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instinctive sense of their due relation to the whole system of Christianity; in the other they are subjected to no restraint, and usurp an independent and absolute authority." Now, is not this the kind of relation which might be expected to exist between the two Epistles, supposing that the writer of the later had been a somewhat unintelligent disciple of the teacher who had written the earlier? He gives us platitudes where the other gives us principles, but the platitudes are, in some sort, the shadows of the principles. It is just as when Ruskin gives us Ruskin, whilst the Ruskinite aggravates us with Ruskinese. If this suggestion be anywhere near the truth, then it makes in favour of St. Barnabas as the writer to the Hebrews; for the master of the man who wrote the pseudonymous Epistle would most likely be the person chosen to father it.

Such then, briefly stated, are the reasons—more or less weighty—for hesitating to accept the popular opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by Apollos. It is a matter of but little practical importance to discover who may or may not have been the author; but if, as the editor of the old Geneva Bible puts it, "it is not like" to have been St. Paul, and if Apollos and Barnabas<sup>1</sup> be the rival claimants, one is inclined to decide in favour of the latter.

C. A. GOODHART.

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#### ART. VI.—TWENTY YEARS OF CHURCH DEFENCE.

**T**WENTY years have elapsed since the Church Defence movement in England commenced in serious earnest and took definite shape. Disestablishment in Ireland sent a thrill of alarm through the English Church, and caused many who had hitherto been apathetic in face of Liberationist agitation—because they had underrated its power—to take in hand the work of organization against Disestablishment in England. It is true that the Liberationists had been politic enough to profess that Disestablishment in Ireland was by no means of necessity the forerunner of the same process in England. The circumstances are different, said they, and "the case being altered, that alters the case." "No doubt," they explained, "we are in favour of Disestablishment in England as a philosophical theory;

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Farrar incidentally calls attention to a remark of Bishop Wordsworth's that, had the Epistle been written by St. Barnabas, Epiphanius, a Cypriot bishop, would probably have been acquainted with the fact, whereas he attributes the authorship to St. Paul. But, although St. Barnabas was a Levite of Cyprus, it does not follow that his writings were better known in Cyprus than elsewhere. Why should he, of all the prophets, be most honoured in his own country? And further, Epiphanius (circ. A.D. 401) lived almost two centuries later than Tertullian; and it is clear that by that time the prevalent views had no sure evidence to support them.

but we recognise that there is so very much to be said against its application to England in practice, that we are content to waive it in the present, and for ever so long to come. No English Churchman need fear that his institution will be endangered by the application of a measure of justice and right to the sister country. On the contrary, the position of the Church of England will be strengthened rather than weakened by its separation from the anomalies and outrages connected with the Church of Ireland. We seek not to establish a precedent, but to do an act of justice for and upon its own merits alone." This plausible declaration was to be but short-lived, as many who heard it suspected, and some felt assured. With the coming into operation of the Irish Church Act came to an end the soothsayings of the Liberators. It was thenceforward quoted as an unimpeachable precedent for Disestablishment in England—as but one step upon the road to absolute abolition of State recognition or patronage of Religion, and to complete Religious Equality. The Irish Church was disestablished in a hurry. Distorted statements of fact, perverted statistics, burlesque illustrations, inflammatory denunciations of imaginary wrongs, told their tale with an uninformed and impressionable electorate. The campaign was short and sharp. The fighting was not all on one side, for not a few gifted and courageous sons of the Irish Church came over to England and Scotland to plead her cause with the constituencies. Their eloquence gained them a ready welcome in the great towns; and in Lancashire, where their efforts were especially expended, a marked influence upon the electors made itself manifest. But taking the United Kingdom as a whole, there were too few of them, and they came too late. Prejudice and passion, ignorance, bitterness and dull apathy had been too long in undisputed possession of the field, and had effectively done their work. Said a Liberationist advocate to a talented Church Defence speaker, whose telling oratory was nightly moving great masses of men in the Lancashire and Yorkshire towns, "If you had six months before the election you would beat us. You have only six weeks, and we shall beat you."

In the earlier days of Liberationist agitation, subsequent to its Irish victory, the platform was made the principal engine of attack, and the great towns were selected for its operations. In most of them were formed local branches of the Liberation Society, the business of whose committee and secretary was: (a) to get up big meetings several times a year in big halls; (b) to carry on the agitation upon a smaller scale in the lesser towns in their neighbourhood; (c) to collect local contributions to the head-office at Serjeants' Inn. The order in which these departments of work are stated fairly represents the position

apparently assigned to them in the Liberation Society's plan of campaign. For money was not of prime importance in those days; or, at least, its provision did not entail the anxiety which has evidently attended it in later times. The sinews of war were provided mainly by a few rich men; the Salts and the Illingworths, the Masons and the Lees, gave of their substance with no sparing hand, and asked in return only for patient performance of the agitational work for which they were willing to pay so high a price.

It must be confessed that the organizers of Liberationist demonstrations thoroughly understood their business. To fill a huge hall is not an easy matter, unless the art of doing it is thoroughly grasped and boldly put in practice. Plenty of printer's ink, displayed profusely in leviathan letters upon big broadsides of coloured paper, is the prime necessary. Then the bill must set forth a goodly array of names—the Mayor, by all means, if he can be obtained; an M.P. or two forms a great attraction; as many J.P.'s as possible—and in boroughs they are not uncommonly of the Radical persuasion; a sprinkling of Town Councillors enhances the effect; and, for the rest, ordinary "Reverends" and everyday "Esquires" serve to fill in the blanks and bring up the rear. A good "platform" was truly held to be half the battle won.

At these meetings the oratory, if not of a high order, was, at any rate, marked by fervidness and strong speaking. Accuracy of statement was less than a secondary matter; but protestations as to "justice," "equality before the law," "liberty of conscience," "freedom of worship," "rights of the subject," and such-like good all-round catchwords, were never-failing items in the programme of the evening's entertainment. Above all, the sentiments that "it is unjust to make one man pay for another man's church," and that "it is grossly unfair to tax a working man for the services of a parson whose church he never attends," were sure to meet with approving response from the audience. The meeting was never suffered to close without a formal resolution of the "This meeting strongly protests" kind, and the national anthem was *not* sung as the proceedings came to an end.

Of a somewhat different kind, so far as procedure was concerned, but conceived and carried out in the same spirit, was the meeting gathered together to hear one speaker or lecturer, without other attractions. The Liberation Society secured the services of a thoroughly efficient staff to represent it officially on the platform, and rumour had it that these gentlemen were by no means underpaid for their labours.<sup>1</sup> They certainly could

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Miall, it will be remembered, received ten thousand guineas in a lump sum, in recognition of his literary work for Political Dissent.

not be accused of sparing themselves in the performance of their work. It was no uncommon thing for a Liberationist lecturer to speak five nights a week for several consecutive weeks, and to be heard of, for example, at Manchester on Monday, Newcastle on Tuesday, Wellingborough on Wednesday, Norwich on Thursday, Stafford on Friday, and Southampton on Saturday (and Sunday, for preaching purposes). One of the most active of these gentlemen admitted that he had been two hundred nights on the platform in a single year. The titles of the lectures were judiciously varied to suit time and place, but the main subject-matter was once and for all. Local circumstances were not lost sight of. The lecturer was brought up to date before he was put upon the platform, and shaped his course accordingly. If the Church was popular in the place, the clergy hard-working and respected, and the parochial organizations in good order, the protestation of "love for the Church" was brought to the front, and an earnest desire to set her free, that she might do yet greater and better work, was pleaded in excuse for the meeting. If, unhappily, the reverse conditions prevailed, the tone was changed accordingly. An idle, careless, disagreeable, or even only injudicious, parson was a great boon to an anti-Church orator. The prevailing local dissatisfaction or prejudice was played upon to advantage, and deductions drawn from the facts—of course, overwhelmingly in favour of the lecturer's contentions. Some of the lecturers made a point of conciliation in their style, and spoke softly and soothingly. These were almost always the more dangerous men. Other, less wary and more intense in their advocacy, were often violent to the point of outrageousness. The term "coarse" is too mild to be applied to many of their expressions and illustrations. The present writer heard on one occasion a speaker at a Liberationist meeting—and, by the way, a Nonconformist minister of renown in his own denomination—make a play upon the name of the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity so hideously blasphemous as to be impossible of reproduction on paper. "Black-footed locusts" was the elegant description of the clergy which another speaker, on another occasion, accomplished. Assistant-curates were by another defined as "reverend gentlemen's reverend gentlemen." The supposed attachment of the Bishops to their "lordly palaces," their "broad acres," their "chariots" and their "hot-houses" served to point many a moral and adorn no end of tales. Bold charges against the Bishops of brazen nepotism were by no means too unworthy to play their part on the Liberationist platforms. The facetious extravagances of

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This was mainly subscribed by a few rich men, and was certainly not the only pecuniary remuneration accruing to the same recipient from similar sources.

Mr. *Punch* upon questions of patronage were quoted as sober facts.

The "iniquity of quotation" reached its height with the gentlemen whose advocacy we are now remarking upon. It came to be accepted as an axiom by Churchmen experienced in the controversy, that a Liberationist quotation should never be taken for granted. In numerous cases it would prove to be a misquotation altogether; in others it was so violently wrenched from its context as utterly to warp and pervert its meaning. Selden and Blackstone, to name two oft-quoted authorities, would have shuddered had they dreamed that their views could be so metamorphosed as they oftentimes proved to be. A leading article in the *Times* (October 9th, 1876) was rent into fragments. That fragment in which the writer summarized certain popular fallacies concerning the Church only in order to denounce and deny and expose them in his next paragraph, was cut clean away from its context, and was reprinted and placarded as the opinion of the *Times*. Protest and appeal, even to headquarters of the Liberation Society, were of no avail. "The public will judge," was the oracular but wholly evasive reply; and to this day the *Times'* misquotation is doing duty in the repertory of Disestablishmentarians. A return of subscriptions from the Disestablished Clergy in Ireland to the Sustentation Fund of their Church was hardly dealt with on one occasion. The body of the return gave certain meagre figures, which the speaker quoted with gusto as showing the selfishness of the Irish clergy. He forgot to quote a duly asterisked footnote on the same page, stating that this sum was in addition to a much larger amount which came into other accounts. Many more instances could easily be quoted, but—*ex uno disce omnes*.

It was dangerous in the extreme for a novice in the arts of the platform to come forward to confute the aggressor. His chance of success was poor at the best. To commence with, the audience was more likely to hoot him than to hear him, and his time was usually restricted with sternness by the chairman. To answer an hour's speech in ten minutes is the work of a genius, and few geniuses take the trouble to hear a Liberationist lecturer. When the lecturer has, as of course, the last word, and that an elastic one capable of occupying half an hour or more, the difficulty is insurmountable. An experienced opponent, if he undertook the unequal combat at all, would be careful to fasten upon one, or, perhaps, two points, and to engage himself with them alone. This was wise policy, for it made it more easy for him to oppose with effect, and less easy for the lecturer to edge off from the thorny points, under cover of answering the simple ones. But an unpractised Church Defender would try to cram as much as possible into his ten

or fifteen or twenty minutes, with the obvious unhappy result. Laughter-raising jest and sarcasm, at the expense of the opponent, was pretty sure to keep the audience in a good temper and on the lecturer's side. "I will not castigate the reverend gentleman any more, for a merciful man is merciful even to his beast," said one of these advocates by way of wind-up to a slashing reply to a curate who had ventured to try conclusions with him.

Little by little a spirit of opposition to the Liberationist lecturers made itself manifest. There were always a few young laymen sprinkled amongst the audiences, but generally they contented themselves with an occasional cry of "No, no," and with holding up their hands against the resolution. By degrees, however, they gained confidence, and began to cross-examine the lecturer. This was not at all to that gentleman's liking, when done intelligently and upon an organized system. Then came short speeches in opposition, and in due season reply meetings. Local Church Defence Societies were formed, and gradually the opposition to the Liberationists became of an organized kind, and began to attract public attention. Good service was done by parties of young Churchmen going out from the large towns to the smaller places, plying the Liberationist speakers with pertinent questions, and getting up reply meetings of their own. It must be confessed with regret that these pioneers of Church Defence received, as a rule, scant sympathy and help from leading laymen and from the clergy in general. The former turned a cold shoulder upon the enthusiasm of the humble but earnest young men who loved their Church and wished to play their part in her defence. In fact, they were of opinion that this attendance at noisy meetings, these excursions to outlying villages, were not quite "respectable," and must be reprov'd, or at least but coldly approved. The clergy in many cases followed suit. They doubted the wisdom, they said, of "stirring up strife;" they thought it better to "let sleeping dogs lie;" these controversies, in their judgment, did harm, and only advertised the Liberationists; "the best Church Defence was Church work," and so on. All very well in their way, but very little to the immediate purpose. Snubbed by their natural leaders, the Church Defenders were not favourites with their Liberationist foes, as may well be imagined. One of them was advised by a reverend Disestablisher, of a facetious turn of mind, to tarry at Jericho until his beard grew. Another reverend Liberator, who had lost his temper, met his young opponent with the choleric intimation that he was "an impertinent fellow." Yet another friend of freedom summed up his Church interrogators as "pestiferous pimps"—an expression of vague meaning, however excellent as an alliterative effort.

In time the great towns grew tired of the Liberationists. The meetings could no longer be depended upon to be filled with friends and to give a certain vote for Disestablishment. Repeated exposures of gross untruths had made the working men, who paid any attention to the subject, exceedingly suspicious. The Church Defence movement was making itself felt. The people were too intelligent, and too well informed, to take for granted all that was told them. Church work and earnestness in the midst of the people were patent day by day.

At Sheffield, on January 17th, 1876, a remarkable meeting was held in the large hall of the Cutlers' Company, in reply to one held by the Liberation Society. The speakers, five in number, were all working men, not of the working-men-who-never-work type, but *bonâ fide* in daily employment at their respective trades. Their speeches were vigorous, clear, and to the point. The arguments of the Disestablishers were replied to with admirable force and skill, and to the evident approbation of the crowded audience who heard them. The meeting was a remarkable one in every sense, and its effect upon the town of Sheffield has not ceased to be felt to this day.

But the rural districts were in a different case. Here the people were less intelligent and less informed. The electoral franchise would be theirs at no distant date. Here was a fresh field, likely to yield a remunerative harvest. For several summers the mode adopted by the Liberation Society was to hold meetings in the open air in country villages. This plan had a twofold recommendation; it saved the cost of hiring a meeting-place, and the labourers who were too listless or too shy to go of set purpose to a meeting in a room would lounge about on the village green to hear what the "preacher chap" had to say, or would hang over their garden gates at a respectful distance from the actual meeting, but still within earshot of the powerful lungs of the agitator. The talk at these meetings was of course carefully planned upon a rustic pattern, and the illustrations were of a homely sort easily understood of the people who heard them. Tales telling of the wondrous wealth of the Bishops, and tithe stories in which parsons and pigs were by a rough process jocosely associated, were sure to make the audience laugh; and is not half the battle of persuasion won when you can get your auditory to laugh with you? Tithes, of course, formed the staple of the speakers' deliverances, for how excellent the opportunity of impressing upon the labourer the consideration that so much tithe to the parson meant so much less wages to him, and that the Disestablishment of the Church would "set free" those fabulous funds for the benefit of the people in general, and of the agricultural labourer in particular! When Mr. Joseph Arch came into public view, he was early



recruited to the ranks of Liberationist orators, and speedily proved himself *facile princeps* in the profession. For proficiency in scattering outrageous mis-statements at random, and sticking to them when they were found out with a courage in which doggedness was the chief ingredient, Mr. Joseph Arch probably has had no equal. "The withering, blighting power of priestcraft," as exemplified by the parochial benevolences of his own rector (who positively had the insolence to feed his poor parishioners with soup when they were hungry, to comfort them with blankets and coals when they were cold, and to administer medicines to them when they were sick), drew forth the fire of his intensest indignation.

The platform was substantially supplemented by the printing press. Millions of leaflets—"miles of printed falsities," as the Archbishop of Canterbury has aptly described them—were set in circulation, and were supported by placard reproductions of the same matter, posted in profusion upon dead walls and hoardings, and even at seaside places upon the rocks on the shore. To do all this was an expensive business, but a special fund of £100,000 goes a long way, especially when aided (as this was) by an income from ordinary subscriptions. In many country places the distribution of anti-Church tracts was carried out upon a house-to-house principle, on a large scale. It was astonishing how little the country clergy knew of this kind of work going on in their parishes, and visible, apparently, to everybody but themselves. "I never hear Liberationism talked about by my people," a rector would sometimes say, "and I don't believe they have ever heard of such a subject." He, innocent man, was the very last person who would be likely to hear people discuss such a question! Cases have not been unknown in which a Liberationist meeting has been held within a stone's throw of the parsonage-house, without the parson knowing anything about it.

Church Defence work during the twenty years of which we write has necessarily been of various kinds, and has adapted itself from time to time to the conditions of the attack. So long as the assailants devoted themselves to platform controversy, so long was it necessary for controversialists to meet them on their own ground. But of late years the Liberation Society has largely retreated from the position which at one time it was so anxious to occupy. Time was when it eagerly sought to meet Churchmen in set public debate, but its champions so often got decidedly the worse of the encounter that it grew more chary of its challenges. Those who are familiar with the course of the controversy during the past twenty years will readily recall to mind the famous public discussions at Sheffield

and Wolverhampton, at Manchester and Dewsbury, at Llan-dudno and Rhyl, and other places. The comparative cessation of this kind of assault caused Church Defenders to abate the boldly controversial in favour of the more simply instructive work, and it is this direction that Church Defence effort has taken in recent years. It has been felt that the Liberation Society can only be successful with people who are uninstructed in the history and claims of the English Church, and who are uninformed or misinformed as to the origin of her endowments, and the legal and moral basis upon which their tenure rests. Therefore, to teach and inform the people as to the simple facts of the case is wisely held to be in these days the most necessary and important object of Church Defence industry.

The Church Defence Institution, during a long, creditable, and distinctly useful career, has made itself the focus and centre of work against the Liberation Society.<sup>1</sup> From the time of its reorganization, in 1871, it has aimed at uniting upon a broad, common basis the efforts of those throughout England and Wales who wished to counteract the Liberationist agitation. The vital importance of union, if not of uniformity, must be manifest to the least experienced in public work of such a kind. The Church's own system of organization provides a plan of operations of the most valuable pattern. Her divisions of provinces, dioceses, archdeaconries, rural deaneries, and parishes furnish sections for organizing purposes ready to hand. Autonomy without independence should be the rule upon which branches are formed and set in operation. Diocesan organizations for Church Defence are well enough in their way, and are not to be discouraged, but prudence will prevent them from seeking to act without systematic combination with similar societies elsewhere—this being directly attainable by close and active union with the Church Defence Institution in London. A distinct headquarters control is plainly advisable in order to systematize the work of lecturing and to obtain the services of the most experienced and acceptable speakers; to arrange for the responsible preparation, editing, and publication of literature; to provide for the effective collection and economical disbursement of funds; to bring about, on occasions of emergency, simultaneity and force of action all over the country; and, not least, to be in a position to watch Parliamentary business and to provide for the due and effective representation of Church opinion in the House of Commons.

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<sup>1</sup> Other societies, it is but fair to mention, have from time to time taken up the work—for instance, amongst others, the Northern Church Defence Society, at Manchester. But its operations have been limited to Lancashire and parts of Yorkshire, and it has at no time been able to take up the general work of Church Defence. It is only just, however, to mention it, and to say how greatly the cause has been indebted to its able and indefatigable secretaries.

By means of its system of illustrated lectures, the Church Defence Institution has brought the historical claims of the Church before classes of persons whom it had not previously been found easy to interest in Church Defence work. Country people are not greatly given to attendance at lectures, particularly when the subject is supposed to be a religious one, or what would colloquially be called "dry." But all are glad to see the effects produced by a good magic-lantern; and a skilful exhibitor can contrive to sandwich-in no small amount of sound technical instruction with the pleasing pictures that he throws upon his sheet. Young people in particular are attracted by the exhibition; and it is of no mean importance to teach the rising generation the truths of Church history and continuity in their land. To be well informed upon Church history is to be almost impossible of perversion to Liberationist distortions. When people grasp the facts of the Church's inextricable connection with the course of our national career, and see how closely from the beginning Church and State in England have grown together, they will be slow to swallow Liberationist fables about "a State-made Church." Already the unveracities about what happened in the time of that old favourite of the Liberationists, King Henry VIII., are almost universally discounted; and it is only in dark places that the legend survives that the bluff King was "the founder of the Church of England." Indeed, it is some time since an official platform representative of the Liberation Society admitted that he could no longer dispute the continuity of the Church of England at the Reformation period. It is hard to see how a fair and candid person could do otherwise, after the distinct declarations of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Freeman, and, later, Lord Selborne, upon this point, to name only some of the distinguished authorities who have borne such testimony.

It is all but certain that the Church in Wales will ere long require the energetic action of Churchmen in England, as well as in the Principality, for its defence. The next great pitched battle will almost inevitably be fought upon that ground. A policy of piecemeal Disestablishment has always found favour with the Liberation Society, and the shrewdness of its tactics need not be denied. It reckons upon the exigencies of a political party and the ambitions of a party leader to bring about a general engagement between its forces and those of the National Church at an early date. For its success in that engagement it relies upon distorted views of the position and claims of the Church in Wales perverting the judgment of the average elector in England, and even having the desired effect upon many English Churchmen who would be most strenuous

in opposition to Disestablishment in their own part of the country, and who would be equally strenuous with regard to Wales if they understood the facts of the case. Apathy on the part of Churchmen in England would be a formidable factor in aid of Liberationism in Wales. Whilst, then, it will be the policy of the Liberation Society to separate the case of Wales from that of England, it will be the duty of the Church Defence Institution to insist upon the oneness and indivisibility of the question. To this duty the Institution has long been keenly alive, and it has already met with encouraging success in pressing it upon Churchmen in England. In the meantime, there is a yet more immediate duty, which the Church Defence Institution has thoroughly recognised, and in the performance of which it is at this moment vigorously engaged; that is to say, the duty of organizing Welsh Churchmen for the defence of their local interests, and of sowing broadcast amongst the people of Wales sound and clear information as to the injury which it is proposed to do them, and as to the true facts connected with the history and maintenance of the National Church in their midst. Such work is meeting with a success which must be as discouraging to the Disestablishers as it is gratifying to Churchmen. The fact is that the position of the Church in Wales has grown stronger and stronger year by year. Since the Church Congress was held at Swansea, a progress has been made so great as to be fairly described as astonishing. And whilst the Church has waxed, Nonconformity may be said to have correspondingly waned. Almost every representative gathering of Welsh Nonconformists tells the same tale of diminishing numbers, increasing indebtedness, and failing funds. Church Defence lectures and publications are daily leavening the people. Numerous Nonconformists refuse to be identified with the Disestablishment agitation; and the conviction appears to be growing upon the Liberationists that "now or never" is the time for a successful issue to their endeavours. It is probable that if the single county of Glamorgan, with its huge population engaged in the trades of shipping, iron, and coal, were deducted from the Principality, the numbers of Churchmen and Nonconformists would be found to be pretty evenly balanced; so that it is by no means to be assumed that Wales would send a solid vote to the House of Commons in favour of Disestablishment if the electors were polled upon that specific question.

Church Defence work in Wales has especial difficulties to encounter, as compared with other parts of the kingdom. To say nothing of the remoteness and inaccessibility of many populous places, and of the truly melancholy condition of Welsh railway locomotion, there is the ever-present bilingual difficulty. It would not be true to say that Welsh audiences do not under-

stand English—save in some exceptional cases. They understand it; but it fails to convey to them the fulness of meaning that is conveyed by their native tongue. A home-made lecturer is therefore a valuable acquisition to the ranks of the Defenders. Welsh audiences are good to speak to, for they are attentive, intelligent, and not unenthusiastic when moved. A good extempore speaker, transparently in earnest, with perfect command of temper, and vigorous in his platform “action,” may be sure of a hearing, and will probably feel what is to an advocate a most inspiring and exhilarating feeling, that he is “moving” his audience and winning his cause with them as he goes on. It has often been arranged, and with great success, to send two speakers to a meeting; the one an Englishman, and the other a Welshman. The former speaks first, and at length, in English; the latter follows, with a short speech, in Welsh, and repeats, in summary, the principal points of the other speaker. The present writer has had the pleasure of speaking to a good many meetings in Wales under these conditions, and they were some of the heartiest and most appreciative that he has ever addressed.

The Church Defence movement during the past twenty years has had an effect for good which perhaps did not enter into the calculations of those who were led to originate it. The asperities of parties within the Church have been softened, often melted, by the combination of men of different schools for common purposes of self-defence. What Church Congresses have done in the bulk, Church Defence Societies have done in detail. In their ranks all degrees of Church thought and practice have been brought together, and have generally assimilated. The presence of a common danger has hushed the tumult of internecine strife. Brought to know more of each other, and to work together, they have learnt to understand one another the better, and to distrust one another the less. If Church Defence organizations had accomplished nothing more than this good result, which unquestionably is due to them, although apart from their design and scope, they would deserve the warm appreciation of those who yearn for unity in our national Zion, and its resultant strength. Much more than this, however, has been accomplished. The English people to-day are far better instructed than they were twenty years ago in the distinctive merits of the English Church, and that Church is immeasurably better prepared now than then to give a good account of those who come against her in the shock of political battle. Much more remains to be done. Our opponents are not to be underrated. That would be a serious, and might be a fatal, error. Instruction and organiza-

tion must steadily go forward, and another twenty years, it may be, are before us for zealous effort and unwavering determination. For the past we should be grateful, for the future soberly confident. But flinching or flagging or tiring must find no place in our midst.

It remains to add what the writer would rather another added—this, that probably no public movement has been so loyally and zealously served by those concerned in it as the Church Defence movement has been. To its service many have brought talent and skill and learning, zeal, energy, and enthusiasm. No names need be named here; but many who read these lines will suggest names for themselves—some, of those who have passed away; and some, of those who still engage themselves in what they one and all hold to be the most sacred and best of causes.

H. BYRON REED.



#### ART. VII.—PAUPERISM.

**P**UBLIC attention has of late been repeatedly directed to the subject of the relief of the distressed as one of pressing interest and real importance.

We seem at last to be really waking up to the fact that we have in our midst a vast population who live more or less upon their neighbours. Our wealth, our nominal wealth as a nation, increases; but the increase of wealth seems to multiply those who are a useless burden upon it, those who cannot or will not work, those whose wages are insufficient, those whose employment is precarious, all of whom become more or less at one portion or other of their lives a burden upon the rates—that is, the forced contributions of their neighbours.

The problem that engages the attention of the social reformer, of the political economist, of the philanthropist, is how we are to deal with this very serious evil, how far it may be remedied, how far palliated, how far it must be accepted as a necessary evil and provided for accordingly. The same answer will probably not be given, as we regard the problem from different points of view. The hard logic of the social reformer, which may be concisely expressed in the homely proverb, "Let every tub stand on its own bottom," and give no man a legal right to live at another man's cost, seems pitiless and unreasonable to those who are aware of another law of "bearing burdens," as not only kind, but wise. But, on the other hand, the easy benevolence of so-called philanthropy wasting its substance on unworthy objects, and for one case of real distress