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THE
CHURCHMAN

JUNE, 1902.

ART. I.—SOME LOOSE LEAVES.

THE writer of these lines has endured an experience which is shared by a great many of his cloth. He has been asked, entreated, and even promised a handsome cheque to write his "Reminiscences." He has neither the desire nor the intention to yield to this species of suicide. Yet, having had some leisure lately, he indulged in a sort of mental resurrection. Memory began to work. Old scenes moved again across the sheet of the past with the exactness of a photograph, and sometimes with the order of a panorama. They aroused varied emotions. Smiles succeeded tears. Merriment, mourning, surprise, shock, pleasure, and pain were, in different degrees, mine. And, in a moment which is best described as an instantaneous return to "the time of man's innocency," I remembered a promise made to a valued friend that I would pen a page for this serial. This promise is responsible for these "loose leaves." They will reveal some incidents in the realistic life of a young deacon. They will record some facts which the wild license allowed to living deans will designate "stories," perhaps "good," but certainly not "old."

My entrance into the ministry of the Church brought me into contact with a versatile Irish Bishop, with the most eloquent and thoughtful of deans, whether in England or Ireland, with a comatose Irish rector, and with a miscellaneous congregation in a southern city. The Bishop was the Right Rev. John Gregg, D.D., for many years the minister of Trinity Church, Gardiner Street, Dublin. As an undergraduate I had often listened with amazement and delight to one who was always known as "John Gregg." His style was rugged, yet ornate; it was critical, but brilliant; it was expository, but radiant with poetry, with history, experience,

and sometimes with flashes of humour that escaped, in spite of controlling forces, like electric leakage from defective wires.

For the first fifteen or twenty minutes of his sermon he engaged in textual dissection. He broke up every breakable word in the text. He gave the original, and with incomparable exactness he referred to cognate passages, giving the sense of the word precisely, and moving on in his exegesis in obedience to his well-known canon of interpretation. The sense of any term is to be gathered by acquaintance with its use. Sometimes he would seize upon a conjunction, insist upon its enrichment of the word preceding, and then in a few sentences he would suggest ideas which careful thought might expand long after the sermon had closed. He was never afraid of repetition, and the reiteration of a meaning would occasionally be after short and abrupt pauses.

While this exegetical part of his work was proceeding he seldom took his eyes from his Greek Testament. His large and hairless crown was bent forward. His eyes, deeply set in their sockets, were seldom seen, and when he raised his massive head his face was a picture of intelligence. So far as the graces of style were concerned, his homily might have been heard by a crowd of anxious undergraduates in a divinity school, or, indeed, not heard by anyone. The dissecting work done, the preacher changed as completely as Paderewski does, as he moves from the introduction to the subtle theme of a majestic sonata. Then the great artist "goes for" the instrument. "John Gregg" went for the spiritual significance of his text and its bearing upon the throbbing, rushing, tepid, torpid, or tempted life pulsating before him. The trade, the commerce, the learning, the nobility of the Irish metropolis were in that church.

The preacher wore the black gown and the since-discarded "bands." His custom—the exegetical part of his sermon being closed—was to roll back the heavy sleeves of the Genevan habit from each arm; to survey the packed galleries, right, left, and centre (there was no organ); to state the lessons taught by the passage he had analyzed; and then, the exegete was transformed into the preacher. By this time he had warmed to his work. Every aisle or passage in the huge church was crowded with men who had stood the service through, and the silent but effluential mass seemed to send up fresh fire and force to the great evangelist. Every minute seemed to bring new vigour. His memory was prodigious. Scripture, nature, history, travel, biography, prose, poetry, his daily intercourse with those who trusted him were pressed into argument, into declamation, into encouragement, or

exhortation. His fiery and versatile oratory was sometimes of astounding energy. His pathos touched the crowd often to tears. Pity and scorn, compassion and courage, abject misery, humiliation, contempt, and imperishable glory would, as the subject admitted, be depicted. His diction was influenced by the hard reading of a classical scholar, and it must be said he had marvellous command of language. Language had no command of him. He generally preached for an hour. He was the greatest evangelist of the Lord Jesus Christ I have ever heard. Ordination introduced me to his society. From him I received Holy Orders. For fifteen months he was my Bishop.

I remember, clearly and accurately, two incidents arising out of that sacred relationship. In accordance with his usual habit, he invited the ordinati to luncheon at the Palace at the close of the service. There were also present the chief diocesan officials and his lordship's family. After luncheon, the newly-ordained clergy, priests, and deacons were summoned to the library, and we sat in a semicircle round the desk, at the other side of which the Bishop was seated. He then addressed us as to the loftiness and responsibility of our work, in its dual sections, as preachers and as pastors. There was no reference whatever to what has so rapidly risen and developed within the last ten or twenty years—I mean the social obligations which the stress and strain of modern life have imposed upon the clergy. But the simplicity, the sanctity, the felt reality of the Bishop's counsel impressed me more than any previous experience. He spoke as if the Eternal God was by his very side and listening to all he said to us. The dominating emotion of that interview was on the Bishop's side—pathetic, but affectionate anxiety. Preaching he insisted on as the *magnum opus* of the Christian ministry.

Beside the unfailing auxiliary of prayer and the painful examination of the text in the original, he was strong in his commendation of well-selected general literature and theology. Looking at the stocked shelves of books along each wall and from floor to ceiling, one's eye caught a great number of somewhat fine threads hanging from many volumes. "Do you see these threads? These are the books that I have read. I know where every book I desire to read is to be found. Most of these are—rubbish. I did not know that till I had wasted the time in reading them—wasted, yes, wasted."

The time had, I thought, arrived for venturing to ask a Bishop whom I knew to be an omnivorous student to recommend us some good books. This plea was somehow made by me, as he had chatted with me more than with the other

ordinati, and probably because I had read the Gospel at the ordination. But my plea caught on. He seemed pleased at the interruption, and he at once quoted Lord Bacon's famous sentence, giving very great emphasis to the benefits conferred by reading, and making a pause before the word he desired to accentuate: "Some bookes are to bee—ta-sted; others are to bee—swallowed, and some few are to be—chew-ed and digest-ed. That is, some bookes are to be read only in parts; others are to bee read, but not curiously; and some are to bee read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Reading maketh a—full man, conference a—ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little hee had neede have a great memory; if he confer little, hee had neede have a present wit; and if he read little, hee had neede have much cunning, to seeme to know that hee doth not.'"

Having recited this passage, he then enforced the importance of regular reading, and I recall, as precisely as if the scene was here, in this library, the intense earnestness which he used to impress upon us the wisdom of always having some one strong, massive, heavy book on hand. Then he mentioned the books he regarded as indispensable. He began with the Bible, and in the original languages. Then he commended Bengel's "Gnomon," in Latin; Alford's Greek Testament; Magee "On the Atonement"; Pearson "On the Creed"; Butler; Paley; Bridge's "Christian Ministry"; and he closed with a few emphatic and sententious phrases in laudation of O'Brien "On the Nature and Effects of Faith." Every one of these was necessary, together with others, theological and general.

When his lordship had completed his list, and when each of his hearers had written the titles of the volumes, I had the daring to make an observation which shocked the Bishop. I possessed each of the volumes he commended and a great many more. But there was a practical side to the selection which disturbed me. "My lord," I observed, "we are most grateful for your opinion and for your counsel; but there is a difficulty. Young curates have a stipend of £100 a year, or less. You have recommended volumes which would cost us each £10. How are we to pay £10 for books out of a stipend so slender?" "Well," said the Bishop, "it is a difficulty to some of you, no doubt; but there are some books more important than others. My advice is always to buy the best book on every subject, however dear it may be or however long you may have to wait to secure it. There is one of the books I have named which every one of you must possess. Bishop O'Brien 'On Justification by Faith' is, on its theme,

the greatest work in the language, and I tell you I—I—I would pledge my coat to buy that book!"

I confess that if my inquiry shocked the Bishop, his answer shocked me, for, taking his lordship rather seriously, one could not but wonder what he would say if any of his hearers was seen in the city of Cork, on an early day, moving down the South Mall without a coat, but with the Lutheran classic under his arm! But no one present at that sacred and interesting conversation could be more grateful than was the writer. I own to having read Bishop O'Brien's book once every year from 1866 to 1889. I have given away a very large number of copies to my younger brethren, even though a verbal error indicated by me years ago to the Dublin University publishers is still uncorrected. It occurs in the luminous and notorious passage from Hooker, quoted in the fifth sermon. The believer is there described by Hooker as "having his sin *remitted* through repentance," which is alike heretical as doctrine and untrue as a quotation. Hooker's words are, "having his sin in hatred through repentance." For some time the cost of new books distressed me. One of the bitterest moments in my life was endured in the Tract Shop, Grand Parade, Cork. I took up a new edition of Vinet, asked the price, which I heard was 7s. 6d. I had not the money to buy it. I laid it down with a lump in my throat. I had lost £300 a year when I was ordained, accepted a curacy of the value of £90 per annum, and was then, for the first time, acquainted with the agony of poverty.

I pass now to a second incident. I was admitted to the diaconate at the Michaelmas ordination. Early in the ensuing month my first sermon was preached in Christ Church, Cork, and at noon service. The church was the largest in the city. It attracted a very strong and influential congregation, which included nearly all the physicians, lawyers, brokers, merchants, and many of the well-to-do tradesmen of the place. The fabric was galleried. The holy table surrounded the large reading-desk, from the centre of which sprang the pulpit, over which hung a huge bath-like semi-cupola for acoustic purposes. On the Saturday evening preceding my first effort at preaching my rector's servant appeared about nine, with a brief note, requiring me "to take the pulpit on Sunday morning." This was the longest notice the good man ever gave me. More than once, on Wednesday mornings, he would gently pull my surplice while the service was being read, and tell me I was to preach, when the Litany had been concluded. This annoyed and heated me. But in the fourteen months of my curacy he only found me unprepared once, and that was on the first occasion on a

Wednesday morning. On that agonizing day the semi-cupola overhead became to me the hot-room of a Turkish bath. But not a word of remonstrance escaped my lips. My line henceforth was to be ready for work whenever it had to be done, and the issue of this involuntary and impromptu preaching was that in my Liverpool incumbency, extending over four-and-twenty years, save two months, every curate had habitually long notice, and sometimes three months' notice of preaching. The notice I received was never earlier than on Saturday night, about nine o'clock. This was not any great hardship, because, even thus early in my ministry my rule was to write one sermon every week, whether it was required or not. When appointed to St. Andrew's, Liverpool, my stock consisted of some twelve sermons which I had preached, and twenty-four I had not, and never have, preached. Hence, when the mandate arrived on Saturday night, my sermon was ready; all that remained to be done was to master the diction, so as to be free of bondage to the manuscript. This was done between five and eight on Sunday morning.

My text was St. Luke xii. 8, 9. Every word of the sermon was written. It was carefully placed in my cassock, and I feel no shame in saying that I felt for its existence during the service very often; indeed, I recall the horrible dread which drenched me with nervous damp lest some evil spirit should either filch the production or burn it unknown to me. The reading-desk was spacious. The two curates occupied the corner seats, the rector a chair behind. To a man afflicted or endowed with an assertive sense of humour, the arrangement suggested a certain legend entitled "The Babes in the Wood." On the memorable and miserable day of my first sermon, the rector took the corner usually occupied by one of his curates. I was placed in the rector's chair, and thus everyone in the church knew, as I afterwards heard, "that the new curate was going to preach." Our private devotions ended, the service began. To my consternation, the first face I saw was that of the Bishop, who was accompanied by his family! The reading of the lessons fell to me, but as I had been taught to read, and to manage my voice as well as my breath, by the most eminent professor of elocution in Ireland—Professor Bell—I was not disconcerted by this part of my duty, especially as from the first I read the lessons aloud at home. But when I ascended the pulpit, saw the vast congregation, and the greatest preacher in Ireland before me, and felt the pressure of the semi-cupola overhead, a distressing visual disturbance was mine. Everything became to me white, and but for my early lessons in elocution, I think I

should have fallen, for my knees staggered under me. I grasped the velvet cushion, took, as I was taught, a deep breath through my nostrils, which stayed the heart's action, gave out the text, and in a few minutes physical distress was so mastered that the main symptom of its existence appeared only in the rapidity with which I delivered the sermon.

Shortly after this, in the month of October, the Bishop held his visitation. The names of the clergy were called, and when my rector's name and that of the senior curate was mentioned, the Bishop, seated in his sedes, intervened. Sepulchral silence reigned. The rector was called again. He appeared in the presence of the Bishop, who inquired: "Where is your new curate?" "His name is not yet entered on the registry." "Call him." I heard my name, and responded at once. But way was made for me, and standing in the presence of his lordship and of his clergy, the Bishop said: "I heard you with great pleasure and profit on Sunday week, and I believe——" The rest of the sentence was optimistic prophecy.

There is no occasion to indicate the effects of this most generous and unmerited recognition. The Bishop meant nothing but kindness and encouragement. To me, I own it was a great incentive and inspiration. Thirteen months after, I was nominated to the incumbency of St. Andrew's, Liverpool. When I went to the Bishop to inform him of this, he very earnestly asked me to remain in his diocese, and this was accompanied by most generous assurances. But the call from Liverpool was very remarkable, and the scope for work had no comparison with anything that the Diocese of Cork possessed. My heart is full of gratitude to God for having given me as my first Bishop a man of profound piety, possessing a lofty ideal of the ministry and of its work, and whose absorbed devotion to the ascendancy of spiritual life influenced young men when their hearts were most impressionable and their minds most receptive.

The Very Rev. William Connor Magee was Dean of Cork when I was ordained curate of Christ Church, in that city. The Dean had a great reputation as a logical, ethical, and thoughtful preacher. He was gifted with persuasiveness to a degree which may be described as extraordinary. Its influence was not impaired by another very different power, for he was a master of withering sarcasm. Whether on the platform or in the pulpit, he was able to show his command of the small words of the language more than any speaker I have ever heard. His oratory was always under control, yet there were occasions when it became logic on fire, and then he could speak at the rate of two hundred words a minute. I found

him generous, considerate, genial, and sympathetic. When I desired to see him he invariably invited me to luncheon, and he would listen patiently to a deacon's difficulties about reading, preaching, visiting, or school work.

When the late Mr. Robertson Gladstone, elder brother of Mr. W. E. Gladstone, offered me the incumbency of St. Andrew's, Liverpool, I sought the advice of Dr. Magee. He heard from me the miserable tale of my slender preaching store. I had but some twelve sermons I had preached, and about twice that number unpreached, and I was scared about my pulpit impotence, especially as I was informed from Liverpool that I would have to preach twice every Sunday. My boldest hope of retaining that incumbency did not exceed one year. The Dean fixed his small dark eyes upon me, as a very search-light streaming out of an unhandsome but most mighty face. "Lefroy," said the great man, "your fears for yourself are my hope for you. If you were without those fears, and thought nothing of the difficulty of preaching so often, at your age, I should despair of you. Take my advice—accept Liverpool. You will find the English people a noble people to work amongst. When they see a man means work, they will also see that he wants for nothing." "But," I replied, "what am I to do about preaching twice every Sunday? My sermons now cost me fourteen, and even eighteen, hours, after I have settled upon the text." "This will be easier as you grow older. You can make it so by arranging that one sermon is expository. Give your expository sermon to your family congregation. Explain the Scriptures. This is most instructive and most interesting because varied work. Were I you, I should do that every Sunday morning, if at that service your own congregation is mainly present. In the evening, choose a topical subject. Into that effort throw all your power. As you gain experience, the method adopted in the evening will aid you in the morning. And in the topical sermon, be sure only to give one idea; as many thoughts as you like—but only one idea. Never give up the pen. Write a great deal of your evening sermon. When it is done, see if you can give it a name. If you cannot, it is a bad sermon." After a few tender words from him, and grateful words from me, Dr. Magee saw me off the premises, but with these words: "Good-bye, Lefroy. Only for my years, I would go to Liverpool, and throw over the shovel hat." This incident took place in the Deanery, Cork, in the very house in which the Dean was born.

My Rector was the Rev. John Conolly, M.A. He lived a lonely life. His sole domestic joy was an only son, a young, ardent, affectionate lad, most enthusiastic about music, and

this became a very real bond of attachment between us. We were constantly together, and the dear old man appeared to me to be right glad of our association, for the youth was the only bird in the nest. He was tenderly loved. He was anxiously cared for, but as a boy he was alone, yet he loved companionship, and he seemed to find it in "the new curate." The Rector was a good type of the Irish clergy; he was a finished preacher, possessing rare knowledge of the typical and ceremonial Scriptures, and their exhaustive finality in the Person and Work of our Lord. He seldom preached under five-and-forty minutes, and this after a service which included Morning Prayer, Litany, and ante-Communion. His manner was heavy; there was very little animation about it. His intonation was melancholy, even to an occasional lapse to drawling; but the matter was solid, was strong, was well-ordered. He gave me the idea of memoriter delivery rather than that of an extempore preacher.

His personal character won the respect and confidence of the parish, the city, and the diocese. No one could listen to the Rev. John Conolly without being assured to some degree that he was a real man. There was, all the same, in him a very unfortunate failing: he seemed to entertain, and even to foster, a suspicion that he was unwelcome everywhere, and that all, or nearly all, who were around him found some malicious satisfaction in disparaging or abusing him. There was some truth in this, but not at all to the extent that he imagined. My acquaintance with this failing of his arose out of the systematic effort I made to visit the whole parish. In that work I never received one word of direction from him; nor did he ever inquire as to the visiting, either of the schools or of the parish. As to the latter he himself did very little, but in cases of sickness or of sorrow he was a very Barnabas.

Left thus to myself, I planned my day's work with due regard to my own habits of early rising, early reading, pastoral visiting, and such evening work as existed already, or as arose out of the necessities of the parish. My habit was to rise at five. At this time my sleep was unbroken, and if in bed at ten I was fast asleep at five minutes past ten, and slept on till five or six in the morning. Breakfast was at nine, and when that meal was mine, I sat down to it always with two, but generally with three, hours' reading done. After breakfast came a visit to the schools, then further reading up to half-past one. There was then luncheon, followed by parochial visiting. This was done in a rigidly severe mode. Every house in every street was visited in the order in which the houses stood. Every visit was entered in a book, though not with the detail and particularity of my later Liverpool

experience. There, if I prayed with a parishioner, I entered *p* opposite the name; if I read the Scripture, I entered *r*; if I read and prayed, I entered *r* and *p*; and so on, by a series of mnemonics or symbols I had a spiritual memory of my people and of my pastoral work amongst them. This detailed duty came with years. But even in Cork, as far back as 1864-65, I was obedient to the rule of praying at night for everyone I visited by day. This was a great help to me. I believe I got more aid for labour out of this experience than ever came to those in whose interest it was initiated and continued. Oh, how I miss all this now!

The parishioners were most grateful. They regarded it as a "new departure," and their appreciation of this sustained enterprise was so hearty that I went to my Rector, showed him my book, told him of the work and the gratitude of the people. The good old man drawled out a few killingly cautious and cruelly arctic sentences, and the first was an ice douche to the deacon: "I—sup—pose—they—a-l-l—en—joy—ed them—s-e-l-v-e-s—a-b-u-s-i-n-g—m-e." "Well," I replied, "some complained they had seen very little of the clergy, others did not complain at all; but all were glad because they were looked up. And as to abusing you, no one will do that unless he has a listener. You don't imagine anyone would take such a liberty with me." My Rector was silent, and after a little time he told me to keep up the work, for he was glad it was being done. That work brought me experience of a sacred and most varied kind. There was hardly a phase of life with which I was unacquainted; and when I went to Liverpool and continued this daily systematic pastoral labour, I can honestly say that romance is a very tame term by which to describe the awful interests of my daily rounds.

Amongst the many advantages accruing from house-to-house visiting, its influence upon preaching is one of the highest. In consequence of this, I have never been an advocate for the institution in the Church of England of a preaching order; and now, with larger knowledge of Scripture, of human nature, of character, and of the proportion of truth than I possessed in 1864, I own to the want, owing to cathedral usage and to the fatal absence of the personal element, of touch with the sorrows, sufferings, perplexities, and passions of humanity, as inflicting an irreparable loss on pulpit work. Others may be superior to this need, I am not; and in my earlier experiences I often found human nature interpreting Divine revelation, strengthening my moral hold on the living Christ, and clothing the doctrines of the Gospel of the grace of God with glorious reality.

I had then considerable and constant difficulty in selecting

my text. This difficulty was gradually overcome by resolving to limit the area of choice to the Lessons and the Psalms for the day, together with the Epistle and Gospel. Systematic study was also very helpful, because I kept a "text-book," and entered in it such texts as were suggested by reading or by reference. I remember being greatly impressed by the references in Alford's Greek Testament. I found them fresh, telling, illustrative, and most useful. A great deal of time was given to the preparation of sermons, and the delivery of the few I preached was most straining and anxious work. My resolution to become independent of manuscript had not taken any practical line, but concentration and repetition made me so familiar with the sermon that it was delivered with some freedom.

There was, of course, the usual amount of gossip about "the new curate" and his efforts. Much of this came to me through one of two servants, both of whom had an amazing and even affectionate reverence for their master. They are both at home now, and I place these "stray leaves" on their graves. They were staunch Roman Catholics, and I never knew more of them than their Christian names reveal. The housemaid was Catherine, the cook was Margaret. Catherine was in complexion sallow; she had small brown eyes, and the contrast between her pale yet sallow face and her wavy jet-black hair gave her some claim to being considered attractive. She was very excitable, and she did "watch-dog" work for me with great fidelity. Catherine received all parcels and all household wares, and in doing so my hall was, as regards its owner, as great a centre for gossip as a barber's shop. She listened to all that was said, passed her own opinion upon it, and regarded the chatter as her daily paper. She astounded me one day by informing me she was going on Sunday evening, if I preached, to Christ Church "to hear" me. To Christ Church she went, and my belief is she stood during the service in the porch, and only entered the aisle in the centre when I began the sermon. Then, when I announced the text, I saw Catherine, her nervous, anxious, sympathetic face upturned toward me. The sermon having concluded, she waited for the closing hymn, and on coming out some of the servants at the shops that supplied my simple wants accosted Catherine. They were enthusiastic, and beggared the language in their prodigal use of adjectives. Catherine listened silently for some time, and at last one of the most gushing of the gathering inquired: "Well, now, what do you think of the little man?" "I think," said Catherine, "he is very hard on himself." The reply revealed the woman. A jot she did not care for what was said or for those to whom it was said. Her whole

concern was that her master was punishing himself by over-intensity, and that a perfervid style is rarely compatible with prolonged labour. A furnace overheated generally burns the grate.

During the summer of 1865 I had to visit Dublin. In my absence for some three weeks Catherine went to her priest and made her confession. Whatever was then said to her I was never able to ascertain. But very soon after my return my devoted housemaid came to me in a state of uncontrollable hysteria, and said the priest had ordered her to leave me. She wept as if her heart would break. Her hands were clasped and unclasped. Her limbs were restless and tottering. Her eyes lost all fixity, and I began to fear for her reason. She left my house with anguish and the terror of everlasting punishment awaiting her. She said again and again: "Oh, the priest! oh, the priest!" Catherine became insane, and from that day to this I have connected her mental ruin with her visit to confession during my absence and with whatever her priest then said to her.

The cook, Margaret, was a devout Papist. This was the only feature common to both. She was a Kerry woman. She was tall and large-boned, with a complexion that indicated life in the open air, for her rugged face was flushed with health and her dark eyes were bright and beautiful. She never would appear unless with a white cap, huge, but snowy. There were unmistakable proofs of her power of language, and it is equally correct to say that she generally reasoned rightly. I confess to having enjoyed a great deal of amusement by "drawing her out." Indeed, I can go one better, and say that I have never since met her equal in rapidity of repartee. It could be as fatal and as flashing as lightning. One illustration of this must suffice; it is connected with a phase of my diaconate which had great interest for me. Enthusiastic about music, I was shocked and exasperated by that which was in vogue in Christ Church. And I made up my mind to improve it off the face of the earth. In this I was aided by the good Vicar's son and by a young wine-merchant, who afterwards, through my solicitation, entered the ministry, and became the Rev. George Rowntree Kemp, one of the choicest souls I have ever known. My plan was to watch for a dripping and a drenching day, to dress in an oil-coat and leggings, to wear a hat no weather could spoil, and, with the streets deserted, to visit all the shops in the Grand Parade and other localities, to search out young men and young women, not only as members of the choir, but as members of Christ Church Choral Union, which we founded. This method succeeded admirably. We secured a very strong choir. I taught these young people music. We

gave concerts, at which I held the conductor's baton. One such baton was presented to me when I left Cork for Liverpool. We produced good music in church, to the wonder of the Vicar and to the appreciation of the parishioners. This work brought me into frequent communication with "Mr. George Kemp." Letters frequently passed between us, via the post or our respective servants. One day he had occasion to despatch a letter by his porter. The man had charge of the van. He was tall and powerful, and he was dressed in the white smock characteristic of his calling. He walked beside his horse, and drew up opposite my house, 39, Warren's Place, the bell of which he vigorously pulled. On that unlucky day Catherine was out, and "old Margaret," the Kerry woman, was responsible for the door. She was slow of foot. She was deliberate in movement everywhere outside her kitchen. She hated the longish narrow hall between the kitchen and the front-door. The porter rang again. Margaret regarded the bell as an impertinent disturbance to her culinary contentment. The porter rang again and again, and yet again, until the bell indicated within the rising indignation of impatience without, and until it created in the lethargic cook a burning and a bursting phrensy. The porter held the bell in his hand, and made up his mind to illustrate the law of perpetual motion. Margaret's heavy step was at last heard along the narrow hall, and, inflamed with the power of a human Krakatoa, she opened the door, before which stood the pale porter, white with rage and in a stuttering passion. Each looked at the other with scorn and vengeance, when the pallid porter inquired: "Well, you ugly old woman, how dare you keep people waiting at the door!" To which the reply, rapid and deadly as lightning, flashed: "'Ugly old woman!' do you say? If it's a sin to be ugly, you'll ——!" and she banged the door in his face and slowly moved to her kitchen.

In a few minutes I appeared in Warren's Place, saw the porter, saw his van, saw the undelivered note in his hand. I wondered what could be the meaning of this. We moved towards each other, and I soon was near to the agitated and yet stunned servant. "A letter from Mr. Kemp?" "Yes, sir." "But could you not leave it at my house?" "No, sir; I have been insulted by old Margaret. Never—never while there's breath in my body will I go near to your house again! Oh, sir, you little know what a woman that is!" I took the letter, entered the house, and arraigned the cook. She narrated the whole business to me. She reaped the fruits of victory by having effectually banished the pale porter, and she gave me many a hearty laugh often as I recall this incident, inscribed by invisible ink on "some loose leaves."

WILLIAM LEFROY, D.D.

ART. II.—"OUR UNHAPPY DIVISIONS"—II.

THE argument in a previous paper aimed at showing that certain modern theories connected with (so-called) "Apostolic succession" could hardly have held an established position in the belief of the early ages of the Christian Church. It must by no means be understood as giving support to the contention that there was no difference of function¹ assigned to Bishops and Presbyters in sub-Apostolic times. And quite as little was it meant to imply that in the Churches of Apostolic planting (more particularly in the East) there was not to be looked for in due course a succession of Bishops following one another in the authority of the Episcopal chair. There is no reason, I believe, to suppose that, even

¹ In the Church of Rome, indeed, there is some ground for the conjecture that up to about the middle of the second century government was "by a body of Presbyters or Bishops, to whom everything is to be referred" (see Bishop J. Wordsworth, "Ministry of Grace," p. 125). Bishop Wordsworth considers that the statement in the (so-called) Canons of Hippolytus (about A.D. 200) "looks as if the prerogatives implied by the two titles were now being distinguished in the Church of Rome, while as yet the distinction had not been carried very far" (p. 129).

There seems some difficulty, however, in bringing these views into agreement with the statements of Hegesippus, Irenæus, and Eusebius. (See Greenwood's "Cathedra Patri," vol. i., p. 53; see also "Speaker's Com.," New Test., vol. iii., pp. 764, 774, 779.)

Bishop Wordsworth (p. 125; see also p. 135) is not convinced by the arguments of Professor J. H. Bernard that the Bishops (at Corinth) of Clemens R. are "ministers of worship," "quite distinct from the *πρεσβύτεροι*, or ministers of rule" (see *Expositor*, July, 1901, p. 46). It seems an objection to this view that it has to meet the serious difficulty of supposing so great a change, and so early a departure from Apostolic use of language.

But it appears scarcely to admit of a doubt that in the Church of Rome, perhaps by reason of its faithful adherence to the truth, the development of Episcopacy was exceptionally tardy. See Bishop Lightfoot, "Apostolic Fathers," part ii., vol. i., pp. 383, 384, who says: "The Episcopate, though doubtless it existed in some form or other in Rome, had not yet (it would seem) assumed the same sharp and well-defined monarchical character with which we are confronted in the Eastern Churches" (p. 384).

Canon Robertson says well (speaking of Church government generally): "We do not refuse to acknowledge that the organization of the Church was gradual; we are only concerned to maintain that it was directed by the Apostles . . . and that in all essential points it was completed before their departure" ("Hist. of Chris. Ch.," vol. i., p. 12; edit. 1874). See Godet's "Com. on St. John's Gospel," vol. i., pp. 58-61; see also Archdeacon Lee in Note F on Rev. i. in "Speaker's Com.," p. 512, and Bishop Kip's "Double Witness of the Church," pp. 76-78, especially quotation from Palmer's "Treatise on the Church," p. 77.

in the Church of Alexandria, any Presbyter, as a Presbyter, would have been allowed to ordain, or would have been warranted in attempting so to do. Nor would the statement of Jerome justify us in imagining that the Church of Alexandria was ever ruled otherwise than by Episcopal government. The Bishops, indeed, were made Bishops, not according to the practice generally in use in other Churches, but each Bishop elected received (it would seem) the status of a Bishop. He had to perform the offices of a Bishop; and no doubt he had public authority given unto him in the congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

Our Christian common-sense argument leaves these matters untouched. It only claims to show that the existence of such a practice as appears in the Alexandrian Church, and the acceptance of such a report, as it *was* accepted, seems fatal to certain views now very commonly bound up with the teaching of Episcopal succession. It is submitted that such a state of things could hardly have lived in an atmosphere permeated with a “ Catholic ” persuasion; that Sacramental grace is dependent on ministerial ordination; and that valid ministerial ordination is dependent on Episcopal consecration, and valid Episcopal consecration is absolutely dependent on an unbroken chain of a succession of Episcopal consecrators—a succession to be traced up to its starting-point from the Apostles themselves.

If our argument is good, this distinction between what it carries with it, and what it does not aim at, what it leaves unquestioned and unassailed, is important to be borne in mind. It is specially important to be kept well before our view in proceeding now to a brief and very imperfect consideration of the subject in relation to the practice and teaching of the Anglican Church.

We shall find, if I mistake not, among English divines of esteem and authority abundant support for what may fairly be called *high* views of the Apostolic origin, and consequently (in some sense) “ the Divine right ” of Episcopacy, with not unfrequent reference to Episcopal succession, and with a clear recognition of the power of ordaining as normally pertaining by right to the function of Bishops. But we shall find also abundant evidence that, in their view, this teaching does not involve the doctrine that the life of a Christian society is dependent on a chain of Episcopal succession, or that Episcopacy (in any form) is actually essential to the being of a Church.

Passing over the high authority of Hooker, whose words I have already quoted, as showing that with all his faithful

testimony in support of government by Bishops¹ as that which best agreeth with sacred Scripture, he was far from desiring to unchurch the Continental Churches of the Reformation, I may be allowed to illustrate the point I am insisting upon by referring to the well-known treatise of the very learned

BISHOP BILSON.

His work entitled "The Perpetual Government of Christ's Church" was first published in 1593. It was written against the innovating tendencies of certain unquiet spirits among Puritan extremists. In it Bilson will be found to be taking very high ground indeed, not in *defence* merely of the rule of Bishops, but in uncompromising advocacy of Episcopacy,² as of Apostolic ordering, and as intended to be an abiding rule for Church regulation and discipline. He strongly insists on the power of ordination as restrained to the Episcopal function (see pp. 315, 316, 320, 323, 324, 330, 351; edit. Oxford, 1842). He often speaks of Episcopal succession (see pp. 315, 316, 332, 337, 340, 348, 351). Yet he not only has nothing to say that can fairly be alleged in support of modern theories of "succession," but he also more than once makes mention of the state of things belonging to the practice in the Church of Alexandria (see pp. 289, 298, 339, 351, 352). He never questions what I have ventured to call the natural and obvious sense of Jerome's words, and he uses (I believe) no language to imply that he saw in this case any infraction of the rule of Episcopal succession (see p. 348). Though, according to some modern views, the Bishops of that Church seem to have lacked just that which should really have constituted them Bishops, seeing they received no consecration from the imposition of other Episcopal hands, yet they are recognised by Bilson as Bishops succeeding one to another in the Episcopal chair and to the Episcopal authority.

The same truth may be yet more strikingly exhibited by reference to the teachings of

BISHOP OVERALL.

Probably the general impression of Overall's specially stiff and unyielding attitude in maintenance of the Divine right of

¹ In his Preface to the "Ecclesiastical Polity" Hooker wrote: "We require you to find out but one Church upon the face of the whole earth, that hath been ordered by your discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by Episcopal regiment, sithence the time that the blessed Apostles were here conversant" (ch. iv., § 1: Works, vol. i. p. 156; edit. Keble).

² Bilson has been classed among those "who felt themselves bound to avoid all compromise of admitted principle" (Firminger, "Attitude of Church of England to Non-Episcopal Ordinations," p. 47).

Episcopacy may be due to the common connection of his name with what is known as Overall's "Convocation Book." Possibly it may have been this which (if I remember aright) led one of the critics of my essay on "The Apostolic Fathers and the Christian Ministry," in speaking of the paragraphs quoted in my previous paper, to express some astonishment at what I had there stated concerning him.

Overall was the prolocutor of the Convocation of 1606. In this Convocation several Canons were passed by both houses with unanimous consent, and signed by Overall. There is no room, therefore, for questioning his general approval of their contents, even if he had not a principal hand¹ (as Bishop Burnet supposes) in drawing them up.

And of these Canons, in respect of their teaching concerning Episcopacy, very much the same may be said as has been said concerning Bilson's famous work. Indeed, in some places there is so much resemblance between the two that the one may well, perhaps, be supposed to be not altogether independent of the other. As to Episcopacy, its being of a Divine institution is very positively asserted. Nevertheless, there will be found in Overall's "Convocation Book," as in Bilson's treatise, nothing whatever, I believe, that will give support to the modern theory of Apostolical succession. Indeed, it is quite incredible that the two houses of the Southern Convocation could have given approval *unanimi consensu* to any such theory.

But this is not all. In the year 1613 was first published the famous work of Francis Mason, known as the "Vindication of the Church of England concerning the Consecration and Ordination of the Bishops," etc. I need not say that this work contains an elaborate and learned defence of the Episcopal ministry in the Anglican Church. Mason died in 1621. But the Latin translation of his book, under the title "Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," which appeared in 1625, was from his own pen. Another publication bearing his name was published in 1641. This has for its title "The Validity of the Ordinations of the Ministers of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, Maintained against the Romanists." And it is with this that we are now more especially concerned. I do not wish to make too much of it. I make no claim for it as evidence of Mason's views, because, though something may yet be said on the other side, it has been more than questioned, on unquestioned evidence, whether it rightly claimed the authority of Mason's name.²

¹ See Cardwell's "Synodalia," vol. i., p. 331.

² See Firminger's "Attitude of Church of England to Non-Episcopal Ordinations," p. 48, who says it was *spurious*, and refers to an edition of

In Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses" we have given us an extract from a letter of George Davenport to Mr. Sancroft from Paris, dated January, 1655. It runs thus: "I have learned of him [viz., the Dean of Peterborough, Dr. Cosin, whose chaplain I think he was] that the book wherein the ordination of the French Church is vindicated was made by Bishop Overall [with whom the Dean then lived], and not by Mr. Mason. Mr. Mason, indeed, added something to it with the approbation of the Bishop, and printed it in his own name at the desire of the Bishop." But then this is followed by an extract from another letter of August 6, in which it is said: "I must undeceive you about the additionals to Mr. Mason, for he [the Dean] saith, he said that the Bishop was the chief composer of the first draught of the 'Book de Minist. Anglican.,' in English, which was printed by the King's printer" (edit. Bliss, vol. ii., col. 307). And this second letter might leave us in doubt whether Overall had had anything to do with the second treatise, which was named "The Addition of T. Mason unto his Defence of the Ministry of the Church of England,"¹ either in the way of writing or of approval. This doubt, however, may seem to be removed by the following note, taken from Kennet, which will be found in col. 306: "That book, entitled 'The Defence of the Ordination of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas,' maintained by Mr. Archdeacon Mason against the Romanists, is sufficiently known, and I have been assured it was not only the judgment of Bishop Overall, but that he had a principal hand in it." If Kennet was not altogether deceived in this statement, it is not easy to suppose that the very aim of the publication was altogether contrary to Overall's principles.

The title-page of this treatise is sufficient for our purpose. It is good evidence to show what a mistake it is to imagine that when our divines are found upholding an Apostolic authority for Episcopacy, it must follow that they are denying the name of a true Church or a lawful ministry to those who have no Episcopal succession.

It would be easy to multiply quotations from this work (which is certainly the work of no mean writer) to add confirmation to this position; but I must content myself with the following extracts, which some will regard as having some special value at the present time:

Mason's work of 1728 (Translator's Preface, pp. lv-lix). It will be found, however, I believe, that while Lindsay argues strongly against the authorship of Mason, there is nothing in his argument to discredit Kennet's assurance as to Overall having a chief hand in the work. See also "Dictionary of National Biography," *sub* Mason, F., p. 418.

¹ See "Brief Treatises," p. 128.

(1) “The *Canonists* affirm it [Episcopacy] to be an *order*, the *Schoolmen* deny it. Yet Bellarmine and Scultingius avouch there is no difference between them. Because the *Canonists* call it an *order* in respect of *Regiment*: the *Schoolmen* deny it, as *Order* is a *Sacrament*. In like manner, because a *Bishop* is sanctified and set apart with *Imposition of hands* to public employment in Ecclesiastical Government, the Church of England, with your *Canonists*, call it an *order*: and yet many deny, with your *Schoolmen*, that it is *properly* an *Order*, as *Deaconship* and *Priesthood*. To which you may the rather be induced: because the Authors of the Book having spoken first of the *Ordering of Deacons*, and then of *Ordering of Priests*; when they come to the Form of Making *Bishops*, they never call it *Ordering*, but always *Consecrating*” (“Addition of Francis Mason unto his Defence of the Ministry of the Church of England,” in “Brief Treatises,” pp. 157, 158).¹

I will add one other brief quotation:

(2) “If you mean by *jure divino*, that which is according to the *Scriptures*: then the pre-eminence of Bishops is *jure divino*. . . . Secondly, if by *jure divino* you mean the ordinance of God: in this sense also it may be said to be *jure divino*.² For it is an ordinance of the *Apostles*, whereunto they were directed by *God's Spirit*. . . . But if by *jure divino* you understand a *Law and Commandment of God*, binding all *Christian Churches* universally, perpetually, unchangeably, and with *such absolute necessity*,

¹ In favour of this view (much urged afterwards by the Presbyterians) may be cited the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus*, in which the same form of ordination is found for Bishops as for Presbyters, with only the change of name (see edit. Achelis, p. 61), as well as the *Apostolic Constitutions*. And it is admitted that anciently in the Church of Rome there was no rule requiring a man to be a Presbyter before becoming a Bishop (see the “Answer of the Archbishops” to Apostolic Letter of Leo XIII., p. 24, note.)

Hooker also has been sometimes appealed to as supporting the same view. It is true he says: “Of Presbyters some were greater, some less in power, and that by our Saviour's own appointment” (“Eccles. Pol.,” book v., ch. lxxviii. 4: Works, vol. ii., p. 473; edit. Keble); and he not unfrequently speaks of the “degrees of ecclesiastical order” (see pp. 473, 477, 480, 482). But the evidence can hardly be said to be conclusive.

It should be well observed that a change was made in 1662, and instead of the words “And every man which is to be consecrated a Bishop,” we now read “ordained or consecrated Bishop.”

To this it should be added that, whereas Acts xx. 27, 28 had been found in one of the Epistles in the Ordination of Priests, and an argument had been built upon this for an *Episcopal* authority given therein to Presbyters “to rule the congregation of God,” a change was made at the last review, by which this portion of Scripture, as well as the alternative Epistle, containing 1 Tim. iii. 1, was withdrawn from this service, and transferred to the Ordering of Bishops (see Firminger's “Alterations in Ordinal,” pp. 15, 16, 31-35; S.P.C.K.); and a change regarded as of similar import was made in the Litany (*ibid.*, pp. 14, 15).

Indeed, it can scarcely be doubted that the general tendency of the changes of 1662 was rather to emphasize the superiority of the *Episcopal* Order, as against the Presbyterian contention that “both Orders were the same according to our own Ordinal” (see Prideaux, as quoted by Firminger, pp. 26, 27), the Presbytery being regarded as essentially *Episcopal*.

² See Sanderson's Works, vol. v., pp. 153, 161, 191; Oxford, 1854.

that no other form of regiment in any case may be admitted in this sense, neither may we grant it, nor yet can you prove it, to be *jure divino*" ("Addition of Francis Mason unto his Defence of the Ministry of the Church of England," in "Brief Treatises," p. 163).

(3) "Whereinsoever their *discipline* [i.e., of Calvin and Beza] is defective, we wish them, even in the bowels of Christ Jesus, by all possible means to redress and reform it; and to conform themselves to the ancient custom of the *Church of Christ*, which hath continued from the *Apostles'* time: that so they may remove all opinion of *singularity*, and stop the mouth of malice itself. Thus much concerning the *Ministers* of other *Reformed Churches*: wherein if you do not believe us, disputing for the *lawfulness* of their *calling*; yet you must give us leave to believe *God* Himself from heaven approving their ministry, and pouring down a Blessing upon their labours" (*ibid.*, pp. 175, 176).

I will only add here, for it may carry weight with some, that in 1641 this treatise was published, bound up with other treatises by various authors (including Hooker, Andrewes, Ussher, Drury), under the general title, "Certain Brief Treatises written by Diverse Learned Men, concerning the Ancient and Modern Government of the Church, wherein both the Primitive Institution of Episcopacy is maintained and the Lawfulness of the Ordination of the Protestant Ministers beyond the Seas likewise defended" (Oxford: printed by Leonard Lichfield, printer to the University; Anno Dom., 1641).¹ But I forbear to press the argument from this publication, since it is, of course, quite possible that Kennet may have been misinformed as to Overall's connection with it. As bearing on Overall's views, I would desire to say: Let its evidence fall out of sight altogether, if the reader should feel that a cloud of doubt obscures the view of its force, or if there should appear testimony from any quarter, making Kennet's report incredible. The *onus probandi*, indeed, rests with those who would discredit Kennet's assurance. But my statement concerning Overall does not, I think, need anything in the way of support to be added to that which I have now to adduce.

For I must proceed at once to say what needs to be said in defence of what I had stated as to Overall's expressing a willingness "to admit to an English benefice one who had been ordained by the Presbytery at Leyden." This statement appeared, I think, to my critic to be scarcely credible. The following extract is therefore given from Birch's "Life of

¹ This publication appears to have speedily attained to considerable notoriety (see Wood's "Athenæ Oxon." vol. ii., c. c. 306, 307). Milton replied to it in two tracts with vehement warmth. Archbishop Ussher contributed two treatises, the first of which, entitled "The Original of Bishops and Metropolitans," was written at the request of Bishop Hall, and was especially the object of Milton's attack. (See Elrington's "Life of Ussher," pp. 224, 225, and Appendix VII., p. cliv.)

Archbishop Tillotson (London, 1752; pp. 185, 186): “Dr. De Laune, who translated the *English* Liturgy into *French*, being collated to a living, and coming to the Bishop [Overall], then at *Norwich*, with his presentation, his Lordship asked him where he had his orders. He answered that he was ordained by the Presbytery at *Leyden*. The Bishop upon this advised him to take the opinion of Council whether by the laws of *England* he was capable of a benefice without being ordained by a Bishop. The Doctor replied that he thought his Lordship would be unwilling to re-ordain him if his Council should say that he was not otherwise capable of the living by law. The Bishop rejoined: ‘*Re-ordination* we must not admit, no more than a *re-baptization*. But in case you find it doubtful, whether you be a Priest capable to receive a benefice among us or no, I will do the same office for you, if you desire it, that I should do for one who doubts of his Baptism, when all things belonging essentially unto it have not been duly observed in the administration of it, according to the rule of the Book of Common Prayer, *If thou hast not already*,¹ etc. Yet, for mine own part, if you will adventure the orders that you have, I will admit your presentation, and give you institution into the living howsoever.’ But the title which this presentation had from the patron proving not good, there were no farther proceedings in it; yet afterwards Dr. De Laune was admitted into another benefice without any new ordination.”

This is followed immediately by another narrative, which I say nothing about, because *that* appears to rest upon no

¹ In Ireland Archbishop Bramhall desired to meet the difficulties of Presbyterian incumbents in a somewhat similar way (see Vesey's “*Life of Bramhall*,” as quoted in Soames's edition of Mosheim's “*Eccles. Hist.*,” vol. iv., p. 283). We have a copy of the words inserted by him in the letters of a Presbyterian minister ordained by him, as follows: “*Non annihilantes priores ordines (si quos habuit), nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines sacros ecclesiarum forinsecarum condemnantes, quos proprio judici relinquimus: sed solummodo supplettes, quicquid prius deficit per canones Ecclesie Anglicane requisitum; et providentes paci Ecclesie, ut schismatis tollatur occasio, et conscientiis fidelium satisfiat, nec ullo modo dubitent de ejus ordinatione, aut actus suos Presbyterales tanquam invalidos avertentur: in cujus rei testimonium,*” etc. Yet, if I mistake not, Bramhall could use language which comes nearer than that of any other Anglican divine in its pointing towards something like the modern theory connected with “*succession*.”

An esteemed Bishop of our own days declared: “I have received men from other communions, and I tell them I pass no judgment on their former position. . . . Archbishop Leighton was originally in Presbyterian orders, but distinctly tells us he conceived that taking priest's orders in the Church of England did not reflect on his former ordination” (Bishop Suter, of Nelson, N.Z., “*Recognition*,” p. 11—address at Derby Church Congress, 1882).

satisfactory evidence, whereas *this* is attested by "Mr. John Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and secretary to Bishop Overall," in a letter preserved by "Sir Thomas Burnet, Knt., one of His Majesty's Justices of the Common Pleas." I think, therefore, it will be admitted that there is satisfactory evidence to support all that I stated with regard to Bishop Overall.

But it need not be supposed that this instance stands alone. Although Whitgift refused to yield to the pleas of Travers,¹ we learn that Archbishop Grindal in 1582 licensed Morrison, who had been ordained by Presbyters in Scotland (see Cardwell's "Doc. Annals," vol. ii., p. 4). And we know that Lord Bacon regarded those as "indiscreet persons" who went so far as to pronounce men ordained in foreign parts as "no lawful ministers" (quoted by Goode, "Brotherly Communion," p. 24). Indeed, there seems no reason to question the assertion made by competent witnesses that "instances may be given down to the time of the civil wars of foreigners holding preferment without Episcopal ordination" (see Cardwell, "Doc. Annals," vol. ii., p. 4, and Goode, "Brotherly Communion," p. 18). We have the authority of Bishop Burnet for saying that before the Act of Uniformity of 1662 "those who came to England from the foreign Churches had not been required to be ordained among us" ("History of Our Times," vol. i., p. 183; see Goode's "Brotherly Communion," p. 18). And we are told, on the authority of Bishop Hall (Works, vol. ix., pp. 160, 161), that where any scruple arose, it was only as to the question what "the statutes of this realm do require." "They had been acknowledged ministers of Christ, without any other hands laid upon them."

¹ It would be a mistake to infer from this that Whitgift held exceptionally high views on the subject of Episcopacy. He does, indeed, argue that "the right of ordering and electing ministers doth appertain to the Bishop" (Works, vol. i., p. 428, P.S.; see also pp. 425, 426, 439, and vol. ii., p. 261); and, again, he says: "It may appear that it seemeth strange neither to the old writers, nor to the new, to say that Bishops succeed the Apostles and come in place of them" (vol. ii., p. 355; see also p. 290, and Strype, "Memorials of Whitgift," vol. ii., pp. 170, 171); yet he grants "that *quoad ministerium* they [Bishops and Presbyters] be all one, but that there be degrees of dignity" (vol. ii., p. 261; see also pp. 222, 254, P.S.).

See also Stillingfleet's "Irenicum," pp. 394, 395 (London, 1662)*; where see also the testimony of Hooker, Bridges, Sutcliffe, and Crakanthorp, against the view of any form of Church government being by the Scriptures prescribed to the Church of God.

N. DIMOCK.

(To be continued.)

ART. III.—CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

“ORGANIZED Christianity has probably done more to retard the ideals that were its Founder’s than any other agency whatever.” Such is the verdict of a not undistinguished literary man who has devoted a small volume to the subject of religion. And however indisposed we may be to endorse the criticism, we can hardly blind ourselves to the element of truth which underlies it. The Christianity of Christ and the Christianity of Christendom are certainly not quite identical.

For instance, a very competent observer thus describes the condition of religion in the Greek Church: “Intercourse with God is achieved through the cult of a mystery, and by means of hundreds of efficacious formulas, small and great, signs, pictures, and consecrated acts, which, if punctiliously and submissively observed, communicate Divine grace and prepare the Christian for eternal life. Doctrine as such is, for the most part, something unknown; if it appears at all, it is only in the form of liturgical aphorisms. For 99 per cent. of these Christians religion exists only as a ceremonious ritual, in which it is externalized. . . . Over the vast area of Greek and Oriental Christendom religion has been almost stifled by ritualism. It is not that religion has sacrificed its essential elements. No! it has entered an entirely different plane; it has descended to the level where religion may be described as a cult and nothing but a cult.”

If we turn from this picture of the Eastern Church to Western Christendom, we find the Roman Church continuing in that path of fatal error originally entered when she took a pagan empire as model for the organization of a spiritual kingdom—a kingdom, according to its Founder, “not of this world.” The great Church of the West, in every age, has made an idol of power, and dragged the everlasting principles of righteousness and truth and love at the chariot wheels of expediency and ambition. Even our own generation has seen the Papal Curia prostituting its enormous opportunities, falsifying history, defending the indefensible, and concocting new articles of faith, while it crushes the saving spirit of inquiry and of reform, however reasonably embodied.

But neither of these Churches of East or West is our present subject. Let us come at once to our own Church of England. What signs are to be seen here of the fulfilment of that great mission committed to the Christian Church in

every land—the mission of keeping the original Christian spirit free and effective amid the stifling influences of organization and the dissipating influences of development?

Two points upon the surface suggest hope. In the first place, Canterbury is happily free from the fatal spell which keeps Rome for ever dreaming of earthly sovereignty. In the next place, circumstances fortunately prevented England from resisting the resistless wave of the Reformation, as Russia and Italy and Spain did, to their plain and obvious loss. But there is a reverse side to this shield. These benefits have been expensive. The free play of thought and learning, especially of little learning and of hasty thought, have left very awkward issues. We may not be unprincipled, we may not be obscurantist; but we have many faults and sins to lament and, if it may be, to remedy. We, too, as well as Rome and Russia, have in past days persecuted people for their opinions, and we reap the fruits in “the dissidence of dissent.” Even to-day we quarrel among ourselves, and add to the confusion of Christendom by putting our party before our Church, and our Church before our Christianity, after the manner of those sorry politicians who forget their patriotism. We have not checked our exuberant individualism, and in the resolve not to submit to what we think unauthorized authority we have grown impatient of any authority at all. There are those among us who remain enamoured of a medievalism which they mistake for catholicity. They prefer the smoke of their will-worship to the virtue of obedience and the blessing of peace. Others, with a curious blindness, have no eyes but for the Puritan traces remaining in our formularies, and on this narrow basis they would erect a system to prove Protestant a greater name than Catholic. Some, too, there seem to be who forget that liberty may degenerate into license while they play fast and loose with really fundamental truth.

Now, such mistakes undoubtedly tend to obscure that witness which the English Church should be continually bearing to the paramount importance of essential Christianity. Though, indeed, we are not tied and bound, as is the Roman Church, to a system of spiritual absolutism which every page of history convicts of falsehood; though we have not remained, like the Eastern Church, precisely where we were a thousand years ago; though our formularies specifically acknowledge the errancy of Churches; though our theology and our popular religion are daily growing more Christocentric, we still persist in paying an enormous price for the movement among us of life and thought in the hard coin of our “unhappy divisions.”

Thirty years ago a great German doctor of theology thus

diagnosed our plight: "The most painful disease of the English Church," he wrote, "is the internal rivalry and antagonism of parties and systems, and the harassing uncertainty for clergy and laity which results. The divergence of views between different parties in this Church is greater than any which separates it from the Greek and Latin Churches, if the three are judged by their formal standards." Since Dr. Dollinger penned those words a generation has passed, and some amelioration in the symptoms may be thankfully allowed. But how far are we still from a Christian management of our differences! How far even from loyalty to the old rule of unity in essentials, liberty in what is doubtful, charity in all!

Could not all parties make a more determined effort, at least, after a larger measure of "goodwill"? Might not the Catholic party more entirely eschew that attitude of arrogant assumption which is at once the cheapest and unworthiest of Roman imitations? Surely, too, it might be more careful, when trying to define what is Catholic, to slur neither the *semper* nor the *omnibus* of the Vincentian rule! And then the Evangelicals: have they always studiously recollected that wise counsel of a prophet of their own "to give to every portion of God's Word its full and proper force, without considering what scheme it favours, or whose system it is likely to advance"? Have they shown the sympathy one might have hoped with Charles Simeon's energetic wish "that names and parties were buried in eternal oblivion"? Alas! the prophet's insight is not entailed upon his sons, and the living principles of a leader degenerate too easily into the shibboleths of his school.

And what of those whom neither of these two groups include, though many of them have been content to learn from both? The leaven of Maurice and Kingsley and Robertson, of Lightfoot and Westcott, has not lost its savour, though it seldom becomes loudly articulate, and owns no weekly newspaper. Every good man is said to be subject to the defects of his qualities; if so, *a fortiori* every school of men. The true mission of this section of the Church of England is to influence the rest, to share its culture with the Evangelical, and to temper with its principles of reason the blind worship of traditional authority. In that mission it can only succeed by following the example of its most distinguished men, and "seeking not its own." If Broad Churchmen form a party even out of their non-partisanship, they do despite to the spirit which justifies their existence, and belie the principles which constitute their strength. Let them accept a humbler rôle, as far greater as it is more Christlike. They are

commonly credited with a measure of brains. Let these be used not needlessly to accentuate divergence, but to discover points of contact, and particularly to make more common ground of that higher intellectual standpoint from which differences in abstruse dogma and intricate ceremonial cease to be regarded as matters of life and death. Above all, let them magnify the Spirit, neither offensively parading nor cowardly concealing the holy liberty He brings, and ever following unflinchingly "all truth" into which He only—the Spirit of the living God—is the promised and the all-sufficient Guide.

I have lately come across these words, spoken some thirty years ago by Kesub Chunder Sen, a member of the reformed Brahmin body: "To be a Christian, then, is to be Christlike. Christianity means becoming like Christ, not acceptance of Christ as a proposition or as an outward representation, but spiritual conformity with the life and character of Christ. And what is Christ? By Christ I understand One who said, 'Thy will be done'; and when I talk of Christ I talk of that spirit of loyalty to God, of absolute determinedness and preparedness to say at all times and in all circumstances, 'Thy will be done, not mine. . . .' Allow me, my friends, to say that England is not yet a Christian nation."

If now we turn from the Indian Brahmin's criticism of the Nation to the late Bishop of London's recent criticism of the Church, the parallelism is, to say the least, significant. Here is one of Bishop Mandell Creighton's last appeals: "I wish I could say that the Church had been doing its best to teach aright the English people. Unfortunately, it has only been reproducing in its own quarrels the temper that prevails. Just in the point where an example was most needed it has not been given. The Church has adopted the methods of politics. It has presented the appearance of parties contending against one another. It has injured its spiritual influence by descending to trivial disputes. It has not shown the English people a higher spirit or a better way. Instead of trying to educate the popular temper, the Church has adopted it, and has set before the public eye the familiar spectacle of bodies of Englishmen desperately determined to have their own way by every means in their power."

Is there not indeed a sadly significant agreement between the Brahmin and the Bishop? The one points to unself-will as the leading virtue of the Christianity of Christ, the other singles out the lack of it as the most baneful defect of the English Church. "I would beseech you," concludes Bishop Creighton, "to think of this in the presence of God, and to remember that if the Church fails to set forth to the

world a higher spirit than the world can produce it fails altogether."

Now is not that precisely the point? By some means or other this *higher spirit than the world can produce* is not the distinguishing trait of the representative Churches of Christendom, however it may honourably distinguish some individual members in all of them. Yet who can read his New Testament and not be absolutely sure that to produce that higher spirit, and to infect mankind with that higher spirit, was the precise object for which the Church of Christ was founded and Christianity given to the world? Christendom, in fact, has been so "cumbered about many things" these centuries past that she has too seldom chosen the "better part," and too often forgotten the "one thing needful." The Christianity of Christ and His Apostles, who "turned the world upside down," was exhibited as a moral and spiritual power quick and strong to change the heart and mould the life. The Christianity of Christendom in later ages appears rather as a system elaborated to meet the requirements of the logical intellect, the supposed needs of some past historical crisis, or even the ambitious desires of some ecclesiastical hierarchy. Thus the essential Christ-Spirit has become so hampered and obscured as to be rarely effective and often impossible to recognise.

Instead of remembering the Master's warning, "The words that I speak, they are Spirit and they are Life," and treating His doctrine accordingly, the Church seems to have treated it as though it were body rather than Spirit, and not living but dead. And so it has been buried—buried with pomp and circumstance, no doubt, with much outward show of reverence, with ceremonies which allow something of the actual form to be traced, even with costly spices and elaborate embalming, yet buried so truly that if you look in the latest modern dictionary¹ you will read thus: "Christianity—Conformity to the teaching of Christ in life and conduct. (Rare.)" In a few years time—one more generation, perhaps, at the present rate of retrogression—we shall no doubt read, instead of "rare," obsolete.

W. LEIGHTON GRANE.

¹ "The Century Dictionary."



ART. IV.—ARE PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD SUPERSTITIOUS?

SUPERSTITION has been defined to be excessive fear of God, or unreasonable or unwarrantable religious belief. Dr. Johnson says it is "the observance of unnecessary and uncommanded rites or practices." It is clear, therefore, that as men's opinions have changed, so, what has been deemed to amount to superstition has varied at different times and in different places. Under the Roman Empire the Christian religion was considered a pernicious superstition—*exitiosa superstitio*—while the pagan rites and ceremonies which prevailed all over the civilized world of that day were deemed pious and good. Again, when the change of religion took place in this country in the sixteenth century, much that had up to then been considered pure and undefiled religion became superstitious. The Reformation divines looked upon the Bible as the sole test. A doctrine or practice which had not its warrant of God's word was considered superstitious. The views of the Reformers were formulated in articles, homilies, and books of prayer, and were in that form adopted and enforced by the State as being the true religion. The supremacy of the Bible, which may be called the fundamental rule of Protestantism, was embodied in Article VI., which is as follows: "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." Thus, for example, Archbishop Sandys says: "Shall we teach purgatory and prayer to the dead or for the dead? To be short, shall we teach the *doctrine of men*?" I do not, however, propose now to consider the question from the theological standpoint so much as from the legal point of view. What was pious and what was not, from the time of the Reformation was regulated by the law of the land, and until the Toleration Acts came into operation the rites of a religion not sanctioned by law were superstitious, and the use of property for the propagation of the rites of any such religion was termed a superstitious use. Thus, before the days of toleration a gift to maintain the doctrines of the Church of Scotland in England would be superstitious, and in like manner a gift to maintain and educate ministers to be sent into Scotland to propagate the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England there was held to be superstitious, and this although both Churches were Protestant and differed only on minor

points. A gift for religious purposes has, therefore, always been very closely scrutinized, for if the use be superstitious the gift goes either to the Crown, the next of kin, the heir at law, or to charitable purposes of a like character, according to circumstances. Also the monarch is by the common law obliged, and for that purpose entrusted and empowered, to see that nothing be done to the disherison of the Crown or the propagation of a false religion, and to that end is entitled to pray a discovery of a trust to a superstitious use (1 Salk. 162). It was a very serious question "what they in those times thought to be the service of God." It is not surprising, therefore, that there have been since the Reformation a very large number of cases decided at law as to the validity of such gifts, and among them none are more frequent than gifts for prayers for the souls of the departed. These, in spite of the toleration extended to Roman Catholics by legislation of the present century, are still held to be superstitious in England, though not in Ireland.

The cases principally arose on the construction of the Act 1 Edward VI., c. 14, the fifth section of which gave to the King all lands devoted to the founding or maintenance of any anniversary, or obit, or other like thing, intent, or purpose; and by many decisions it was decided that praying for souls was a like intent and purpose as an anniversary or obit within the meaning of the Act, although not to be performed by a priest or in any chapel (*per* Cottenham, L. C. 5, *M. and C.* 11). This construction would not (in accordance with the principle I have laid down) have been put upon the Act at the date of its passing, as then prayers for the dead were not only lawful in the Church, but enjoined, nor while the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. was in force—*i.e.*, up to 1552 A.D. But in that year the second Prayer-Book of Edward was issued under statutory authority, and from it the formal prayers for the departed were completely expunged, and also all passages which might be supposed to countenance such prayers—at least, so the Reformers thought; and to establish this position, I will go through a few of the more prominent authorities, and give passages from the works of contemporary writers, for, in order to show what was done at the Reformation, it is necessary to go to the works of those who lived at the time and took an actual part in the momentous events which then occurred. It is of no use to cite the views of Laud and the Caroline divines who lived a hundred years afterwards. Some of the latter, it is true, advocated prayers for the dead, but in so doing they were advocating dissenting opinions—they were contravening the opinion received in the Church and laid down by law; and one of the most celebrated of them, Bishop

Cosin, gives this very halting testimony—that such prayers ought to be used, although “it cannot be exactly and distinctly declared what benefit the dead receive by these prayers which the living make for them” (“Works,” v. 375). But the Reformers are unanimous in their testimony, and their views are perhaps nowhere better stated than by Bishop Miles Coverdale in “An Exhortation to the carrying of Christ’s Cross” (1554) as follows: “Throughout the canonical books of the Old and New Testament we find neither precept nor ensample of praying for any when they be departed this life, but as men die so shall they arise.” “We may well see, if we will, that as prayer for the dead is not available or profitable to the dead, so is it of us not allowable or to be exercised. For as they that are departed are past our prayers, being either in joy or in misery, as is above showed, even so we, having for it no word of God, whereupon faith leaneth, cannot but sin in doing it, in that we do it not of faith because we have no word of God for it.” These passages have been attributed by some to the martyr Bradford, but the views of the Reformers are generally expressed in similar terms.

Archbishop Cranmer as early as 1549 says: “The Scripture maketh mention of two places where the dead be received after this life, of heaven and hell, but of purgatory is not one word spoken.” “They that be dead be past the time of repentance.” “God hath promised by his word that the souls of the just be in God’s hand, and no pain shall touch them” (“Answer to the Fifteen Articles of the Devon Rebels”). Bishop Latimer also, in his sermon on the Day of Judgment, which was preached on the Second Sunday in Advent, 1552, is very emphatic on the question: “I tell you,” he says, “that though His general coming be not yet, yet for all that He will come one day and take us out of this world, and no doubt as He finds us, so we shall have; if He find us ready and in a state of salvation, no doubt we shall be saved for ever, world without end. Again, if He find us in the state of damnation, we shall be damned, world without end. There is no remedy after we are once past this world; no penance will help then, nor anything that man is able to do for us.”

The views of the divines who were in authority during the early years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth are just as clear. Thus, Bishop Jewel, the celebrated author of the “Apology,” says plainly that prayer for the dead is “mere superstitious and utterly without warrant of God’s Word” (“Works,” ii. 743). Also Dr. Guest, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, a very learned man, and accounted one of the highest Churchmen of the time among the Reformers, was (in 1559) one of the persons

appointed to revise the old Prayer-Book and prepare a new one. One of the questions debated was: "Whether it be not convenient to continue the use of praying for the dead in the Communion" (Strype, "Annals," i. 121). Guest's remarks upon this, addressed to Sir Wm. Cecil, are as follows: "That praying for the dead is not now used in the Communion, because it doth seem to make for the sacrifice of the dead. And also because, as it was used in the first book, it makes some of the faithful to be in heaven and to need no mercy; and some of them to be in another place and to lack help and mercy. As though they were not all alike redeemed and brought to heaven by Christ's merits; but some deserved it, as it is said of martyrs; and some, for lack of such perfectness, were in purgatory, as it is spoken of the meaner sort. But thus to pray for the dead in the Communion was not used in Christ and his Apostles' time nor in Justin's time, who, speaking of the manner of using the Communion, reporteth not this" (Strype, "Annals," ii. 462).

In July, 1559, Henry II., the King of France, died, and, according to the custom of the times, his obsequies were solemnly observed in St. Paul's Cathedral on September 8 and 9, the funeral pomp beginning on the eve of one day and finishing on the morning of the day following. A full account is given of the ceremonies in Strype ("Annals," i. 187 *et seq.*), and is especially interesting at the present time, as these solemnities have been adduced as a precedent for a requiem Mass recently held for her late Majesty Queen Victoria, whereas the records show that prayers for the dead were not allowed even on such a State occasion, and at such a transition period as this. It is recorded that the funeral ceremonies were not such as were then lately used under popery, the grosser superstitions being omitted. Thus on Friday, September 8, when the hearse was solemnly brought into the church, and every man placed, whereas the ancient custom was for one of the heralds to bid aloud the prayer for the soul of the party departed, saying, "Pray for the soul of," etc., now there was an alteration in the words, for York herald, standing at the upper choir door, bade the prayer (as it used to be called, but now more properly the praise), first in English and after in French, "Benoist soit eternal," etc., "Blessed be the King of eternal glory, who through His Divine mercy hath translated the most high puissant and victorious Prince, Henry II., late the French King, from this earthly to His heavenly kingdom," which words he used again at the end of *Benedictus* and at the end of the service, and again on the morrow at the times accustomed. Certain psalms of praise were sung for the departure of the dead in

the faith of Christ. The Bishop-elect of Hereford (Dr. Scory) preached. His sermon is not extant, but seeing that he preached instead of Dr. Grindal (who was ill), and in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and all the magnates of the realm, it may be assumed that the doctrines enunciated in it were similar to those contained in Bishop Grindal's sermon on the similar occasion of the death of the Emperor Ferdinand in 1564, reference to which will be made later on; but Strype records that Bishop Scory pointed out how the service "was to give praise to God for taking away their brother in the faith of Christ." This account shows the view held at the very beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and that prayers for the dead were eliminated from the memorial service for a Roman Catholic potentate. In this transition period and at a State ceremonial it would not have been surprising if they had been retained for the nonce. But by the year 1564 the question seems to have been placed beyond all doubt. In that year the Emperor Ferdinand died, and a funeral solemnity of a similar character to that already described was held in St. Paul's on October 3. Dr. Grindal, then Bishop of London, preached a long and eloquent sermon on the occasion, wherein he remarked that whatever the religion of the Emperor was, "this solemn action for memorial of him may very well be used notwithstanding," but he said there would no doubt be two contrary judgments as to the same. "The one part will say there is too little done, the other will say there is too much. The first part (*i.e.*, the Papists) will allege that although they cannot but confess the action to be done very honourably and with much magnificency, yet the principal matter of all is wanting (will they say): for here is an honourable memorial of the Emperor Ferdinandus, but here is (say they) no prayer for the soul of Ferdinandus. To those I answer that the Holy Scriptures, the word of God, is the candle and the lantern for our steps. By it we ought to direct our steps if we will please God; without it we walk in darkness, and know not whither we go. But first of all in the Scriptures we find no commandment to pray for the souls departed, unless they will cite the place of the Book of Machabees." The learned Bishop then proceeds to state that the Books of Maccabees are not canonical, and that the well-known passage, "It is a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead," "is suspected to have been corrupted of purpose by some addition put to many years after. For most certain it is if prayer for the dead had been so necessary as many nowadays would have it seem, it had not lacked all authority and example of the canonical Scriptures, as it doth." Bishop Grindal then proceeds to deal

with the writings of the Fathers, and says that although in some of them "there is mention of praying for the dead, yet it is in a far other meaning with them than the schoolmen and other of the latter time, being men ignorant in the tongues and other good learnings, have collected and gathered of them. For it is manifest that those holy Fathers meant nothing less than by praying for those that were departed to establish purgatory or third place, without the which neither the Pope himself nor any of his clergy would anything at all contend for praying for the dead. For the terror of purgatory being taken away, their gain would cease, and withal their prayer for the dead, invented for filthy lucre, were at an end. For it is confessed of all men that if there be no third place, prayer for the dead is in vain, for those that be in heaven need it not, those that be in hell cannot be holpen by it, so that it needeth not or booteth not, as the old proverb goeth. If the ancient Fathers, therefore, when they pray for the dead, mean of the dead which are already in heaven, and not elsewhere, then must we need by their prayer understand either thanksgiving, or else take such petitions for the dead (as they be indeed in some places) for figures of eloquence or exornation of their style and oration rather than necessary grounds of reason of any doctrine" (Archbishop Grindal's "Remains," pp. 23-25). Dr. Grindal, as Archbishop, first of York and afterwards of Canterbury, issued various injunctions on the subject, of which the following is one: The churchwardens shall see "that no month minds or yearly commemorations of the dead, nor any other superstitious ceremonies, be observed or used which tend either to the maintenance of prayer for the dead or of the Popish purgatory" ("Remains," p. 136).

Such passages from contemporary Bishops, whose duty it was to understand and administer the law, could easily be multiplied, but suffice it to quote the following from Whitgift, the last of the Elizabethan Archbishops. Writing towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, he says: "I do not think any to be so simple that, hearing the manner and form of burying our dead, can or will imagine that we pray for the dead" ("Works," p. 366). And, again: "It is a manifest untruth to maintain that we pray for the dead."

This overwhelming body of opinion is in accord with the legal formularies of the Church. Thus the Twenty-second Article of Religion declared the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory to be a fond thing vainly invented and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God; and the Anglican doctrine is expounded in more detail in the official exposition of Church teaching—the Homilies—in which we are exhorted not to "dream any more

that the souls of the dead are anything at all holpen by our prayers, but as the Scripture teacheth us let us think that the soul of man passing out of the body goeth straightways either to heaven or else to hell whereof the one needeth no prayer and the other is without redemption." "Let us not, therefore, dream either of purgatory or of prayer for the souls of them that be dead."

The courts of law therefrom, from the first Elizabeth down to the present day, have been of opinion that there had been a change of doctrine on this point, and that prayers for the dead had become illegal, and therefore superstitious at common law, and, further, that they were a "like intent and purpose" under the Act of 1 Edward VI. The attempts, therefore, of extremists—the ultra High Church on the one hand, and the ultra Protestants on the other—to torture out of certain isolated passages of the Prayer-Book a recognition of prayers for the dead have failed. They are sufficiently answered by the attitude taken up by the legal and ecclesiastical authorities during the reign of Elizabeth, and at no subsequent revision of the Prayer-Book has any alteration been made. Indeed, the insertion of prayers for the dead was actually proposed in 1662, considered, and finally rejected.

But although *public* prayer for the departed is clearly illegal, it has been argued that such prayers in *private* (if unconnected with the Romish doctrine of purgatory), though discouraged by the Church, are not actually forbidden, and are, therefore, not illegal. This view has the high authority of a former Dean of Arches, the late Sir Herbert Jenner-Fust, who gave a decision to this effect in the case of *Brecks v. Woolfrey*. His decision has great weight, for he himself (as the writer was informed by his son, the late Bishop Jenner) held personally a strong belief that prayers for the dead are useless and improper. The case in question was one in which a Roman Catholic widow erected a tombstone in a Church of England churchyard to her deceased husband, and placed on the stone an inscription containing the words, "Pray for the soul of —" and the well-known text from the Apocrypha (already referred to): "It is a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead." The judge declined to order the inscription to be removed, on the ground that there was nothing to show that the prayers were invited for a soul in purgatory, and that prayers for souls not in purgatory were not illegal in the Church of England, though discouraged by it. The following extract will show his method of dealing with the question: "Praying for the dead is a practice of much earlier date than the introduction of the doctrine of purgatory. The prayers by primitive Christians for the

souls of the departed were offered with a different intention from those who profess the Roman religion. The object of such prayers with the latter was to relieve the souls of the departed from the pains of purgatory. That of the former was that the souls might have rest and quiet in the interval between death and the resurrection, and that at the Last Day they might receive the perfect consummation of bliss; but certainly such prayers had no reference to a state of suffering in which the souls were supposed to be during the intermediate time." This judgment, therefore, contradicts the Reformers, who (as we have seen) said that prayer for the dead among the early Christians meant praise for the dead. It also draws a very subtle distinction between degrees of pain. It imagines that in the interval between death and the resurrection the souls of the faithful departed may be in what the learned Collier calls "a state of imperfect bliss"—*i.e.*, in a state of comparative unhappiness or distress—a state, at any rate, in which prayers may improve their condition; but that if the souls are believed to be in a state of actual suffering, then the prayers become unlawful. Surely, the greater the supposed distress the greater the need (assuming them to be of any use at all) of our prayers. And in any case the distinction between a "third place" in which the soul of the departed lacks "rest and quiet," and a "third place" in which it "suffers," is subtle in the extreme. A vague belief in purgatory of some sort is inseparable from the practice of praying for the dead. It will be noticed that Sir Herbert Jenner-Fust, in order to make way for the new doctrine, deposes the definite teaching of the Church (in its Homily) and also that of the Reformation divines, but it must be remembered that his decision affects private prayers only, and does not in any way sanction public prayers for the dead, or interpret any of the public prayers as being prayers for the dead; and he also states that the Church of England discourages such prayers. But if the learned Dean's judgment were good law we should expect to have found in all cases, since the Reformation, of gifts for prayers for souls an inquiry directed by the judge whether the prayers intended were merely private prayers not involving the doctrine of purgatory, in which case the gift should have been held to be not superstitious. But I find no trace of this point ever being raised until after the decision of *Brecks v. Woolfrey* in 1838, when the following argument was addressed to the court without effect: "Prayers for the souls of the dead are not even contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England (*Brecks v. Woolfrey*); how, then, can a gift for such prayers be an illegal use?"

It seems clear, therefore, that this distinction, though well-

known to, and acted upon by, High Churchmen of post-Elizabethan days, was unknown to the law of Church and State up to the date of this judgment of *Brecks v. Woolfrey*.

The question as to what is the Anglican doctrine lies at the root of the whole matter, and explains another argument which is not without its weight. In the earlier sets of Articles framed when the Reformation doctrines were in a transition state, "prayers for the dead" *eo nomine* were expressly condemned. The words were subsequently struck out, and do not appear in the Twenty-second of the Thirty-nine Articles. This has been regarded by some as an indication that the Church had changed its mind in the interval, and finally, in 1571, decided to allow prayers for the dead. But that it was not so is shown by the fact that about that time the Homilies were set forth by authority, and expressly stated the doctrine of the Church to be that there was no intermediate state in which the souls of the dead could be in any way aided by prayer. The Romish doctrine at the same date was that there is a purgatory (the nature and position of which it leaves undefined), and that the suffrages of the faithful, and especially the Mass, are helpful to the souls therein. The Romish Church itself does not allow prayers for souls in heaven or hell. They only pray for souls in purgatory—*i.e.*, according to the catechism now in use among Roman Catholics in England, "a place where souls suffer for a time after death on account of their sins." That there was a *fourth* place—*i.e.*, a place which is neither heaven, hell, nor purgatory—does not seem to have entered the heads of our Reformers, nor of any of the sixteenth-century controversialists, nor of the judges of our courts of law. Thus, the Homily says there are *only two* places after this life—heaven and hell—and asks, after quoting Scripture, Where is, then, the third place which they call purgatory? or where shall our prayers help and profit the dead? It seems clear, therefore, that when the Reformers condemned the "Romish doctrine concerning purgatory," in Article XXII., they considered they had condemned the practice of praying for the dead in any shape or form.

There is another law case which bears upon this question—*viz.*, the "Essays and Reviews" decision of the Privy Council. The doctrine of the Church of England being supposed to be that after death "there is no place for repentance nor yet for satisfaction," exception was taken to an essay in which the following passage occurs: "We must rather entertain a hope that there shall be found after the great adjudication receptacles suitable for those who shall be infants, not as to years of terrestrial life, but as to spiritual development—nurseries, as it were, where the stunted may become strong and the per-

verted be restored. And when the Christian Church in all its branches shall have fulfilled its sublunary office, and its Founder shall have surrendered His kingdom to the great Father, all, both small and great, shall find a refuge in the bosom of the Universal Parent, to repose or be quickened into higher life in the ages to come, according to His will." The question for the court in this case was whether this statement was in accord with certain passages from the Prayer-Book set out in the pleadings. The Homilies by consent were not included, and the Privy Council held that they did not find in those particular formularies any such distinct declaration of our Church as to the eternity of final judgment as to require them to condemn as penal the expression of hope by a clergyman that even the ultimate pardon of the wicked who are condemned in the day of judgment may be consistent with the will of Almighty God. The effect of this, shortly, is that hell is converted into purgatory.

To sum up. The Homily contains (as Article XXXV. says) a godly and wholesome doctrine—in short, the doctrine of the Church of England at the time of the Reformation. Such doctrine is in accord with the Prayer-Book. No change has been made in the Prayer-Book which has had the effect of altering the doctrine, and every attempt to effect such a change has been defeated. The courts of law and equity have always considered prayers for the dead superstitious and gifts for them illegal. But it is not illegal to pray for the dead in private (though such a practice is discouraged by the Church), provided such prayers are not for souls in "suffering"—*i.e.*, "purgatory"—and also there are no penal consequences for those who, in effect, express the belief that hell is not hell, but merely purgatory.

BENJAMIN WHITEHEAD.



ART. V.—THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

II. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE.

THE study of its past history and present vitality compels the conviction that the Scottish Episcopal Church has a great future before it. The vision of ever-widening influence and ever-increasing usefulness becomes very real when measured by the standard of progress recorded in recent years, and by the scale of activity which distinguishes every department of the Church's work at the present time. To this statement the reply may be made that the future is a quantity unknown and

unknowable, and that speculative theories are not arguments. This may be at once conceded. With England's experience in South Africa as a constant reminder it is idle to deny it. But even in the Boer War has not the upsetting of all calculations been due to a wrong understanding of the inherent difficulties of the task, and to the weakness of the methods employed for the attainment of the object in view, rather than to any want of merit in the cause or its champions? The cause of Protestant Episcopacy in Scotland has never during the past two centuries and a half had so bright an outlook as at present. Scottish Episcopalians have, I think, arrived at last at a right understanding of the difficulties before them—which knowledge points the road to success. And the Church's future record may be said largely to depend upon the methods employed for its development. The Church has found its vocation and if it be worthy of the task before it, and true to its Divine Master and itself, there need be little fear of the ultimate result.

The experience of the Free Church of Scotland may be cited to show how rapidly a Church can grow under good government and favourable conditions. When, nearly sixty years ago (at the Disruption in 1843), the disaffected ministers and laity of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland left that Church, their courage and firmness of purpose more than made up for what they lacked in funds and organization. The Disruption may have been a mistake—in these days the differences which caused it would probably be adjusted without resorting to a remedy so extreme—but the young Free Church of Scotland, to which it gave birth, was from the first full of vigour, and now bids fair to outgrow the mother Church in numbers. A communicant membership of nearly half a million, and the knowledge that it is able to pay its ministers a higher average stipend than any other Church in the United Kingdom, go far to prove that a Christian community, endowed with the courage of conviction and loyal to the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, need never be afraid of the future.

But, it may be asked, is there room for the expansion of the Episcopal Church in Scotland? Is there scope for its energies beyond the limits of its present constituency? There need be no hesitation in replying to these questions in the affirmative. Even if the Church could only succeed in bringing within its fold those to whom it owes its first thought—those of its own faith who have strayed beyond the influence of the Church of their baptism—there would be an increase of membership to be calculated by tens of thousands. And beyond this field of labour there still remains that arid desert where live the hundreds of thousands of souls who

know not God. Here all Churches meet on common ground, for not even the heathen of the latest mission-field have greater need of help; and here there is ample scope for all the energies of all the Churches for very many years to come. I hope to be able to show that the Scottish Episcopal Church is equipping itself for redoubled effort in these and other fields of labour, and in order to form a just estimate of the future prospects of the Church I have consulted several leading Churchmen (clerical and lay) whose views must necessarily carry far more weight than my own, and who have kindly given me permission to quote their opinions on the questions referred to them.

The Scottish Episcopal Church has, at last, managed to get rid of much of its self-consciousness. For generations it was so engrossed in its own disputes and difficulties that it had no time to attend to anything else. It has, within recent years, begun to give some thought to other people. And the result has been the formation of strong and well-organized boards of management devoted to the work of Home and Foreign Missions. This work is but in its infancy, but it is making rapid progress; and herein, to my mind, lies the best sign of hope for the future. Nor does this afford the only evidence of a new spirit in the life of the Church. On all sides there is activity, the conscious recognition of a call to duty, and the constant endeavour to meet the demands for help that come from all sides to a growing Church.

I know that there are Scottish Episcopalians, men of judgment and experience, who have stated on more than one occasion that the Church has lost in "social influence" during the last twenty years, and who look for a continued decline in that respect. In a sense this is true, but, after all, "social influence" is rather a weak reed for a Church to lean upon, and there does not necessarily follow in its wake either the crowd of worshippers or the army of workers. There can be no doubt that the landed proprietors of Scotland have done much in the past for the Episcopal Church (of which a great number of the most noble and most ancient families are members), and it is true that few of them, comparatively, can now afford to give as liberally as was formerly their custom to the various funds, and that in many cases estates are let to strangers who live in Scotland for a few months only each year. In these respects there has been a certain falling off. It is also quite possible that in some cases the present representatives of some of the old families do not take as much interest in Church affairs as their forbears were wont to do; but it would be easy to quote many noteworthy exceptions, and in considering this aspect of the question the much greater interest now taken in

the Church's work by men of wide influence in the professional and trading classes must not be lost sight of. On the whole, I am inclined to think that the "decline in social influence" theory need not be taken too seriously.

On the other hand there has, during the last two or three decades, been a marked improvement in the relationship existing between Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The barrier of reserve and exclusiveness which has kept them apart for so long is being gradually broken down. Both parties are beginning to realize that, even in religious matters, there is much in common between them. This sentiment has found expression in a movement for Christian Unity which has made some progress during the last two or three years, and which, if persevered in, is bound to make for good in the immediate future. A deputation from the Christian Unity Committee (having previously waited upon, and explained the object of the movement to, the Episcopal Synod) was received by the General Assemblies of the Established Church and the United Free Church in Edinburgh in May last, and welcomed in a spirit of the warmest sympathy. As a result, in all the Episcopal churches and chapels, and in a large number of Presbyterian churches, a special day (Sunday, October 13) was set apart for prayer and intercession on behalf of unity. Here, at least, is tangible proof of the desire for a better understanding of the dividing differences, and a better appreciation of the difficulties at present preventing each Communion from a closer relationship with the others. It is earnestly to be hoped that this movement will not be allowed to slumber from want of strong and capable leadership, for if continued with zeal and discretion it cannot fail to prove a blessing to all the churches.

The prospect for the future of the Scottish Episcopal Church in its relation to the four and a half millions of population among whom it labours (but to the great majority of whom it is little more than a name) is a hopeful one. I cannot do better than close this portion of my paper with the opinion of one who for twenty years has watched the gradual growth of the Church and whose labours (both in the pastorate and with the pen) have done much to help forward its usefulness. The Rev. G. T. S. Farquhar, Canon and Precentor of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, writes that, in his opinion, "the causes which—at least, since the Revolution—have been adverse to the spread of Episcopacy in Scotland have been seven in number, and are as follows: rigid Calvinism in doctrine; Puritanism in worship and sentiment; traditional association of Bishops with absolute Monarchy; penal laws; the insignificant numbers of Episcopalians and the shattering

of their organization and want of intercourse with England. Every one of these causes now ceases to operate with anything like its original force. German speculation has broken up the frost of Calvinism; Æstheticism has discredited Puritanism in worship and sentiment; the penal laws have been repealed for more than a century; the Episcopal Church is splendidly organized and full of zeal; her numbers have doubled in the last quarter of a century; Bishops have now been long before the public as unestablished and purely spiritual ministers; and last, but not least, the railway has opened up the fullest intercourse with England. Add to all this that for the first time a party friendly to the Episcopal Church has appeared within Presbyterianism. Consider all this, and you will see that the prospects of Reformed Catholicism are brighter in Scotland at the present day than they have ever been before."

Next comes the question, What are the prospects for the future with regard to the various branches of the Church's work which come within the radius of its own organization? And here we are at once struck with the importance of Home Missions as compared with other fields of labour. The demand for action, prompt and well organized, must impress every Churchman (be he of the clergy or the laity) by its very magnitude and insistency. Other matters may, perhaps, be allowed to wait—this one is urgent. All Christian communions are affected by it, and none can afford to ignore the call. The Rev. D. Kennedy, Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland, in closing the Assembly of that Church on June 1 last year pleaded for labourers for this work of Home Missions,¹ and the Established Church has for many years past been engaged in organizing an army of workers for the purpose of sharing in the task of reclaiming these "lapsed masses."

Is the Scottish Episcopal Church prepared to do its share of this great work? I think it is. At the annual meeting of the Representative Church Council, held in Glasgow in October last, this formed the chief subject of discussion. The report of the Home Missions Board stated that, "at present, through her Home Missions, our Church ministers to about 31,600 souls, or more than a fourth of her whole membership; and it is not too much to say that this number could be doubled were there sufficient funds at our disposal to carry out the

¹ "It may be safely asserted," said Dr. Kennedy, "that multitudes of those who are outside the Churches are living as though there were no God: no interest more urgent than the material needs of the present: no beyond; or if there be it will be soon enough to make account of it when they find themselves in it."

work." During the discussion it was pointed out that in Glasgow alone it had been estimated that there were over 40,000 people who were nominally Episcopalians, but whom the Church had not yet been able to reach either through her regular clergy or by means of missions. Although Glasgow forms an exceptional case, there are probably large numbers of Episcopalians in other Scotch towns and also in the mining and fishing districts, who are still without the benefits of spiritual ministrations. At the close of the discussion referred to, a strongly-worded resolution¹ was unanimously carried, a resolution which, as the Church gains strength, she will, I feel sure, do her utmost to carry into effect. With regard to this mission-work in Glasgow, Mr. John A. Spens (Chancellor of the Diocese) writes² that, "speaking generally, there can be no doubt the pressing work the Church has to do in Glasgow is to reach the poor of her fold—English, Irish, or indigenous—who are at present outside any congregation of the Church; and her pressing needs are an effective and strong organization to do this, and the necessary funds." And Mr. R. T. N. Speir, of Culdees, Convener of the Executive Committee of the Representative Church Council and of the Home Missions Board, than whom no layman can speak with greater authority, writes:

"There has been a great stir this year in Home Mission work, the result of the debate at the last Council meeting on the state of spiritual need in the Diocese of Glasgow, which has appealed to the Church at large for help. It is to be noted that during the last few years we have as a Church taken up rescue and preventive work as part of our Home Mission work. We have also begun consideration of temperance work. There can be no question but that our Home Mission work has greatly increased and developed, and indeed, except in the matter of secular education, our Church is growing."

In connection with the work of Foreign Missions, the Church's direct efforts are confined to the support of the Missions in Chanda and Kaffraria. Indirectly, help is given in other fields, contributions being received and forwarded to nearly all the British Church societies engaged in mission work. Judging from the returns of recent years, the C.M.S., the Universities Mission to Central Africa, and the S.P.G., are the favourite channels into which these special offertories flow.

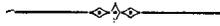
¹ "That in the opinion of this Council the overwhelming nature of the Church's needs in Glasgow constitutes a pressing claim on the liberality of the Church at large, and that the Council remits to the Home Mission Board to take the facts into consideration with a view to earnest action."

² Under date April 24, 1902.

There is a tendency to give to the big societies rather than to the Church's own missions, but the most hopeful feature in connection with the work is that year by year the contributions for all purposes go on steadily increasing. Mr. John R. Anderson, W.S., Edinburgh, Convener of the Foreign Missions Board, writes that: "The interest in Foreign Mission work is growing, and we find the new *Foreign Mission Chronicle* an admirable medium for giving members of the Church full information about Foreign Mission enterprise, not only in our two selected fields of Kaffraria and Chanda, but in work abroad generally."

H. D. HENDERSON.

(To be continued.)



ART. VI.—THE ROMANCE OF JEWISH MISSIONS.

II.

THE second great era in the history of missions to Jews, as indeed in most evangelistic enterprise, commenced with the dawn of the nineteenth century. The centuries intervening between A.D. 100 and 1800 were indeed not devoid of incidents, many of them striking and romantic, in connection with this particular branch of missionary work, or barren in results, although the recognition of the necessity to evangelize the ancient people of God was not deep-seated enough to lead to any special or well-organized efforts in this direction. We can, however, trace the existence of "the remnant according to the election of grace" at all times; and the very narrowness of the thread, which connects the first century with the last, causes the honoured names which are attached to it to stand out in bolder relief. Hegesippus the historian, on whom Eusebius so thoroughly relied; Ariston, of Pella, the author of a missionary tractate; and Epiphanius, the polyglot Bishop of Constantia, are conspicuous in the sub-Apostolic age. In the eleventh century Pedro Alfonsi, formerly known as Rabbi Moses, of Huesca, in Aragon; in the twelfth Nicholas of Paris and Paulus Christianus of Montpellier; in the fourteenth Nicolas de Lyra and Paul, Bishop of Burgos, made attempts, in some cases, perhaps, of a questionable character, to win their former co-religionists to Christianity. The efforts, however, of Esdras Edzard in the seventeenth century were beyond all praise. Himself of Jewish descent, he was for fifty years a veritable apostle to the Jews of Hamburg. Hundreds of them through his teaching

joined the Church of Christ. "He being dead, yet speaketh," and converts to-day have reason to bless his memory.

The tide of religious enthusiasm in Germany in the eighteenth century, caused by the zealous ardour of Spener and Franke, did not recede without having left its mark on the Jews of that country. Christians awoke to the fact of the presence amongst them of a people who needed the Gospel, and vied with one another in their endeavours to give it back to the descendants of those from whom it had first been received. A weapon was providentially placed in zealous missionary hands by the Rev. John Müller, of Gotha, in the shape of a tract for the Jews, entitled "Light at Eventide," which, translated into Judeo-German by a Jewish convert, Dr. Fromann, had lasting results. It speedily appeared also in Hebrew, German, Dutch, and Italian, and in 1731 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge issued it in English. This tract led to the establishment, in 1748, of the Callenberg *Institutum Judaicum*, so named after its founder, Professor John Henry Callenberg, who had a class of 150 learning the Judeo-German jargon. For nearly fifty years this seminary sent out a succession of missionaries. Similar *Instituta Judaica* have since taken up the work, the most noteworthy being the *Institutum Delitzschianum* at Leipzig, founded by the eminent scholar and divine Franz Delitzsch, and now presided over by the equally learned Professor Dalman.

Side by side with this movement in Christian circles in the eighteenth century there was springing up a revival within the Jewish fold itself. The author of "Reformed Judaism," Moses Mendelssohn, little anticipated the effects of his work upon his own family. His grandchildren all became Christians, Felix Mendelssohn, the celebrated composer, being one, whilst another of his descendants, David Mendel, by his "History of the Christian Church," has an undying fame attaching to him under his Christian name, Professor Auguste Neander, or "the new man."

Coming to the nineteenth century, we find ourselves embarrassed with the riches of romantic incident in our special field of research. The want of space compels us to pick and choose from the abundance spread before us.

The life and missionary adventures of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Wolff gave a marvellous impetus to the work of Jewish evangelization commenced in the first decade of the century by the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. A young Jew from the vast mid-European Jewish population which has yielded so many learned and eminent recruits to Christianity, brought to Christ in early life, baptized in Prague, instructed at Cambridge under Simeon

(himself of Jewish extraction), set out for the East in 1823, under the auspices of the Society, burning with the desire, as he said, "to preach the Gospel in foreign lands, like Francis Xavier." He was the first in the Jewish mission-field in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and India. His pioneer work laid the foundation of many of the Society's missions in these countries. Like St. Paul, he, too, was "in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness." Throughout them all he remained true to the supreme object of his life, which shines forth from the words of Francis Xavier, selected as the motto for the title-page of the book¹ in which he subsequently described his abundant labours: "Who would not travel over land and sea to be instrumental in the salvation of one soul?" One who knew Wolff, and watched his career with fatherly interest, as he did everything that concerned the Society, said of him: "He appears to me to be a comet without any perihelion, and capable of setting a whole system on fire. When I should have addressed him in Syria I heard of him at Malta, and when I supposed he was gone to England, he was riding like a ruling angel in the whirlwinds of Antioch, or standing unappalled among the crumbling towers of Aleppo. A man who at Rome calls the Pope 'the dust of the earth,' and at Jerusalem tells the Jews that 'the Gemara is a lie'; who passes his days in disputation, and his nights in digging the Talmud; to whom a floor of brick is a feather-bed and a box is a bolster; who makes or finds a friend alike in the persecutor of his former or of his present faith; who can conciliate a Pasha or confute a patriarch; who travels without a guide, speaks without an interpreter, can live without food, and pay without money, forgiving all the insults he meets with, and forgetting all the flattery he receives; who knows little of worldly conduct, and yet accommodates himself to all men without giving offence to any—such a man (and such and more is Wolff) must excite no ordinary degree of attention in a country and among a people whose monotony of manners and habits has remained undisturbed for centuries. As a pioneer I deem him matchless, *aut inveniet viam, aut faciet*; but, if order is to be established or arrangements made, trouble not Wolff. He knows of no church but his heart, no calling but that of zeal, no dispensation but that of preaching. He is devoid of enmity towards man, and full of the love of God. By such an instrument, whom no school hath taught, whom no

¹ "Travels and Adventures of Dr. Wolff."

college could hold, is the way of the Judæan wilderness preparing. . . . Thus are his brethren provoked to emulation and stirred up to inquiry. They all perceive, as every one must, that *whatever* he is, he is *in earnest*; they acknowledge him to be *a sincere believer in Jesus of Nazareth*, and that is a great point gained with them, for the mass of the ignorant and unconverted Jews deny the possibility of real conversion from Judaism."¹

Isaac da Costa the historian, Dr. Cappadose, and Sir Moses Salvador, in Holland, are names redolent of romance. The story of the conversion of the Plymouth rabbi, Michael Solomon Alexander, is of thrilling interest. Unsatisfied with his own religion, and longing after something which it could not give, he used to steal unobserved, and under cover of night, to one of the churchyards in the town, in order to listen to the hymns of the Christians. He eventually emerged out of spiritual darkness into full Gospel light, was baptized in St. Andrew's Church in Plymouth, became a missionary of the London Jews' Society, and subsequently, in 1842, the first Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem. His arrival in the Holy City gave an impetus to the work amongst the Jews, which had been steadily going on for twenty years, and was shortly followed by the consecration of Christ Church, on Mount Zion, the first Protestant place of worship erected in the Turkish Empire, within the walls of which more than six hundred Jews have been baptized. The same Society which owns this church claims the honour of being the first to establish Medical Missions in the world. The work inaugurated by Dr. George Edward Dalton in the Holy City in 1823, developed by Drs. Edward Macgowan and Thomas Chaplin, has now expanded into the large medical missionary work carried on in the beautiful hospital and three dispensaries by the energetic Dr. Percy d'Erf Wheeler, whose skill and loving sympathy are subjects of admiration and gratitude, not only in Christian, but also in Jewish circles in the East.

The mention of Bishop Alexander brings to mind two other Bishops of the House of Israel in the nineteenth century. Isaac Hellmuth, son of a Jewish banker of Warsaw, once told the writer the story of his conversion when a student in the University of Breslau. Brought to Christ by the influence of Professor Neumann, a convert and missionary of the London Jews' Society, disinherited by his father (though his Jewish brothers magnanimously restored to him his share of his father's wealth, of which he subsequently made such noble

¹ Rev. Lewis Way, quoted in "Travels and Adventures of Dr. Wolff, vol. i., p. 287.

use), baptized in All Saints' Church, Liverpool, rose to eminence and distinction as Archdeacon, Dean, and Bishop of Huron. The name of the third prelate was Bishop Schereskewsky, of the Episcopal Church of America, who was resident in China, where he translated the Bible into the Wenli dialect.

Another successful Hebrew Christian missionary, the features of whose romantic life in many respects remind us of Dr. Wolff, whom he followed in several lands, doing similar pioneer work, was Dr. Henry Aaron Stern. Like a star (as his name signifies) he shines for ever in the missionary firmament, having in his life turned many of his brethren to righteousness. His work in London and in Constantinople, in Persia, Arabia, and Abyssinia, was richly owned and blessed by God. The bread cast upon the waters in Persia, in the sowing of which he was followed by Brühl and Eppstein, the last named of whom remains unto this present, had indeed a romantic finding "after many days," and numerous sons of Israel in that land have confessed their faith in the Messiah, suffering shame, persecution, and stripes in His name. To-day Jesus Christ is preached in the synagogues of Persia by Christian missionaries on the invitation of the rabbis. The writer once made this statement during a sermon preached in a West-End church. A rabbi of an English congregation, who was present on the occasion, subsequently wrote to say it was simply amazing! Amazing or not, it is accurately true, as the publications of the London Jews' Society testify.

Of still more thrilling interest is the work amongst the Falasha Jews of Abyssinia, commenced by Stern and Martin Flad forty years ago, and carried on by a succession of faithful converts to this very day. Not in vain were the prison, the tortures, and the sufferings of the first two missionaries to this country; not in vain the misery and tears of their devoted successors, who have struggled on "through peril, toil, and pain," in spite of opposition from the Abyssinian priesthood and cruelties of Mohammedan invaders, at whose hands some have died the martyr's death. Let the following story, told by Flad, of the martyrdom of some of the 1,500 Jewish converts won to Christ, testify that the missionaries' labours have not been in vain in the Lord:

"A Falasha family, converts of the Society, were overtaken by the Mahdists. They were told that they might save their lives if they would become Mohammedans, and say, 'Allah ilahu ill Allah wa Mohammed e rasul Allah,' the Mohammedan creed. They refused. 'Never,' they cried, 'will we deny Him who died for us on the cross. We are born Falashas, but have been converted to Christ. He is our

Saviour, and not Mohammed.' The five children were then cut in pieces by the Dervishes before the eyes of their parents. The father encouraged and cheered them, saying: 'Oh, it is only a short suffering, and you will get the crown of everlasting life.' After the children had thus been foully massacred, the trembling mother was told: 'Now save your life by denying Christ.' 'Never,' was her reply, from a sobbing, broken heart. 'I love Him; I do not fear death.' Her husband had then to witness how she was most cruelly butchered before him. Then his own turn was come. 'Now, old dog, save your life, and become a Mohammedan. We will make you a rich man, and give you all you wish.' 'No,' said he; 'you may torture me, you may cut me in pieces, I will not deny Him who has died for me.' After which he, too, was killed in the same cruel way in which his poor wife and children had been done to death.

"Never was a more piteous tale of suffering told, and never one more radiant with glory in the hope of a speedy immortality following on the martyr's death. 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.' Noble martyrs these from among this poor ignorant Falasha people in the highlands of Abyssinia!"

We retrace our steps to Europe, and visit the capital of Hungary, Budapest, where there is a vast Jewish population, amongst whom Scotch missionaries have been at work since 1842. In the early days of the mission, amongst the many Jews gathered into the Church of Christ, two names stand out very conspicuously, Dr. Alfred Edersheim and Dr. Adolph Saphir. In allusion to the fact that the entire family of the latter became Christians, Professor Delitzsch remarked that the foundation of the mission was laid in *sapphires*. Edersheim and Saphir both did splendid service with their pen. The former, following in the wake of Schürer, has laid succeeding generations under obligation by his brilliant historical works, and the latter by his luminous commentaries, so full of devout and spiritual teaching.

One other name alone have we space to mention—that of Professor Paulus Cassel, of immortal memory in Germany and wherever the achievements of the Cross are known. Brilliant in scholarship, gigantic in intellect, he devoted all his talents and gifts to the work of commending to his brethren that Gospel which he adorned by word and life and pen. He sowed in tears, he reaped in joy. Hundreds of spiritual children call him blessed.

We have passed over in silence the successful work of *Gentile* missionaries to the Jews, for our aim has rather been to show the romantic character of the work carried on by

Christian Jews amongst their unconverted brethren. Only those of the seed of Abraham can speak from their own experience, "Come thou with us and we will do thee good," for "We have found the Messias!"

W. T. GIDNEY.

Whitsuntide.

"POWER FROM ON HIGH."¹

POWER from on high! Eternal Might!²
 The energy of strength Divine!
 From Thee the throbbing waves of light
 Drew their first swift and flashing line;
 From Thee all life in leaf and flower,
 And living creature, draws its power.

Thou with the Father and the Son,
 Eternal Spirit of all grace,
 In that Majestic Power art One,
 That Arm controlling Time and Space!
 Force hath from Thee its mystic birth,
 To hold and move the heavens and earth.

Thou, too, wast present, Spirit bless'd,
 When Death's Almighty Victor died;³
 And Thou on Him with power didst rest,
 When with pierc'd feet and hands and side
 He rose in glory from the grave;⁴
 Now and for ever strong to save!

Power from on High! The rushing wind,
 The house that trembled at Thy Breath,⁵
 Told of Thy Power on souls that sinn'd,
 Upraised by Thee to life from death;
 Come once again, Thy influence give!
 And the whole death-struck world shall live!

¹ Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 8.

² Eph. i. 19.

³ Heb. ix. 14.

⁴ Rom. i. 4.

⁵ Acts ii. 2; iv. 31.

Come with Thy sacred Word exprest
 In earth's strange multitude of tongues ;
 And lo ! from her sad East and West
 The ransom'd shall break forth in songs ;
 Till the great Kingdom comes with Power ;
 Eternity's unfading flower !

A. E. MOULE.



The Month.

THE proposal to observe the whole of Wednesday, June 25, as a day of united intercession in connection with the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII. has met with a very wide response. There will be four meetings at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, the first at 7 a.m., followed by others at 11 a.m., 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. At the afternoon meeting the Bishop of London will preside, and the Bishop of Durham will be the chief speaker. If, as is hoped, the Prime Minister of Uganda (Apolo Kagwe), who is on his way to England for the Coronation, is able to be present, it will lend an unwonted interest to the occasion. Apolo Kagwe is one of the fruits of Mackay's labours in Uganda. He remained true to his conversion all through the terrible persecution of 1885, and he still bears in his body the marks of the cruelty inflicted upon him by M'Wanga. Although the speakers for the Conference have been chosen, the line they will take has not yet been disclosed. But there is reason to believe that distinct subjects will be allotted to each meeting.

The opposition to the Education Bill is much less vehement than it was, and there have not been wanting expressions of Nonconformist agreement with its main provisions. The conviction has grown that the Government proposal offers some hope of reaching a settlement of a question which has disturbed the country for nearly thirty years. The Government majority for the Second Reading was 237, the Unionists having this time the companionship of the Irish members. The Government have the Bill in their own hands, and the country will expect them to pass it, even if an Autumn Session has to be resorted to for the purpose.

The Bill engaged the attention of both Houses of the Southern Convocation and of the House of Laymen at their recent sittings. The Church's official view was well expressed in the following resolutions passed on May 2 by the Upper House, the Bishop of Hereford alone dissenting :

“This House desires to express a general approval of the Government Education Bill now before Parliament, on the ground that, if it becomes law, it will raise the general standard of education in elementary schools, that it will lead to a better co-ordination of educational work in England, that it maintains an undiminished recognition of the claims of religion to enter into the work of national education, and that it gives hope that Voluntary schools, freed to some extent from the unequal and increasing burden thrown on them for thirty years, may the better bear their great part in that work for the welfare of the country. The House, however, deprecates very strongly the provision which makes the adoption of Part III. permissive and not compulsory, and thinks that it is undesirable that there should be separate local education authorities for areas so small as those indicated in Part I., clause 1, paragraph 2. The House is also of opinion that it should be made clear that women may be appointed on the Education Committees, and believes that in some other details the Bill might be improved in the interests of education generally.”

The business of the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation is not often of much interest to other people, but at the last session (May 2) there was a really useful debate on Clerical Poverty. The dignified clergy in Convocation are terribly frightened of the word “redistribution,” and at the outset of the debate it was announced that if all the revenues of the Church were “pooled” there would only be an income of £250 for everyone, from the Archbishop of Canterbury downwards. Nobody has yet thought of any scheme of this kind, and assuredly no one would expect it to find favour with Convocation. The House confined itself to the resolutions brought up by the committee which had examined into the matter. These were adopted after they had been worked at by the House. These resolutions were eight in number. The first affirmed the need of support of the Queen Victoria Sustentation Fund; the second suggested that Easter offerings and collections should prevail in every parish; the third declared that no scheme of relief can be satisfactory which does not provide for a considerable diminution in the number of poorly endowed benefices where area and population are small; the fourth proposed the establishment of a Board in each diocese to promote the union of small benefices; the fifth recommended that facilities be granted for the sale of glebe lands and the relief of clergymen, who desire it, from personal responsibility for the management of glebe lands—a proposal upon which considerable difference of opinion was manifested; the sixth raised the question of town parishes where pew rents are becoming impossible, but no remedy was proposed; the seventh urged greater co-operation in the management of clerical charities; and the eighth asked the Bishops to carry these resolutions into effect.

Another matter which excited considerable attention was the presentation of a truly voluminous report from a joint committee on the

position of the laity in the Church. All three Houses—Bishops, clergy, and lay—were, however, so alarmed at the propositions of the report that it was cheerfully left over until next session. In the meantime the resolutions appended to the report are being considered. They run as follows :

1. That it is desirable that a National Council should be formed fully representing the clergy and laity of the Church of England.
2. That the definition of the powers to be entrusted to this Council, in reference to legislation, of the qualification of electors, and of the method of electing and summoning its members, should be determined by a joint meeting of the members of the two Convocations with the Provincial Houses of Laymen with a view to its receiving statutory authority.
3. That this Council should consist of three Houses—the first that of Bishops ; the second that of representatives of the clergy, whether official or elected ; and the third of elected communicant laymen.
4. That the acceptance of the three Houses, sitting together or separately, should be necessary in order to constitute an act of the body.
5. Nothing in these resolutions is intended to interfere with the position of the Convocations as provincial synods of the clergy.

These resolutions will be hotly debated. Dr. R. W. Randall, ex-Dean of Chichester, is already rallying the forces of opposition. He is, however, no longer in the House—where he was for years one of the leaders of the neo-Anglican party—and he has, therefore, fallen back on the columns of the *Church Times*.

The May Meetings showed considerable vitality. Large audiences were the rule, and there was a great deal of real enthusiasm. The Church Missionary Society was, of course, easily first, both in regard to numbers and in the abiding interest of the proceedings. Rarely indeed, in recent years, has the C.M.S. provided a stronger platform than appeared at the morning meeting. Sir John Kennaway was in the chair. The Bishop of London, who, like the Archbishop of Canterbury, is never heard to better advantage than when speaking on Foreign Missions, aroused the enthusiasm of the assembly when he declared that his desire was to make his diocese the greatest missionary diocese in the world. After such a statement there was no room for any resentment—even if, as rumour had it, any were felt—at the Bishop's presence on a C.M.S. platform. He frankly admitted his close association with the S.P.G., but his heart is large enough for both. The truly Apostolic Bishop Ridley, of Caledonia, thrilled the audience with a recital of successful missionary labours amongst the Indians of the far North-West ; and Sir W. Mackworth Young, late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, added his testimony to the already considerable volume of evidence from the ruling powers in India concerning the value of missionary work in that great empire. The carpet-bag tourist occasionally comes home with tales of the extravagance, indolence, and incompetency of Christian missionaries. Not so Sir W. Mackworth Young. Speaking from a thirty-eight years' official experience in India, he said : " I am proud of the service to which I belong. . . . But I take off my hat to the humblest missionary that walks a bazaar in India . . . because he is leading a higher and a grander life and doing a grander work than any other class of persons who are working in India." The Rev. Barclay Buxton spoke of progress in Japan, and the Rev. G. T. Manley showed " a record of work that is left undone " among the students of India. Finally came the Bishop of Durham—the hall still crowded to its utmost capacity waiting for a

message from his lips—with a beautiful thought lifting the mind up from work and worker to the person of Jesus Christ Himself.

But the honours of the May week were not confined to the C.M.S. The Bible Society had an excellent meeting, with memorable speeches by men of such widely divergent views as the Bishop of London and Sir H. H. Fowler, M.P. The Ladies' League, which has now taken its place among the organizations celebrating their anniversary in this way, scored a magnificent success at Queen's Hall, which was filled from floor to roof. There was an excellent performance by the Dowlais Philharmonic Society, but the feature of the meeting which fixed itself most strongly in the minds of those present was what Dean Lefroy truly called the "wonderful" speech of Lady Wimborne. Here is a slight extract from an extremely forcible passage on the result of priestly influence over women. "God intended woman," said Lady Wimborne, "to be a helpmeet for man, and not to be a creature to be used and moulded by priests; and women will throw away their birthright and their prerogative of reigning absolutely in the home if they once allow the priest to share, or, rather, to exclude, their rule. Women will find that as the priest obtains possession over the daughter's mind the mother's influence will be gone, that the sons will never confide in the mother who pours her confidences into the ears of a priest, and so the home ties which have been the joy of every true woman's life will be gone." The Religious Tract Society, the London Jews' Society, and the Church of England Sunday-School Institute also had successful meetings. The Societies which suffered were those where the invited speakers had no personal experience of the work about which they were to speak, and who, failing to "get it up," fell back upon complimentary sayings, mingled with homiletical commonplaces. This is neither fair to the Societies enlisting their help nor kind to the audiences which honour them by their attendance.

The Bishop of Chichester must by this time repent that he ever wrote that letter to one of his clergy saying that he could not sanction Evening Communion, "believing them to be quite as much a breach of Church order as the ceremonial use of incense." Another clergyman in his diocese—the Rev. J. Awdry Jamieson—took up the challenge these words implied, and asked the Bishop when and where the Church had forbidden the practice of Evening Communion. What his lordship answered is not known to the public, for he marked the letter private. Thereupon Mr. Jamieson plainly stated that he was prepared to defend the practice before the same tribunal that had condemned the use of incense. To this pointed challenge the Bishop again returned a private reply, but there is reason to believe that he shrunk from the ordeal. Mr. Jamieson and other clergy of the rural deanery have sent the Bishop a formal protest against his action. In the absence of any authoritative decision, and in view of the apparent determination of the Bishops—for their lordships in these cases act conjointly—not to test the question, it is too bad for the Bishops of certain sees to seek to put pressure upon their clergy to discontinue a practice which has been and is an unmixed blessing to many thousands of poor people. Lord Halifax has been using language which looked like making reprisals upon certain Low Church Bishops and clergy, but he, too, has since determined that discretion is the better part of valour.

An effort is being made to wipe out the adverse balance of £27,603 on the C.M.S. account. An appeal put out for this object by the Bishops of

Durham, Liverpool, and Coventry, the Dean of Peterborough, and other friends of the Society, has so far produced about £5,000, and it is hoped to raise the balance by Coronation Day. The appeal is made only to the "thorough-going" supporters of the Society, and in this way it ought not to interfere with any of the many other good causes—the C.E.Z.M.S., or example—which are crying out bitterly for help.

Three colonial sees have been lately filled: The Rev. J. E. Mercer, Rector of St. James's, Gorton, Manchester, succeeds Bishop Montgomery in the Diocese of Tasmania; the Rev. E. F. Every, Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Bensham, Gateshead, goes to the Falkland Islands in succession to Bishop Stirling; and the Ven. J. Lofthouse lays down his archdeaconry in Moosonee to become first Bishop of the new Diocese of Keewatin, which has been formed out of the western part of Moosonee.

"The law's delays" are proverbial, and in all contested ecclesiastical cases there seems to be an ill-fortune dogging the steps at every stage. A faculty suit for the removal of confessional boxes, tabernacles, images, holy-water stoups, and other "ornaments," from the Church of the Annunciation, Brighton, was begun in 1898; an order for their removal was obtained in 1900, but the "ornaments" are still there owing to some technical error in the method of procedure. The case has now, four years after the start, been remitted to the same judge who tried the case before, and everything will have to be done over again. It is expected, however, that the Chancellor (Dr. Tristram) will make short work of it this time, and that the real struggle will be on appeal to the Dean of Arches. The Protestant party in Brighton are determined that these things shall be cleared out; the Ritualists, on the other hand, are equally determined that they shall remain.



Reviews.

The Ancient Catholic Church. By ROBERT RAINY, D.D., Principal of the New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.

Principal Rainy's volume is an addition to the "International Theological Library." It surveys the period of the Church's history lying between 98 and 451, a period of the profoundest interest alike in its ecclesiastical, doctrinal, and personal aspects. Dr. Rainy writes with his accustomed clearness, and with the charm of style which makes all his work so attractive. He divides his period into three sections. The first, from 98 to 180, shows us the environment of the Early Church, its belief and life, and the first heresies which distracted the Church. The second, from 180 to 313, opens with a consideration of the relation in which the growing Church stood to the State, shows us the development of Christian thought and literature, together with the ecclesiastical as well as private life of the Christians. The third, from 313 to 451, recalls the further developments in the relations of Church and State, the growth of

ecclesiastical organization, the struggle of the Church with formidable heresy and schism, and some of the greater personages who influenced the ecclesiastical life and thought of the times. It is not to be expected that Principal Rainy should view the institutions of the Church quite as an Anglican would, but his work will command the attention of students in all schools of thought.

New China and Old: Personal Recollections and Observations of Thirty Years. By the Ven. A. E. Moule, B.D. Third edition, revised and enlarged. London: Seeley and Co.

Every thoughtful observer of affairs in the farther East will welcome a new edition of Archdeacon Moule's interesting and informing book. In a fresh introductory chapter he has much to say upon recent developments of events in China. He indeed finds changes there. "China in 1902 is like a new-found land." It is also, he urges, a land the friendly alliance of which is worth having. There is an awakening in progress within it. Behind the violence of the Boxer rising lay some genuine revival of a "love of country and pride of empire." There is a reform movement also in China, and to this must be added the growing power of Christianity. Archdeacon Moule pays a warm tribute to the Chinese martyrs in the recent rising, whose sufferings "will be a revelation and a witness for good to the very executioners, and to rulers and people alike." Archdeacon Moule believes that there will be a growing demand for Western literature, which we must endeavour to meet, and that theology should not be forgotten in the provision of books for Chinese circulation. The body of this work remains unchanged, and is as useful as ever to the person who wishes to acquire from a competent Western authority some account of the Chinese, their ways of life and of thought. The illustrations are excellent.

James Chalmers: His Autobiography and Letters. By RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. London: Religious Tract Society.

It does not seem so long since the public learned that James Chalmers, the pioneer and missionary, had been killed and eaten in New Guinea. And now we have an authoritative account of the man, partly derived from his own pen. Chalmers was one of those missionary leaders of whom even the world outside the circle of religious life is compelled to take note. He went to the South Seas in 1866 under the London Missionary Society. For some years he was employed at Rarotonga, but his name is more closely associated with New Guinea. The account of his life and work is full of romantic incident, as well as of the evidence of spiritual fervour. The career of Chalmers as here presented is, in fact, a striking contradiction of the disparaging criticism occasionally directed against missionary work in the South Seas. Chalmers was a man of rare personal courage, and of indomitable will. He helped to make history in the South Seas, and his services to the Empire, as a pioneer, were considerable. The story of such a life is a stimulus to faith and devotion. Mr. Lovett has done his work well, and given us a

volume which should be in the hands of all who watch with interest the progress of the Gospel in non-Christian lands.

Pastor Agnorum: A Schoolmaster's After-thoughts. By J. H. SKRINE, Warden of Glenalmond. London: Longmans and Co.

All parents are, we hope, profoundly grateful to our public school and preparatory school masters for the serious way in which they view their responsibility to boyhood. Especially are they grateful to the many who see in their work a true ministry of God. The Warden of Glenalmond shows us to the full a consciousness of that ministry. He discourses with feeling, insight, and much shrewdness upon the schoolmaster as a man and as a teacher, upon some ways by which the teaching may become a training of character as well as of mind, and by which the teacher may in very truth be the friend of the boy's soul. There are some wise words upon parents, and upon the place of games in school-life. But the whole book will repay the attention either of masters, parents, or of thoughtful elder boys.

Two Treatises on the Church. By THOMAS JACKSON, D.D., and ROBERT SANDERSON, D.D. To which is added a letter of Bishop COSIN. Reissue. London: Elliot Stock.

Every thoughtful Churchman will be grateful for the opportunity of conveniently consulting the views upon the Church held by the men of learning and experience represented in this volume. The three treatises were originally brought together in 1843, and their reissue is peculiarly appropriate now, when the doctrine of the Church is forced upon our attention by controversies which touch Rome on the one side and Protestant Nonconformity on the other. This volume should have a wide circulation amongst thoughtful Churchmen.

Leisurable Studies. By the Rev. T. H. PASSMORE, M.A. London: Longmans and Co.

The nine articles which Mr. Passmore brings together in this volume convey the comments of an independent observer upon things as different as the public reading of Holy Scripture, "silly ritual," the pun, and the "religious woman." Mr. Passmore's criticisms are often well justified, but almost as often perhaps they seem to us very much beside the mark. He is not superior to the temptation to base generalizations upon particular instances.

What Nonconformists Stand For. By the Rev. J. HIRST HOLLOWELL. London: A. H. Stockwell.

Unless we read current events very much amiss, Mr. Hollowell has no just claim to represent Nonconformity. He is the typical member of a rather extreme section, and only that. But all the same, we are obliged to him for a clear statement of what he regards as the principles and aims of Protestant Nonconformity in England. May we not hope that much of Nonconformity is, however, willing to look more on the spiritual and less on the external than Mr. Hollowell does?

