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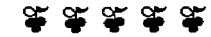
pacy justified itself as an institution? the third, theoretical and dogmatic, an inquiry into the true meaning of the conceptions of the 'validity of the ministry' and 'validity of the Sacraments.' The third part might not do more than clear the way for future discussion. The two former ought to achieve so sober a statement and estimate of historical fact and probability as to be generally accepted. If such general acceptance were attained, the treatise for which I appeal would take an important place in the foundations of the great edifice of Reunion."



## Mr. Gladstone as a Churchman.

By EUGENE STOCK, D.C.L.

THIS year—1909—has been a year of centenaries. Darwin, Tennyson, Fitzgerald, Selwyn, are but the most conspicuous of several historic names of men who were born in 1809. And as the year closes—on December 29—will be commemorated the birth of one of the greatest of Victorian statesmen, W. E. Gladstone. There is truth in the proverbial application of our Lord's words, "Your fathers killed the prophets, and ye build their sepulchres"; and the generation in which so many Christian men honestly believed that Gladstone was either a Jesuit or an infidel, and in any case a traitor, is succeeded by a generation in which the very same type of men seem more and more inclined to appeal to his memory against the wicked innovators of the present day. Indeed, it is scarcely a new generation. One may hazard a fairly safe guess that newspaper articles on December 29 will appear in his praise, the writers of which had no words too hard for him only a few years ago.

With Gladstone's political career these pages are not concerned. But with him religion—whatever may be thought of his particular views—was always dominant; and his centenary affords a convenient opportunity for reviewing his attitude and action in regard to religious questions, both those appertaining to current Church controversies and those belonging to per-

sonal Christian life. This has, in fact, been done already by Mr. D. C. Lathbury in his interesting volume on Gladstone in the series entitled "Leaders of the Church," and his estimate, coming from one who is both a High Churchman and a political Liberal, is upon the whole just, though some qualifications might be suggested. Lord Morley, in his great biography, repeatedly offers almost an apology for his own unsuitability to do justice to Gladstone's religious character and Church views; but the apology was not needed. Considering the biographer's aloofness from orthodox Christianity, he has done admirably well, again and again laying stress upon the place occupied by the Christian faith in the statesman's mind and heart and life.

Gladstone's earlier years were passed in a definitely Evangelical atmosphere, and his personal religion was at first of an unmistakably Evangelical type. His father, having built a church at Liverpool, travelled to Cambridge to ask Charles Simeon to recommend an incumbent; and his mother, who was an invalid, is described by the son himself as having been, by the "strong and searching processes of bodily affliction," "assimilated in mind and heart to her Redeemer," and as "sighing above all things for the advancement of His kingdom upon earth." He tells us, however, that he was "not a devotional child," and had "no recollection of early love for the house of God and for Divine service." At Eton "the actual teaching of Christianity was all but dead"; but he was "not vicious," and Bishop Hamilton thankfully records having been "saved from worse things [than idleness] by getting to know Gladstone." Certainly he went up to Oxford a devout believer, and he there consorted with the best men. Among them was his friend Anstice (afterwards Professor of Classics at King's College), who evidently exercised over him a strong influence for good. "I bless and praise God," wrote Gladstone, "for his presence here."

All through his time at Oxford he retained the Evangelical views in which he had been brought up. He quotes with

approval Anstice's remark that the average University sermon "can never convert a single person." He is scandalized by one sermon which called Calvin a heretic. He fears Whately's anti-sabbatical doctrine is "as mischievous as it is unsound." He hears Keble, and writes, "Are all Mr. Keble's opinions those of Scripture and the Church?" One of Newman's sermons, he says, "contained much singular, not to say objectionable, matter." He goes to a Baptist chapel to hear the great Scottish preacher, Dr. Chalmers, whose sermon, which lasted an hour and forty minutes, he pronounces "admirable.' But it was at St. Ebbe's that he found the teaching he cared for. "Here," he afterwards wrote, "the flame was at white heat, and a score or two of young men felt its attractions." The incumbent, Mr. Bulteel, was what would now be called an extreme Low Churchman.

In 1830, while still at Oxford, Gladstone wrote a long letter to his father on the future of his career. This letter Lord Morley prints in an appendix, and a very beautiful one it is. Its main object is to compare public life, for which his father had destined him, with the ministry of the Church, which was much attracting him at the time. Let one brief passage be quoted:

"When I look to the standard of habit and principle adopted in the world at large, and then divert my eyes for a moment from that spectacle to the standard fixed and the picture delineated in the Book of Revelation, then, my beloved father, the conviction flashes on my soul with a moral force I cannot resist, and would not if I could, that 'the kingdoms of this world are not yet become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ,' and that *till* they are become such, till the frail race of Adam is restored to the knowledge and the likeness of his Maker, till universally and throughout the wide world the will of God is become our delight, and its accomplishment our first and last desire, there can be no claim so solemn and imperative as that which even now seems to call to us with the voice of God from heaven, and to say, 'I have given Mine own Son for this rebellious and apostate world, the sacrifice is offered and accepted; but you, you who are basking in the sunbeams of Christianity, you who are blessed beyond measure, and oh, how beyond desert, in parents, in friends, in every circumstance and adjunct that can sweeten your pilgrimage, why will you not bear to fellow-creatures sitting in darkness and the shadow of death the tidings of this universal and incomprehensible love?'"

In length this passage—all one sentence—is worthy of Chalmers himself. But was there ever a more powerful missionary appeal? Not, however, that Gladstone was thinking of the foreign field. It was the "home heathen" that filled his mental vision; it was to them that he felt constrained to go, and tell them (as he says in the same letter) of "the precipice they were approaching," and of "God's unfathomable love" as revealed in the giving of "the precious blood of Christ." His father begged him not to decide hastily; his brilliant successes in the examinations followed; then came the influences which gradually made him a High Churchman; and suddenly, in 1832, when he was twenty-two years of age, the Duke of Newcastle, whose power over the borough of Newark had not been destroyed by the Reform Bill just passed, invited him to stand for its representation in Parliament. He did so, was returned, and entered on the political life in which he was destined to become so conspicuous a figure.

Of the change in Gladstone's theological position which occurred about this time Lord Morley remarks, with singular accuracy, that the new "conception" which "now began to possess him" "marked a change of spiritual course, a transformation, not of religion as the centre of his being, for that it always was, but of the frame and mould within which religion was to expand." As early as 1828 he seems to have been led by reading Hooker to some sort of belief in "baptismal regeneration," but this must have had very little effect upon him at the time. It was in 1832, between his taking his degree and the invitation to stand for Newark, that the crisis occurred, brought on by three influences while he was on a six months' tour in Italy. First he visited the Vaudois valleys, expecting to find in them "ideal Christians," and was disappointed. Secondly, on entering St. Peter's at Rome, he experienced his "first conception of unity in the Church," and felt "the pain and shame of the schism which separates us from Rome," the guilt of which, however, he adds, "surely rests, not upon the venerable Fathers of the English Reformed Church,

but upon Rome itself." Thirdly, at Naples (he wrote long afterwards), "something, I know not what, set me on examining the occasional offices of the Church in the Prayer-Book. . . . I had previously taken a great deal of teaching direct from the Bible, as best I could, but now the figure of the Church arose before me as a teacher too. . . . Such . . . was my first introduction to the august conception of the Church of Christ. From this time I began to feel my way by degrees into or towards a true notion of the Church." Elsewhere he calls this "the blow struck by the Prayer-Book in 1832." One immediate result seems to have been a sense of the Church being in danger from the Liberal movements of the period, and of a call to throw himself into the task of her defence by entering political life; and when the Duke of Newcastle's suggestion came, within a month of that "blow," he did not hesitate in his decision.

The great question then agitating men's minds was, in fact, this: "What is the Church of England?" Lord Morley states with much acuteness the answers given by various schools of thought to this question—the Erastian, the Whately and Arnold School, the Evangelical, the High Anglican. The answer of this last-named he thus describes: "Not a fabric reared by man . . . but a mystically appointed channel of salvation. . . . To be a member of it was not to join an external association, but to become an inward partaker in ineffable and mysterious graces to which no other access lay open. Such was the Church Catholic and Apostolic as set up from the beginning, and of this immense mystery, of this saving agency, of this incommensurable spiritual force, the Established Church of England was the local presence and the organ." "This," he adds, "is the enigma, this the solution in faith and spirit, in which Mr. Gladstone lived and moved." It is needless to say a word of comment.

It was the danger in which the Church was supposed to be that first inspired the Tractarian Movement. That movement did not in its earliest beginnings touch Gladstone; but

very soon some of his closest Oxford friends—Hope and Manning particularly — became leaders of it, and he was gradually drawn into it by them. But this was a few years later, and after the publication of his famous book, "The State in its Relations with the Church," best known now by Macaulay's dissection of it in his brilliant essay. That book, which was based on the theory that England was a Christian State, with a Christian conscience, and that the Established Church, which alone had the truth, was alone to be tolerated, was really quite out of date, owing to Dissenters and Romanists being admitted to Parliament; and no sooner was it out (1838) than its author began to see that the time for acting upon his theories had passed. Although, with his scrupulous conscience, he (1845) resigned his place in Peel's Cabinet because the proposal to subsidize Maynooth seemed inconsistent with what he had written seven years before, he had, in fact, advanced to a more definitely Tractarian position in the interval; and, although he had by that time become a prominent politician, his keenest interest was in the Church questions of the day. He was already known as a "Puseyite." At the election of 1841 an old lady reproached him for not being content with "keeping bread and sugar from the people" (he had not yet adopted Free Trade), but likewise "by the mysterious monster of Puseyism stealing from them the bread of life."

Gladstone was in terrible anxiety during the years (1841-1845) of Newman's gradual movement towards Rome. The Jerusalem Bishopric (1841), indeed, which Newman in his "Apologia" affirms was the last straw alienating him from the Church of England, met with Gladstone's support. Lord Ashley (Shaftesbury) records a dinner given by Bunsen in honour of the bishopric, at which Gladstone proposed the health of the new Bishop, and describes the young statesman and Tractarian as "a good man and a clever man." Gladstone, writing of some letters of Newman's to Pusey, characterized their language as "more like the expressions of some Faust gambling for his soul than the records of the inner life of a

great Christian teacher"; and even when friend after friend was slipping away into the Roman Church, he, like Keble and Pusey, seems never to have been seriously tempted himself. "The temptation towards the Church of Rome," he wrote to Dr. Hook of Leeds, "has never been before my mind in any other sense than as other plain and flagrant sins have been before it." Newman's secession did not touch him personally, as they were not intimate; but when, a few years later, Manning and Hope went over, Gladstone felt it deeply. "They were my two props," he wrote. "One blessing I have: total freedom from doubts. These dismal events have smitten, but not shaken."

The Gorham Judgment greatly excited him, as it did all High Churchmen; but instead of driving him to Rome, as it did his two friends, it impelled him to what he called "the holy task of clearing, opening, and establishing positive truth in the Church of England." His political work prevented him from assuming the lead in this "holy task," but he constantly helped Bishop Wilberforce in his various plans and efforts for giving the Church greater independence of action. The whole question of the Royal Supremacy, the Judicial Committee, the relation of Parliament to the Church, and so forth, constantly occupied his mind; and, instead of holding to the view of his book in 1838, that the State was to be the promulgator of Christian truth, he now became the energetic advocate of the Church's rights independently of Establishment. But, as against the Roman contention, and against the views of his seceding friends, he held fast to what he regarded as the fundamental principles of the Reformation Settlement, and, in particular, learned to admire Queen Elizabeth's policy of compromise between the Edwardian and the Marian extremes—upon which, nearly forty years later, he wrote ably in the *Nineteenth Century* (July, 1888).

It was quite in accordance with his developing views that he should vehemently oppose Lord John Russell's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in 1851. "You speak," he said, in a speech that was one of the greatest of his oratorical efforts, "of the progress of

the Roman Catholic religion. . . . You must meet the progress of that spiritual system by the progress of another; you can never do it by penal enactments. Here, once for all, I enter my most solemn, earnest, and deliberate protest against all attempts to meet the spiritual dangers of our Church by temporal legislation of a penal character." The same principle, as we all remember, actuated him long after in his opposition to the Public Worship Regulation Bill of 1874, and to the exclusion of Mr. Bradlaugh from the House of Commons in 1880-1885. It is certainly remarkable that the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was an absolute failure, and that after twenty years it was repealed by general consent; that the Public Worship Bill, designed, as Disraeli said, "to put down Ritualism," only resulted in the Ritualist imprisonments which in effect promoted Ritualism; and that as soon as Gladstone was turned out of office in 1885, and the Bradlaugh question was no longer needed as a stick to beat him with, the excluded member was allowed to take his seat without protest. The "penal" proceedings, however seemingly justified on each occasion, did in fact nothing at all to preserve either Protestantism or Christianity.

The greatest of all Gladstone's legislative achievements—greater in its complexity and in the skill of the legislator than even his most elaborate Budgets—was the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. It was a complete puzzle to many people how a strong High Churchman could propose a measure involving, as it was said, robbery and sacrilege. In his younger days he had said: "The Protestant faith is good enough for us, and what is good for us is also good for the population of Ireland"; and on the principles of the book of 1838, it was quite right for the State to maintain in Ireland the Church that best held the truth. From this position, as we have seen, he had long since diverged, and his actual first move against the Irish Establishment was in fact a counter-move to concurrent endowment, as proposed by Lord Mayo when Chief Secretary in the Conservative Government of 1867. The Fenian agitation had compelled men to face the Irish Question, and the proposal was

to "level up" by endowing in certain ways the Roman and Presbyterian Churches as well as the Anglican. In his reply to this, in the same debate, Gladstone uttered his famous declaration in favour of equality by disendowment instead of by endowment: "The Irish Church as an Establishment must cease to exist." But with the Church as a Church he had no quarrel, and this is just what men could not understand. As Mr. Lathbury says: "Even now a High Churchman is assumed to mean a man who is unwilling that the Church should lose or surrender anything in the way of power or privilege or money. That these are not the things that a Churchman ought most to value is more than many who call themselves by that name seem able to understand." In point of fact, Gladstone's resourcefulness and skill were more evident in the arrangements under his Bill for enabling the Church to start afresh even than in those for the removal of its established status and the bulk of its endowments. Assuming that the Disestablishment had to come in some way, and at some time, it was a good thing for the Church that it fell to a strong Churchman like Gladstone to do the deed.

It was the constructive side of his mind that made him interested in forward Church movements. In 1841 he was one of the speakers at the great meeting which started the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, and it must have been with peculiar satisfaction that he again spoke at the Jubilee meeting of that fund in 1891, in view of the immense extension in the interval of the Anglican Episcopate abroad. It was at his suggestion that the Colonial Churches, when State aid was withdrawn, began to organize themselves on the voluntary principle which, as he said, had been the basis of the Christian Church from the first. In the fifties he was in alliance with Bishop Wilberforce in two attempts to pass a Missionary Bishoprics Bill, which, however, failed, owing partly to Evangelical opposition. The present writer has seen, among Henry Venn's papers, long letters to him from Gladstone on this subject which have never been published. In another scheme of Bishop Wilberforce's he co-operated—the revival of Convocation after its suppression for

nearly a century and a half—and his influence with Lord Aberdeen, then the leader of the Peelite party, and for a time Premier, prevailed to get the royal licence for that ancient body to meet for business. But he was not enamoured of Convocation as it was, and is. He wrote to the Bishop on New Year's Day, 1854: "No form of Church Government that does not distinctly and fully provide for the expression of the voice of the laity either can be had, or, if it could, would satisfy the needs of the Church of England." Parliament, he knew, had originally represented the laity, but the admission of non-Churchmen had altered its position. In after-years the establishment of the Houses of Laymen afforded a partial remedy, but by that time Gladstone had lost all chance of taking a prominent place in the new voluntary assembly, or perhaps of being elected a member of it—even if he had wished to join.

In his old age, in fact, Gladstone was no longer a great Church leader. Political differences had alienated him from most Churchmen, and still more them from him; and the curious phenomenon appeared of the greatest of High Church laymen becoming the idol of most Nonconformists. His non-political religious work was now of other kinds. His pen was as fluent and as productive as ever, in other ways. At one time he, who by many old ladies was suspected of being a Jesuit in disguise, exposed with tremendous force the Ultramontanism of the Papacy in his pamphlet on Vaticanism. At another time he reviewed Mrs. Humphry Ward's novel, "Robert Elsmere," and defended the Christian faith from that book's rather formidable attack upon it; and though it is to be feared that the fact of his reviewing it at all helped much to promote its sale, yet his defence of the truth can scarcely have failed to save a good many readers from being beguiled by its subtle suggestions. Then, again, he boldly challenged Professor Huxley, who had held up to scorn the miracle of the Gadarene demoniac; and, although many people smiled at the sight of one who was no scientist entering the lists against such an authority as Huxley, the controversy was a historical rather than a

scientific one, and in historical and Biblical criticism—to say nothing of theology—Gladstone was more than a match for his opponent. Then followed his essays on "The Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture," which, published in a cheap form, have had a great sale, and have doubtless confirmed many in their faith. Finally, his edition of "Butler's Analogy"—that magnificent work which slipshod criticism sneers at, but which still remains, and always will remain, a masterpiece of argument only needing reasonable adaptation in actual use—was only published two years before his death.

To one more of his occasional writings it is worth while to refer. In 1876 he contributed to the *Contemporary Review* an article on "The Courses of Religious Thought," in which he attempted a comparison of "five main schools or systems," thus indicated: (1) The Ultramontane School, (2) the Historical School, (3) the Evangelical School, (4) the Theistic School, (5) the Negative School (Agnostics, Positivists, etc.). The characteristic features of these "five schools" are described with perfect impartiality and singular skill. Gladstone himself, of course, belonged to No. 2, in which he included the Old Catholics, the Greek Church, and the High Anglicans; but he showed their weaknesses as well as their strength, just as he did in the other cases. To the readers of this periodical his account of No. 3 would naturally have a special interest, and all the more so because since his earlier days he had had few or no associations with Evangelical Churchmen, who were, in fact, generally among his strongest opponents; while his links with Evangelical Nonconformists came late in life, and were almost entirely political. After briefly noting the negative side of Evangelicalism as against the teachings of Nos. 1 and 2, he proceeds:

"But they adhere to nearly all the great affirmations of the creeds. They believe strongly, if not scientifically, in revelation, inspiration, prophecy; in the dispensation of God manifest in the flesh; in an atoning sacrifice for the sin of the world; in a converting and sanctifying Spirit; in short, they accept with fulness, in parts perhaps with crude exaggerations, what are termed the doctrines of grace. It is evident that we have here the

very heart of the great Christian tradition, even if that heart be not encased in the well-knit skeleton of a dogmatic and ecclesiastical system, such as is maintained in principle by the ancient Churches. It is also surely evident to the unprejudiced mind that we have here a true incorporation of Christian belief to some extent in institutions, and to a yet larger extent in life and character. And this scheme may claim without doubt . . . to be a tree bearing fruit. . . . Open to criticism it is, as may easily be shown; but it is one great factor of the Christian system as it now exists in the world. It is eminently outspoken, and tells of its own weaknesses as freely as of its victories or merits; it rallies scores of millions to its standard; and while it entirely harmonizes with the movement of modern civilization, it exhibits its seal in the work of all works, namely, in uniting the human soul to Christ."

That is a noble eulogy; and it is very little qualified by the statement of weak points that follows. "Its weakness," he says, "is on the side of thought." "It is . . . a school poor as yet in the literature of Church history, of dogmatic theology, and of philosophic thought." There is no doubt some truth in this as regards Evangelical Churchmen, but when Scottish and American writers are remembered, the verdict is a strange one. Who are the chief contributors to Hastings' great Biblical dictionaries?

The article from which the foregoing extract is taken was republished in Gladstone's "Gleanings of Past Years," vol. iii. In vol. vii. of the "Gleanings" there is an article of extreme interest on "The Evangelical Movement," from which important extracts might be taken if space allowed. In particular, he refutes in it the utterly unfounded statements continually appearing in modern works (Mr. Lathbury's not excepted) that the Evangelicals were "dominant" in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century. Readers who turn up that article will be startled by the scorn and hatred of the Evangelicals exhibited in S.P.C.K. tracts of that period, which Gladstone cites.

In conclusion, we may revert to the subject of personal religion. Notwithstanding Lord Morley's disclaimer of ability to set forth the religious side of the great statesman's character, it turns up so frequently and so naturally in the extracts from his letters and diaries that even a biography chiefly devoted to politics could not be without abundant evidence of the reality of

his faith. In his early days in public life there are several incidental "bits" like these:

"Wordsworth came in to breakfast the other day before his time. I asked him to excuse me while I had my servants to prayers, but he expressed a hearty wish to be present, which was delightful."

"*Sunday.*—Communion (St. James's); St. Margaret's, afternoon. Wrote on Ephes. v. 1, and read it aloud to servants."

"*Sunday.*—Wrote on 1 Thess. v. 17, and read it to servants."

"*March* 31.—The humiliating sense of my inability [to speak well] was forced upon me . . . unless God gave me the strength and language. It was, after all, a poor performance, but would have been poorer had He never been in my thoughts as a present and powerful aid."

These extracts belong to 1836-1841. Much later, in 1854, he wrote what is a very striking account of the blessing brought to him by the Psalms:

"On most occasions of very sharp pressure or trial, some word of Scripture has come home to me as if borne on angels' wings. The Psalms are the great storehouse. Perhaps I should put some down now, for the continuance of memory is not to be trusted. (1) In the winter of 1837, Psalm 128. . . . (2) In the Oxford contest of 1847 (which was very harrowing), the verse, 'O Lord God, Thou strength of my health, Thou hast covered my head in the day of battle.' (3) In the Gorham contest, after the judgment: 'And though all this be come upon us, yet do we not forget Thee. . . .' (4) On Monday, April 17, 1853 [his first Budget], 'O turn Thee then unto me, and have mercy upon me: give Thy strength unto Thy servant, and help the son of Thine handmaid.' (5) Last Sunday [Crimean War Budget] it was not from the Psalms for the day: 'Thou shalt prepare a table before me against them that trouble me; Thou hast anointed my head with oil, and my cup shall be full."

Let this article close with an extract from Bishop G. H. Wilkinson's funeral sermon on Gladstone, given in Mr. George Russell's "Household of Faith":

"Shall I ever forget one hour a few months ago in the library at Hawarden, which is for ever to me consecrated ground? He had no sympathy with the new ideas by which sin and Satan have been eliminated from our modern enlightenment. He felt that sin was a horrible thing, a cursed thing, that nailed the Son of God to the Cross; that any little sin was an abomination in the sight of God; and I wish that every young man here could have seen him as he weighed his life, not in the balance of earth, but of heaven, as he reviewed the past and anticipated the future. 'Have mercy upon me, O God, after Thy great goodness. Wash me throughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin.' He did not know what was meant by the outside idea of sin and goodness. He knew what it was to have the light of God the Holy Ghost shining into his heart."

Opinions touching Gladstone's political career and ecclesiastical views will always differ widely; but we can all now agree that the Prime Minister of England, Lord Salisbury, was right when he called the deceased statesman "a great Christian."

## The Disintegrating Influence of Christian Missions.

By Mrs. ASHLEY CARUS-WILSON, B.A.

THE main issue of the conflict between Christendom and heathendom is in danger of being confused in these days when Christian Missions are helped and hindered, not only on account of what they seek to accomplish directly, but on account of what they do indirectly. Some support or oppose them because they approve or dislike their incidental results; not because they wish the Christian Faith to supersede other faiths, or fear it may do so. We note this both at home and abroad. Charles Darwin, for instance, subscribed regularly to the South American Missionary Society, characterizing its work on the philanthropic side in Terra del Fuego as "a grand success"; and more recently the Mikado sent £1,000 as a personal gift to the Young Men's Christian Association in acknowledgment of its useful services to his troops in the war with Russia. In India the educated Hindu, believing in the traditional gods of his people as little as Hadrian or Marcus Aurelius believed in the traditional gods of Rome, is as punctilious as were those Emperors in carrying out appointed religious rites, and as relentlessly hostile to the Gospel, simply because he wishes to maintain at all costs social institutions that have been from time immemorial bound up with those rites. In England the man of the world sympathizes with his solicitude, and asks why a meddlesome dogmatism should force our creed on Asiatics, upsetting picturesque customs, and a social organization which experience has shown to be the right one for them. Why can we not let them alone, since they seem to have very good