

stitute attrition for contrition, because they could not venture to deny that, if a man was contrite, he was at once forgiven; and then where was the necessity, for that purpose, of absolution? Absolution, when regarded as a conveyance of God's pardon, can only be necessary when a man is not yet pardoned—that is, when his sorrow does not amount to contrition, on which pardon immediately follows, but only to attrition, which is sorrow arising from fear of present or future suffering.

We believe that we have proved that the Neo-Anglican School, in so far as they depreciate the Reformation, show tenderness to Rome, condone her false doctrines, hold the tenet of the Objective Presence in the elements, perform the rites and ceremonies thence flowing, and inculcate the practice of auricular confession as part of the normal religious life, find no justification in the teaching and acts of our seventeenth-century divines. The old historical High Church party in the Church of England is in direct conflict with Neo-Anglicanism.

F. MEYRICK.

ART. II.—THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY SINCE THE RESTORATION.

THOMAS SECKER (*continued*).

WE have to cross the Atlantic to the Church of America, which had been founded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as we have already seen, but which was in great difficulties, though full of hope and confidence. The main difficulty was the lack of the episcopate. The Churchmen there had piteously made their wants known. Their clergy had to come over to England for ordination, a perilous as well as laborious and expensive undertaking in those days. It is said that the voyage to and fro cost £100, and that near a fifth of those who undertook it lost their lives. In consequence, half the churches in several provinces were destitute of clergymen. Secker, therefore, was earnestly desirous of establishing an episcopate there. A Dr. Mayhew, however, a Congregationalist of Boston, published an angry pamphlet against the proposal, and attacked the Propagation Society on general grounds. There was a great jealousy of episcopacy among the colonists, because they thought that Bishops would be uniform supporters of the King, and though there was as yet no talk of independence, there was a feverish jealousy of interference. They assumed—and, let

us confess, not without some grounds—that if Bishops were sent to America, Walpole would at once begin to use them as political agents. It had been so in Ireland. Secker answered Mayhew's pamphlet anonymously. His answer, published by Rivington in 1764, was entitled "An Answer to Dr. Mayhew's Observations on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for Propagating the Gospel," and was at once recognised as an able as well as fair and candid work. Mayhew himself acknowledged as much. His opponent, he said, was "a person of excellent sense, and with a happy talent at writing; apparently free from the sordid, illiberal spirit of bigotry; one of a cool temper, who often showed much candour, was well acquainted with the affairs of the Society, and in general a fair reasoner." He was therefore so far wrought upon by his "worthy answerer" as to abate, in his reply, much of his former heat and acrimony. But he would not allow himself to be wrong in any material point, and he repeated his reflections on the action of the Society. The defence was taken up by a Mr. Apthorpe in 1765. This put an end to the dispute. Dr. Mayhew declared that he should not answer him, nor did he, for next year he died. The following extract from Secker's pamphlet fully exhibits the grounds on which he argued :

"The Church of England is, in its constitution, episcopal. It is, in some of the plantations, confessedly the established Church; in the rest are many congregations adhering to it; and, through the late extension of the British dominions, it is likely that there will be more. All members of every church are, according to the principles of liberty, entitled to every part of what they conceive to be the benefits of it; entire and complete, so far as consists with the welfare of civil government. Yet the members of our Church in America do not thus enjoy its benefits, having no Protestant Bishop within 3,000 miles of them, a case which never had its parallel before in the Christian world. Therefore it is desired that two or more Bishops may be appointed for them, to reside where his Majesty shall think most convenient; that they may have no concern in the least with any persons who do not profess to be of the Church of England, but may ordain ministers for such as do; may confirm their children when brought to them at a fit age for that purpose; and take such oversight of the episcopal clergy as the Bishop of London's commissaries in those parts have been empowered to take, and have taken without offence. But it is not desired in the least that they should hold courts to try matrimonial or ceremonial causes; or be vested with any authority now exercised, either by provincial governor or subordinate magistrates; or

diminish or infringe any privileges and liberties enjoyed by any of the laity, even of our own communion. This is the real and the only scheme that hath been planned for Bishops in America; and whoever hath heard of any other hath been misinformed through mistake or design."

It seems strange that so wise and moderate a statement of the Church's position should have given occasion for hostile, and even spiteful, criticism, yet it is the fact. Dr. Mayhew, as we have seen, made no rejoinder; he said that he had been misinformed, and that if this were all that was contemplated "he could not object against it, except that he objected to the Church of England in general." But an objector was found in the person of Dr. Blackburne, Archdeacon of Cleveland. He has come before us already, a man of extreme "liberal" views, who had become embittered by being refused a college Fellowship on account of these views, and was now working hard as a pamphleteer. In 1752 he published anonymously an attack on Bishop Butler, but it was republished with his name fifteen years later in a volume entitled "Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken." In this volume it was actually asserted that Butler died a Papist! This is sufficient to show his theological position. He now wrote an angry and contemptuous attack on Secker's proposals, in the course of which he contrived to hit some serious blots on the Church of the day. His Grace's proposal to send Bishops was, he said, "a mere empty chimerical vision which deserved not the least regard. . . . How, if Bishops were indeed needed for the existence of an Episcopal Church, is the conduct of some of our prelates at home to be explained? We know that the inhabitants of some of our dioceses are in this respect no better accommodated than the inhabitants of America for three parts of the year out of four. Shall we lay it down for a rule that it belongs to the nature of Episcopal Churches that all their members should be confirmed? If it does not, the colonists may do without it. And that it does not appears from the practice of the Church of England. In several dioceses there are no confirmations for several years." Certainly this must have hit some of the English Bishops hardly; but of course it is a wretched *tu quoque*, "because the Bishops shamefully neglect their people here, therefore we may as well neglect them there." But we have seen already that Secker had been deeply pained by the torpor and deadness which seemed to lie upon the Church, and had striven to shake it off. With regard to the colonists, his desire to establish an episcopate among them was only one part of his plans for them. His letters dwell very earnestly on the establishment of a system of good schools and the

distribution of books, on the conversion of the Indians, on the pious life of the missionaries, on the preservation of peace and harmony amongst the different religious bodies. No one can read these letters without feeling the reality and depth of his simple piety and earnest zeal. He was certainly one of the most indefatigable of prelates. His attention seemed everywhere. Though he left alone the attacks which were made upon himself, he wrote a letter in the newspaper signed *Misopseudes*, denying the slander against Bishop Butler, and challenging the author of it to produce his authority. Secker had been all his life in close intimacy with him down to the end. Another writer, calling himself "a true Protestant," took up the charge and endeavoured to substantiate it, but vainly. His antagonists were effectually subdued and his triumph acknowledged.

Of his earnest desire to raise the clerical character there is no question. He earnestly entreated his brother Bishops to spare no caution as to the men they ordained, and where he found men not walking worthy of their vocation he could rebuke sternly. In the exercise of his patronage, too, he was very conscientious, and with all diligence sought out good men. "The main support of piety and morals," he said, "consists in the parochial labours of the clergy, and if this country can be preserved from utter profligateness and ruin, it must be by their means." His Charges are indeed well worth careful study even now; his earnest desire to improve the preaching of the clergy, his instructions and suggestions, are marked by calm soundness and wisdom. He was not a great theologian, but his sermons are admirable because of the evident experience of the man and his knowledge of men. What was said of a well-known preacher of our own time might be applied to Secker by a candid reader of his works: "He went about all day among men, picking up sermons."

We have to keep in mind that all through his primacy Wesley was in the full vigour of his work. Butler, when Bishop of Bristol, had somewhat sternly rebuked him there. Secker was likely enough to hold the same views as to his enthusiasm, and to regard with hearty dislike the accounts which came of the excitements, and even the delirium, which followed some of his gatherings. But he nevertheless took a fair view of the movement. In his second Charge he counsels his clergy with great wisdom how to bear themselves towards these "Methodists." And so it was with regard to other Dissenting leaders. He was on terms of friendship with Watts, Doddridge, Leland, Lardner, though he was what we should now call a High Churchman. In the course of his controversy with Dr. Mayhew he wrote: "Our inclination is

to live in friendship with all the Protestant Churches. We assist and protect those on the Continent of Europe as well as we are able; we show our regard to that of Scotland as often as we have opportunity, and believe that the members of it are sensible of this. To those who differ from us in this part of the kingdom we neither attempt nor wish any injury; and we shall gladly give proofs to every denomination of Christians in our colonies that we are friends to a toleration even of the most intolerant, as far as it is safe; and willing that all mankind should possess all the advantages, religious and civil, which they can demand, either in law or reason. But with those who approach nearer to us in faith and brotherly love, we are desirous to cultivate a freer communication, passing over all former disgusts, as we beg that they would. If we give them any seeming cause of complaint, we hope they will signify it in the most amiable manner. If they publish it, we hope they will preserve fairness and temper. If they fail in either, we must bear it in patience, but be excused from replying. If any writers on our side have been less cool or less civil than they ought and designed to have been, we are sorry for it, and exhort them to change their style if they write again. For it is the duty of all men, however much soever they differ in opinion, to agree in mutual goodwill and kind behaviour."

Dr. Mayhew remarked on this passage that it "did the author great honour," and "was worthy the pen of a Metropolitan whose Christian moderation was not the least shining part of his character."

In politics Secker was what would be called in our day a Conservative. He believed in the excellence of the Constitution, and wished to preserve it unaltered and unimpaired. But he seldom spoke in the House of Lords. He mostly resided at Lambeth.

Towards the end of 1767, as he was constantly suffering acute pain, he spoke, indeed, of trying the Bath waters, but circumstances prevented. He was subject to gout, which now so increased upon him that he was unable to take exercise, and could hardly bear to be in any other than a reclining position. On Saturday, July 30, 1768, he was seized with a sudden sickness while at dinner. He recovered from this, but the next evening while he was being raised on his couch, he suddenly cried out that his thigh-bone was broken. The shock was so violent that the servants perceived the couch to shake under him, and the pain so acute and sudden that it overcame his habitual firmness. He lay for some time in great agony, but when the surgeons arrived and found on examination that the bone was really broken he was perfectly

resigned. He lingered until the following Wednesday, when he died quite calmly, in his seventy-fifth year. The post-mortem examination showed that the bone was carious for four inches; the disease had so entirely destroyed the substance that only a portion of the outward integument remained. It was evident now that for many months the torture must have been terrible. He was buried, pursuant to his own directions, in a covered passage, leading from a private door of the palace to Lambeth Church, and forbade any monument or epitaph to be placed over him. He left the interest of £11,000 to be paid as annuities to Mrs. Catherine Talbot and her daughter, and after their death it was to be thus divided :

	£
To the S.P.G. for the general fund	1,000
To the same for an American Episcopate	1,000
To S.P.C.K.	1,000
To the Irish Protestant Working Schools	500
To the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy	700
To Bromley College, Kent	500
To the Whitgift Hospital, Croydon, St. John's Hospital at Canterbury, and St. Nicholas, Harbledown, £500 each	1,500
To St. George's and the London Hospital and the Lying-in Hospital in Brownlow Street, £500 each	1,500
To the Asylum in Parish of Lambeth	400
To the Magdalen, the Lock, and the Smallpox Hospitals, £300 each	900
To the Incurables at St. Luke's	500
To repairing or rebuilding of houses belonging to poor livings in the Diocese of Canterbury	2,000

Out of his private library he left to the Archiepiscopal one at Lambeth all such books as were not there before, which comprehended much the largest and most valuable part of his own collection; and a great number of MSS. written by himself on various subjects. His lectures on the Catechism and his manuscript sermons he bequeathed to his two chaplains for publication, Drs. Stinton and Beilby Porteus. His options he gave to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Winchester, "to be disposed of by them as they became vacant to such persons as they shall in their consciences think it would have been most reasonable and proper for him to have given them, had he been living."

His chaplain, Beilby Porteus, afterwards Bishop of London, wrote a prefatory memoir to the collection of his sermons and Charges, in which he thus describes his person: "His Grace was, in his person, tall and comely; in the early part of life slender and rather consumptive, but as he advanced in years his constitution gained strength, and his size increased, yet never to a degree of corpulency that was disproportionate or troublesome."

Porteus has a higher opinion, and, it seems to me, a truer one, of Secker's preaching than Walpole or Hurd. The former hated him, and described his sermons as "a kind of moral essays, wherein what they wanted of the gospel was made up by a tone of fanaticism which he still retained." Hurd says much the same: "A certain calmness, propriety and decency of language, with no extraordinary reach of thought, vigour of sentiment, or beauty of composition. There is sometimes an air of cant in the expression, derived, no doubt, from his early breeding and education." The "fanaticism" of the one critic and the "cant" of the other are, we may safely assert, names for the element of his sermons which formed their chief excellence, what in these days is sometimes called "unction," let us call it "zeal, religious fervour, and earnestness." Moral essays do not move men to tears, as the fervid eloquence of Baxter, and Wesley, and Whitfield did. One feels that Porteus is nearer the mark when he speaks of Secker's sermons as "full of argument, manly sense, useful directions, short, nervous, striking sentences, awakening questions, frequent and personal applications of Scripture."

After all, in reading sermons, one has, when it is practicable, to read into them what is known of the preacher's life; and Secker's life was certainly one of personal piety, of zeal for the good of the Church, of labour for individual souls. His exhortations were seconded by his example. More than one of his contemporaries thought him stiff, formal, reserved, even cold. Dr. Johnson did so. Porteus says that much of this was owing to his bad health, depression, fatigue, pain. When Johnson afterwards read Porteus's Life of him he expressed his pleasure at it.

He was well-read, but not learned, specially skilled in Hebrew and in ecclesiastical history, and he kept abreast of all contemporary publications. His regularity in keeping his diocesan books, with accounts of each parish, was unsurpassed by any Bishop. He was not illiberal, for we have seen that, while he disagreed with Wesley's theology, he gladly and thankfully recognised the good that his work was doing, and he never lost the friendship of his old Dissenting friends, and expressed his hope, in letters to Doddridge, for reunion. He was not latitudinarian, certainly. He called Hoadly's divinity "Christianity secundum usum Winton." The following paragraph from Porteus is worth quoting: "In him were united two things which very rarely meet together, but when they do, can produce wonders; strong parts, and unwearied industry. He rose at six the whole year round, and had often spent a busy day before others began to enjoy it. His whole time

was marked out and appropriated in the most regular manner to particular employments. The strength of his constitution happily kept pace with the activity of his mind, and enabled him to go on incessantly from one business to another with almost unremitted application, till, his spirits being quite exhausted, he was obliged at last to have recourse to rest."

The six volumes of his works, as published by Porteus, are thus composed :

1. Biography and twenty-nine sermons.
- 2 to 4. Sermons, ninety-six in all.
5. Fourteen sermons on special occasions, and eight Charges—five to the Diocese of Oxford (1738, 1741, 1747, 1750, 1753), three to that of Canterbury (1758, 1762, 1766).
6. The lectures on the Catechism; his answer to Dr. Mayhew; and his letter to Horace Walpole, concerning Bishops in America.

May I be allowed to say that I have read the Charges with deep interest and, I hope, profit? They are earnest and devout, full of good sense, and of understanding the will of the Lord and the needs of men. And I am not surprised that a very learned Church dignitary, who died between fifty and sixty years ago, Archdeacon Bayley, projected the republication of these Charges with notes, adapting them to the circumstances of the day. Very many of Secker's exhortations have been gradually followed. For instance, he complains of the decay of religion, of growing habits of impiety and profanity; and while he lays down wise directions for more care in the religious instruction of the young, and more energy in disseminating religious literature, he is also very earnest in his exhortations to the clergy to stricter, more self-denying life, and also to more attention to the externals of their profession—propriety of dress, of language, and of manners. He defends the order, indeed, from the broadcast charges brought against them in the novels and plays of the day, and protests against the unfairness of making them all of the same order as the drones and ribalds portrayed in Vanbrugh's comedies or Fielding's Parson Trulliber. But he complains of the neglect of religious ordinances, of Confirmation and the Lord's Supper, and does not shrink from boldly declaring that the laity are neglecting these because the clergy set them the example; and to this neglect he most truly attributes much of the declension of morals. In very many churches, he says, there is Communion only three times in the year; and he asks, "How can our people realize the awful importance of it under such circumstances?" We have seen already how much he did to promote public catechizing; and his exhortation to revive the use of psalmody, which seems in some places to

have gone clean out of use, is a piece of really delightful reading.

In his first Canterbury Charge, as I have already had occasion to note, he deprecates very earnestly the non-residence of the clergy. I find it impossible to quote at length; but after he has appealed strenuously to them to live among their people, and to the Bishops generally to try to enforce this, he says, "There are indeed cases in which the law dispenses with holding two livings, and, by consequence, allows absence from one. But persons ought to consider well—supposing they can with innocence take the benefit of that law—whether they can do it on other terms than their dispensation and their bond expresses, of preaching yearly thirteen sermons and keeping two months' hospitality in the parish where they reside least." The neglect of this last provision continued long after Secker's day—yes, into our own. It is a very few years since the diocese to which these words were addressed suffered from non-resident incumbents. Some of the inhabitants of two parishes I could name had never once seen their Rectors, one of whom was a brilliant London society man and a masterly player at croquet.

In the second Charge he rises to a somewhat higher level, and exhorts not only to great strictness of life and self-denial, but to more attention to Biblical and ecclesiastical study. The third Charge is almost entirely confined to the subject of preaching, wherein the exhortations and advice came recommended, as we know, by his example, and the success which he himself had by his care and diligence attained.

It is well before closing this paper to note without further comment the vast changes which took place during Secker's primacy. During the elder Pitt's Ministry (1756-1761) events occurred which changed the history of the world. Clive's great victory at Plassy in 1757 laid the foundation of the Indian Empire; and two years later, after Wolfe's victory and glorious death at Quebec, Canada passed to us from the French. The tragedy of Admiral Byng, his failure at Minorca, and execution in consequence, was in 1757. All of these events have been told with matchless brilliancy by the pen of Macaulay; so has the history which follows the fall of the Pitt Ministry, the painful story of Lord Bute's Government, of the roystering opposition to it of Wilkes and Churchill and Horne Tooke, the shocking ribaldries and profanities of these last-named companions at Medmenham Abbey. One of the set who congregated in that wicked club was Potter, a son of the former Archbishop of Canterbury. The expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons in 1764 had important results. All these things belong to the history of England,

but cannot be ignored when we are estimating the progress of religion and religious opinion in the nation. When Secker died Bute's Ministry had been replaced by that of the Marquis of Rockingham, and that again by the Duke of Grafton's, wherein Pitt, who had been raised to the peerage by the title of Earl of Chatham (1766), thereby for the time lost all his popularity in the country. As Lord Chesterfield said, "He has had a tumble upstairs, which has done him so much hurt that he will never stand on his legs again." When Secker died he was still holding office, but had for some time been incapacitated by illness. In the course of the same year he gave up his office, and at the same time recovered his health. Events of vast importance were drawing nigh, both at home and abroad. *Apparebant diræ facies.* Before the next Archbishop of Canterbury passed away (in 1783), Frederick the Great had achieved his great victories, the United States of America had won their independence, and France was drawing nigh to the Revolution.

W. BENHAM.



ART. III.—THE JUDICIAL AND LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH DISTINGUISHED.

THE separation between judicial and legislative functions is one of the features which differentiates fully developed from primitive organizations, whether civil or ecclesiastical. In the earliest stages of a State no laws exist. When two individuals dispute as to a matter of right, or one commits an offence against the other, the ruling authority is appealed to, and decides the case judicially. The decision forms a precedent, or, in other words, a law, which regulates subsequent similar cases; and as this process is multiplied, a code of laws is gradually built up. It is then found that the power of deciding individual cases in accordance with this code may safely and conveniently be delegated to an inferior authority, which thus acquires judicial functions; while the ruling authority reserves to itself the power of altering or adding to the general code. In other words, it retains the power of legislation. In well-ordered communities it is recognised that the judicature, in deciding individual cases, ought as a rule to be independent of the legislature; but it must, in fact, be always subordinate to the legislature, since the latter (subject to any checks which in particular cases may have been im-