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the despot of the family, and rebellion against him may be punished by the refusal of Absolution—a virtual condemnation (as the penitent must believe) to the pains of hell. The Roman doctors insist so fully on the blind submission of the devotee to the decision of the priest that we ought to have some more definite understanding as to the extent to which this authority is admitted and followed in the English Church. Of the evils into which it has led and must lead it is unnecessary to speak.

IV. Finally, as an insignificant detail, and yet one which is not without a certain eloquence of its own, we may fairly note the connection in which this teaching of the Confessional is found. It will be remembered that the body of English clergy from whom it comes in our Church is constantly, almost regularly, providing recruits for the Church of Rome. The advocacy of the Confessional goes with significant adherence to the exposition of other doctrines, neither Catholic nor primitive, and therefore not admitted by our own Church. Thus, the position assigned to the Virgin Mary and the Saints, and the appeal to them for intercession cannot be ignored. The common form of Confession seems to begin thus: "I confess to Almighty God, to Blessed Mary ever Virgin, to all Saints, and to you, my father;" and to end thus: "Wherefore I beg Blessed Mary, all Saints, and you, my father, to pray to the Lord our God for me." That is the form given in "Catholic Prayers for Church of England People" (edited by A. H. S.), where "How to Make a Good Confession" immediately and very significantly precedes the chapter on the Mass. In this volume the curious may find "Devotions to our Blessed Lady," "Vespers of our Blessed Lady," "Rosary of the Blessed Virgin," "Litany of the Blessed Virgin," and other Roman devotions. *Noscitur a sociis.*

A. R. BUCKLAND.



ART. III.—THE AUTONOMY OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

THE isolation of the Church of Ireland has recently been the subject of a very important debate within the walls of Trinity College, Dublin, but that insularity was merely discussed from the standpoint of a certain small but clamorous party in the Church of England. So far as adoration of Christ in the Sacrament, non-communicating attendance, the

use of the Confessional, and other practices hailing from medieval times are concerned, the Church of Ireland is, and shall, we trust, always remain, in a position of splendid isolation. But, generally speaking, that Church, although of late years separated by Act of Parliament, is still united in her Liturgy and her Articles, her doctrines and her missions, with the Church of England. Her insularity, however, so far as regards doctrines untrue and uncatholic, which were unknown in the times of the Œcumenical Councils, which lack the authority of Scripture, and which run counter to the express teaching of our, I may say, common Prayer-Book, is due in a large measure to that spirit of autonomy, that bold independence of our island Church, which emancipated her by a slow but successful process from the shackles of that Church which is, of all the Christian churches in the world, least deserving of the name Catholic, the Church of Rome.

Of the process by which that autonomy which we prize so dearly was won, I will offer a brief account. For a fuller history of the subject readers are referred to the well-known works of Professor Stokes and Dr. Olden.

From the days of St. Patrick to the first quarter of the eleventh century the Celtic succession remained intact. But when the Danes established themselves in Dublin and adopted Christianity, they refused to conform to the Celtic Church. They sent not to Armagh, but to Canterbury for their Bishops. Canterbury was at that time, unhappily for herself, in communion with the Church of Rome. This was the first connection, although an indirect one, between the Churches of Ireland and Rome, but it was clearly a movement non-Celtic in its origin and intention. Lanfranc and Anselm appointed five "High Bishops" of Dublin. Of these, Donat, the founder of Christ Church Cathedral, was the first. But the election of Gregory in 1121 to the See of Dublin, and his consecration by Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, caused such a stir among the Bishops of Ireland, and especially "the Bishop who dwelt at Armagh," that this connection with Canterbury was broken off. In the meantime the Roman Pontiff sought to strengthen his position in Ireland and to introduce the Roman system by means of Papal legates, who were generally selected out of the Irish Bishops and who presided at the synods, and by the foundation of the monastic Orders in the land.

Of these legates, Gillibert was the first. He presided at the Synod of Rathbreasil (1118), where the country was divided into twenty-four dioceses with two archbishoprics, those of Armagh and Cashel. Previously to that arrangement there had been some two hundred Bishops scattered through the

country, the towns, and the monasteries, where they occupied a subordinate position to the coarb, performing their spiritual offices at his bidding; but now the Bishops are placed in their proper position at the head of the Church, and it was adroitly secured that they should be partisans of Rome.

Malachy, the famous Archbishop of Armagh, was the second of these Papal legates. A great friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, he caused the Cistercian rule to be introduced into Ireland, built a monastery at Mellifont (the Sweet Fountain), and did his best, as Bernard tells us, to establish everywhere "the Apostolic sanctions and particularly the usages of the holy Church of Rome," which were displayed with all state and ceremony at the opening of the Church at Mellifont. Through the instrumentality of Malachy, the Roman method of chanting the canonical hours was introduced; confession of sins, which had been voluntary, was made compulsory; and the Irish were prohibited from marrying their deceased brother's widow. And the people, who, according to Bernard's statement, were "without moral principle, savage in their rites, impious as regards faith, Christians only in name, and, worse than all, paid no tithes or firstfruits, did not contract lawful marriage, did not go to confession or know of penance," were completely reformed. "The barbaric laws were abolished; those of Rome were introduced; the usages of the Church were adopted in all directions, and those of a contrary character abandoned." But how, we ask, could Bernard himself have known any of these marvellous changes—the most marvellous in his eyes clearly relating to confession and penance—save through Malachy? And is Malachy a trustworthy reporter of his own "success"? But Malachy was not content with having weaned the people from the Celtic faith, which was so distinctly non-Roman, even in such points as the manner of tonsure and the keeping of Easter; he was so desirous of setting the Papal yoke more firmly upon the necks of the Irish that he undertook, apparently of his own accord, a journey to Rome to request palls for the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel. But Innocent II. did not respond to the request of this unauthorized and overzealous servant, and, like an English visitor of modern years, he returned snubbed but not disheartened. Some twenty years afterwards, however, Cardinal Paparo distributed the desired palls to the Archbishops at a synod held in Kells. It is said that some three thousand ecclesiastics attended that meeting; but a number of the Northern clergy were opposed to the institution of the archbishoprics of Dublin and Tuam, and the legate had no executive to carry out his other enactments, which were defied by the Irish chieftains.

We next find Gelasius seeking to make the religious teaching in the country uniform by having a resolution passed at the Synod of Clane that no lector should be appointed who had not been educated at the great school of Armagh.

Another landmark in the history of the Church of Ireland is reached when we find the Anglo-Norman knights invading the land, and seeking to carve out small principalities for themselves with the sword. The Welshmen—most of whom were illegitimate sons of a fascinating Welsh Princess—were followed by King Henry, who took over the country as a gift from the Pope without striking a blow. In that famous Bull of Adrian which conferred Ireland upon King Henry, merely stipulating for Peter's pence, the following sentence occurs: "We do hereby declare our will and pleasure that for the purpose of enlarging the borders of the Church, setting bounds to the progress of wickedness, reforming evil manners, and increasing the Christian religion, you do enter and execute therein whatsoever shall be for God's honour and the welfare of the same."

Shortly after Henry's state entrance into Ireland, which overawed the natives by the magnificence and multitude of his train, the Synod of Cashel was held, and the Romish use, then in vogue in England, was introduced by English influence into Ireland.

The next remarkable occasion in which we find the Pope interfering in Ireland—on which he had since Henry's invasion been levying Peter's pence—was when the ill-fated Edward Bruce was induced, on the invitation of Donald O'Neill, King of Ulster, and the princes and nobles and the Irish people, to invade the land and wrest it from English rule. The Irish chieftains appealed to the Pope to sanction these proceedings, declaring that, for want of a proper authority, both justice and equity had failed in the land, and promising that Bruce, whom they had elected King, would make "to the Irish Church a full restitution of those possessions and privileges of which she had been damnably despoiled." But the Pope adhered to the compact of Adrian, and issued a Bull excommunicating all who supported Bruce against the English (1315 A.D.). That Bull, however, was unheeded by the Irish. Can it be truly said that the Irish, who were thus excommunicated by bell, book, and candle, were members of the Roman Church, and can that Church be called the Church of the land? History, which is not the strong point of the Roman see, answers "No."

We now come to the famous Statute of Kilkenny, 1366, which did not refer to the whole of Ireland, but only to the English pale. By that Act the use of the Gaelic was forbidden

to Englishmen and to Irishmen living with Englishmen, and every kind of alliance between the two races was forbidden within the prescribed bounds, and it was enacted that no Irishman could be inducted into a living or admitted to a monastery among the English. It is generally supposed that that statute emanated from "the brutal Sassenach," but the Act was signed by three Archbishops and five Bishops who owed their promotion to the Pope, and some of whom were actually consecrated at Avignon, where the Papal court was then held. The Roman Catholic Church was as largely responsible as the English Government for this iniquitous measure, which was, however, more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Its only apparent result was the constant bickering and jealousy it sanctioned between the Irish and English monks, the latter of whom were a distinct race attached to the Roman customs, while the former still retained the discipline of the ancient Celtic Church.

It seemed that it was impossible to unite such incongruous elements in one body, but the Reformation solved the difficulty. The movement, which arose in England out of a conflict between the Pope and King Henry VIII. for the supremacy, spread to Ireland, where many of the educated clergy and landed proprietors resented the usurpations and interferences of the Roman Pontiff. The great nobles of the country, whom the Pope showed himself so ready to excommunicate, were not eager to espouse his quarrel with England, and in 1536 the Dublin Parliament declared that "the King, his heirs and successors, should be supreme head on earth of the Church of Ireland."

Simultaneously with these political measures Archbishop Browne of Dublin sought and obtained an order for the renewal of the relics and images of both his cathedrals, which, he said, "took off the common people from the true worship." Accordingly, the images of the Virgin and the Staff of Jesus, which were supposed to work miracles, were destroyed, and the Archbishop then proceeded to tour through the country, issuing directions to the different clergy "to repudiate the unlawful jurisdiction usurped by the Bishop of Rome, and exhorting them to put all their trust and confidence in our Saviour Jesus Christ, who requireth nothing but that we should repent and forsake our sins and believe steadfastly that He is Christ, the Son of the living God."

The Pope was not willing, however, to lose his power and revenues in Ireland, and the Bishop of Metz wrote a letter in his name to the chieftain O'Neill, urging him to suppress heresy, and negotiations were commenced with the King of Scotland and the Emperor Francis with a view to wrest

Ireland from the English dominion. The Irish chieftains, however, gave the Roman cause but a lukewarm assistance, and Lord Grey's decisive victory over the rebel forces completely broke the power of O'Neill, and made him "renounce obedience to the Roman Pontiff, and recognise the King as the supreme head of the Church of England and Ireland under Christ."

Of that breach between Rome and England the Reformed Church of Ireland is the constant witness, though not the direct result; for the Reformation did not interrupt the historic episcopate that was established by St. Patrick in the land. No actual change of any extent was made in our ranks by a movement to which all the Bishops, with the exception of Walsh of Meath and Devereux of Kildare, who were immediately deprived, conformed. And in 1563, when Elizabeth was on the throne, Adam Loftus was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh by Archbishop Curwin of Dublin, who had been appointed by Mary and consecrated according to the Roman Pontifical. The Reformation in Ireland was not, therefore, a radical upheaval, a new point of departure, but a phase that passed over our Church, purifying and spiritualizing it, and which, without interrupting its episcopal succession, delivered it from the usurped authority of the Bishops of Rome.

When, then, did the Roman Catholic hierarchy that now claims Ireland for its own begin?

The first actual conflict between the King and the Pope that might be said to bear upon that question was when Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, died (1543). The King appointed Dowdall to succeed him, but the Pope nominated Wauchop. Dowdall secured possession of the see, but Wauchop attended the Sessions of the Council of Trent from 1545 to 1547, and signed the proceedings as Primate of Ireland. Thus he became the father of the titular hierarchy that was set up fifty years after in the titular Synod of Drogheda, 1614 A.D., when orders were obtained directly from Rome. This was the first attempt to organize a second Church in the land, and as its orders were not Celtic, but Roman, it was clearly an importation, and cannot be regarded by any stretch of imagination as the lineal descendant of the ancient Irish Church. In the following year we find the Bishop of Derry complaining that the Vicar-General had placed priests in every parish—"rude, ignorant, and vicious fellows, who carried the natives with them."

From that date the Church of Rome has continued to send her emissaries to Ireland, and taken full advantage of every unwise move the English Government has made. Who can tell, for instance, how many millions of the natives were lost

to the Reformed Church of Ireland by the veto put on the translation of the Prayer-Book into Irish? With the natives in their many quarrels and wars, Cromwellian and Williamite and Georgian, the Roman priests, who were now being drawn from the ranks of the people themselves, threw in their lot, and thus have identified themselves to a large extent with the fortunes of the masses in the land. But to be the hereditary Church of St. Patrick they have no claim, for that belongs to her who still professes the faith of St. Patrick, free from later Romish superstitions and inventions, who still possesses the ancient ecclesiastical structures of the land, holding them from time immemorial and not by Act of Parliament, and who can show an unbroken line of Bishops of Armagh from the days of the national saint. By this triple line of evidence the Protestant Church of Ireland is shown to be the National Church. While faithful to the doctrine of the all-sufficiency of Christ, she is still loyal to the Catholic faith as expressed in the Ecumenical Councils, holding the mean between the extremes of Nonconformity on the one hand and of Rome on the other.

We have now to consider the effect of disestablishment upon the Church of Ireland.

That Act did not disestablish us as the Church of Ireland; it simply separated us from the State and cut us off from our revenues, and thus, while completing the work of the Church Temporalities Act and the Tithe Rent-Charge Act, made the Church it struck at more autonomous than ever. That it was not required to improve the lives and overhaul the methods of the Irish clergy, and that it was a political concession to the Nonconformists and Roman Catholics who clamoured against the burden of supporting a religion they did not profess, is established on the testimony of Mr. Gladstone, the woodman who did not spare the upas-tree. In a speech delivered by him in 1868, when he brought in his Bill for suspending appointments in the Church of Ireland, he said: "We must all accord that Church the praise that her clergy are a body of zealous and devoted ministers, who give themselves to their sacerdotal functions in a degree not inferior to any other Christian Church." Froude, whose Oxford principles would not allow him to favour our Church, declared that "for the previous fifty years no body of men in the whole empire had been doing their work more loyally and admirably; that they were loved and trusted by the peasantry, even the Catholic peasantry; that they had ceased to be a grievance; that no one asked or wished for their disestablishment except, perhaps, the Catholic hierarchy." And he significantly adds: "And the Castle authorities can say how far the Catholic hierarchy has shown itself effectively grateful."

There was no deficiency suggested in religion or morality, and the learning of the clergy was everywhere recognised. Fitzgerald, Reeves, Jellet, Magee, Alexander, Salmon, and Travers Smith are household names in the Church, and they were then in the vigour of intellect and the prime of life; and that hierarchy, which looked with a jealous eye upon the endowment of the Established Church, had nothing but praise for the estimable and edifying lives of the Protestant clergy. As Dr. Moriarty, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kerry, wrote in a letter to his clergy in the year 1867: "They are accomplished scholars and polished gentlemen. There is little intercourse between them and us, but they cannot escape our observation. And sometimes, when we noticed that quiet and decorous and moderate course of life, we feel ourselves giving expression to the wish: 'Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses.'" From the disendowment of the Irish Church that Roman hierarchy "dropt off gorged." A magnificent endowment was given to their college at Maynooth, which they use exclusively for the benefit of their candidates for Holy Orders. But they failed to gain any accession from our ranks, as they fondly hoped. Cardinal Cullen's pious wish, expressed in an article in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of June, 1868, in which it was declared that "Protestantism had no other hold on its followers than the mere temporal endowments. The great motive is money. Remove the inducement, and they will become the followers of Rome," was doomed to disappointment. Few, if any, of our clergy were found attached to the loaves and fishes. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, even when the sister Church of England, with which she had been united by Act of Parliament in 1801, seemed sunk in torpor and sloth, they had shown zeal and energy. New churches to the number of 500 had been built; 172 school-houses had been licensed for Divine Service, and 1,000 clergy had been added to their ranks. Over a million had been subscribed for the cause of education, and nearly half a million for the support of the orphans. Such was the condition of the Church of Ireland in the days preceding disestablishment. Since that fateful year of 1870 the voluntary contributions of the members of the Church amount to some five millions, and so far from seceding to Rome, the laity and clergy showed a greater devotion than ever to their historic Church in its hour of trial. Their loyalty had been of that deep kind that did not exhaust itself in bubble and foam on the surface, but flowed in a steady, irresistible tide to meet and master the barriers that legislation had ill-advisedly erected to stay its progress. There were no desertions to speak of

from our clerical ranks; indeed, the desertions have been from them to us. And no wonder, when we consider the intolerant ignorance of the Scriptures and the bitter animosity against England that characterize the great majority of their priests. This is the class that has benefited financially by the Irish Church Act; this is the class that will benefit financially by the foundation of a Roman Catholic University, which will, if established, become the hot-bed of fresh agitation and renewed hatred against the British Government. For a full and true description of the Roman priests in Ireland I commend my readers to a book, "Five Years in Ireland," written by an educated Roman Catholic, Mr. McCarthy; and I now pass on to consider certain changes, liturgical and constitutional, that were made by the disestablished Church, and which have not been sufficiently understood across the Channel.

With regard to our Prayer-Book, the preface of which, an Oxford work on that subject declares, speaks "with an heretical brogue," the changes that have been made are trivial compared with those made by the American Church. There were, indeed, many heated arguments in the General Synod over the Book of Common Prayer. Many resolutions were proposed regarding the offices of Baptism and Holy Communion, but the mind of the Church was against any change affecting doctrine. Certain minor changes were made for the sake of peace, on the principle that "what is imperfect with peace is often better than what is otherwise more excellent without it." We have added one question to the Church Catechism, and taken its answer from Article XXVIII.; we have substituted the form of Absolution in the Communion Office for that in the office for the Visitation of the Sick, and the rubric directing the use of the Athanasian Creed on certain days was omitted. We have not desired or dared to provide an alternative form for the ordering of priests, or to expunge the Athanasian Creed from our Prayer-Book. In our table of Lessons we have included the whole Revelation of St. John, and have omitted the Apocrypha; but absolutely no alteration was made that could in the slightest degree affect our position as the constant witness to Scriptural and Apostolic truth in the land.

The constitutional changes in the Church now disestablished by law were great and far-reaching. Diocesan synods, under the presidency of the Bishops, and consisting of all the clergy of the diocese and representatives of the laity in the proportion of one to two, were appointed to be held annually. At these synods representatives, clerical and lay, are elected by vote in the proportion of one to two to sit upon the various

Boards controlling the educational, financial, and spiritual work of the diocese, and every third year certain of the clergy and laity in the same proportion are appointed to represent the diocese in the General Synod of all Ireland, which is held once a year, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Armagh, the Primate of all Ireland. By these synods the Bishops are elected, provided the name put forward receives two-thirds of both the lay and clerical votes present; otherwise the name, with another, is sent up to the Bench of Bishops. A more friendly understanding has thus arisen between the clergy and the laity, who meet and consult together for the welfare of each diocese and for the general welfare of the Church. We have learned to respect each other; we do not suspect them of interested ends, and they no longer suspect us of ritualistic intentions.

So far we have gained. Financially we may seem, however, to have lost, for the tithes which had been ours since the Synod of Cashel of Henry II.'s reign were taken completely away, and the clerical incomes were cut off by one fell blow. But though stripped of their property the Bishops and clergy did not lose heart. They took counsel how they might repair this "sudden breach in one of the most ancient Churches in Christendom," and they succeeded in getting reasonable terms from the Government. As Government officials they could not be dismissed without just compensation, and every clergyman and Church official received a life annuity of the net amount of their stipends. It was found that the great majority of the clergy were willing to commute this. The idea was then conceived of forming a fund of these commuted incomes, which was invested in a body incorporated by charter, placed under the control of the General Synod, and called the Representative Body. Thus the Bishops and clergy showed their trust in the future of the Church by accepting her security instead of that of Government, and the proof of self-denial and self-reliance gave a stimulus to the laity, who rallied round the Church into which they had been baptized and of which they were communicants. The capital at the disposal of that body is given in its Thirty-first Report as £8,220,073.

We have thus found that, by an Act which seemed directed against its very existence as a Church, the Church of Ireland has gained a larger measure of independence than she enjoyed when bound to the chariot wheels of the State, and used by English politicians for political ends. We have the appointment of our own dignitaries, the administration of our own funds, and the making of our own laws, by which canonical obedience in matters pertaining to rites and ceremonies are

secured to the Bishops. This power has been exerted in no churlish manner, but in that spirit of wisdom, courage, and moderation, and in that high sense of our responsibility as the National Church of the land, which has induced us to adopt in our relations to other religious bodies the rule of St. Augustine—

“In non necessariis libertas
In necessariis unitas
Sed in omnibus caritas.”

F. R. MONTGOMERY HITCHCOCK.

ART. IV.—THE LIMITS OF OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS.

“WE don't know what to do with the Old Testament,” was the saddening cry of a clergyman to me the other day. Personally I don't know what I should do without it. For this reason what has been helpful to me may be helpful to others. I find it the richest possible field for modern preaching. There is hardly a modern event in our crowded present-day life that cannot be illumined by the pages of Old Testament history. The lessons that are clearly drawn from those old-world events can guide us to the lessons that the same overruling Providence would have us learn to-day. The researches and criticism of scholars have their legitimate field, but one result (no doubt unintentional) has been to generate a sort of fear of the Old Testament, lest he who uses it should be guilty of misinterpretation or ignorance of the latest “Athenianism.”

What Professor G. A. Smith says in his preface to his work on the “Minor Prophets” applies equally to the historical books of the Old Testament: “The prostitution of the prophets is their confinement to academic uses. One cannot conceive an ending at once more pathetic and more ridiculous to these great streams of living water than to allow them to run out in the sands of criticism and exegesis, however golden these sands may be.” What he says in his following sentence of the prophets I would also claim for the historian and poet. The historian wrote and the poet sang, and “the prophets spoke for a practical purpose. They aimed at the hearts of men, and everything that scholarship can do for their writings has surely for its final aim the illustration of their witness to the ways of God with men, and its application to living questions and duties and hopes.”