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THE
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AUGUST, 1901.

ART. I.—THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE AND
CANON GORE'S BOOK.—I.

THE promised continuance of Round Table Conferences makes us look with keener eyes at the first of these Conferences, held last year, to see what has been its effect. Is the result good or bad? Has it conduced to peace or the contrary? More important still, has it led to clearer and truer views of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which was the subject of consideration? The following is a critical estimate of the Conference, and of the results from it which have as yet become apparent, which may help to a decision on these points. We must, however, guard ourselves by adding that, supposing we come to the conclusion that on the whole it was well that that Conference should be held, it does not necessarily follow that such Conferences are desirable as an institution. That is a further question, on which opinion may still differ.

The purpose of the Round Table Conference of October, 1900, was to see if grounds of agreement could be found on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper between different schools of thought, or, if not, at least a *modus vivendi*. The late Bishop of London invited eleven clergymen and four laymen to constitute the Conference, in pursuance of a resolution passed at the London Diocesan Conference of May, 1900, requesting the president "to appoint a Round Table Conference, consisting of members of the Church of England, on ritual and the doctrines involved therein."

One prominent school was represented by Canon Gore, Viscount Halifax, and Canon Newbolt; another by Dr. Barlow, Mr. Dimock, Dr. Moule, and Dr. Wace, the last of whom was appointed chairman.

As a preliminary step, the Bishop requested each member of the Conference to send him a statement of his belief on the subject of the Divine gift in Holy Communion, and these statements were circulated among the members before the first meeting. Most of them did not confine themselves to the question put before them by the Bishop, but took the opportunity of making a general statement of their beliefs respecting the Sacrament.

Of these statements, Lord Halifax's can hardly be distinguished from a statement of the Roman doctrine, for he declares his belief that the bread and wine, on consecration, "become, are made, are changed into, the Body and Blood of Christ." The change thus effected he describes as "sacramental," a word borrowed from a canon of the Council of Trent, where it is employed in contrast to the word "spiritual."¹ He appears to use it as meaning "in a sphere outside the cognizance of sense"; that is, in a supernatural manner. He also says that "Christ is, by every valid consecration, offered to the Father under the separated symbols of bread and wine, sacramentally identified with His Body and Blood." These statements seem to be no more than an informal expression of the doctrines of Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass.

As Lord Halifax advocates the doctrine of the Latin Church, so Mr. Birkbeck maintains that of the Greek Church, or what he holds to be the doctrine of that Church, when he says that the "species of bread and wine are said to be changed, transfigured, transformed, converted, transmuted, or transelemented into the Body and Blood of Christ," and "are, after consecration, Christ's Body and Blood, which they were not before," "the presence of our Lord in His Sacrament primarily depending, not on the prayers and acts of individual men, but upon the prayers and the faith of the Church herself."

Canon Newbolt expresses the views of most Ritualists, and some High Churchmen who are not Ritualists, when he says that "We offer the same Body once for all sacrificed for us, and the same Blood once for all shed for us, sacramentally present, to the Father" (the words "offer" and "sacramentally" not being defined by him); and when he says that "The gift bestowed in the Holy Communion is the Body and Blood of Christ, which are present really and truly, but spiritually and ineffably, under the outward visible part, sign,

¹ "If anyone shall say that Christ, exhibited in the Eucharist, is eaten only spiritually and not sacramentally and really, let him be anathema" ("Conc. Trid.," sess. xiii., canon 8).

or form of bread and wine" (where "really" and "spiritually," which are opposed to each other by the Council of Trent, are again undefined); and when he says that "Christ is to be adored therein"—that is, "in the Sacrament" (without explaining whether by "Sacrament" he means the ordinance or the elements)—and that "His Presence remains *extra usum Sacramenti*."

The views entertained by English Churchmen from the Reformation to the middle of the nineteenth century find expression in the statements of Dr. Moule, Dr. Wace, Mr. Dimock, and Dr. Barlow.

If, therefore, there is to be agreement of all the members of the Conference, a formula must be found which will comprehend or cover the Roman and the Greek views of the mystery and the Anglican view (1) as handed down from the Reformation, and (2) as taught of late years by men of Ritualist tendencies.

In the first session of the Conference the same question was considered and discussed as had been set before its members by the Bishop; that is, What is the Divine gift bestowed in the Holy Communion? The discussion turned almost entirely on the point whether it were the sacrificed Body of Christ or His glorified Body which is received by the faithful communicant. The former view—that it is the sacrificed Body—was held by Mr. Dimock, Dr. Moule, and Dr. Wace; the latter—that it was His glorified Body—by Canon Gore and Lord Halifax. Had Jeremy Taylor been present, he would, I think, have said—for he has said—that the Sacrament was given "not to be, or to convey, the natural Body of our Lord [which he describes as "carried from us into heaven"] to us, but to do more and better for us—to convey all the blessings and graces procured for us by the breaking of that Body and the effusion of that Blood; which blessings, being spiritual, are therefore called His Body spiritually, because procured by that Body which died for us, and [those blessings] are therefore called our food, because by them we live a new life in the Spirit; and Christ is our bread and our life, because by Him, after this manner, we are nourished up to life eternal" ("Worthy Communicant," i. 3).

Following the lead given by Jeremy Taylor, I venture to think in all humility that the right answer to the question proposed as to what is the Divine gift in the Holy Communion would be, The application to ourselves of the benefits wrought for man by the sacrifice of the death of Christ upon the cross, provided that we are penitent, faithful, and loving.

So far, the Conference agreed (1) that there is a Divine gift in the Holy Communion (that is, none held the view, truly

or not attributed to Zwingle, that it is a bare memorial in which no grace is given), and (2) that that gift is called the Body and Blood of Christ. But there was no agreement as to the meaning of the term "Body and Blood of Christ" in this connection, nor how they were received; nor, indeed, was much help given towards an understanding either of the expression or of the mystery, the most illuminating words on the subject being the singularly expressed statement of Mr. Dimock: "We feed on the remission of sins." I should have preferred the phrase: "We feed on the benefit that we receive from Christ's having become man and suffered for us; namely, the reconciliation with the Father, one consequence of which is the remission of sins."

I believe that, since the publication of Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce's book on the Holy Eucharist, too much stress has been laid on the distinction drawn by Dr. Bigg, and accepted by the Conference and by most of us, between the *Res Sacramenti* and the *Virtus Sacramenti*, which are not formally distinguished by early theologians. Even Thomas Aquinas, speaking for the Schoolmen (Summa, Part III., Suppl. 73), and, following him, Liguori ("Theol. Mor.," vi. 3), say that the *Res Sacramenti* is the grace that refreshes and sustains the soul, of which the bread and wine, which sustains the body, are the *sacramentum*, or sign. Here the *Res Sacramenti* and what we have come to call the *Virtus Sacramenti* are identified. And this identification is not nullified by their also calling the Body and Blood of Christ at once *Res Sacramenti*, as signified by the bread and wine, and *Sacramentum*, as signifying the grace given. Of the *Virtus Sacramenti* as a technical term they say nothing, but call it *Res Sacramenti*.¹ Our own definition of a sacrament is "an outward and visible sign," not of an inward and spiritual thing, but "of an inward and spiritual grace," and we

¹ In omnibus sacramentis tria distinguuntur, nempe (1) sacramentum tantum, (2) res tantum, et (3) sacramentum ac res. (1) Sacramentum tantum est illud quod significat; (2) res tantum est id quod significatur, sive effectus sacramenti; (3) sacramentum ac res simul est id quod significatur ab uno et significat aliud. In hoc autem Eucharistiæ sacramento (1) sacramentum tantum sunt species consecratæ, quæ tantum significant animæ refectioes; (2) res tantum est ipsa refectio; (3) res et sacramentum est corpus Christi, quod significatur a speciebus et gratiam significat.

Species in Eucharistia non habent aliud munus quam sacramenti; significant enim et non significantur: ad differentiam corporis Christi, quod est sacramentum simul et res; nempe quod significat gratiam et significatur a speciebus (Liguori, "Theol. Mor.," vi. 3, 189, 190). Thomas Aquinas's teaching is the same, and in almost the same words (*loc. cit.*). According to their teaching, therefore, the *Res Sacramenti* is the grace signified by the *sacramentum*, and that is the refreshing of the soul.

say that the two *parts* of a sacrament are "the outward visible sign and the inward spiritual *grace*." When, therefore, we teach that the inward *part* in the Lord's Supper is the Body and Blood of Christ received by the faithful, we must mean by the Body and Blood of Christ a spiritual *grace*, designated the Body and Blood of Christ, and explained, as we have seen, by Jeremy Taylor as "the blessings and *graces* procured for us by the breaking of that Body and the effusion of that Blood," which work in us who partake of them "the strengthening and refreshing of our souls" as their special "benefit." Here, then, again we find the *Res Sacramenti* and the *Virtus Sacramenti* identified as the *grace* flowing from the sacrificed Body of Christ, whether called, from its cause, the Body and Blood of Christ, or, from its effect, the refreshing of our souls by the Body and Blood of Christ.

At the second session the question proposed was, What is the relation between the Divine gift and the consecrated elements? Here Lord Halifax advocated the doctrine (not the word) of Transubstantiation, saying, "He wished to be understood as stating simply that the bread and wine became the Body and Blood of our Lord," without guarding himself even by the limiting words "to us," which the Roman Missal still retains; and referring to his previous statement that "the bread and wine are sacramentally identified with His Body and Blood."

Canon Newbolt maintained, as I understand him, the doctrine which the Archbishop of Canterbury has rightly declared identical with Consubstantiation, though not so acknowledged by those who hold it; namely, "That while the elements of bread and wine retain their natural substances, an addition is made to them by virtue of which the Body and Blood of Christ are present really and truly, but spiritually and ineffably, under the outward visible sign or form of bread and wine." He believed that they were thus present in the bread and wine which our Lord distributed to His Apostles.

On the other hand, Dr. Wace "was obliged to offer an unqualified denial to the belief indicated" by Lord Halifax and Canon Newbolt; and Dr. Moule "recalled the phrase of Ratramnus, 'Non in veritate sed in figura,' and that Ratramnus appealed to previous patristic teaching as wholly with him in his protest against the 'corporal presence' taught by Paschasius."

On the point under discussion the Conference determined that no agreement could be come to.

The sacrificial aspect of the Holy Communion was the subject for consideration in the third and part of the fourth

session, but it was not more than lightly touched, from a feeling probably entertained that differences on it were vital and views incompatible. No definition of "sacrifice" was attempted, and no effort was made to come to an understanding as to *what* was sacrificed or offered, except that Lord Halifax declared it to be in his belief "the bread and wine sacramentally identified with our Lord's Body," meaning apparently by "sacramentally identified" supernaturally made one with the Lord's Body. Canon Gore used the same expression "sacramentally identified," but he allowed that "down to the time of St. Thomas Aquinas inclusive the memorial of our Lord's death made in the Holy Communion is regarded as commemorative only, and is not connected with any idea of actual immolation," and that Mr. Dimock was right in saying that the early Christians, when they spoke of sacrifice in the Eucharist, meant for the most part the offering of the elements for acceptance by God. This led him to introduce the theory of a heavenly altar at which the elements are supposed to be consecrated and changed into the Body and Blood of our Lord. On the present occasion he did not say that he adopted this theory himself, but he attributed it to Irenæus on the quite insufficient ground that Irenæus speaks of our altar and temple and tabernacle, where our alms and offerings should be made, as being (not on earth, like the Jewish altar and temple and tabernacle, but) in heaven; that is, that they have a spiritual existence only ("Adv. Hær.," iv. 18).

Dr. Moule reminded the Conference of the vital truth that the ordinance was instituted that "sacred gifts might be given *by* God *to* us, not offered *from* us *to* Him." After a valuable citation from Dean Field by Dr. Wace, the discussion passed to the consideration of a statement drawn up by Lord Halifax, which he hoped might afford a basis of agreement, in which hope he subsequently declared himself disappointed.

Before leaving the subject of Sacrifice, I think we may lay down the proposition that no one can make or offer a sacrifice except of what is his own. Therefore we can offer ourselves; we can offer of our substance; we can offer our thanksgivings, prayers, and praises—nay, we can offer the unconsecrated bread and wine, if we bring them with us, as the early Christians did, and present them for the service of God; but we cannot dare to say we offer the Son of God to His Father without claiming Him as our individual possession; and not only that, but a possession which we are willing to divest ourselves of and "profess that we will own Him no more" (Field).

"None but Christ," says Bishop Jolly, "could make this oblation of Himself, once offered. The real substance, the very Flesh and Blood of God incarnate—it is the most horrible presumption to think that any the most exalted creature could present to God with acceptance" ("On the Eucharist," iii.).

The subject of the fourth session, which was the Expression of Eucharistic Doctrine in Ritual, was even more slightly touched upon than the doctrine of sacrifice. A very sensible statement of Dr. Robertson, deprecating the introduction of novel rites, and declaring that the Church universal possesses no ritual law, was taken for a basis of discussion, and some general conversational remarks were made, from which it appeared that Canon Gore was in favour of each congregation having a right to determine the limits of ritual within the general order of the Church, while Dr. Moule was in favour of one general use; and Lord Halifax argued that the old Mass vestments were ordered under the Ornaments Rubric. Being asked whether by Mass vestments he meant those authorized by the first book of Edward VI. or those of pre-Reformation times, he made no recorded answer to the question, but referred to his proposal to make the alternative use of the First Book legal, which he believed would be a means of "promoting ritual obedience," adding that, if the proposal was accepted, "such a Society as the English Church Union might be dissolved"—a conclusion which no way seemed to follow from the premiss; and we may assure ourselves that it would not follow, nor would ritual obedience be promoted.

This finished the discussion, and was succeeded by a speech from the chairman, whose tact and forbearance was throughout admirable, lamenting that time did not allow the consideration of "some important questions of ritual, such as Adoration and Reservation and the position of the minister, whether eastwards or otherwise."

The proceedings were at this point interrupted by a protest made by Dr. Sanday and others on behalf of Lord Halifax against a statement of Mr. Dimock's, that Lord Halifax's position, as stated by himself, if tenable by a layman, was not tenable by a clergyman, and was inconsistent with loyalty to the Church's formularies. Lord Halifax argued that that was not the case, because his views were those of the undivided Church, and the Church of England appealed to the teaching of the undivided Church; which, however, is a mistake, for though the Church of England appeals to the primitive Church—that is, at the utmost, to the Church of the first five centuries, it does not extend that appeal to the next four centuries—nor does it rest it on the ground that the Church was undivided, but that, being primitive, it was as yet un-

corrupted. If the English reformers had rejected the theory of "a sacramental identification of the sign and the thing signified" and of "the bread and wine being in the supernatural sphere the Body and Blood of Christ," they would have acted, he held, *ultra vires*, because that was the teaching of the Universal Church, a point assumed, and not proved by a reference to the rhetorical, because extemporaneous, addresses of the Semi-Arian Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem, delivered when he was a young man. Lord Halifax declined to admit or discuss the possibility of abandonment of ritual "till the doctrinal question is cleared up"; that is, no doubt, settled in his favour, in which case the ritual that he advocates would be recognised as suitable.

In the final meeting it appeared that no agreement could be come to on the second, third and fourth subjects of discussion—that is, on the relation between the Divine gift and the consecrated elements, the sacrificial aspect of the Holy Communion and the expression in ritual of the doctrine of the Holy Communion. With respect to the first subject, which was the nature of the Divine gift in the Holy Communion, Canon Robinson took up a suggestion of Canon Gore's, and proposed that the conference should adopt some words of Hooker. But it was objected by Dr. Barlow and Dr. Moule that the words were highly rhetorical and technical, and would be misleading; which certainly would be the case unless at the same time Hooker's conclusion was stated, that a real presence of Christ was to be found nowhere except in the soul of the communicant, and that the bread and wine were not Christ's Body and Blood through change or co-existence, but "instrumentally a cause of mystical participation" on being received.

All that could be done, then, was to recite a statement by Dr. Moule, a statement by Lord Halifax, and a statement by Canon Gore, none of which had met with the Conference's assent.

F. MEYRICK.



ART. II.—MESSAGES FROM THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

V.—*Hebrews viii.*

THE person and greatness of our High Priest are now full before the readers of the Epistle. The paragraph we now enter, after one more deliberate contemplation of His dignity and His qualifications, proceeds to expound His relation to the better and eternal Covenant. We shall find here also messages appropriate to our time.

The first step then is a review, a summing up, a "look again" upon the true King of Righteousness and peace (vers. 1, 2). "Such a High Priest *we have*." It is a wonderful affirmation, not only of His existence but of His relation to "us" His people. "*We have*" Him. He has taken His seat "at the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens." But this great exaltation has not removed Him for a moment out of our possession; we have Him. He is now the great Minister, the supreme sacerdotal Functionary, of the heavenly sanctuary, "the true tabernacle," τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς, the non-figurative reality of which the Mosaic structure was only the shadow; the true scene of eternal and unveiled Presence and immortal worship, "pitched" by Him whose face makes heaven, and makes it all one temple. But this sublimity of our Priest's place and power does not make Him in the least less ours; we have Him.

The words invite us to a new and deliberate look upward, and then to a recollection deeper than ever that He is held spiritually in our very hands; He is a possession nearer to us than any other.

Then (verses 3 and following) the thought moves towards the sacrificial and offertorial qualifications of this great and most sacred Person. He is what He is, our High Priest, our Minister of the sanctuary above, on perfectly valid grounds. For He is, what every sacerdotal minister must be, an Offerer. And this He is in a sense, in a way, congruous to His heavenly position. He has no blood of goats and calves to present, like the priests on earth. Indeed, were He "on earth" (ver. 4) this greatest of all High Priests "would not even be a priest" (οὐδ' ἂν ἦν ἱερεὺς), an ordinary priest. For that function is already filled, "according to the law," by the Aaronic order, to which He never belonged, and never could belong (see vii. 13, 14). It is in charge of the sacred servants (λατρεύουσιν) of the earthly sanctuary, the God-given type and shadow (ver. 5) of the realities of heaven, but no more than their type and shadow, partial and transient. No, His sacerdotal qualification is of another sort, and a greater. What it is which "He hath to offer" in the celestial Holiest is not yet explicitly said; that is reserved for the ninth chapter, to which this is but the vestibule. But already the writer emphasizes the truth that "He *hath somewhat* to offer," that we may fully realize the completeness of His high-priestly power.

It may be well to pause here, and ask whether this passage reveals, as many have affirmed, that our Lord Jesus Christ is at this moment "offering" for us, in His heavenly life. We are all aware that this has been widely held and earnestly

pressed, sometimes into inferences which (as far as I can see) cannot at all be borne even by the doctrine that He is offering for us now. In particular it is said that, if He is offering for His Church, then His Church must, as in a counterpart, be in some sense offering here on earth, in union with Him. In short, there must still be priests on earth who are ministers of "the example and shadow of heavenly things." But surely if this Epistle makes anything clear it makes it clear that our great Priest is the superseding fulfilment of all such ministrations by "men having infirmity." It is His glory, and it is ours, that He is known by us as our one and all-sufficient Offerer and Mediator. It is precisely as such that "we have Him," in a way to distinguish our position and privilege in a magnificent sense from that of those who needed the priesthood of their mortal brethren.

But then further, does this passage at all really intimate that *He is offering now*? The thought appears to be decisively negated by the grandeur of the terms of verse 1. Where, in the heavenly sanctuary, is our High Priest now? He has "taken His seat on the right hand of the throne of the majesty." But enthronement is a thought out of line with the act and attitude of oblation. The offerer stands before the Power he approaches. Our Priest is seated where Deity alone can sit.

Does not this tell us that the words (ver. 3), "It is necessary that He too should have something to offer," are not to be explained of a continuous historical procedure (to which idea, by the way, the aorist verb, *προσενέγκη*, would be quite unsuited), but of the statement of a principle in terms of time? The "necessity" is, not that He should have something to offer now, and to-morrow, and always, but that the matter and act of offering should belong to Him. And they do so belong, in principle and effect, for priestly purposes, by having once and for ever been handled and performed by Him. His "need" is, not to be always offering, but to be always an Offerer. He meets that need by being for ever the Priest who has had Himself to offer, and has offered Himself, and who now dispenses from His sacerdotal seat the benedictions based upon the sacrifice of which He is for ever the once accepted offerer.

Only thus viewed, I venture to say, can this phrase be read in its full harmony with the whole Epistle. "He hath somewhat to offer" in the sense that He has for ever the grand sacerdotal qualification of being an offerer, who has executed that function, and now bears to all eternity its *character*. But He is not therefore always executing the function. Otherwise, He must descend from His throne. But His

enthronement, His session, is a fact of His present position as important and characteristic as possible in this whole Epistle.

Aaron was not always offering. But he was always an offerer. On the morrow of the Atonement Day (am I hopelessly antiquated in believing that the Atonement Day was as old as Aaron's time?) he was as much an offerer as on the day itself. All through the year, till the next Atonement Day, he was still an offerer. He did all his priestly functions because, in principle, he "had somewhat to offer," in its proper time. Our High Priest has only one Atonement Day, and it is over for ever. And His Israel have it for their privilege and glory not to be "serving unto an example and shadow" of even His work and office, but to be going always, daily and hourly, direct to Him in His perfect Priesthood, in which they always "have" Him, and to be ever abiding, in virtue of Him, "boldly," "with confidence," in the very presence of the Lord.

Then the chapter moves forward (verses 6 and following) to consider the relation between our High Priest and *the Covenant* of which He is the Mediator. Here begins one of the great themes of the Epistle. It will recur again and again, till at last we read (xiii. 20) of "the blood of the eternal covenant."

This pregnant subject is introduced by a solemn reference to the "promises upon which is legislated," legally instituted, *νενομοθετήται*, this new compact between God and man. The reference is to the thirtieth chapter of Jeremiah, from which an extract is here made at length. There the prophet, in the name of his God, explicitly foretells the advent of what we may reverently call a new departure in the revealed relations between Jehovah and His people. At Sinai he had engaged to bless them, yet under conditions which left them to discover the total inability of their own sin-stricken wills to meet His holy while benignant will. They failed, they broke the pact, and judgment followed of course. But now another order is to be taken. Their King and Lawgiver, without for a moment ceasing to be such, will also undertake another function, wholly new, as regards the method of covenant. He will place Himself so upon their side as Himself to readjust and empower their affections and their wills. He "will put His laws into their mind and write them upon their hearts," and "they shall all know Him," with the knowledge which is life eternal. And further, as the antecedent to all this, to open the path to it, to place them where this wonderful blessing can rightly reach and fill them, their King and Lawgiver pledges Himself to a previous pardon full and un-

reserved; "their sins and their iniquities He will remember no more." They shall be set before Him in an acceptance as full as if they had never fallen. And then, not as the condition to this but as the sequel to it, He will so deal with them, internally and spiritually, that they shall will His will and live His law. There shall be no mechanical compulsion; "their mind," "their hearts," full as ever of personality and volition, shall be the matter acted upon. But there shall be a gracious and prevailing influence, deciding their spiritual action along its one true line; "I will put," "I will write."

This is the new, the better, the everlasting covenant. It is placed here in the largest and most decisive contrast over against the old covenant, the compact of Sinai, "written and engraven in stones." That compact had done its mysterious work, in convincing man of his sinful incapacity to meet the will of God. Now emerges its wonderful antithesis, in which man is first entirely pardoned, with a pardon which means acceptance and peace, re-instatement into the home and family of God, and then and therefore is internally transfigured by his Father's power into a being who loves his Father's law.

And what the prophet foretold was claimed by the Lord Christ Himself as fulfilled in His person and His work, when He took the cup of blessing, at the feast of the new Passover for the new Israel, and said "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." And what He so claimed His great apostle rejoiced in, when He wrote to Corinth (2 iii. 6, etc.) of the "ministry of the new covenant," the covenant of the Spirit, of life, of glory. And here it is stated again, and in strong connexion again with Him who is at once its Sacrifice, its Surety, its Mediator; the Cause, and Guardian, and Giver of all its blessings. He is such that it is such; "SO great salvation," because so great and wonderful a High Priest, the possessor indeed of "somewhat to offer," and now, with His hands full of the fruits of that offering, "seated (for us) on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens."

Here is a message for our times, in a sense which seems to me special, pressing, and deeply beneficent. For the terms of that new Covenant are just nothing less than the glorious essence, the divine *differentia*, of the Gospel of the grace of God. This forgiveness, this most sincere and entirely unearned amnesty, this oblivion of the sins of the people of God—do we hear very much about it now, even where, by tradition, it might be most expected? But do we not need it now? Was there ever a time when human hearts would be more settled and more energized than now, amidst their moral restlessness, by a wise, thoughtful, but perfectly unmistakable re-affirmation of the proposed fulness of divine forgiveness in Christ?

People may think that they can do without that message. They may bid us throw the weight of preaching upon self-sacrifice, and the like. But the fully wakeful soul knows that it is only then capacitated for self-sacrifice in the Lord's steps when it has received the warrant of forgiveness written large in His sacred blood, pardon and peace at the foot of His sacrificial cross. And then as to the second limb of the covenant, greater than the first, inasmuch as for it the first is provided and guaranteed. Do we hear too much about it now? Do our pulpits too frequently and too fully give out the affirmation that God in Christ stands pledged and covenanted to work the moral transfiguration of His believing Israel, to act so on "the first springs of thought and will" that our being shall freely respond to His free action upon it, and will His will, and live His law? But was there ever greater need for such an affirmation than in our time, so restless, so unsatisfied, and, deep below all its surface arrogance, so disappointed, so discouraged?

Let us return upon the rich treasures of this great compact of God in Christ. The covenant is ever new, for it is eternal. And it is in the safe ministering hands of Him who died to inaugurate and make it good, and lives to shower its blessings down. He is on the right hand of the throne of the majesty in the heavens. And we have Him.

H. C. G. MOULE.



ART. III.—HOW WE INCREASED OUR ENDOWMENT.

THE late Archbishop Magee, speaking at a lunch which followed the opening of a restored church in Northamptonshire, used these striking words: "We are in danger of seeing our land studded with magnificently-restored churches served by a pauper clergy." The Church is waking up to see the truth of this statement. In the century which has just closed millions have been spent on bricks and mortar, while the men who are to make these fabrics centres of life, temples not tombs, were forgotten. Now it seems as if this mistake was likely to be rectified. It is recognised that the problem of the day is the better endowment of our poor parishes. As one laymen put it to the writer when sending a subscription: "It is a disgrace to a rich nation that any living should be worth less than £100 net per annum." Perhaps, therefore, some account of what has been done in a parish which can make no sensational appeals for assistance may be of help to other clergy.

Picture to yourself a long road leading northwards out of a

Midland manufacturing town. We leave the closely-built streets of the artisan quarter, and as we rise the hill come to a few fields not yet given over to the builder. Here we enter the parish of which I am writing. Then follow squalid rows of houses lining the road, and still more squalid courts behind them ; then market-gardens and fields for half a mile ; then a church and a village, with its rows of new cottages ; while here and there, peeping out among the spick and span brick and slate of yesterday, are the moss-covered roofs of a hamlet that has its name recorded in Domesday. Such is the parish, and the population is just what we should expect from what we have seen. Our highest social class is that of the farmers. Then come the artisans, mostly earning fairly good wages, the town providing in its factories work alike for men and women, but work that has its slack and busy seasons. Next are the farm-labourers, insignificant in number compared with the artisans ; and lastly the scum floating up from the town below, coming from the worst houses of the town to the worst houses of the village, staying as long as their poor credit will last, then begging, then moving elsewhere, to pass through the same miserable round again.

Such are our people, about 1,000 in number, with no squire, no resident gentry, no professional men. All are workers in some form, save the ne'er-do-wells, and, omitting them, divided into two clearly-marked classes, so broadly divided that nothing seems to amalgamate them—the town workers and the country workers. Not many years ago the parish formed part of one huge one, which included the whole town. When it was separated, the work of money raising, which has gone on ever since, was begun. First a site was procured, and funds raised for a school, which for a time was used also for a mission-room. Then more funds were obtained, a church was built, and a small endowment secured. This exhausted the energy of one generation, and there was an interval of several years before the next effort was undertaken—the building of a vicarage. It took a good many years to obtain the needful funds, and the house was not completed till about six years ago. No subscription-lists have been preserved ; but I shall not be far wrong if I estimate that not less than £5,000 has been raised for Church buildings in the parish, and a large part of that sum locally, much of it from the villagers themselves.

When I came to the parish three years ago there were several problems to be faced ; and much as the endowment question demanded attention, others of wider interest demanded it more, and the endowment had to wait. However, the time for action came at last.

It was on December 29, 1898, in the vicarage study, at a meeting of the wardens, that the first step was taken. I have my notes before me of that fateful meeting, and they read as follows: "The Vicar pointed out to the wardens the insufficient endowment of the living. By some unfortunate mismanagement, at the time when the endowment, such as it is, was effected, no application was made to the Commissioners or Queen Anne's Bounty to make a money grant to meet the tithe grant, so that there might have been two independent sources of income, the one fixed, while the other fluctuated. Now, through the large decrease in the value of tithe simultaneously with a very large increase of the amount levied for rates, the net value of the benefice has sunk to a point at which it ceases to be a 'living.' He also pointed out to them the very substantial help which can be obtained from diocesan and other funds, and quoted a letter from the Bishop (who is patron of the living), in which he said that if £100 could be raised locally the diocesan branch of the Queen Victoria Fund would probably contribute £50, the general Diocesan Fund would probably make a grant of, say, £25, and then the Commissioners would double the amount raised. Thus, £100 raised locally might be expected to produce £350 as a permanent endowment fund, the income of which would be a perpetual addition to the living. The Vicar also pointed out that the present was a favourable time to make such an attempt, as the subject of endowment was in the air. People were talking about it up and down the country, and we seemed to be standing on the brink of that tide which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

The result of this meeting was that the wardens asked for time to consider the matter before giving a final opinion. They were evidently anything but enthusiastic on the subject, partly because the £100 staggered minds accustomed to consider the raising of £5 a great matter, and partly for a reason, once suggested to me by a lay friend, that the average layman, while willing enough to subscribe to church restoration, or electric light, or a new organ, is seldom keen about an object like endowment, from which he derives no benefit, or, at any rate, an extremely remote one.

Nothing, indeed, appeared to come of this meeting; but the matter was being ventilated in the parish, and four months later, when the same subject was brought before the vestry, one of the sidesmen proposed, and a warden seconded, a resolution to the effect that "the wardens and sidesmen pledged themselves to use their best endeavours to raise a sum of £20 to improve the endowment of the parish." I ought perhaps to say that the fact which incited them to

commit themselves definitely in this way was a donation to start the fund from one of the Canons of our cathedral, who has once and again proved himself a kind and helpful friend to many of his brethren. I had called on him the day before to seek his advice, as he was experienced in every form of practical Church work, as to the best way of starting such a fund. His reply was characteristic. Taking out his purse, he selected a note from its contents, and handed it to me with the remark that the best help he could give was a contribution, and that small contributions to a fund which was to form a capital sum were out of place. Generous as he is, and much as he has contributed to good works, probably no £5 that he has spent on Church work has produced a more abundant harvest than the note which was the foundation of our endowment fund. The production of that note at the vestry meeting roused the latent enthusiasm, and paved the way for the definite resolution quoted above.

The first step having thus been made, and the matter having at last been taken up warmly in the parish, the lever was ready to hand to move other bodies outside the parish. First in order stood the Diocesan Fund, on which we had a distinct claim, as offertories had been given to it for many years, and, so far as we can ascertain, no grant to the parish from it has ever been made. From that body we received a grant, but were distinctly unfortunate in the time of our application. It does not often occur that in any year more than one parish applies for a grant under this particular head, but it so happened that ours was one of two applications, and so we had to share the grant with that parish, and received only £25, instead of the £50 usually voted for such a purpose.

The greater part of the tithes of the parish are college property, though the advowson is in the hands of the Bishop of the diocese, and a personal visit to the Senior Bursar met with a hospitable welcome, and the information that it was extremely improbable that the college could make any grant for the purpose, as their funds were very strictly tied up to definite uses, of which my application was not one. However, after a little pressing the Bursar was good enough to promise to put the case before the next college meeting, with the result that I was informed a fortnight later that a grant of £25 would be made to us.

The next body to attack was Marshall's Trust, a London corporation with considerable funds, which have much increased in course of time with the increase in the value of land in and about London. A portion of these funds is at the disposal of the trustees for making grants towards the endowment of poor livings, provided they are in public

patronage. An application was duly made to them, and in due course we were informed that the trustees regretted that they could not meet the application with a grant. Evidently a personal visit was needed, so on a fine summer morning I found myself at St. Saviour's, Southwark, hunting for New-comen Street. At last I found myself in a narrow side-street with somewhat the flavour of Seven Dials. You were offered the choice on its one side of having your boots soled in half an hour for the modest sum of 2s. 3d., on the other of having your umbrella re-covered while you waited; while further on a locksmith's window exhibited keys of every conceivable shape and form, from the rough steel block to the elaborate lever night-latch, all more or less tinged by the must and rust of the locality. The first thought of the explorer is that he is in the wrong street, the next, What kind of solicitor's office shall we find in such a place? However, there was no mistake. About halfway down the street it stood, a veritable Tadmor in the wilderness. A small but handsomely-built stone house in the Tudor style, it stood out from its poor neighbours in uncompromising respectability. In the office within I found the secretary, quiet, reticent, courteous. However, I ascertained the average amount of the grants and the class of parish to which the trustees give the preference, and he, on the other hand, made a note of the conditions of our parish. There was no more to be learnt, so, wishing the secretary good-morning, I found myself once more in shady Southwark, with not very much hope of gaining anything from Marshall's Trust. However, when the time came last spring for sending in an application, we did so, asking the Bishop to add a few lines of recommendation with it. This he readily consented to do. In the middle of June came a letter announcing that the trustees had made us a grant of £100.

This was the impulse that was needed to launch the scheme hopefully. Directly the news arrived a meeting of the wardens and sidesmen was summoned, and the matter was taken up with enthusiasm. A circular was drawn up, and signed by the Vicar, wardens and sidesmen. This was then cyclostyled on good paper and sent by letter post to all persons connected in any way with the parish who would be at all likely to give, and also to private friends. This circular letter brought by return of post a cheque for £25, and in the first week £60, and up to the time of writing £185. Later on this circular was reissued to supporters of Church work in the diocese and elsewhere, over 1,000 copies being sent out, with the result that £39 was added to our fund. It was also proposed at the same meeting that collecting-cards be issued to our Church

workers. One of the wardens undertook to draw these out, and six were issued at once. Arrangements were also made for an outdoor social evening, to be held in the orchard of the other warden, a project, however, which the wet weather of August prevented us from carrying out. A tea in connection with the harvest festival was suggested, at which the provisions should be all gifts from parishioners. This was duly carried out and resulted in a profit of £3. A stall for the sale of useful articles at our social evenings during the winter was a happy thought, as from this source no less a sum than £7 came in. Various other proposals were also made in the direction of obtaining the small amounts which would be given by the artisan population of our parish. An application was also drawn up and sent in to the trustees of Pyncomb's Bequest, who make grants of £100 each to poor livings for the purpose of increasing their endowment. But this application met with the ill-success which had attended all our first attempts. We were informed that their income was so reduced that they were only able to make grants to four parishes this year, and they regretted to have to inform us that ours was not one of the four. Probably a personal interview was necessary. But now the tide turned. Fortune at last smiled on us in our attacks on the august bodies who finance the Church. The next we had to deal with was a newly-formed diocesan branch of the Queen Victoria Fund. The efforts we were making to improve the position of our parish were within the knowledge of some of the committee, and they secured for us a liberal grant from that source of £50. They did more. They passed a resolution recommending the parish to the central fund for an endowment grant. A diligent search amongst the reports of the Victoria Fund had revealed to the writer that such grants were made, though very occasionally. Acting on past experience, the secretary of the fund was interviewed. Nothing could exceed his kindness and courtesy. He listened carefully to the history of our efforts, laying special stress on all that had been done locally and on the conditions of the parish; remarked that his committee were specially anxious to assist and foster local effort, and that so far as he could see the case was just one of those they desired to help. Finally, he recommended that a full statement should be sent in to the council of the fund, backed up by the resolution of the diocesan branch, and added the welcome intelligence that, though the amount available for endowment grants was small, yet there was some to vote. His cheerful optimism was infectious. The writer descended the many steps which lead the explorer to the office of the fund with a lighter heart than when he ascended.

In due time the application was sent in, and on one of the last days of November we had the welcome news that the fund had made us a grant of £100. We had now reached a point at which we were justified in carrying our funds to Queen Anne's Bounty and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and seeking augmentation from them. In each case a commission was appointed to report on the circumstances of the benefice. The writer can testify that both these courts carried out their inquisition with the most scrupulous care and exactness, and surely it is right that this should be so. Care must be taken that grants of Church funds are made wisely as well as liberally. No doubt the preparation of the figures for the court entails a considerable amount of labour, but it is difficult to see how the inquiry could be satisfactorily made without these elaborate preparations. When it falls to the lot of an incumbent who, while endowed with much grace, lacks the gift of the business faculty to come before such a court of inquiry, no doubt he feels the position a trying one, and is inclined to find fault with a system the working of which is so irksome to him. But the fault lies with the individual, not with the system.

The result of our applications to these two bodies was in each case successful. They were each willing to augment the portion of our fund we were able to provide. The Queen Anne's Bounty Office promised us £180 to meet the £200 we had to offer, and the Commissioners £400 to meet the £400 which we hoped to be able to hand over to them. The latter body also very courteously extended a little the time in which we were required by the strict letter of their rules to pay in the amount we had to raise. Success breeds success. The committees of our diocesan funds, seeing that so much had been already raised, and that a further grant from their funds would secure so rich a return, each made us a second grant.

Here must end my story. The net result is that £600 has been raised in little over ten months, a sum which, when the augmentations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty have been paid over, will not fall far short of £1,200 as an addition to the endowment of the living, producing a permanent increase to the income of about £35, which, unlike tithe, will be free from rates.

One last word. The writer hopes that this simple story of what can be done with limited resources, under very adverse circumstances, and in an unpropitious year, as it turned out, for money-raising, may be of use to some of his readers by encouraging them to attempt the improvement of their endowments with the same or greater success than has attended his own efforts. On the other hand, some of his readers may

perhaps help him out of the stores of their experience to proceed still further with his work.

A. E. LOVE.

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

WILLIAM HOWLEY (*concluded*).

THE causes which led up to the momentous publication of the "Tracts for the Times" had their origin in various directions, and the quest is a complicated one. The sloth and self-indulgence of a large number of the clergy in the previous generation had become manifest to all men, and had caused deep scandal. The "fortunate" ones held a plurality of livings, were non-resident, paid their curates a mean pittance, went foxhunting by day and played whist late into the night. They were ardent Tories, almost to a man, and saw no need of any reform. It was all this, coupled with the dearness of food and consequent severe distress of the labourers, which gave such power to the writings of William Cobbett, whose "History of the Reformation" was all through a fierce and reiterated cry that the Reformation had substituted worldliness for saintliness, and that the abolition of the monasteries had led to the establishment of pauperism in their place. He put all this in language as nervous and lucid as it was false and unscrupulous, and it had a most powerful effect on the opinion of the working classes, who were becoming better educated and more assiduous readers than their fathers had been.

A strong and earnest endeavour had been made to improve Churchmanship by the Evangelical party, but it was trailing off into an excess of religious sentiment over learning and study. Sydney Smith, to whom religious enthusiasm was always somewhat of an offence, wrote mischievous, because clever and humorous, articles against the missions to the heathen, which the Evangelicals had started in faithful obedience to the Lord's command, and which in our day have abundantly justified themselves by the confessed success which they have attained. In a similar spirit he attacked the Tory clergy for seeking after the young enthusiastic preachers, who he foretold would "preach them bare to the very sexton." He was one of the most prominent of the Whig pamphleteers, and his sentiments were shared by Whig Parliamentarians. As I have already noted, the Church was

identified with their enemies by the hot and triumphant Reformers of 1832.

But amongst these Reformers were some who were by no means disposed to overthrow the Church. They would fain reform, not destroy. Such a one was Lord John Russell, who may be fairly designated a Conservative Whig. He never desired the disestablishment of the Church; as we shall see presently, he sought, according to his lights, to strengthen it. Mr. Gladstone, who was in acute opposition to some of his religious acts, declared after his death that he never knew a more conscientious and religious politician.

But the Whig theory of the Church did not rise above that of an Act of Parliament Church. The idea of a divinely-constituted body, with a ministry ordained by Christ, and a grace given through the Word and the Sacraments, hardly entered into their minds, as it did into the minds of such men as Heber and Simeon and Melvill. It was a religion of morals rather than of faith.

We must not forget, either, another school of divines which was rising into some importance, and in our time has won a great success. These divines may be regarded as the successors of the Platonists of the latter part of the seventeenth century. They comprised men who were keenly alive to the progress which scientific knowledge was making, as well as to the great impetus given to Biblical criticism by German divines. They were men of widely different views. The greatest of them was Samuel Taylor Coleridge, a man of profound learning and the keenest critical acumen, thoroughly versed in German scholarship, of deep religious feeling, but feeble both in health and in will. He had been a Unitarian, but came, through study, meditation and prayer, to a firm and steady conviction of the truth of the Catholic creeds. In the same school we must perforce put Whately, the Whig Archbishop of Dublin, a master of clear, lucid English, friendly to the critics, and without sympathy with the religious enthusiasm of the Low Churchmen; and, above all, beyond measure contemptuous of Coleridge and what he regarded as the moony mysticism of the Germans.

And to all these now be added another party. A body of friends in Oxford, deeply religious, strongly impressed with the earnestness of the Evangelical clergy, and shocked at the worldliness of others, were watching with anxious eyes the progress of events, and wondering in themselves whither these things would grow. The three most prominent were Keble, Hurrell Froude, and John Henry Newman. The latter tells us in his autobiography that he was one of the first subscribers for the establishment of the

Record newspaper. They were all steeped in patristic lore, emphatically *Oxford* men, satisfied with its curriculum of studies, and not going beyond it. "If Newman had known German," said A. P. Stanley, "the course of religious thought in England would have been altogether different." That may or may not have been; but certain it is that Newman, full of zeal for the Church of England, and also full of fear and anxiety, went off to the Continent at a time when political excitement both at home and abroad was great. A second Revolution in France had finally overthrown the Bourbon dynasty, and set up one who gloried in calling himself the Democratic King. Newman was a man not only of earnest religious feeling, but of warm poetic temperament; he was attracted by the Roman Catholic services, and, with characteristic subtlety of intellect, contrived to persuade himself that he could have no part or lot with it. He came back to England burning with desire to serve the Church by raising it above worldliness and setting forth the spirituality of its faith and doctrine. And even now there was a corresponding contemporary movement. Archbishop Howley was gathering around him a number of men pious, learned, and of the old High Church School, amongst them Hugh James Rose. He and some others who thought as he did, Joshua Watson, Archdeacons Bayley and Harrison, Christopher Wordsworth (Master of Trinity), and Dr. D'Oyly, entered into correspondence with Newman.

Two or three hands have described the preliminary meeting at Rose's Rectory at Hadleigh, and so the famous Tracts were started in the latter part of 1833, and were continued in rapid succession. A very few years passed and two of the originators died—Froude and Rose. The former, like Newman (they had been companions together in the Continental journey), had been much impressed with the Church of Rome, as the posthumous publication of his writings showed. Rose was never shaken in his allegiance to the Church, nor was Dr. Pusey, who after some time joined the writers. It was not long before steady Churchmen took the alarm, for the Tracts were seen to be moving on lines into which Newman had been drawn by his Continental experiences. According to his own account he was not conscious whither he was moving, but with all his fascination of style one is puzzled to make out the stages of the transition. His letters have been published since his death, and interesting as some of them are, this book is, one might almost say, worthless, because of the omissions of matters which might seem injurious to the opinions which he held at the end of his life. One feels sure nowhere of the firmness of the ground one is treading, or

the exact truth of the facts. But in his "Apologia," with which I am at present concerned, he says in one place that he "fearfully suspected" as early as 1838 that the Church of England was not of Divine institution; in another that there had been for some time a conviction in his mind that he had not found his true resting-place. But, on the other hand, he writes that in the spring of 1839 he had a supreme confidence in his position, and that this confidence was broken partly by his study of the Arian controversy, which led him to see that the Arian movement exactly resembled the Protestant Reformation, and partly by an article of Dr. Wiseman, which revealed to him that the Donatist schismatics were counterparts of the English Reformers. Still, he said nothing of these growing convictions, but went on with the Tracts, until in 1841, the ninetieth number, written by him, was a contention that a man might hold the doctrines of the Roman Church and yet remain in the Church of England. Such an outcry arose over this that the Bishop of Oxford requested that the Tracts might be stopped, and this was done. But Newman followed his own teaching, resigned his living of St. Mary's, Oxford, and after retirement for a year or two at Littlemore, joined the Church of Rome in October, 1845.

That Archbishop Howley took a keen interest in what was going on is certain, but neither he nor any of the other Bishops made any sign until the publication of Tract 90. Then one after another "charged" against it. It was in 1845 that the Archbishop published "A Letter addressed to the Clergy and Laity of the Province," in which he urges peace and freedom from excitement. That the excitement and anxiety consequent on Newman's departure rose to considerable height there is no question, and for a while it held back the movement, but it did not stop it. In the first place, the religious men who had hung so eagerly on Newman's sermons, and felt their power, and so many of whom were now engaged in ministerial work all over the country, took courage as they saw that Pusey, Keble, Isaac Williams, Hook, and W. J. E. Bennett, stood fast to their principles. Newman says in his "Apologia" that "Pusey was never near the Catholic Church." Keble's "Christian Year" was already the most popular of religious manuals; and Samuel Wilberforce, who became Bishop of Oxford the same year that Newman left the Church, took with Philpotts of Exeter the position of leader of the Oxford party. Then very much was done, more than is commonly remembered, for the popularizing of its doctrines by writers of fiction. The religious novels of Paget and Gresley, and a little later of Charlotte

Yonge, have had an enormous influence on the rising generation. And thus we may say that the High Church movement, though the defection of Newman seemed to quiet it for a brief space, steadily continued through Howley's life.

But we must now go back to the early days of the Archbishop's primacy to take note of other important matters.

The Reform Bill of 1832 was followed by the suppression by the Whig Government of ten Irish bishoprics. The Bishops seemed powerless. They had incurred national distrust by opposing the Reform Bill, and the distrust of the clergy as well by not attempting to make any terms for them as regards the powers of Convocation and of self-government. And they made no sign when the Irish Church was now attacked. Next, Earl Grey, the Whig Premier, appointed a Commission "to inquire into the revenues and patronage of the Established Church." This Commission issued its report in 1833, a good-sized octavo volume, which now lies before me, and has much valuable information concerning the state of the temporalities of the Church at that time. The Commission was renewed from year to year, and in 1836 the *Ecclesiastical Commission* was made a permanent corporate body, to hold property, to receive Episcopal and Capitular incomes, and to redistribute them for ecclesiastical purposes. All the Bishops were by another Act (1840) constituted members of it. To this Commission Archbishop Howley gave his approbation, under the guidance of Blomfield, Bishop of London, whose advice he now almost always took. The Commission was assailed with marvellous power and scorching wit by Sydney Smith in his "Three Letters to Archdeacon Singleton." His wrath was mostly directed against the suppression of cathedral prebends and the seizure of their patronage, while Bishops were left alone. Much of what he said was repeated by Archbishop Benson a few years ago, namely, that the cathedral canons, instead of being suppressed, ought to have been charged with educational and other duties, so as to make our cathedrals instruments of life and light to their dioceses. There can be little question that too many of the canons remained drones, taking their money and doing nothing for many a long day, while the cathedrals were of no use at all as regards Church activity.

Other ecclesiastical legislation by the Whig Government followed. The *Pluralities Act* forbade pluralities except under certain circumstances, enjoined residence in each parish, and empowered the Bishop to require two full services with sermon each Sunday, and in certain cases he can order a third service. The *Episcopal Act* redistributed both dioceses and episcopal incomes. Some bishoprics (*e.g.*, Durham) had

been enormously rich, and others had little or no income. The incomes of all were paid into a common fund, out of which the poorer ones were endowed. All had a fixed sum. The Bishopric of Ripon was created out of the See of York, and its income was found by uniting the Sees of Gloucester and Bristol. Later, in 1847, Lord John Russell, who had become Prime Minister, passed a Bill for the Bishopric of Manchester, and appointed Dr. James Prince Lee its first Bishop.

One very serious matter, as subsequent events have proved, though nobody thought it so at the time, must now be told. When Henry VIII. broke with the See of Rome, appeals to the Pope were of course forbidden. The King established in 1533, instead of such appeal, a Court of Delegates (so called because appointed by himself) who had a jurisdiction superior to the Archbishop's Court of Arches. The delegates were to be ecclesiastics, who were to be assisted by lawyers both of the Chancery and Common Law Bar. This Court of Delegates existed for exactly three hundred years, during which time only six cases of doctrine were brought before it, and with one exception Bishops formed an important part of the court. This exception occurred in 1775, when a clerk was accused of depraving the Prayer-Book and Articles. Convocation was at that time silenced; it was a season of apathy, and for the first time there was no Bishop on the Court, but three Common Law judges and five civilians. In 1832, under the influence of the Lord Chancellor, Brougham, the Court of Delegates was abolished and superseded by the Privy Council, next year by "the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council." It was hastily carried through, some Bishops were placed upon it, but indefinitely, and their authority was not defined either. Lord Brougham afterwards declared that he intended it for Admiralty and Colonial cases only; but if so, he in some wise blundered, for it became, and still remains, the court of final appeal in Church matters. The first great cause in which it was concerned belongs to a later time than that with which we are now concerned.

The establishment of the Committee of Council on Education by the Melbourne Government in 1839 was strongly opposed by the Archbishop. This Committee was to administer whatever sums were voted by Parliament for the education of the young in England and Wales. The first secretary and chief adviser of the new Committee was a very able man, who had given many years to educational methods abroad, Dr. J. Philips Kay, afterwards better known as Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. One of the provisions of the newly-formed Council was that the right of inspection would be

insisted on in all cases where a grant was made. The Archbishop so far carried his point that it was agreed that all schools connected with the Church of England should be inspected by clergymen approved by the Archbishop, while the British and Foreign School Society should be inspected by laymen approved by the Committee. There was also a project for establishing a State training-school, but this was abandoned on the objection of the Bishops to any school without definite religious teaching. The result was that the National Society took this matter in hand, and St. Mark's College and Battersea were established in 1841, and flourish till this day. A few years later the college for mistresses was established under the same auspices at Whitelands. In 1846 the Minutes of Council were issued by the Russell Government, which aimed at improving the system already on foot. It was, on the whole, an excellent move, and worked well in the succeeding years.

We can only glance at other memorable events during his primacy. In the morning of June 20, 1837, King William IV. died at Windsor. The Archbishop was present, and was called on to start at once for Kensington to acquaint the Princess Victoria of her Accession. The scene has often been described. On June 28 the next year he crowned her, and on February 10, 1840, married her to Prince Albert. In 1841 Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister, and in July, 1846, gave place to Lord John Russell. In the end of 1847 the latter, who had given much satisfaction to Churchmen by creating the See of Manchester, incurred the fierce anger of the majority of English Churchmen by appointing Dr. Renn Dickson Hampden, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, to the See of Hereford, the latter having been placed under censure of his University in 1836 for his supposed unorthodoxy. A bitter struggle followed, which may as well be forgotten now. The Archbishop, as Lord John Russell stated, had been told of the latter's intention to nominate him to a bishopric, and had made no objection. However, before Hampden could be consecrated the Archbishop died, on February 11, 1848.

I must not omit to mention that Howley was an indefatigable builder. We have seen what he did at Fulham Palace. At Lambeth he found an incongruous collection of ugly buildings on the east side, which had been the work of some of his predecessors of the eighteenth century. He swept them away, and under the management of Mr. Blore rebuilt the present range of buildings, extending eastward from Cranmer's Tower, as well as the whole of the courtyard entrance. It is really one of the handsomest of modern buildings, though no doubt it is

open to the criticism of artists who have acquired a profounder knowledge than was attainable at that time. The lofty corridor, 130 feet long, is part of his work. He also made considerable improvements in the chapel, though its present beautiful condition belongs to a later date. He half rebuilt the episcopal residence at Addington, and restored the parish church there, which is described in an old guide-book shortly before his time as "extremely dirty and indecent." He also provided a water-supply for the village of Addington, and built the commodious schools. He lies buried under the chancel arch of the village church, his wife beside him. She was very rich, Mary Frances, daughter of John Belli, E.I.C.S. To her great fortune was owing the fact that, notwithstanding his munificence, he left £180,000. His wife was evidently anxious that his name should not be forgotten. She placed three different memorials to him in the church. It excites a smile to note that she placed a recumbent figure of him by Westmacott on an altar-tomb on the north side of the chancel, but then coming to the conclusion that it was lost in the little village, she had it transferred to Canterbury Cathedral, where it may now be seen on the north side of the sacarium. Howley bequeathed his library to his former chaplain, Benjamin Harrison, whom he had made Archdeacon of Canterbury. The Archdeacon, on his death, left it to the Cathedral library there, stipulating that a separate apartment should be provided for it under the designation of *Bibliotheca Howleiana*.

W. BENHAM.

ART. V.—JOHN HUSS.

MOST English men and women know little more of Huss than his name, as that of a reformer, and his tragic fate. No brilliant novelist has placed us among his audience or introduced us to his cell; no classic volumes issued from his pen to find their place on every shelf; no powerful nations waited for his word or followed him to victory. He was, indeed, far from being one of those who are described as born to greatness; but his lot was cast in days when Western Europe was waking to new ideas, of which he was among the first to catch a glimpse. The man himself stands forth worthy of all honour for his loyalty to the light he saw, and the pathos of his story has touched the hearts of men in later days when they have learnt how he died for believing in the light by which they lived.

His faithfulness to what he believed to be true has made

him prominent in Christian history, for faithfulness to truth was the new principle for which Christendom in his time was painfully, if unconsciously, longing. He was burnt because Christendom was reluctant to adopt the principle for which it yearned. As a herald of the new birth of religion in Europe he is, from our point of view, the foremost figure of his day.

John Huss comes before us first as a student at the University of Prague. Like so many of the clergy who have played famous parts before the world, he was a child of the people, sprung, as we are told, from poor but pious parents of the Bohemian village of Hussinec, from which he derived his name. He brought with him to the University a simplicity of character and a modesty of demeanour which he never lost. As we should expect from what we know of his features in later life, his mind was acute rather than comprehensive, reflective rather than passionate, and his speech clear and direct, and free from the elaborate elegance which found favour among speakers in his time. He has not the "orator's lips" of Savonarola, nor the rough forcefulness of Luther. His point of view, his way of looking at things, was that of the people—that of one of the country-folk rather than of the cultured, many-sided son of the populous city. He sought, that is to say, the broad truths which underlie the movements of life, and cared little for complex problems and fine distinctions. He was himself intensely in earnest, and, as is so often the case with such men, found it hard to believe that others were not as earnest as himself. To him the God of Truth and the living Christ were intensely real, and the life of man little or nothing worth apart from the knowledge of God and the power of the life of the Saviour. Endowed with such a mind and character, or perhaps we should rather say, with the elements of such a mind and character, he came to Prague to study for the Christian ministry.

Our interest in Huss reaches much further than to what he was. We want to know what he did.

Now, a man's work in the world may be described as the product of his character into his circumstances. What, then, let us ask, were the circumstances of the religious life of his time amid which Huss found himself in his student years at Prague? There was, on the one hand, a vast, all-pervading ecclesiastical organization, with a fully-developed, highly-complex theory concerning itself, which claimed to embrace the religious relations of God and man. On the other hand, there were three witnesses claiming to be heard against this organization and its theory.

The ecclesiastical organization was that of the Church of Western Christendom, owing obedience to the Bishop of

Rome. The plan of its system was modelled on that of the ancient Roman Empire. Its strength had been gained in the days when hordes of heathen invaders threatened the existence of every institution in Western Europe, and when a consolidated hierarchy moulded on monarchical lines seemed necessary to maintain the existence of the Church. The rulers of the Church had not scrupled to make use of the prestige thus gained to further the fulfilment of ambitious aims, which included in their range all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them. According to the Papal theory, the Pope was to be the supreme monarch of the world. Its authority was primarily the Bible, but only as interpreted by the Pope, from whose rendering of its sacred meaning there was no appeal. For the decisions of the Pope were the decisions of the Church, and the decisions of the Church were the decisions of God. Its theory of the salvation of the soul of man, on the acceptance of which the power of the Pope largely depended, was simple—that the Church of Christ is identical with the ecclesiastical organization of which the Pope is the head, and that only the soul that is in communion with the Church can reach heaven when it passes from the world.

On the other hand, there were three opposing forces which weakened the power of the claims of Rome over the heart and mind of Huss. The first was the growth of national self-consciousness in Bohemia. The Bohemian people came of a different stock from that of the surrounding German peoples. They had learnt their Christian faith, not from the West, but from the East, and even when they had been cut off from the Eastern communion and were compelled to join the Western they were allowed to maintain important peculiarities in their modes of worship. Throughout the fourteenth century the consciousness of difference between themselves and their neighbours had been fostered by circumstances, and they resented more and more a subordinate part in the organization of the German peoples, which nominally included them all, Germans and Bohemians alike, as members of one Holy Roman Empire. The political ideas of the people, centred for so long upon Rome, were being transferred to Prague and to Bohemia. Huss was not slow to catch the popular feeling, and it weakened in his mind, perhaps more than he was himself aware, the authority of Rome.

Secondly, there was the schism in the Papacy. When Huss was a child of eleven the headship of the Roman organization had been divided between two rivals, each of whom exercised to the utmost all the powers he claimed, against his rival Pope. All the political influence he could call to his aid, all the

awful spiritual authority he claimed for this world and the next, were directed by Urban at Rome against Clement at Avignon, and by Clement at Avignon against Urban at Rome. Christendom was divided. This holy Church, which was said to be God's temple on earth, and through which alone men's souls could be saved, was split into two hostile camps, each assailing the other with every weapon, whether carnal or spiritual, on which it could lay its hand, each concerned about little else than destroying the other by force or by fraud.

Small wonder that so earnest and so shrewd a mind as that of Huss should ask itself whether, after all, either head of the Roman Church was all he claimed to be.

The third disturbing factor was the corruption of the Roman clergy. Simony was widely prevalent; the clergy neglected their duties, extorted vast sums of money, and were to a horrible extent flagrantly immoral. The facts Huss could see with his own eyes among the local clergy of Bohemia were themselves indictments of the Roman claims, and the more he came to know, as he grew older, of the lives and actions of the heads of the Church at Rome and at Avignon, the more revolting to his moral sense did he find the practice of the leading professors of Christianity. The vicegerents of the God of Righteousness themselves were vile. By minds that could juggle with facts these things might be slurred over, explained away, forced to the front or ordered to the rear, according to the demands of expediency or convenience, but not by the mind of Huss. Those earnest eyes of his were given him in order that he might see, not that he might profess to see as other men told him that he ought. There is one word we find again and again on Huss's lips. It is the key to his mind and his idea of human life. "Pontiffs and priests," he writes, "the Scribes and Pharisees, Herod and Pilate, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem formerly condemned the truth; they crucified it and buried it, but it rose from the tomb and conquered them all, sending forth in its stead twelve preachers of the Word." And again: "I do not hesitate to expose this miserable body to the peril of death for God's truth" — "that truth," he wrote in later days, "which I have ever kept in view."

However ancient the history, however great the authority of Rome, he could not in loyalty to truth refuse to listen to the three great witnesses against her claims.

When the mind of a man in his younger years is struggling with such thoughts as these, and he comes in contact with another and a stronger mind that has faced and forcibly dealt with the same problems, it is safe to say that the younger student will bear the marks of the contact for life. So it was

with Huss. At the time when Huss was a boy of thirteen Richard II. of England had married Anne, daughter of Charles of Bohemia. Channels of thought were opened between Bohemia and England, and three years later Jerome brought from Oxford to Prague the writings of the English Wycliffe. Huss read them, and, as so often happens, at first shrunk horror-stricken from the teaching which actually formulated his own thoughts and afterwards moulded his life.

He read in Wycliffe's pages that the spiritual office of the clergy must be regarded, not as a *dominium*, but as a *ministerium*; as a service, not a lordship. He learnt to "place above everything else the moral personality of every individual man." He was led to think of the Church as "nothing else than the whole number of the elect," and to look upon it as "a right to apply the moral standard in testing the actual life of the Church." He was taught to see the failure of that preaching which "preaches not the Word of God, but other things." He read such passages as that in which Wycliffe spoke with a stern emphasis of the greatness of the Pope, consisting in his humility, poverty, and readiness to serve; and "when the Pope becomes degenerate, secularized, and an obstinate defender of his worldly greatness, then he becomes an arch-heretic, and must be deprived of his spiritual dignity and his earthly dominion." Writing on the truth of Scripture, Wycliffe said: "It is impossible that any word or any deed of the Christian should be of equal authority with Holy Scripture."¹

By the time that Huss was thirty years of age his mind was clear. The Church must be reformed. Her teaching, her organization, her practice, her life, must be made true to the New Testament and to Jesus Christ. To say that they were so now was false, from what lips soever the declaration came. Wycliffe showed the way to bring about the change. Refer to Scripture, study, and follow the teaching of Jesus Christ, serve faithfully the God of Truth—this must be the method of the Christian Church as of the individual human soul. Huss has learnt at this time the main principle of the work he is called to do in the world.

The following fifteen years were spent in making this issue clear to the Bohemian people and to the rulers of the Church at Rome. In lecture-room and pulpit, at the court and in the city, by book and pamphlet, as foremost figure at Prague and in exile at Hussinec, Huss pursued his purpose. He had attained to a position of great influence in the University; he was confessor to the Queen, which gave him the ear of the Court.

¹ Lechler's "Wycliffe," translated by Lorimer.

In 1402 he became priest of the Chapel of Bethlehem, and so a preacher to the people, and after the disruption in the University he was appointed or reappointed Rector. He was not the man to fall short of his opportunities. In religious ideas Huss and the Bohemian people were at one.

By 1409 Rome itself had taken the alarm. The Archbishop ordered Wycliffe's books to be burned, denounced his opinions, and prohibited all preaching in private places and chapels. Huss defied the Archbishop's ruling, asserting that we must obey God rather than men in things which are necessary to salvation. He asserted the freedom of the conscience against the authority of the Church. Huss had stepped, as Bishop Creighton puts it, from the position of a reformer to that of a revolutionist. He was excommunicated, and driven further still into antagonism to Rome. When the time came for the Council of the Church at Constance, the condition of Bohemia was bound to take a front place upon its programme. Huss and Bohemia demanded reformation, and demanded it on the broad but definite lines of an appeal to Scripture and a fearless regard for truth.

Let us turn now from Bohemia to Western Europe as a whole. We find that the mind of Huss, as we have traced its working, was in some respects no isolated phenomenon in Christendom. The facts which moved him to thought were agitating all the countries owing obedience to the Pope. Everywhere the same vast claims of the Roman Church were being vigorously pushed by the Papal ecclesiastics. In all parts except in Italy a national consciousness was being born. The splendid idea of one universal Holy Roman Empire had lost its hold on the imaginations of the peoples. England had always been independent of the empire. The first and third Edwards, supported heartily by Parliament and people, had entered on the policy which ultimately led to separation from the Pope. A few years earlier Philippe le Bel had withstood the demands of Pope Boniface VIII., confirming the action of St. Louis, who in his pragmatic sanction had laid the foundation of the Gallican liberties. The Germans were not long after in adopting a national course of action. The schism in the Papacy scandalized and shocked men's minds, the more in proportion to their reverence for the majesty of the Roman See. No less widely spread was the dissatisfaction with the corruptions of the clergy. The luxury and avarice and the laxity of the morals of the clergy, the tyrannous exactions of the Pope and his officials, angered the minds of the serious and pointed the wit of the lively all through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Western Christendom was stirring restlessly under the Papal yoke, was growing rapidly in the con-

sciousness of national strength and national aspirations as opposed to the aims of the Papacy, was finding the Papal outrage to its moral sense more and more intolerable.

The University of Paris stood forward to give expression to the desires of Europe.

Here we may draw a fair comparison, and say that as Huss and Bohemia caught at and followed the method of reform suggested by Wycliffe's work, so Europe followed the lead of the University of Paris. But the two methods of procedure were entirely different, and were in the hands of advocates of very different strength. How the advocates of the two great alternative methods met face to face and with what results we read in the tragic story of the life we are studying to-day.

The remedy proposed by the University of Paris for the ills which were distracting the mind of Christendom was to be found in the assemblage of a General Council of the Church. The chief exponents of this means of securing the reform so eagerly longed for on all sides were Gerson and D'Ailly. Gerson was Chancellor of the Church and University of Paris, a man of European renown for scholarship and intellectual power, of noble ideals and unimpeachable private life. D'Ailly was Cardinal of Cambrai and Gerson's able fellow-labourer in the conciliar movement for reform.

"The Catholic Universal Church," wrote Gerson, "is composed of, and receives its name from, various members constituting one body, Greeks, Latins and barbarians, believing in Christ, men and women, peasants and nobles, poor and rich. Of which body of the Universal Church Christ alone is Head. . . . This Church could never err concerning the current law, could never fail, has never suffered from schism, has never been defiled by heresy, never could be deceived or deceive, has never sinned. . . . But there is another, called the Apostolic Church, partial and private (*particularis et privata*), included in the Catholic Church, made up of Pope, Cardinals, Bishops, prelates and ecclesiastics. And it is commonly called the Roman Church. . . . And this can err, and has proved itself capable of being deceived and of deceiving, of being guilty of schism and heresy; also it can fail. And this is found to be of far less authority than the Universal Church. And it is, as it were, the organ or instrument (*instrumentalis et operativa*), making use of the keys of the Universal Church, and wielding the power of binding and loosing possessed by the same. . . . These two Churches differ as genus and species."¹

The General Council, Gerson held, represents the Church.²

¹ Gerson, "Tract. de Mod. Un. ac. Ref. Eccles.," edit. Dupin, ii., 163, 164.

² *Ibid.*, ii., 174.

It therefore is above the Pope, and can depose the occupant of the Papal See ; it can legislate without question on matters of reform, and decide on questions of heresy and the punishment of heretics. Order and authority were for Gerson the first matters for consideration, and to these the conviction of the individual man must be kept entirely subordinate. He never seems to have doubted that the thoughts of the Universal Church were the thoughts of God, or that the voice of the General Council was the voice which expressed those Divine and therefore infallible thoughts. To Gerson's mind the relationship between God and the Christian was determined only by the Church, and that by the Church as he himself conceived it.

With such ideas and aspirations Gerson came to the Council. I have dwelt upon the attitude of his mind for the simple reason that he represents in the clearest form all that was really great and noble in the best of the leaders in the Roman Church who met at Constance. There were some there who were personal enemies of Huss. There were many whose minds were narrow, and some whose motives were base. Gerson was none of these. He was no doubt in a mood to be severe. He must not discredit his reputation for hostility against the disturbers of the order of Christendom by any merciful leanings towards those who disputed its authority. Against Papal schismatic and Bohemian heretic his face was set with equal sternness.

On November 16, 1414, the first public sitting of the Council was held. The great council hall, built by the city for the convenience of its guests, still stands on the shores of the Boden See, and frowns heavily down on the joyous freedom of the sunlit waters of the lake. John XXIII., the Roman Pope, opened the first sitting. Huss was already in the city. Before the year was out the Emperor had come. Roman Christendom was represented by members of almost all the peoples of Western Europe. Thirty cardinals, twenty archbishops, bishops, abbots and doctors in hundreds, nearly 2,000 priests, came to the great Council. Before the end of May the Roman Pope was deposed, Wycliffe's writings had been condemned, and a feeble vengeance ordered on his ashes ; but these things are not now our immediate concern.

Within a month of his arrival Huss was arrested and conducted before the Pope and Cardinals at the Papal residence. He was told he had been arrested on account of his teaching error. His answer was that he had come of his own free will to Constance to be corrected if he could be proved to be wrong. His interrogators allowed that his answer was fair, but there was a fundamental difference which had not as yet appeared.

To the mind of the Cardinals that was error, which they or the Council should decide to be such; to the mind of Huss error was what he could see to be false, or which to his eyes was not in accordance with the teaching of Scripture.

Here his examination rested for awhile, but three times they changed his prison. The first week he spent in the house of one of the cathedral Canons; then for four months he lay in that dark and narrow tower of the island monastery into the depths of which the visitor peeps curiously through the ivy to-day; three months more he was in closer durance still at Gottlieben; and from June 6 till the end he lay in chains in the Franciscan monastery by the river. In misery from sickness and fever, in loneliness, and cramped with fetters, the heroic spirit bore bravely through. But we must not stay with him in prison. We have yet to see him face to face with the Council.

Three times he was had in audience—on the 5th, on the 7th and on the 8th of June. At the first audience, the works of Huss being in the hands of the Council, he was asked whether he acknowledged them as his. He admitted the authorship, and added that if these works could be shown to contain error he would willingly amend them. The first article of accusation was read. Huss attempted to justify the statement for which he was indicted in the article. From all parts of the Council the cry was raised, "That is not the question." Huss was dumfounded for the moment. He was being shouted down on what seemed to him precisely the point at issue. He was there to prove the truth of what he had said, or to be confuted by the fathers of Christendom, instead of which he faces an assembly lashed to fury at the suggestion of proof, and shouting that proof is not the point they are met to discuss.

At the second audience there was much discussion with little definite result. One of the questions under debate was concerned with the nature of the evidence by which Huss's doctrine might be proved. The Council appealed to the statements of its twenty witnesses, Huss appealed to God and his own conscience. The President advised him to submit to the monition of the Council. The Emperor supported the President. Huss repeated his readiness to retract if anything better or holier than what he had taught were shown him. The Council and he were at cross-purposes; neither could take the other's point of view, neither, therefore, could believe in the other's sincerity of purpose.

The third audience was held on the following day. The reading of the indictment was ended and the last witnesses examined. D'Ailly, as president, warned Huss that the choice lay before him of submission or further attempt at defence,

which latter would be perilous. His answer was that he came to the Council, not to defend his opinions with obstinacy, but to obtain information if he was wrong. His judges told him a written form of abjuration would be submitted to him, which he could consider and sign at his leisure. Many endeavours were made to persuade him to retract. Some of the errors with which he was charged he declared he had neither held nor taught, but though the nominal issue had by this time become somewhat confused between false accusation and false doctrine, the actual issue was clear. One last effort was made to induce him to follow the line of safety. "Are you wiser than the whole Council?" asked one of the questioning Bishops. "Show me," said Huss, "the least member of the Council who will inform me better out of the Scriptures, and I will forthwith retract." "He is obstinate in his heresy," they said, and left him to his fate.

It cannot be said that the Council willingly pursued its course in respect to Huss. The conduct of his trial, his repeated examinations, the frequent presentment of the issue, the constant urging of the ease with which he could retract and submit, all show that the Council's mood was the opposite of that of eagerly seeking his death. The best, at least, if not the greater number of the members, would have spared him if they could; but they saw, or thought they saw, a horizon lowering with forms of danger if a man might be allowed to appeal before the face of Europe to a higher Judge than the Christian Church. Therefore Huss must die.

They did not see that disorder and anarchy spring, not from the man who asks for information and seeks to learn what is true, but from the man or the men who think that final and absolute truth is with them and them alone. It is an easy thing for us, moved by the sufferings of a saintly character, to pass an impulsive verdict of condemnation on the Council; but if we are wise, if we try to understand the Council's outlook, we shall pause before we condemn. And yet I think that even when we turn from the eager verdict of feeling and listen to the colder dictates of thought we must still condemn the Council, for while it sought to promote the peace of Christendom, and desired to fulfil the will of Him whose eternal mind it believed itself to express, it strove to accomplish this by what was, after all, however nobly meant, the method of expediency, and not the method of truth regardless of cost.

And thus it was that when the Council met in session in Constance Cathedral on July 6, 1415, there was there, too, at the west end of the nave the thin, worn figure of the man who dared to die for the truth. For expediency's sake the Emperor

had forsworn himself, and abandoned to his judges the man he had promised to protect, and now imperial power blushes at the reproach of defenceless Truth. The Bishops degrade him from the priesthood, and withdraw the protection of the Church; the civil power takes charge, and leads him forth from the cathedral doors across the fields to die. "I am prepared," he said, "to die in that truth of the Gospel which I taught and wrote." As he sings a verse from the Liturgy the flames sweep up into his face. For a few minutes his lips are seen to move in prayer, and then—only the leaping flames.

And to-day, to him who stands with reverence at the spot marked by the great stone where John Huss died, the hills near by that looked down upon him in his last agony seem to bear their message. They tell us that that scene was not the end. They speak of the eternal God of truth, who is able to deliver them that serve Him from the burning fiery furnace; and even if it were not so, if we mistake the message of the everlasting hills, if the green waters of the Rhine swept away that day six centuries ago all that was left of Huss, yet even so it was better far for him to suffer and to die for Truth's sake than to fall down and worship the image of divine authority which Pope or Council had set up.

We can do no more than give the briefest glance at the after-effects of Huss's life and death. Indeed, it cannot be said that the direct results were widespread or important. The fierce Hussite wars, kindled by the anger of the Bohemians at the betrayal and death of the teacher they loved and honoured, raged for many years, but there seems to be no reason to suppose they roused much interest in other parts of Europe.¹ The Moravian Church, formed in the first instance of those Bohemians who adhered to the doctrines of Huss, has lasted in singular purity and beauty to our own time. It bears to this day, in the simplicity of its faith and its freedom from all pretentiousness, the impress of the character of him from whose teaching it took its rise. The roll of membership includes rather less than 134,000 souls, but of these 96,000 are connected with its 138 mission-stations in all parts of the world. Its home may be said to be in English and German speaking countries.² John Wesley, as we learn from his biographers, was profoundly influenced by what he heard and saw of the Moravians. He came in contact with them at a critical period in his life, and they, he says, "thoroughly convinced" him by what they told him.³ In the Wesleyanism of to-day Huss's influence still lives.

¹ Beard's Hibbert Lectures, p. 29.

² Moravian Almanac and Year-Book for 1900.

³ Coke and Moore, "Life of Wesley," p. 157.

But the mind of Christendom was not ready for his message. There was many a sad lesson to be learnt before Western Europe could reconcile itself to the failure of the conciliar method of reform. And when a hundred years later another and a more powerful leader came, he learnt his methods for himself and not from Huss's work. Yet Luther recognised the power and purity of the treatment of Scripture by the earlier reformer, and wrote to Spalatin: "We are all unconscious Hussites."

Huss had not the power which was in Luther, and came too soon to use it to such purpose as Luther did, even if he had possessed it. He was a herald and a forerunner of the Reformation. It is never easy, it is seldom possible, to gauge with accuracy the effect of the herald's advent. He does his work and passes on his way, well-nigh forgotten in the greater glory of those whose coming it is his duty to announce. But he prepares the minds of men, and leaves behind him as he goes a keenly-expectant multitude. So it was with Huss. That man in any case has done a noble life's work, and left a noble heritage behind him, of whom, as of Huss, it may be said that with an unflinching trust in the God of righteousness and in the Jesus of the Gospels he sought to know the truth.

H. B. COLCHESTER.

ART. VI.—WAR-HYMNS, OLD AND NEW.

IN a passage much quoted of late as a salve to uneasy consciences, Mr. Ruskin has declared that, according to his study of history, "All great nations learned their truth of word and strength of thought in war," and that "War is the foundation of all the arts," as it is also "the foundation of all the high virtues and faculties of men."¹

Probably we shall be unwilling, without considerable qualification, to endorse such an assertion as this. War must always be terrible. We cannot lightly become its apologists. But it is some alleviation to think that from what is undoubtedly an evil, good may yet spring forth, and it can scarcely be denied that a time of war calls forth in a marvellous degree some of the higher virtues, such as heroism, patriotism, and self-sacrifice. Nor can it be denied that some of the greatest creations of the human brain have had their birth in stirring times, when the mind was set on fire by contemporary events. From Homer downwards, many of our great poems have been inspired by warfare. The age of

¹ "Crown of Wild Olive," vol. iii., pp. 87-95.

chivalry was the age of poetry. Shakespeare, Scott, and Byron were the product of warlike times. "Maud" was the child of the Crimea. If all the secular poetry that has been created by warfare were to be eliminated the world would be poorer for its loss.

It is more difficult to trace the influence of warfare on religious poetry. It cannot, on the whole, be said that war has produced very much result in sacred song; and indeed, since the Gospel is the Gospel of peace, it is scarcely to be expected that it should. But yet evidence is not wanting that times of deep national anxiety and distress have sometimes quickened the poetic genius of religious writers, and certainly there are numerous instances where the strains of a familiar hymn have inspired armies with the courage that comes of faith. The Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) was the generative era of German hymnology. "The untold misery which that fearful war entailed upon Germany stimulated the production of a more subjective and experimental type of sacred poetry, and multiplied the hymns of the cross. Over a hundred hymnals gave a glory to the hymnology of the Fatherland, to which there is no analogy in any country until the revival, in the next century, of hymn-writing in England."¹

The earliest war-hymn of note is the Song of Moses upon the victory by the Red Sea. Later on, many of the finest compositions in the Book of Psalms were written under the stress of war, either in the stirring times of David or amid the crushing agonies of the later Assyrian invasions. Indeed, the Book of Psalms has ever supplied war-songs for Christian soldiers, and with some historic battles certain Psalms will always be associated.

Psalm lxviii., "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered," is pre-eminently a war-cry for fighting men. It was sung at the Battle of Arques, near Dieppe, in 1589, when the little army of the French King, Henry IV., was in danger of being overwhelmed by the far larger host of their enemies. "Come, M. le Ministre," cried the King to his chaplain, "lift the Psalm. It is full time." Then, we are told, "Over all the din the austere melody of the sixty-eighth Psalm marked the stately tramp of the soldiers. . . . At that moment a fog which had rolled in from the sea cleared suddenly away, and the King's artillerymen could take aim. The swing of the Psalm was timed by the long roll of the guns, and the victory was won."²

¹ Julian, "Dictionary of Hymnology," p. 415.

² Archbishop of Armagh, "Witness of the Psalms," p. 253.

The version used on this occasion was a free paraphrase by Clement Marot, whose Psalms were equally popular with both Catholics and Huguenots. It ran thus :

“ Que Dieu se montre seulement
Et l'on verra soudainement
Abandonner la place ;
Le camp des ennemis épars,
Et ses haines de toutes parts
Fuis devant sa face.”

The same Psalm was heard later among those who in many respects were the English counterpart of the Huguenots. At the Battle of Dunbar we are told¹ that, as the sun rose above the ocean, the battle-song of the Psalmist was heard from Cromwell and his soldiers : “ Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered.”

Psalm xcvi., the *Venite*, was the chant of the Templars, the Knights of the Red Cross, as they entered into battle with the Saracens, though it does not appear particularly suitable.

Psalm cxv., “ Not unto us, O Lord,” was the hymn of the victors at Bannockburn.

At Agincourt, also, we are told that the same Psalm expressed the armies' gratitude to the God of victory, the whole body of the troops kneeling down together on the muddy ground and singing it in unison, while even the wounded joined in the song. To this reference is found in Shakespeare's “ Henry V.” (Act II., Scene 8), where the warrior King after the battle is made to address his army thus :

“ Do we all holy rites ;
Let there be sung *Non nobis* and *Te Deum*.”

Psalm xlii., “ God is our refuge and strength,” has always been a favourite with men in special peril. The German version, the celebrated hymn of Luther, “ Ein' feste Burg,” with which he and his comrades entered Worms, has been called the “ Marseillaise ” of the Reformation, and Gustavus Adolphus caused it to be sung on the field by his whole army before the Battles of Leipsic (1631) and Lutzen (1632).

An English version of the same Psalm was sung in somewhat different surroundings after the Battle of Naseby.

Both Houses of Parliament, it is recorded, attended a thanksgiving service at Grey Friars' Church, and dined together later in the Grocers' Hall. After dinner they sang Psalm xlii. Times have changed since, and we can scarcely imagine the Lords and Commons concluding a public dinner in this fashion, nor in the hall of a City company a hymn thus sung by a united audience after the turtle and champagne.

¹ Carlyle, “ Oliver Cromwell,” vol: iii., p. 49.

It is somewhat surprising that martial hymns are scarcely to be found in Latin hymnology. Compositions of the type of our "Onward, Christian soldiers," where military language is applied to spiritual combat, are common enough in modern hymn-books, but in Latin hymnology the solitary, distinctly soldier's hymn is said to be "Pugnate Christi Milites," found in the Breviary of Chalons-sur-Marne, 1736. The translation "Soldiers who are Christ's below" is familiar to English readers. Some famous Latin hymns of earlier date, however, are associated with warfare, though the allusions are remote or indistinct. The *Te Deum*, for instance, as in the Battle of Agincourt, to which reference has already been made, has generally been and is still used to celebrate any signal victory. Upon the relief of Ladysmith a service was held, at which both the rescued and their rescuers were present, and the *Te Deum* was solemnly sung as a hymn of thankfulness to Him who had brought about the great deliverance. Another Latin hymn used in war time is the famous "Media vita in morte sumus," generally supposed, though the authorship is disputed, to have been written by the Swiss monk Notker about 900 A.D. A rendering of it remains in the Funeral Service of the Church of England, "In the midst of life we are in death," etc. Though it has disappeared from the services of the Roman Catholic Church, its use was universal in the Middle Ages, and Bassler, in his "Altchristliche Lieder," asserts that it was used as a war-song by the priests accompanying the hosts before and during battle.

To pass from Latin to English hymnology, one of the earliest English war-hymns, if not the first, is by Isaac Watts, the author of "O God, our help in ages past" (1719). It is based on Psalm xx., and its title is, "Prayer and Hope of Victory." It runs:

"Now may the God of power and grace
Attend His people's humble cry."

Toplady (1740-78), the author of "Rock of Ages," wrote a "Prayer for Peace":

"Oh, show Thyself the Prince of peace,
Command the din of war to cease;
With sacred love the world inspire,
And burn its chariots in the fire."

Neither of these hymns, however, possesses any special merit, or is likely to remain. The Rev. John Hampden Gurney published (1838) a war-hymn,

"Through centuries of sin and woe,"

which has appeared in several collections; and the Rev. J. R. Wreford's hymn,

"Lord, while for all mankind we pray,"

published in the preceding year, has had a still larger circulation.

In 1861 Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote at the outbreak of the American War what became known as the "Army Hymn." We quote the fourth verse:

"God of all nations! Sovereign Lord!
In Thy dread name we draw the sword,
We lift the starry flag on high
That fills with light our stormy sky."

Its use, however, has not been permanent, even in America. In the same year Sir Henry W. Baker published in "Hymns, Ancient and Modern," a hymn which has probably been sung as often as any other in the present year,

"O God of love, O King of peace!"

It is exceedingly simple, and the persistence of the refrain, "Give peace, O God, give peace again," helps to make it a favourite with a certain type of minds, who prefer the recurrence of some simple thought or some simple phrase to greater variety of ideas and expression.

Another very fine hymn, with a similar refrain to each verse, but far more elaborate and perhaps somewhat turgid, is by H. F. Chorley (1842), the three last verses in the more familiar edition having been added by the late Canon Ellerton during the Franco-German War in 1870. It is in dactylic metre, thus:

"God the all-terrible! King who ordainest
Great winds Thy clarions, lightnings Thy sword!
Show forth Thy pity on high, where Thou reignest:
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord.

"God the omnipotent! Mighty Avenger!
Watching invisible, judging unheard;
Doom us not now in the hour of our danger:
Give to us peace in our time, O Lord."

A strong and clever hymn, "Jehovah-Nissi," written a few years ago by Miss Elizabeth Wordsworth, the gifted daughter of a great hymn-writer, has been revived during the present war, and is likely to do good service in other wars yet to come. The first verse runs thus:

"O Lord our Banner, God of might,
Who wast with Joshua in the fight,
And Moses on the hill,
Be with Thy servants far away,
Their shield by night, their guide by day
To succour them from ill."

The last verse is :

“ Watch o’er the wounded in the field,
 And where the sick and dying yield
 Their souls, do Thou be nigh !
 Give peace within the heart distressed,
 And Peace on earth, and last and best,
 Thy Peace beyond the sky.”¹

The present war in South Africa has produced an overwhelming number of hymns, good, bad and indifferent. It would seem as though everyone who could string words together into verse had been tempted to make the effort of writing a war-hymn ; and, indeed, nothing is easier. To begin with, “ fight ” rhymes with “ might,” “ right,” “ light,” and a goodly selection of similar words ; and what is more obvious for the last verse than to say or pray that warfare or something else will “ cease,” which of course will do excellently to rhyme with “ peace ” as a finale ?

Amid the multitude of hymns that have appeared there is none of pre-eminent merit or of unequalled popularity, which has become, like Mr. Rudyard Kipling’s war-song, a household word. The hymn that, perhaps, has been most widely used is “ A Hymn for our Soldiers,” by “ the sister of an officer.” The sale of this hymn has brought in several hundreds of pounds for the War Fund, but its diffusion is quite disproportionate to its merit. From a literary point of view it is much inferior to several other hymns comparatively little known, and its popularity is probably due to the fact that it was one of the very earliest in the field, that it was written by the sister of one of our most distinguished Generals in command in South Africa, and that the words are set to the most popular tune of modern times, Sullivan’s “ Onward, Christian soldiers.” The first verse runs as follows :

“ For our valiant soldiers,
 Lord, to Thee we pray ;
 Guard and keep them ever,
 Be their guide and stay.
 When through veldt they’re marching,
 Many a weary hour,
 From their foes protect them
 By Thy mighty power.”

Another hymn which has also gained a considerable sum for the War Fund is Dean Hole’s “ Father, forgive ”.²

“ Father, forgive Thy children come to claim
 The pardon promised to their grief and shame ;
 Forgetful, thankless, in their wayward will ;
 Father, Thou knowest, and Thou lovest still.”

¹ Published by Novello.

² *Ibid.*

Though superior in many respects to the hymn previously mentioned, it is not of the highest order, and such a petition as occurs in the fourth verse, "Bless the kind nurse," might be suitable at a children's service, but scarcely befits the worship of grown men and women.

The hymn which will strike most competent judges as excelling the rest in beauty of diction and originality of expression has been written by the late Rev. S. J. Stone, the well-known author of "The Church's one foundation," "Weary of earth," and others of our best hymns; and its pathos is deepened by the fact that it was written amid the suffering of a severe and fatal illness. It opens with the voice of confession:

"Lord, if too long we glorified
The splendour of our state and throne;
Our place of power, our roll of pride,
As not Thy gift, but all our own:
Hearts lowlier now to Thee we raise,
Remorseful of that old self-praise."

Presently it turns to petition, and the third verse runs:

"We plead for those who dream of home
Far off upon the stormy seas;
Or past the peril of the foam;
Hear, hurtling on the Afric breeze—
Storming those hills with labouring breath—
The viewless messengers of death."¹

"The viewless messengers of death" is a particularly good periphrasis for "bullets," and marks the poet. The hymn is decidedly clever—perhaps too clever, for in a hymn to be sung by all sorts and conditions of men great plainness of speech is desirable; and an able hymn by Mr. A. C. Benson, "O Lord of Hosts, who didst upraise," will be generally rejected from the fact that to many simple folk some of it will be quite unintelligible.

In striking contrast to more elaborate compositions of the type just mentioned are Mr. A. C. Ainger's "Let God arise,"² and the Rev. W. H. Draper's "From homes of quiet peace,"² which are written with studied simplicity, and are well suited for general use. It is unlikely, however, that any of these will take a permanent place in our hymn collections, and some of the very best, *e.g.*, the Rev. S. J. Stone's "Lord, if too long," already quoted, are so obviously written to meet the circumstances of the present war that they are unfitted without considerable alteration to do duty in future wars, where the local colour and other conditions may be altogether different.

¹ Published by Skeffington and Son.

² Published by Novello.

The doctrine, indeed, of the "survival of the fittest" does not always seem to obtain with regard to hymns, and very inferior compositions, crude in style and rhyme, have sometimes a long-continued popularity, due often to the tunes with which they are associated. The recent centenary of Cowper's death reminds us that his "There is a fountain filled with blood" has found favour with millions during more than a hundred years, and yet, if it were written for the first time to-day, the too realistic imagery of its first verse would probably exclude it from admittance into any first-class magazine. The "hymns that have helped" (to use Mr. Stead's phrase) are not always those which are intrinsically most perfect. It is therefore almost impossible, except in a few cases, to foretell with any degree of certainty how far any new hymn may become imbedded in the national literature, and it is perhaps safer not to prophesy. Possibly a hundred years hence the criterion of taste in these matters may be very different from what it now is; though we scarcely dare hope, however fervently we may desire, that with the progress of culture and enlightenment wars and war-hymns shall then be but memories of the past.

S. C. LOWRY.

ART. VII.—PERVERTS TO ROME: WHO AND
WHENCE ?

ONE of those astonishing pieces of self-delusion which never cease to cause unstinted amazement in other people has lately been paraded by a correspondent of the *Record*. He had seen a list of perverts to Rome from the ranks of the English Church Union, and was moved to some indignation thereat. Accordingly he wrote as follows (*Record*, June 7, 1901) over the signature, "A Member of the E.C.U.":

"You give in the *Record* this week the names of over eighty Anglican clergy who have seceded to the Church of Rome of late years. But your list is confined to clerical members of the English Church Union. This makes the list a comparatively short one. The majority of clergy who have 'gone over' to the Roman Communion have not been E.C.U. men at all. The total number of clerical converts (or perverts) is about 500, I regret to say. I have their names before me as I write. Many, no doubt, though not members of the Union, were High Churchmen; but very many were Protestants of various kinds. In fairness to us, I think, sir, this fact ought to be borne in mind."

Pressed by an inquiring correspondent to name some of

these "very many . . . Protestants of various kinds," he refrained from satisfying this inconvenient curiosity; but he explained in general terms (*Record*, June 21, 1901) that "among 'Roman recruits' are to be found men who were not only agnostics and Dissenters, but 'liberal Evangelicals,' 'moderate High Churchmen,' 'broad High,' 'broad Low,' 'High Church Anglicans,' 'old-fashioned Churchmen,' colourless 'moderates,' and 'no-party men.'" It will be perceived that the "Member of the E.C.U." was no longer dealing with clerical perverts, but, without directing attention to the fact, had entirely shifted his ground. He no longer dealt with perverts from the ranks of the English clergy, but with perverts as a body, lay and clerical—Churchmen, Non-conformists, and people of no faith at all.

This change is important, and not in the least so because it very much complicates the difficulty of meeting the charge made. Mr. Gordon Gorman's latest list of perverts to Rome was published in 1899, and, as it is a Roman book, we may assume that its author does not understate the case for his own side. He gave¹ the total number of Anglican clergy who had up to that date gone over as 446. This total has since been increased, but I doubt whether "about 500" is not a rather careless exaggeration. The other classes which supplied recruits are given thus: Anglican sisters, 37; peers, 27; members of the nobility, 417; baronets, 32; medical profession, 60; army officers, 205; naval officers, 39; legal profession, 129; authors, poets, and journalists, 162; public officials, 90. Educationally analysed, his list shows: Graduates of Oxford, 445; of Cambridge, 213; of Trinity College, Dublin, 23; of London University, 11; of Durham University, 10; of Scotch Universities, 9; and members of King's College, London, 10.

Mr. Gorman begins his list, wisely, but significantly enough, with the Oxford Movement, and in his Preface he is careful to explain for how many years he has given time and thought to his task. He alleges that the "converts" now amount to nearly 10,000 per annum—a claim which, in view of the statistics of Roman Catholic marriages, seems to demand at least a corresponding leakage from the Roman Church. There are, in fact, good reasons to believe that Rome in England loses every year at least as many people as she gains. But that is a subject which may well demand separate treatment; here the original interest is with the clerical perverts.

Before, however, parting with Mr. Gorman, I should like, for the benefit of "A Member of the E.C.U.," to quote a few

¹ "Converts to Rome," pp. xi, xii.

lines from the Preface (p. viii). They are as follows: "Last year I had the pleasure of meeting for the first time a young gentleman of an old and distinguished Kentish family. During the course of an interesting conversation he told me that he owed his conversion, some six years previously, to a series of sermons he heard at an Anglican church, given by the Rev. B. W. Maturin." Here, no doubt, is an excellent illustration of the normal way in which the E.C.U. party, in its extreme members, act as feeders for the Church of Rome. Mr. Maturin, a Cowley Father, was, it will be remembered, not long in following the "young gentleman" into the Church of Rome. He "went over" himself in 1897.

But now to consider the main plea. It is suggested that the party for which the E.C.U. stands does not provide a majority of the clerical recruits for Rome. First we have to remark the misleading mode in which—doubtless from the circumstances under which the question arose—the case is put before us. It will surely be agreed on every side that all members of the E.C.U. are not of one colour. Despite recent events, a certain number remain only moderate High Churchmen, dissenting from much that is now said and done by their leaders, but feeling drawn by loyalty and associations to remain within the Union. This admission is called for that we may not be accused of injustice.

In the next place, it has to be remembered that the rise of the Tractarian Movement and the foundation of the E.C.U. were not contemporary events. Newman, Manning, Wilberforce, and the great earlier floods of clerical recruits had passed over to Rome before the E.C.U. was founded in 1859. They cannot have been, as English clergy, members of a Society which, up to the date of their secession, had had no existence. The attempt, therefore, to make capital out of the proportion in which the E.C.U. members stand to the total number of the clergy who have gone over strikes one as ingenious, but a little wanting in candour. The true comparison, of course, is with the number of clergy who have gone over since the E.C.U. was founded. Now, it is computed¹ that 166 clergy have 'verted since the E.C.U. began its existence, and of these 88, or more than one half, were members of the E.C.U.

It has now to be remembered that some extreme Churchmen do not appear to think it worth their while to join the E.C.U. The Rev. A. J. Bratt, who went over from the notorious Church of St. Matthew's, Sheffield—whence others have also seceded—does not appear to have been a member

¹ By "E. G. B.," *Record*, June 28, 1901.

of the Union. His name is not in the Church Association list, and I cannot find it in the E.C.U. *Directory* for 1898. Yet it will hardly be pretended that a curate of St. Matthew's, Sheffield, could be other than an extreme Churchman. It is, however, so familiar a fact that many advanced Churchmen are outside the E.C.U. that the position need not be illustrated in further detail on this side. There is a positive aspect. Is it, or is it not, a significant thing that certain churches and organizations should be so intimately associated with the supply of clerical recruits for the Roman army? A glance at the list of E.C.U. perverts, prepared by the Church Association, shows us the names of certain parishes occurring again and again. St. Bartholomew's, Brighton, provides no fewer than four of its clergy. It is a church in which the services of Rome are imitated with a completeness nowhere surpassed. All Saints, Plymouth, provides three names. A curate went over in 1893, another in 1895, and then the Vicar himself in 1900. St. Peter's, Vauxhall, has sent over three recruits, two of them in one year—1898. Other clerical perverts came from such familiar strongholds of extreme neo-Anglicanism as St. Augustine's, Stepney; St. Agnes, Kennington; St. John the Divine, Kennington; Hensall, Yorks; Cowley St. John's, Oxford; St. Margaret's, Liverpool; and Holy Cross, St. Pancras. It is significant, too, that four officials of the E.C.U. have gone over, and that one of the latest perverts was private chaplain to its leader, Lord Halifax. As to the laity, I have no means of arriving at statistics; but it is common knowledge that lay perverts constantly find their way to Rome by the convenient path of neo-Anglicanism.

Is it, however, true that "Protestants" find their way also to Rome? I have not yet been able to verify the case of an adult who passed direct from a sincere and earnest apprehension of the Christian faith, as understood by an Evangelical Churchman or a Protestant Nonconformist, into the communion of the Church of Rome. But this does not prove that such cases do not exist. There may be a good many of them; but it is a fact that people do not, when challenged, seem able to give an instance.

I have guarded myself by saying "adult," and by demanding in the pervert a previous interest in faith which was apparently sincere and earnest. There are obvious reasons for making these conditions. They exclude two classes of perverts to Rome which ought not to exist. The first of these classes consists of children and young people who are perverted against the will, and occasionally it would seem without the knowledge, of their parents. Roman Catholic schools are a

powerful proselytizing agency. This is especially the case in regard to convent schools for girls. In their desire to obtain a good education at a small cost, and particularly to obtain cheap instruction in foreign languages, some Protestant parents send their girls to Roman Catholic schools. The results in not a few cases have been to import a life-long sorrow into the family. "In boarding-schools kept by nuns," says Dr. McCabe, who, although he left the Church of Rome, holds a position in the eye of the world which makes it impossible to set his evidence aside, "whatever promises may be given to parents, it is regarded as a sacred duty to influence the children as much as possible."¹ The extraordinary multiplication of Roman Catholic middle-class schools amongst us may be taken as offering countenance to Dr. McCabe's declaration that this is not an aim to which Romanists give prominence; but "it is certainly an important item in their esoteric programme."² That there have been "Protestant" perverts of this type nobody can deny.

The other class of perverts includes those who adopt the new faith for some personal advantage. There are still a few places in England in which a small trader has little prospect of success unless he be of the same faith as the majority around him. That accounts for a few gains; but these cases can be excluded from any consideration of the relative influences of neo-Anglican or Evangelical training. Probably the converts had no particular faith at all. Of much the same class are the matrimonial captures of Rome. She is the deadly opponent of mixed marriages. So far as the power of Rome avails, no Romanist shall marry save with Romanist. The man or the woman of the other faith (or no faith) must therefore enter the Roman communion. Sometimes (as in the case of the late Mrs. Lynn Linton) the endeavours to procure conversion are unavailing; the heretic remains obdurate. Then, if, as in that case, Rome is supreme, the engagement is broken off. But affection may determine the situation, or the person may have no particular religious belief, or the energetic attacks of the priest in charge of the affair may prevail. Rome has another convert. But such cases are so well understood that the loyalty of marriage-converts is always more or less under suspicion. Finally, there belong to this class the persons who are described by Dr. McCabe in the following severe terms: "It is well known that many of the much-vaunted converts of Farm Street and of Brompton are simply *décadents* who are attracted by the sensuous character of the services, and who

¹ "Twelve Years in a Monastery," p. 213.

² *Ibid.*, p. 213.

would transfer their devotion to a temple of Aphrodite if one were opened in West London with similar ceremonies."¹

But, setting all such cases aside, are there not perverts who come from religious households, and were at one time devout and sincere Churchpeople, rather Low than High? Unquestionably there are. But what has been the course pursued? I will take an instance, the circumstances of which are personally familiar. The pervert was born and reared in an Evangelical household. Until he left home, his friends and companions had not the smallest reason for supposing that he swerved an inch from the convictions firmly held by his father. Away from home, he drifted after a time from the old moorings. When he was ordained, it was no longer as an Evangelical but as a very advanced High Churchman. All his clerical life was passed amidst pronounced neo-Anglican surroundings, and from these he went by an easy transition to Rome.² I suspect it will be found that this has been the general history of those who were once Evangelicals, and finally found themselves in the Church of Rome. But to charge "Protestantism" with their fall is plainly absurd. They were safe enough whilst they stood in the old paths, but when once they began to stray trouble began. It is the teaching which familiarized them with Roman doctrine, Roman ritual and Roman casuistry that must bear the blame of their fall. If we are not to take this view of the facts, then I suppose it may be claimed that Newman and Manning were both examples of "Protestant" perversions to Rome.

It is possible, however, that we may hear less and less of the extraordinary theory that aping Romanism is the surest defence against perversion to Rome. For of late the most extreme wing of the Ritualistic party has become so bold in its approximation to Rome that a good many well-worn pleas are being flung aside; their shelter is no longer deemed requisite. Doubtless this amazing appeal to credulity will find a place amongst them.

A. R. BUCKLAND.

¹ "Twelve Years in a Monastery," p. 212.

² The case of the Rev. James Maconechey, a recent pervert, has been made much of. It is understood that Mr. Maconechey, who was ordained in 1858, was for many years a Moderate Churchman; but, as he has held no cure since 1896, the general public have no means of knowing through what process of development he has passed in recent years.



The Month.

THE withdrawal of Sir John Gorst's Education Bill and the substitution of a small measure for dealing with the results of the Cocker-ton judgment rather increased than lessened interest in the education question. The July sessions of Convocation furnished new evidence of the belief that drastic changes are needed in regard to elementary as well as secondary education. The Upper House of Canterbury Convocation gave its view of the situation in the terms of what are known as the Salisbury Resolutions. They are as follows :

"That a national system of elementary education, working in accordance with the resolutions following, should take the place of the present system, and should be administered by authorities representing and acting over large areas, embracing one or more administrative counties.

"That all Government grants should be paid to this authority, who shall have power to levy an educational rate over the whole area towards the maintenance of all elementary schools in that area.

"That the funds needed for capital expenditure on the school buildings belonging to any religious body, as well as for necessary extensions and structural alterations, be provided by the body to which the school belongs, but that the managers be not liable for any other expenditure.

"That power of borrowing on the security of the buildings be secured by statute.

"That all schools be financed by this authority, and that in the future certified efficient schools should receive pecuniary assistance.

"That in the management of schools belonging to religious bodies, one-third of the managing committee be representatives of the educational authority of the area and of the parish, and the remaining two-thirds to be appointed as at present.

"That the appointment and dismissal of teachers be in the hands of the managers, subject to confirmation by the local authority.

"That opportunity should be given for opening new schools by means of a provision (similar to that accorded in Scotland) whereby, in considering the claims of any new school for a Parliamentary grant, the Board of Education shall have regard to the religious belief of the parents of the children.

"That opportunity of denominational religious instruction should be secured by statute in all elementary schools when desired by a reasonable number of parents, provided this can be done without expense to the managers.

"That elementary education, being a national concern, should be mainly provided for from Imperial sources."

With this statement it may be interesting to compare the resolutions passed by the Council of the National Society, embodying its view of what the Church should seek in the interests of her schools :

"1. In all Voluntary schools the cost of the religious teaching should be paid by the denomination to which the school belongs, and the cost of secular teaching by the State.

"2. All religious bodies should, subject to reasonable regulations, be allowed by statute to provide in all public elementary schools, whether Voluntary or Board, for the religious teaching of the children of their own people at their own expense and on their own systems.

"3. The appointment and dismissal of teachers in Church schools should remain as provided by the existing trust deeds."

We are, beyond doubt, on the eve of very serious changes, and the treatment of the Voluntary schools must greatly depend upon the vigour of their supporters in Parliament and the country.

The proposal to amend the Sovereign's declaration against Transubstantiation continues to be warmly discussed. The Committee appointed by the Lords brought up a new form, which for convenience is here presented side by side with the old :

THE OLD DECLARATION.

I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do make this Declaration and every part thereof in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me as they are commonly understood by English Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope or any other authority or person whatsoever, or without any hope of any such dispensation from any person or authority whatsoever, or without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this Declaration or any part thereof, although the Pope or any other person or persons or power whatsoever should dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void from the beginning.

THE PROPOSED DECLARATION.

I, A B, by the Grace of God, King (or Queen) of Great Britain and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever. And I do believe that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are contrary to the Protestant religion. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do make this Declaration and every part thereof unreservedly.

The subject was debated with some feeling in the House of Lords on July 8, when the Archbishop of Canterbury moved that the report should be referred back to the Committee, whose forces should be strengthened by the addition of some Bishops. Lord Salisbury objected very strongly to the proposal, and the Archbishop did not carry it to a division. Lord Halifax spoke in favour, not of the revision of the form, but of its

abolition ; but both the Premier and the Lord Chancellor expressed their belief that the country was not prepared for the step so eagerly desired by Rome and by a few extreme Anglicans.

Quite the most interesting part of the July proceedings of Canterbury Convocation were those of its Lay House. The discussion of the lay franchise showed real spirit. Lord Hugh Cecil's proposal, which, in effect, laid down Confirmation as a condition of the franchise, was rejected by twenty-six to sixteen ; and the amendment of Colonel Robert Williams, M.P., giving the franchise to every person eligible for a seat on the vestry, was lost by thirty-four to eight. The consideration of the subject is to be resumed at the next group of sessions.

The Upper House of Canterbury Convocation arrived, at its July sessions, at certain conclusions in regard to the reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts. It may be as well, if only for purposes of future reference, to give in full the resolutions. They will, of course, be heard of again :

"1. That it is desirable (*a*) to strengthen the constitution of the Diocesan and Provincial Courts ; (*b*) that complaints concerning ritual or doctrine should, if the promotion of the suit be approved by the Bishop, be tried by the Diocesan Court in the first instance ; (*c*) that if an appeal be carried to the Provincial Court, it should there be heard before a Court constituted as hereinafter proposed.

"2. That the Bishop sit in the Diocesan Court, accompanied by two theological assessors, one nominated by the Bishop, the other elected by the benefited clergy of the diocese, and two legal assessors, of whom one shall be the Chancellor or his deputy, and the other a layman member of the Church of England learned in the law, chosen by the chairman or chairman of the Court of Quarter Sessions within the area of the diocese.

"3. That an appeal to the Provincial Court shall be heard and determined by the Archbishop, accompanied by not less than two episcopal assessors, being Bishops of the province nominated by himself and approved by the Upper House of the Convocation of the province, and by two legal assessors, of whom one shall be the Archbishop's official principal or his deputy, and the other appointed by the Lord Chancellor, and by not less than two theological assessors, nominated by the Lower House of the Convocation of the province and approved by the Archbishop.

"4. That in all cases arising in the diocese of the Archbishop, the Archbishop of the other province shall take his place in the Court of Appeal.

"5. That all the non-official assessors specified in the foregoing resolutions shall be appointed for a term of years."

That is the Convocation plan ; but it may be doubted whether at present the subject interests anybody save a few experts.

The Bishop of Salisbury, in a letter to his clergy, has announced that he will not repress the carrying of the consecrated elements, immediately after the Communion service, to a sick person. He thus disregards the Lambeth opinion, and, it is to be feared, opens up a new difficulty of which much will be heard.

The appointment of Sir Robert Leighton, Bart., to the secretaryship of the National Protestant Church Union is an excellent omen for the future

of that agency. Sir Robert is a Churchman whose Protestantism, if inherited, is also a matter of deep personal conviction. He has always shown the warmest personal interest in the work of the Union, and under his direction its progress in numbers and in influence should be greatly accelerated. The choice of the Rev. A. J. Tait to succeed the Rev. E. Elmer Harding as Principal of St. Aidan's College signalizes the return of St. Aidan's to its old happy traditions. It will now once more become a college to which men of Evangelical sympathies may with confidence be directed. The Bishop of Liverpool's hostel for graduate candidates is to be opened at the end of September, with the Rev. T. W. Ketchlee as Vice-Principal under the Bishop. Bishop's College, Ripon, is already a success under Dr. Henry Gee.

Churchmen familiar with the Gray's Inn Road must often have wondered how the Home and Colonial School Society contrived to carry on with so much success the work of its Training College for Women Teachers in the old and grimy-looking buildings there belonging to it. The success of the College has, indeed, been striking; but the Education Department has at last compelled the society to find another home. It is accordingly arranging to move to Wood Green, where its accommodation will be very much increased. A sum of about £30,000 is needed for the purpose. The Evangelical control of the society makes its appeal for help one that should be generously answered.

The British and Foreign Sailors' Society has been laying the stone of its new headquarters, a building which is happily called the "Passmore Edwards' Sailors' Palace." That well-known philanthropist has promised £6,000 towards the cost of the new premises, for which, however, a total sum of about £24,000 is needed. The palace will be situated at the junction of four main highways—East and West India, Commercial and Burdett Roads—with trams and trains constantly passing, surrounded by large Scandinavian, Asiatic, and German Homes, which make it the very centre of sailor town. There will be ample accommodation for sailors, and the institute work will be provided for in the fullest way. Of the excellent services rendered by the society in the past, and of the urgent need of all such endeavours, it must be unnecessary here to speak. It is proposed, to endow a bed in the New Palace in the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to call it the "Temperance Bed." A sum of £50 will be needed for this purpose, and help will be welcomed.

The Rev. Dr. Sinker writes to us to point out a misprint in his article in our last number (p. 544, l. 9), which he much regrets that he failed to detect. The word "weeks" should be "verses."

Reviews.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

A History of the English Church: From the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I. By W. R. W. STEPHENS, Dean of Winchester. London: Macmillan and Co.

THIS volume is the second in the series, which, under the editorship of the Dean of Winchester and the Rev. W. Hunt, will survey the entire history of the English Church from its foundation to the close of the

eighteenth century. Although one or two other periods may abound in material which more directly appeals to the modern interest in ecclesiastical affairs, not one supplies the writer with more attractive subjects. It was a period in which the English Church had amongst her leaders a series of strong and interesting personalities. It was a period of vast significance in the development both of the nation and the Church. It was a period in which the varying relations between the Church and the Crown, and the Church and the prelacy, were of singular interest and importance. Of these and other aspects of his subjects Dean Stephens writes with complete success. His narrative is well balanced, clearly written, and often marked with distinction. The people who complain that Church histories are dry will hardly find courage to allege that fault against this book.

Treason and Plot; Struggles for Catholic Supremacy in the Last Years of Queen Elizabeth. By MARTIN A. S. HUME, editor of *The Calendar of Spanish State Papers*. London: Nisbet and Co., Ltd.

Major Martin Hume has done good service in throwing fresh light upon the stormy period towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, and especially upon the intrigues aimed at averting a Protestant succession. We are too much accustomed to accepting the defeat of the great Armada as the end of the endeavour made by the Prelacy and by Spain to regain power in England. Those endeavours were both secret and open. There were centres of disaffection in Scotland and Ireland, as well as in England, and the power of Spain was again exerted to threaten England with invasion. How both treason amongst Elizabeth's subjects and plots by her open enemies were defeated Major Martin Hume tells us in a picturesque and very engrossing narrative. He is an authority who can be followed, and no one will venture to discount his words as those of a Protestant pamphleteer. The book is very much one for the times, and ought to be widely read.

The Heart of the Empire: Discussions of Problems of Modern City Life in England. With an Essay on Imperialism. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

The appearance of this volume is of itself a good sign. Its authors seem to be a group of probably young men who have seen something of settlement life, and have lent their help to philanthropic and religious agencies. They are struck by the urgent necessity of social reform, and with the enthusiasm and the irresponsibility of youth proceed to indicate what in their opinion should be done. It is probably true that a good many people who for years have been working at the same problems will smile at the confidence of the authors, for it is fairly clear that their equipment for the task they have undertaken is far less complete than the preface suggests they suppose. Nevertheless, the enthusiasm and the courage which mark the volume are stimulating qualities, and we hope that many thoughtful Churchmen will read these papers upon some aspects of the popular life, and even Mr. Head's view of the Church.

Schoolboys' Special Immorality. By Dr. M. C. HIME. London: J. and A. Churchill.

Many of the practical hints and suggestions in this booklet are sound and useful, but they are such as occur to most schoolmasters of themselves. We cannot concede to Dr. Hime that "hundreds of headmasters go on year after year as if blind to this truth"—viz., the possible existence of secret vice. Nor do we think that he has quite sufficiently dwelt on the part that can be played by religion, which is higher and more powerful

than respectability. Still, his remarks are earnest and correct, if occasionally trite.

Alfred the Great: A Sketch and Seven Studies. By WARWICK H. DRAPER. London: Elliot Stock. New edition.

We are not surprised to find that Mr. Draper's interesting and valuable little book is already in a second edition. Some few corrections have been made, but the work is practically unaltered.

MINOR THEOLOGICAL WORKS.

The Incarnation. By the Rev. H. V. S. ECK, M.A. London: Longmans and Co.

This is a volume of the "Oxford Library of Practical Theology." In many respects it is an excellent presentation of the Church's belief in the Incarnation, but upon points of detail the author's position is that of a distinct, though not extreme, High Churchman. The Virgin birth is carefully and thoughtfully dealt with; but we have failed to discover any adequate treatment of the Kenosis theory, a subject which should have received full attention in a work of this character. The relation of the Incarnation to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper and of Baptism is also stated in terms which an Evangelical Churchman cannot accept. In spiritual feeling the book is admirable. It will help even those who are unable to agree with some of its opinions.

A New Translation of Isaiah. With Explanatory Notes, and a History of the Life of Isaiah. By the Rev. E. FLECKER, M.A. London: Elliot Stock.

Mr. Flecker offers his book to the public in the hope that it will be found both instructive and interesting. Much of it may justify this hope, but the Hebrew scholarship of the work is defective. The average man has an alternative to the Authorized Version in the Revised Version, and the scholar will not find it possible to regard this volume as a really serious addition to the literature of its subject.

The Prayer-Book Explained. By the Rev. PERCIVAL JACKSON, M.A. Part I. Cambridge: At the University Press.

Mr. Jackson's little work differs in many respects from the ordinary manuals on the history and composition of the Prayer-Book. It is less academic and more practical than many of them. Part I. deals with the daily offices and the Litany. Without being in all respects satisfactory, it is in many parts very suggestive.

What is your Belief? By H. E. HEITLAND. London: "Home Words" Office.

This admirable little catechism is well calculated to form the basis of home or class instruction in faith and Churchmanship. It is not absolutely free from defects—that would hardly be looked for; but taken as a whole, it is so good that it may confidently be recommended to parents and teachers.

The Learner's Prayer-Book. Oxford University Press.

It is claimed for this edition of the Liturgy (to which no editor's name is prefixed) that it is intended for young people and learners, to use as their own Prayer-Book at church and at home. The notes are exceedingly terse and plain, though sometimes from their very simplicity a little crude,