the author of "Laws of Thought" was essentially practical; nevertheless it was a surprise to find him dispensing with the aid of counsel and conducting the case for himself. We need not recall the details of the argument, nor the rare advocate's triumph.

During his long tenure of office he did, or directed the doing of, a vast quantity of Church work: five new Rural Deaneries and one new Archdeaconry bore witness to his energy. Large and indeed unwieldy as was his diocese, his presence as a strong and capable ruler was felt all over it. And, whether it came from fortune or was one indirect result of his powers of government, it was surprising how little there was of conflict and opposition during his reign. As Archbishop he promoted only one prosecution for error of doctrine—a well-known case which would admit of no other treatment. In his Convocation, indeed, there was friction enough and to spare between the President and some of its members; but to deal with this would require an article to itself. Those who knew Thomson best knew how hard he struggled to avoid matters of strife, and that differences of opinion left with him no animus when the moment had passed. Of books he was not a prolific, though he was a powerful, writer; beside the work on Logic, his Lincoln's Inn Sermons, the Introduction to the Four Gospels in the "Speaker's Commentary," and his contribution to the "Aids to Faith," he did not leave behind him any works of great importance. It is so with most men of commanding personality; their power lies in themselves, not in their pen. In this, as in so many other things, Thomson resembled his great contemporary of Oxford.

But our space admits of no more. We have not professed to give a biography of the great Northern Prelate—only a few

impressions produced by some aspects of his life and work. That he profoundly affected the Church of the Northern Province is certain, and, as we have said, it was impossible for any character as striking as his to preside over it so long without affecting it; that he left no special memorial behind him, on which a man might lay his hand and say, "This was a great Archbishop's work," is certain also. But, essentially as well as externally, he was a great Archbishop; he ruled, it must be owned, not merely reigned. When he died, still in harness, still busy, he left no one who did not think of him with respect, and many who cannot now think of him without affection and love.



#### ART. IV.—THE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

"Hear the Church."

FEW persons who were present at the Church Congress at Folkestone can have been satisfied with the discussion on the authority of the Bible and the authority of the Church. A large portion of the audience, during the reading of the papers, appeared, indeed, greatly dissatisfied, saddened and perplexed. This was partly the result of the lack of definition: no one attempted to define what he meant by "the Church," and until we be agreed upon the meaning of the terms we use, we only beat the air in vague speech and empty discussion. We know what the canon of Scripture is. What and where is the canon of Church authority? This is no irreverent inquiry. The first essential on the part of those who put forward lofty claims on behalf of *the Church* is to define precisely the meaning of the word, and where the authoritative teaching of the Church is to be found, unless it is answered that we should all become possessed of the unintelligent unreasoning faith of the collier, which a Roman cardinal so approves. We are indebted to Dr. Salmon ("Infallibility of the Church") for the story. "A poor collier, when asked by a learned man what he believed, repeated the Creed, and when asked what more he believed answered, 'I believe what the Church believes.' 'And what does the Church believe?' 'The Church believes what I believe.' 'And what do the Church and you both believe?' 'The Church and I believe the same thing.'"

The second serious defect of the discussion was the absence of any special reference to the plain teaching of the Church of England upon the question at issue. It is the witness of the