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THE  
CHURCHMAN

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MAY, 1882.

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ART. I.—OXFORD, AND THE REFORMS PROPOSED BY  
THE UNIVERSITY COMMISSION.

1. *University of Oxford Commission.* Blue Book, 1881.
2. *A Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, on the Statutes of the University of Oxford Commission.* By the Right Hon. MOUNTAGUE BERNARD, D.C.L. Rivingtons, 1882.

NO words are more familiar to the Oxford resident than the question, "How are things at Oxford?" almost the first question which a stranger introduced to him at a dinner-party or lawn-tennis-party will ask. But familiar as the inquiry is, probably few of us have yet invented an answer to it. There is, of course, the vague, half-medical formula, "much as usual," or, "as well as could be expected." But beyond this it is hard to proceed until the scope of inquiry is more restricted. Of what length and variety of treatment the subject admits may be seen from the bulk of the Blue Book to which we refer above. Nearly 6,000 questions, with answers thereto, are spread over 400 pages, and they cannot be said to exhaust the subject. To refer a lady to a Blue Book would appear to be pedantry too gross even for an Oxford Don. Yet it may be safely affirmed that the Commissioners have padded their more abstruse and recondite investigations with matter by no means unreadable. Our friends who wish to know how things are at Oxford cannot fail to be entertained. What we learn, what we teach, what we do, what we leave undone, wherein we are better than the Germans, wherein worse—all these things are set down, and, above all, what we are worth, even to the last penny. It almost seems as though the Commission thought it unwise to abolish celibate restrictions, without adding for those to whom it might concern the exact income of every marriageable man

at Oxford, opposite his name, so that no false hopes might be excited, nor disappointment laid to their charge.

The Blue Book declares what we are ; Mr. Mountague Bernard in a brief, clear pamphlet, shows pretty exactly what we are to become. His account of the work of the Commission is so lucidly written, that even a moderate acquaintance with Oxford will enable the reader to understand the general tendency of the proposed changes. It is not our purpose here to travel over the ground already occupied by Mr. Bernard, but to refer to him as an authoritative exponent in trying to estimate the probable effect of the statutes made by the Commission, particularly in so far as they concern us as Churchmen.

We must begin with a brief retrospect. Oxford has been visited by two *reforming*<sup>1</sup> Commissions in the present century, or rather in the latter half of it, the Commissions of 1854 and 1877. The bare statement of this fact implies either that the earlier Commission did its work very imperfectly, or that ideas of University requirements have changed very rapidly. Perhaps there is truth in both explanations, but it is not less true that the reforms of 1854 produced many unforeseen and undesirable results, and left too little power of correcting them in the hands of the University or the Colleges. Hence arose the necessity of a fresh Government interference with its expensive machinery, cumbrous delays, and with inevitable suggestions of political motives.

For what did the Commission of 1854 find? It found a certain number of Colleges and Halls, which were unquestionably the property of the Church of England. How they became so is another matter, but, speaking generally, this was their condition. It is not in itself unreasonable that a college should belong to a particular denomination. There is nothing at the present moment to prevent Romanists, Presbyterians, or Baptists from founding a college at Oxford. Colleges, if they have any value, are valuable as homes—homes in which religious and moral supervision is exercised over young men at a time when they specially need it. But what was unreasonable, was this—the Colleges had practically suffocated the University. No one could belong to the University without belonging to a College ; no one could enter, reside, study, take a degree, or teach as a member of the University unless he were also a member of a College. Thus, the University as well as the Colleges had become the exclusive possession of the Church of England, and as it happened, the prevalence of Toryism and Tractarianism at Oxford made its exclusiveness all the more manifest. It was not easy to justify the banishment of Dissenters from a seat of

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<sup>1</sup> There was also a Commission of Inquiry in 1872.

learning which had once been not only national but cosmopolitan.

But so inextricably was the idea of College and University bound together, that the Commissioners hardly paid sufficient attention to this point. Had they done so, had Dissenters been allowed an equal share in university education and government, and had university instruction been made a reality, the result might have been different. But the panacea of the day was competitive examination. More attention was paid to abolishing restrictions of birth or poverty, from all emolument than to the direction or extension of university education, and with what results ?

(1.) A number of prizes of extraordinary value was thrown into the market in the shape of Fellowships and Scholarships. Whereas in old days, *theoretically*, a poor boy known to some fellow of a college was brought up from his county or diocese, and if he showed a taste for study became a student for life, or till he took a country living, now any boy who could come out first on a given set of papers obtained a prize of between £500 and £400 value, with the hope of securing in four years, as reward for a similar feat, an annuity of £300 a year, coupled only with the disadvantage or advantage of celibacy. For such a prospect it was worth while to spend a year or two more at school, and one wholly unforeseen result was an extension of school-life ; the clever boys were kept on to win scholarships, and the athletic to perfect their cricket. For just about this time the idolatry of muscles crept in.

(2.) The successful prizeman, if he obtained a fellowship without condition of taking holy orders, looked round him, and saw little reason for stopping at the University. Oftener than not he obtained his fellowship at a college of which he knew nothing. His old friends went down, in the new society he was a stranger. If he stayed at Oxford he might hope to obtain a tutorship, but after that — ? An old tutor, pointing once to a broken-down carriage by the road-side, said bitterly : “That is what the old coaches come to.” Naturally the layman went to try his fortunes in London. If he failed there, he might still fall back on a tutorship. Thus by another unforeseen result, the education of Oxford remained principally in the hands of clergymen.

But the clerical fellows under the new regulations were the strangest product of the legislation of 1854. There was some reason in the idea of a body of members of the Church of England, most of them clergymen, electing to a clerical fellowship one whom they had watched during his undergraduate career, of who seemed likely to be useful to the college as a place and religion, education, and learning. The power of election might be abused—no doubt it was abused—but the system was not

logically indefensible. But what could be said in favour of electing to a clerical office by competitive examination? The examination could be no test of the candidate's fitness to be a clergyman, especially since theology formed no part of it. The system acted purely and simply as a bribe to clever men to promise that they would take holy orders. Not unfrequently scholars allowed their conscientious scruples to be overruled by tutors anxious to gain prestige for their college, and undertook clerical obligations far too hastily. Sometimes during the course of an examination for two fellowships, one lay and one clerical, a lay candidate was informed by the examiners that he was defeated in his own field, but would be elected if he promised then and there to take holy orders.

Hence colleges began to fill rapidly with tutors who were clergy only in name, and who were anti-clerical in spirit and in their aims. Such men were foremost in clamouring for a repeal of the Tests Act; some of them took advantage of the Act which allowed clergy to retire from holy orders; not a few have been active for the abolition of clerical fellowships. The system had become a grave scandal and a danger to the Church of England.

The government of colleges by 1877, had passed into the hands of bodies of which half might be Nonconformist, and the other half clergy who disowned their cloth. With the repeal of Tests the Church of England lost endowments which had been prizes for education of her lay members. But here, too, the effect of the competitive system was visible. Insincere subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles among lay Fellows had become quite as common as insincere ordination vows among the clerical.

Of course we are not to be understood as asserting that this insincerity was universal. Such an assertion would be quite as untrue as its contrary. But this much had become manifest. The principle of giving fellowships as a reward of competitive examination was inconsistent with the idea of their being the exclusive property of the Church of England.

But other objections of a very different character were urged against the reforms of 1854. Was it reasonable, or even beneficial, that a young man of two or three and twenty should receive so large a prize as £300 a year as a reward for a single examination? If any one thinks so, let him try to expound his reasons to an intelligent foreigner. He is not likely to repeat the experiment. Again, competitive examinations soon ruled all the studies of the place. College tutors taught with a view to these examinations, and were thereby hampered, and unfitted for serious study of any one subject. Professors, who were supposed to give themselves to exhaustive inquiry in some particular field of learning, could not obtain an audience—unless, indeed, they happened to be examiners. A professor has been known, who ordinarily had

but one or two pupils, and who sometimes saved himself the trouble of lecturing by lending his notes to the undergraduate who formed his class. That professor was appointed examiner, and his room was thronged with an attentive audience, treasuring every syllable that fell from his lips. He gave notice that he would lecture on the kind of questions usually set in the schools, and there would have been no room to contain his class, had not the University called him to order.

These were the chief difficulties, then, which the Commission was to face—(1) the want of harmony between the teachings of professors and college tutors; (2) the want of a sufficient career at Oxford to tempt laymen to become tutors; (3) the question of clerical endowments.

The two first points may be dismissed briefly. Faculties of studies have been instituted, which are to exercise certain control over public lectures delivered in those studies, and the system of appointing examiners has been so altered as to give more influence to the professors. Secondly, laymen are offered tutorships, to which the pension is no longer a college living, and a dazzling range of University readerships and professorships is opened to allure them. But it is the third point with which we are chiefly concerned. Here the difficulties were great. On the one hand, there were grave objections to clerical fellowships awarded by competition; on the other hand, the Tests Act and the University Commission Act of 1877 required that religious instruction should be provided for members of the Church of England.

The difficulties are well described in a Letter to the Commission, by the present Dean of Westminster (Blue Book, Part ii. p. 141).

In a small college [says the Dean] it may very easily happen if no provision (*i.e.* that some member of the governing body shall undertake the care of religious instruction) is made, that at no distant date, neither the head nor the Fellows of the College will be in holy orders. Small societies with full power of electing to vacancies in their own body, are apt to take, for a time at least, a somewhat uniform tone and colour. Those who have had much experience in elections to fellowships will not place much confidence in the result of competitive examinations, as a remedy against this danger. . . . The result might be a complete exclusion from the college of all but laymen.

The Dean then proceeds to estimate the consequences—(1) entire want of interest in religious instruction among the fellows; (2) the appointment of a non-resident chaplain on a small salary to conduct services and to give such instruction; (3) desertion by undergraduates of the hirelings ministry; (4) mistrust of colleges by parents; (5) the foundation of active proselytizing colleges by Romanist and Nonconformists. We have stated

very briefly some of the chief heads of a letter which deserves to be read *in extenso*. These dangers, then, were clearly set before the Commission of which the Dean ultimately became a member. But with what result? Mr. Mountague Bernard tells us that, "where the taking of holy orders is in future to be a qualification for obtaining or holding a fellowship, this qualification will be explicitly connected with a specific purpose—that of providing for the chapel services and for religious teaching—and will be coupled with another qualification, that of fitness and willingness to undertake these duties, and in particular the latter of them. And the Commissioners have consequently acted on the principle that the restriction on free choice, which the qualification of holy orders import, should be extended no further than the purpose itself may for each college reasonably be deemed to require."

In other words, a vast amount of property intended to encourage learning among the clergy of the Church of England has been taken away from her, not because it was impossible to utilize it, but to provide a career for laymen of any denomination or none. Further, religious instruction in each college is to be the duty of as few men as possible—in most cases of one man only. He may be a Ritualist, and set up a confessional within the college walls as the best method of discharging his duty. He may be a rationalist, and undermine the faith which he professes to teach. He may be orthodox, but narrow-minded. Still it matters not. One side of the question, and one only, will be heard in small colleges.

The one religious instructor, whoever he is, in small colleges, will be the sole authorized exponent of Church principles there, possibly the sole representative of the Church of England on the governing body. We can easily imagine him without any fault of his own securing a precarious existence for his lectures, contemptuously tolerated if he neglects his duty, fiercely opposed if he tries to discharge it faithfully. The conditions will not indeed be altogether new, but whereas the isolation of a clerical tutor has hitherto been accidental, it will henceforth be the rule, almost the statutory necessity. Men have been raised up from time to time who have fought the battle steadfastly, before now, but they have been men of exceptional character. Henceforth two or three such men will be required every year. Even granting that they could be found, there is very scant security that they will be appointed to the posts for which they may be peculiarly fitted. No Board of Guardians electing a chaplain to a Union could be in half the perplexity which awaits Fellows of Colleges electing their clerical instructor. Fellows, some of them Nonconformists, some Agnostics, some Æsthetic, agreeing only in contempt and dislike of orthodoxy,

are to select a clergyman in Priest's Orders, on what principle or by what methods the future alone can determine. Will they institute theological examinations? Who, then, is to appoint the examiners? Or will they be guided by testimonials? And if so, will Dr. Liddon or Professor Jowett, Mr. Haweis or Bishop Ryle, have the greater weight?

The desire of securing religious instruction is creditable to Lord Salisbury, who appointed the Commission, but he really prevented his desire from becoming effectual, when, in deference to Oxford prejudices, he removed the name of Dean Burgon from the list of Commissioners. Mr. Burgon was the only person at first nominated who both knew the conditions of modern Oxford life, and was sincerely eager to restore to the Colleges, at least in some measure, the purpose of their foundation. With his removal the battle was lost, and it is now impossible for sincere Churchmen to be satisfied with the existing provisions for Church teaching. But though our Church has been spoiled of her old endowments, she has not yet been deprived of the munificence, piety, and faith from which those endowments originated. Nor need she abandon her hold upon the Higher Education of England, though we must reserve for a future occasion the fuller consideration of this point.

M. A. OXON.

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## ART. II.—HIGHER EDUCATION IN WALES.

### *Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales: Report of the Departmental Committee.*

**I**N the March number of the *CHURCHMAN* I called attention to the account which the Committee give of the provision which at present exists in Wales, for Intermediate and Higher Education. I now proceed to consider "the conclusions" at which the Committee have arrived, and "the recommendations" which they have made on the subject.\*

As to their conclusions, they report that the means of ad-

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\* An article has appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for April, from the pen of Mr. Lewis Morris, one of the members of the Departmental Committee. Mr. Morris gives a clear exposition of the scheme of education recommended in the Report. He states that it "had not raised any strong adverse feeling on the part of any section of the community." Since he wrote, an influential meeting has been held at Bangor, in which strong exception was taken to some of the recommendations of the Report. I believe that exception will find a wide response in the Principality.



vanced education available to the youths of the Principality is, in quality and quantity, utterly inadequate to their wants—that in supplying the deficiency the particular circumstances and the distinctive characteristics of the country should be taken into account; and that, on the ground of these considerations, they think themselves justified in recommending the adoption of provisions for which there has hitherto been no actual precedent.

The particular circumstances and the distinctive characteristics which they name are—the sentiment of nationality which permeates the people; the Welsh language, which is still fresh and vigorous among them, and, as some think, places them at disadvantage in their competition for prizes and honours at the English Universities; their religion, which among the majority of the inhabitants is that of Nonconformity; the desire for advanced education which, notwithstanding the apathy of parents with regard to it, and their false estimate of its value and requirements, distinguishes the youths of the Principality; the comparative poverty of the classes—tradesmen in towns and farmers in rural districts—who stand in need of advanced education, and who are shown by the average acreage of agricultural holdings, the percentage of houses assessed to the house duty, the value of real property per head of the population and the assessment for the income-tax, to be generally poorer than the same classes in England; and the deficiency in Educational and Charitable endowments, which are also far below similar endowments in England.

These are the main conclusions on which their report is founded: and we have now to consider their recommendations. They suggest in furtherance of "Intermediate Education," that the endowed Grammar Schools should be reconstituted, and that in their reconstitution they should not only be made as efficient as possible, but should be so dealt with as to ensure their adaptation to local requirements and their hold on public opinion; that their reconstitution might be effected under the power of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869; and that a fresh appeal to the Legislature would not be called for, but that the wide discretion given to framers of schemes under the Endowed Schools Acts of Parliament could only in the case of Welsh Endowments be treated in one way and on very definite principle; that their reconstitution should be retrospective and applicable, not only to future schemes, but to cases that have already been dealt with, where the changes have not been sufficiently thorough; that they should be unsectarian or undenominational; and that in order that they may be reconstituted on this principle it is thought expedient that the masterships should be held by laymen, but essentially necessary that the religious instruction,

if given at all, should, except in cases which at the utmost are only three in number, where by the terms of the foundation very distinct and specific directions for religious instruction of a denominational character are imposed, be confined under protection of a conscience clause, to the reading and explanation of Holy Scripture, and should not include instruction in the doctrines or the formularies of any church, sect, or denomination; that the governing bodies should be popularly chosen, and fairly representative of the views and feelings, the religious sympathies and educational interests of the inhabitants. The Committee, however, do not feel called upon to prescribe any special mode of election, but consider that the settlement of such details should be left to those who will have to frame the schemes, and who will be guided by the special circumstances of each case, and by the expressed wishes of those most immediately interested. They suggest, again, that school buildings where the existing accommodation is insufficient or unsuitable, should be erected, and that the funds necessary for the purpose should be derived, not from the endowments of the schools, which are too scanty to supply any portion of the expense, but from one or two other alternatives, either from loans, to be repaid out of county rates, and in default of voluntary contributions, Parliamentary grants in equal proportions, or from loans to be repaid in the manner suggested, subject to the condition that the repayment and interest of the loan do not exceed a county rate of  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  in the pound, and that the excess of expenditure, if any, over the amount of the rate, should be defrayed out of a Parliamentary grant. The Committee suggest, further, that the schools, as regards their situation and the secular instruction imparted in them, should be conveniently and suitably adapted to the local circumstances and requirements of the districts in which they are situated; that the schools should be divided into two classes—one comprising first-grade classical schools, and the other schools of a lower character, providing instruction in the ordinary English subjects, in Latin, mathematics, in natural science, and in one foreign European language; that the majority of the endowed schools should be reconstituted after the type of the latter class, and that about half a dozen of them, shaped after the type of the former class, would suffice to meet the wants of the country. The Committee suggest, further, that in addition to the Endowed Grammar Schools thus reconstituted, improved and enlarged, new schools would be required in large towns and populous districts, that these should be second-grade grammar schools; that the cost of their establishment might be partly defrayed, in some instances, from endowments now applied to the support of elementary schools, and to the Grammar School at Monmouth, but that the main source of supply should be looked for elsewhere; that the funds needed

for their establishment should be obtained by means of a loan raised on the security of a county rate, and that assistance towards their maintenance should be received from a Parliamentary grant not to exceed £1 per head on the average attendance of scholars, and that they should be wholly undenominational and managed by governing bodies, elected mainly, though not exclusively, by the ratepayers or their representatives, the giving or withholding of religious instruction restricted as a matter of course to the limitations imposed on endowed grammar schools which are not controlled by specific terms of their foundation, and being left, I presume, to the discretion of the managers; that advanced elementary schools supplementary to intermediate schools, and providing education higher than elementary, might be established with advantage to classes of the population to whom, either on account of situation or cost, the grammar schools are not accessible; that these schools can be established under the provisions of the Elementary Education Acts, and are successfully carried on at Wolverhampton, Bradford, and other places, and that the localities which would best suit their adoption, are the large industrial centres, where the bulk of the population consists of small tradesmen and skilled workmen in receipt of high wages.

Further, they recommend in aid of advanced education, that a fund administered by a county board should be formed in each county out of the endowments now used in the maintenance of elementary schools and of other endowments applied to charitable purposes, such as doles and apprenticeships, and that exhibitions of the value of not more than £20 each and tenable in an intermediate school, should be awarded out of it, by competition, to boys and girls who have either attended a public elementary school, and have passed one of the two last standards provided by the code now in force, or are either natives of the country or whose parents have resided three years in the country, and who are either attending or seeking admission into an intermediate school, and other exhibitions of the value of not less than £20 and not more than £30 tenable in an intermediate school of the first grade, or in a provincial college, not being a theological college, to be competed for by candidates who are not less than fifteen years of age, and who are either natives of the country or whose parents have resided three years in the country; that another—a common fund to be managed by a representative governing body to which Jesus College, Oxford, the Welsh colleges and other institutions or representative bodies of persons might nominate, be created, to be called “The General Welsh Exhibition Fund” out of the Betton, and other charities such as those of Madam Bridget Bevan and of the Rev. Rice Powel at

Boughrood, a capital sum of £20,000 to be added to it from the Meyrick endowment at Jesus College, Oxford, and that the income of this fund might be so employed as to redress the inequality of the county exhibitions fund and to assist those districts more particularly where the local endowments are inadequate to provide the proportion of exhibitions needed, according to the size of the school and the number of the population, all the elementary schools from which these exhibitions may be competed for, and all the intermediate schools and colleges in which they may be held, to be situated in Wales and Monmouthshire.

Again, the Committee have paid particular attention to the intermediate education of girls; they show that in the Principality it is very defective, and that its need is great and pressing; they recommend that the Howell's Schools, at Llandaff and Denbigh, Dr. Daniel Williams' School at Dolgelly, and the Welsh School at Ashford, near Staines, in Middlesex, should be reconstituted, and that other schools, where wanted, should be established, with special reference to the requirements of female education, on the principles on which and after the manner in which they recommend the reconstitution and the establishment of intermediate schools for boys.

Further, in reference to "higher education" they recommend that a college be established for South Wales, in addition to Aberystwith College, which, whether retained on its present site or removed to Carnarvon or Bangor, must be accepted for North Wales; that each college should receive towards its maintenance a yearly grant of £4,000 from the Consolidated Fund; that the college for South Wales be placed in Glamorganshire, either at Cardiff or Swansea; that the cost of its establishment, if the Queen's Colleges in Ireland are taken as a precedent, should be met out of public funds, but that the resources of South Wales being considerable, and the expense only incurred once for all, the assistance afforded by the State might be properly supplemented by local contributions, raised voluntarily or by rate; that these colleges should be adapted, as regards their management and the course of instruction given, to the particular circumstances of the country, that they should be altogether unsectarian, and provide no kind of theological instruction, and that the principal in each case should be a layman.

And lastly, as the headstone of the entire edifice, they recommend that a University should be created for Wales; they suggest that it would exercise beneficial influence on higher education in the Principality; would bring it more closely home to the daily life and thoughts of the people; would gratify the national sentiment and furnish new motives for the pursuit of learning; would develop new forms of culture in affinity with some of the distinctive characteristics of the Welsh people, and like

a lesser luminary which in close proximity sheds more light than a far greater orb shining from a distant sphere, would help to diffuse the light of knowledge more generally through the Principality than has been or can be done by Oxford or Cambridge with all their prestige. While admitting the advantages of such an institution, however, they somewhat doubt the chances of its success, and they would have hesitated to recommend its creation if St. David's College had not been in existence, which has power to confer the degree of B.A. in Arts and of B.D. in Divinity. This being the case, they consider that it devolves on them to suggest, not the creation of a new University, but the further development of a university privilege which partially exists already in the Principality; and their recommendation is that the charter possessed by St. David's College to confer a degree in Arts be withdrawn, and that in substitution for it a new charter be granted, whereby the power of conferring degrees in Arts should be given to a syndicate or board, consisting of representatives in equal numbers of the governing bodies of St. David's College, University College at Aberystwith, and any other college, being a place of advanced secular instruction, which may be affiliated for the purpose; but that St. David's College should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of its Divinity Charter.<sup>1</sup>

Such is a brief outline of the scheme which the Committee recommend for the advancement of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales and Monmouthshire; it means, in short, Intermediate Schools improved, enlarged and multiplied, and colleges affiliated into a university; it is thorough and complete, and if it were based on sound principles and duly respected individual interests, I, for one, would heartily support it. I

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<sup>1</sup> As regards the endowments of Jesus College in their relation to "higher education" in Wales, the Committee make no specific recommendations: they consider that in the hands of the Oxford University Commissioners the subject has been committed to the charge of a body of men specially selected for their fitness to deal with the best appropriation of college funds in Oxford, and they have sent in their report on which the decision of Parliament must be taken. The Committee, however, have taken much evidence on the subject. The evidence embodied in the Report shows opinions of men of great ability and authority differing widely from each other as to the application of the revenues and endowments of the college and its place in Welsh education, and it produced on the minds of the members of the Committee themselves impressions which led them to different conclusions on the subject; they agreed to differ, and have made no recommendations upon it beyond suggesting that the sum of £20,000 might be applied out of the Meyrick endowment to "The General Welsh Exhibition Fund," and that Cowbridge Grammar School should receive a larger share of the endowment which the college enjoys under the provision of Sir Leoline Jenkins' will.

believe it would create a new epoch in the history of my nation, and confer inestimable benefits on my countrymen.

Religion—be it observed—is an accessory and not an essential element in the scheme; it is not the foundation-stone on which the edifice is erected, neither is it the chief corner-stone which gives stability and beauty to the building; it is a rubble-stone cast aside or thrown into the wall at the caprice of the workman. In Intermediate Schools, religious instruction, if given at all, must be “unsectarian” or “undenominational.” These terms are vague and ambiguous in the extent of their application; if pushed to the limit of their full meaning they become practically convertible with the word “secular.” One thing, however, is clear enough: the meaning which the Committee attach to the words cannot be mistaken; when they speak of unsectarian and undenominational instruction in religion, they mean religious knowledge diluted; they tell us that it does “not include instruction in the doctrines or formularies of any church, sect or denomination.” If the “doctrines” maintained by the Non-conformists of Wales, and embodied in the “formularies” of the Church of England are taken away, it is difficult to say of what the residuum consists; it is easy to conceive that it is a tasteless and colourless substance, and that the nutritive qualities are gone; whatever it is called, it does not deserve the name of religion, and much less is it entitled to the name of Scriptural religion, which under the phrase—“religious instruction confined to the reading and explanation of Holy Scripture”—the Committee by implication give it.

Then, again, in the colleges, Theology is to have no footing; no exhibition awarded either from a County Fund or the General Fund is to be tenable for the pursuit even of secular knowledge in a Theological College; and as St. David's College is to be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of its Divinity Charter, it follows that the syndicate of the new University will have no power to confer degrees in Theology. And thus Theology is put under a ban—in Wales of all countries in the world, where it has found so genial a soil, and where its growth has been so luxuriant. In the scheme for higher education which the Committee recommend for the benefit of the Welsh people, it is despised and rejected—the mistress of all the sciences is tabooed and proscribed, and held like a slave in bondage; it is to work in chains and fetters; it is to have no liberty and no free course among the people; if the instinct of the nation is developed in the direction of Theology, it must be checked and nipped in the bud; the scheme must act as an extinguisher upon it. Theology deserves other and better treatment; we can speak of it with greater truth than Aristotle spoke of Political Science—that it is (*ἀρχιτεκτονική καὶ κυριωτάτη ἐπιστήμη*) the science which

arranges and builds up society, and arranges and controls all its movements. It can be said of it in a higher sense than of the Political Science of Aristotle, that it (*χρωμένη ταῖς λοιπαῖς πρακτικαῖς τῶν ἐπιστημῶν, ἔτι δὲ νομοθέτουσα τί δεῖ πραττεῖν καὶ τίνων ἀπέχεσθαι*) makes use of all the other practical sciences and lays down the law and decrees what man is to do and from what he is to abstain; it teaches morals and directs human conduct on principles and from motives unknown to Aristotle and the other philosophers of Greece and Rome;<sup>1</sup> morals are her own domains, and there she sits a queen for ever; she holds the sceptre in her hand and her right there is none to dispute; and education, which takes in as an essential part of its work training in moral virtues, is within her province; in the work of education she takes the lead and asserts her supremacy. That is her proper place; yet in Wales, among Welsh youths, if the Report of the Departmental Committee is to decide the case, she is to lose her throne and to surrender her supremacy; she is to be deposed, and pushed into the rear, if not driven out of sight.

Again: Theology is not only a code of morals which prescribes the duties of man in all relations of life, but also a repository of doctrines which explain to man the place which he occupies in the system of the universe and shows unto him his destiny; it is a science which investigates problems which concern him in his highest relations and in his most permanent interests; it solves problems of eternal moment to him, which are and ever have been to the keenest intellects, and to the most powerful minds, in its absence, inscrutable enigmas; and these problems are not incidents of his life, which may or may not occur, but they are inevitable difficulties, which lie across his path; they are the laws of his nature and the conditions of his existence; they are his trials in life, and they are to him schools of discipline; he has no alternative; he must look them in the face; in their presence

<sup>1</sup> The words of Hooker on this point are these:—"There is not in the world a syllable muttered with certain truth concerning any of these three (Faith, Hope, and Charity) more than hath been supernaturally received from the mouth of the eternal God."—*Ecclesiastical Polity*, Book I. chap. xi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Butler expresses this sentiment in the following words: "Christianity is a republication of natural religion; it instructs mankind in the moral system of the world . . . and it is to be considered in a further view, as containing an account of a dispensation of things not at all discoverable by reason, in consequence of which several distinct precepts are enjoined us. It is not only an external institution of natural religion and a new promulgation of God's general Providence as righteous Governor and Judge of the world, but it contains also a revelation of a particular dispensation of Providence carrying on by His Son and Spirit for the recovery and salvation of mankind, who are represented in Scripture to be in a state of sin."—*Analogy*, pt. ii. chap. i.

he is helpless; his resources fail him and his condition is inextricable; Nature and reason, and science founded on Nature and reason, can give him no help. Theology alone can assist him in his distress; it can solve his difficulties, make his path clear before him, and show him a way of escape; if he will learn its lessons and obey its dictates it will "bring him forth into a larger room," and will give satisfaction to his mind and rest to his soul.

There can be no reason why the study of Theology should be discouraged because the pursuit of science is in the ascendant; one cannot be a substitute for the other; they have different fields of investigation. Science investigates Nature; it searches into its secrets and finds out its laws; it traverses its whole extent and goes to its utmost limit; there it stops and proceeds no farther; but Theology goes beyond Nature and enters on another and a higher field of investigation; while it reviews the moral elements of Nature it investigates other regions of which Nature knows nothing and saith nothing. Nature is not the field in which is found the "hid treasure;" that field is Divine Revelation, which with its doctrines and institutions—its laws and promises—has been given unto us, as Hooker tells us, "besides the course of Nature to rectify Nature's obliquity withal." And indeed the strides which science has made, and the ardour with which it is pursued in our days, supply a reason why the study of Theology should be encouraged; the two move in different spheres but they work in harmony, and they confirm each other's testimony, and the testimony of both is a witness for God. Science shows the prints of His feet which in performing the works of His hands He left behind in the constitution of Nature; and Theology teaches "the mystery of His will" which by the words of His mouth He hath spoken unto the world through Divine Revelation. As science makes fresh discoveries and discloses new resources in Nature, it pertains to Theology to explain that these discoveries and disclosures do not encroach on its province or weaken the force of the supernatural truths of which it is the depository.

Then, again, Theology has its literature and its history; its literature is the fruit of the most sanctified intellects and the most powerful minds that have ever appeared among the human race; it is a treasure of exhaustless wealth, and its value is inestimable. It is folly—and something worse than folly—to keep it under lock and key. The history of Theology is part and parcel of the history of the world; the history of the rise and fall of empires—of the growth and decay of nations—of civil as well as ecclesiastical institutions—cannot be explained, and its lessons cannot be learnt, unless the archives of Theology are opened and searched, and its records are read and understood; the lessons of history are lost to the world if the study of Theology is neglected. And, lastly, the state of Theology in the Principality



supplies another reason which leads in the same direction. Theology is rife among the Welsh people, and it is orthodox Divinity; their "deep-rooted convictions," to which the Report refers, are not in antagonism to, as the Committee would lead us to suppose, but in harmony with, the doctrines embodied in the Creeds and the Articles of the Church of England. It runs, however, in narrow grooves of sectarian shibboleths; it is cramped and confined, and wants more air and greater expansion. It should be abreast with the intelligence of the age, and keep pace with the progress of secular knowledge. It is possible that a school of Theology, in the proposed University, would do this service to Welsh Theology; it would at least relieve it from the trammels in which it is now enthralled under the influence of party zeal and sectarian jealousies, and it would give the Welsh people expanded views and enlarged sympathies in their doctrinal tendencies and religious aspirations. The transition may endanger its orthodoxy; I admit this, and I think it a question of serious import; but I have confidence in truth, and in the God of truth. Truth fears no search, but courts investigation; it has stood every test, and has survived all trials; and the sentiment is as good to-day as it was the day it was first uttered—"Magna est veritas et prævalet."

A University without a school of Theology is a misnomer. The science which of all others is the sublimest to which man can apply his mind, and which of all others, if understood, confers upon him the most substantial and abiding benefits, is omitted in its curriculum; if the seat of Theology is empty, then the throne of the queen—the mistress of all the sciences—is vacant—that science is discredited and dishonoured which as far transcends the others as "the heavens are higher than the earth."

Space now bids me drop my pen, but before I conclude I wish to record my protest against the proposition advanced in the Report that the Bevan and other charities now used in aid of Elementary Schools of the Church of England, should be appropriated to funds for exhibitions tenable in Intermediate Schools, and Provincial Colleges not being Theological Colleges, on the plea that elementary education has been provided for by legislative enactment. This proposition contravenes the spirit and the object of the Elementary Education Act of 1870, which was intended in its operation not to supersede, but to supplement voluntary schools; it makes a Board School after the type of the majority of Board Schools in the Principality, which are purely secular, a substitute for a voluntary school of the Church of England, in which religious instruction takes its proper place in the work of education. In the case of the Bevan Charity it clearly defeats the intentions of the donor. The money was

devised by a Mrs. Bridget Bevan for the use of "the Welsh Circulating Charity Schools." These schools, with the assistance of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, were established by a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. Griffith Jones, Rector of Llandownor, and author of an exposition of the Church Catechism used as a text-book in them. Their primary object was to teach poor people—adults and children, to read the Bible, and to instruct them in the Church Catechism, in the responses of the Church Services, in the principles of the Christian Religion according to the Church of England, and generally in their duty to God and man. It cannot be said that the intentions of the donor are respected, if money bequeathed for the use of schools of this type is diverted to the support of education which is practically secular.

J. POWELL JONES.

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### ART. III.—ECCLESIOLOGY: ITS ROOT AND ITS FRUITS.

"IT appears to be a fixed law of the spiritual world, necessary in the established order of events, that man should pass a period of existence during which, by belief, he virtually realizes to his own convictions that better system of things on which he is subsequently to enter by sensible experience."<sup>1</sup> History, however, shows us most unmistakably that man in his unregenerate state has no desire to make faith in God the mainspring of his course of life. A longing for *sensible* experience in the present, led astray the people of Israel when they cried to Aaron, "Up, make us gods which shall go before us, for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what has become of him;" and the like sensible experience has been the bait which has allured men to set up that vast sacerdotal system which has turned faith into credulity, made the word spiritual a mere synonym for supernatural, and the term religious "a title which might not be given to parents and children, husbands and wives, men and women fulfilling faithfully and holily in the world the duties of their several stations, but only to those who had devised a self-chosen service for themselves."<sup>2</sup> To such persons, "the patient waiting for Christ" would be intolerable, and the idea of the Church being in her minority most distasteful.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Archer Butler's Sermon on "The Expediency of Christ's Invisibility."

<sup>2</sup> "On the Study of Words," by Trench, p. 9.

They made a grand ideal to themselves, but it was of the earth earthy, and though decked out with Christian names and gorgeous attractions, its very hopes were diluted with ignorance and darkened with uncertainty.

That Ecclesiolatry, or Church worship, could gain the sway that it has done in the Christian world, shows how ready man is to prefer the experience of the senses to that of the spirit; and it would be interesting to trace in detail how the mischief has worked in all branches of Christian doctrine. It must suffice now, however, to draw attention to some of the serious social evils which "Church worship" has produced to the imperilling of the very foundations of society. As a necessary result of the materialistic sacramental teaching in this far-reaching system, there is an assumption of sacerdotal power by the priest, and he is raised to a position of dignity and authority, which is as dangerous to the common weal as it is to the spiritual life of the nation. In the palmiest days of Ecclesiolatry, our English Church Constitutions give a fearfully sad insight into the moral, or rather immoral, condition of the priesthood,<sup>1</sup> and yet to such men as these was entrusted the frightful and terrific weapon of excommunication. The frivolous manner in which even prelates wielded that weapon may be gathered from the following extracts from our public records and other documents.

In the Constitutions of Boniface (the Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Henry III.), it was stated that if any prelate be called by the King's letters before a secular jurisdiction to answer them upon any of the long list of matters set out in the Constitution—"We ordain by authority of this present council, that archbishops, bishops, and other prelates do not come when they are called for such spiritual matters, since no power is given to laymen to judge God's anointed." The bishops are directed to punish canonically any sheriff, bailiff, or official giving effect to a lay decree; "and if the king persist in his hardness," then the bishop who is particularly concerned is to "lay the cities, demesnes, boroughs, castles, and vills of the king himself under an ecclesiastical interdict;" and

<sup>1</sup> For example, in Archbishop Langton's Constitutions it is ordered, "Let not clergymen that are beneficed, or in Holy Orders, publicly keep concubines in their manses, or have public access to them with scandal, anywhere else." ("A Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws," &c., by J. Johnson, M.A., Vicar of Cranbrook, A.D. 1720, vol. ii. 1222-31). And Canon Liddon, in his sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral, on May 18, 1870, stated: "The experience of Christendom is distinctly unfavourable to any compulsory celibacy imposed on a world-wide order. Records preserved in the archives of this Cathedral, which refer to the clergy of the City of London during the century immediately preceding the Reformation, or, again the present condition of the clergy in South America or the Azores, supply evidence on this head, the force of which is irresistible."

if the king still repent not, "then let the archbishop and bishops lay their own dioceses under an ecclesiastical interdict."

The same kind of grasping authority over the laity and the jurisdiction of the Crown is frequently asserted throughout this Archbishop's Constitutions; and because the ecclesiastical proceedings against the Jews were often restrained by the lay courts, the Archbishop continues: "We ordain that such Jews be driven to make answer in such cases before a judge ecclesiastical, by being forbidden to traffic, contract, or converse with the faithful; and that they who forbid and obstruct, and that distress judges and others on this account, be coerced by the sentences of excommunication and interdict."<sup>1</sup> It would seem from this, that "Boycotting" is not an invention of the Irish Land League, but of prelates of the unreformed Church so far back at least as the year 1261. The ecclesiastical threats were levelled at the king when his uncomfortable position with the barons must have embarrassed him, and might have prevented energetic action on his part; but in the seventh year of his reign, on the occasion of some injunctions having been issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln, that no person should sell any victuals to the Jews, nor have any communication with them, the king ordered the sheriffs and mayors of Canterbury, Oxford, and Norwich to issue counter-injunctions, and to imprison any one who should refuse to supply the Jews with victuals or other necessaries of life.<sup>2</sup> Thirteen years later, the Bishop of London issued similar injunctions, which were at once countermanded by the king in a writ to the mayor and sheriffs of London.<sup>3</sup>

In the seventh year of the following reign (Edward I.) Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, ordained divers constitutions, and as to some which were in opposition to the laws of the realm, he was summoned before Parliament and obliged to submit to their revocation.<sup>4</sup>

It was in the same year that Archbishop Peckham quarrelled with the Archbishop of York as to precedence; and threatened to excommunicate every one in the province of Canterbury who should have any intercourse with the Archbishop of York, or supply him or his servants with the necessaries of life. He was obliged by the King and Parliament to revoke his threats.<sup>5</sup>

Again and again the struggle was renewed, and whenever the

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<sup>1</sup> "Ecclesiastical Laws, Canons," &c., by John Johnson, M.A.; part ii. 1261.

<sup>2</sup> Claus 7, Hen. III. m. 29: Prynne, "Ecclesiastical Records," ii. p. 387.

<sup>3</sup> Claus 20, Hen. III. m. 23: Prynne, ii. 476.

<sup>4</sup> Claus 7, Ed. I. m. 1: Prynne, iii. 235.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

Crown showed weakness, or was embarrassed by domestic or foreign difficulties, the ecclesiastical power strove again for the ascendancy.

Early in the reign of Henry VIII. the question whether an ecclesiastical decree could free the clergy from temporal punishment for criminal charges before the temporal judge, was formally argued in the case of the Abbot of Winchcombe, before the judges and temporal counsel of the Crown, in the presence of the King at Blackfriars. The matters were fully discussed. The Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop of York, protested to the king that the clergy were most loyal in their allegiance, but that they would not yield in this matter. The Chief Justice replied, and the King finally gave his decision :—

By the will of God I am King of England, and by ancient custom have no superior save God. I intend to maintain the rights of my crown as fully as any of my progenitors have done. You yourselves, of the spirituality act expressly against divers of the decrees, and interpret them according to your fancies. I will never consent to your desires.<sup>1</sup>

The discourse on "True Obedience" by the noted Bishop Gardiner, published in 1536, with a commendatory preface by Bishop Bonner, is interesting, as showing the line of argument which was then taken, when a man of the position and learning of Gardiner came forward to support the Royal authority in matters ecclesiastical. It shall suffice to quote two passages. The Bishop argued against the distinction then attempted to be set up—

That the prince should govern in temporal matters, and the Church in spiritual : after the which distinction, the prince, as the moon which is called the lesser light, should have charge of such matters as are of the night, but the other, which be of the spirit and of the daylight, he must reserve to the sun alone to be discussed. Forsooth a blind distinction, and full of darkness.

Again, he says that—

The Church is not one-handed, nor cut off by the stumps, but that it consisteth perfectly whole, the same prince being as the head ; whose office is to take charge, not only of human matters, but much more of divine matters. . . . (and) "How often do we read that the causes of heresy have been debated before emperors and princes, and discussed by their trial ? If we will boulte out the ancient laws of the kings of England in times past, how many shall we find concerning religion and the Church, made, proclaimed, and bidden to be put in execution by the commandment and authority of those kings.

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<sup>1</sup> "Keilway's Reports," 7 Hen. VIII. p. 180, &c.; and Burnet's "History of the Reformation," part I, book i.

We might have hoped that, in our Reformed Church, Ecclesiolatry and its attendant difficulties would have found no place; but just because the Church is, and always will be, imperfect on earth, we must expect that evils which spring from a low spiritual state, will appear in greater or less force when the Church's spiritual pulse beats so languidly that fancies, the outgrowth of false ideas of the supernatural, take the place of spiritual realities. When we read the Ritualistic manifestoes, we might imagine ourselves back again in the times of Boniface and Peckham. The latter no doubt carried their pretensions to an extent beyond that which is possible at the present day; but the arguments now advanced for ecclesiastical disobedience seem to have been borrowed from the Middle Ages.

In one particular the moderns suffer by comparison with the ancients, for their inconsistencies are more glaring. The moderns, with few exceptions, have voluntarily taken orders in the Church since the year 1833, when the old plan of making the ecclesiastical appeals to the King in Chancery was altered to that of making them to the King in Council. If they did not like such a mode of appeal, they should not have joined a Church where such was the rule, and even now they can relieve themselves by taking advantage of the Clerical Disabilities Act; but so long as they are members of the Church, the proper and Christian course is obedience to the law. Sir R. Peel, in March, 1841, well expressed such course, when, with reference to the endeavour made in Parliament for the release of *contumacious* Dissenters, who had been imprisoned by the Court of Arches for disobedience to its monitions in Church-rate questions, he declared—

The true and only safe principle to be, that while the law remained in force it must be obeyed. Alter the law if they pleased, but while it remained in force there would be a dissolution of the bonds of society, if upon the allegation of religious scruples individuals should presume to violate it.<sup>1</sup>

Again, many of these moderns have been invested with the dignity of a parish priest, by virtue of powers derived only under the "uncanonical" Church Building Acts, and in direct opposition to the ancient Church laws as to the formation of new parishes, which prevent a bishop from licensing a clergyman to officiate in a parish without the consent of the incumbent. If they voluntarily accept uncanonical statutes to gain admission into benefices, how can they consistently repudiate similar statutes which regulate the Church Courts?

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<sup>1</sup> Hansard, 57, p. 367.

Again, these moderns, who lose no opportunity of disparaging the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, were the first to appeal to it in matters ritual; and it would be well for them as they look at their crosses, credence tables, and variegated communion cloths, &c., to call to mind the indisputable fact that but for the Judicial Committee in the Liddell cases, all these articles of ritual furniture or ornament would be illegal. Even the late Bishop Philpotts decided against crosses and vases of flowers on the Sacramental Table as being illegal.

We gladly bring our remarks to a close, for Ecclesiolatry is a sign of a low ideal of Churchmanship, and to dwell at any length on such a subject is painful. It is refreshing to turn to the following incident in the Rev. Henry Martyn's *Memoirs*, as an illustration of that highly spiritual condition which our Church desires to see in her members, and which she forcibly strives to promote in the Ascension Day Collect, where the prayer is that we may ascend in heart and mind into the Heavens, and with our Lord *continually* dwell.

Very decidedly (it is stated of Martyn) did he differ in some important points from the Baptists. But it was with the sincerest grief that he heard, during his abode at Alden, of an order issued by the Government (though it afterwards proved that he was misinformed) to prevent their preaching and distributing tracts. So perplexed and excited was he by this intelligence that it even deprived him of sleep, and he spoke with so much vehemence against the measures of the Government, as, upon reflection, to afford him matter of self-condemnation. "I know not," he said, "what manner of spirit I am of. I fancy it is all zeal for God, but what a falsehood is this? . . . Did Jesus canvass the proceedings of Government in the spirit of one of this world? I pray to be preserved from ever falling into this snare again. . . . I trust I shall be able to distinguish between zeal and self-will. Let me never fancy I have zeal till my heart overflows with love to every human being."<sup>1</sup>

B. A. HEYWOOD.

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#### ART. IV.—PALESTINE AS A FIELD OF MISSIONS. .

**A**N inquiry into the position and prospects of Mission work in Palestine would probably be interesting to readers of *THE CHURCHMAN* at any time, but it must have a special interest at the present moment from the fact that the diocese is now without a bishop, and the Missions themselves are passing through a time of severe trial. The Holy Land being now one

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<sup>1</sup> "Henry Martyn's *Memoirs*," by Sargent.

of the correct places for tourists to visit there are numbers of amateur reporters who are ready to take home, and vouch for the truth of, any story that they may happen to hear on the spot. And if by any means they do not see the exact kind of success that they expected to find, they are too ready to say that the whole is unsuccessful, and ought to be abandoned. And when we hear it rumoured that there are those who sit on home committees who entertain some such opinions, it becomes a very grave matter, and ought to be looked fairly in the face. Ought success to be a test by which to determine the continuance or otherwise of a Mission? is a question that may be fairly asked. And in it is involved another, May there not be a success which cannot be calculated, which does not meet the eye? The craving for success may, and often does, hinder a real work from being carried on. It leads to a loose way of admission into the Church, and prevents that close searching preparation and probation which ought to be insisted on in the case of all new converts. One real believer, even from the point of view of future success, is of more value than a hundred who are willing to become Christians from a lower motive. And living in this Mission Field one cannot help feeling that a principal cause of present difficulties is the way in which the desire for early success has been allowed to influence the missionaries. And in saying this I would desire that it should be clearly understood that I do not wish to attach blame to any one. The real wrongdoers in the matter are the Christian public at home, who like to support that which gives most promise of success. Would such have been satisfied with what was to be seen of the life-work of our Lord? To leave this country, of all countries in the world, at the present time, without Christian missions would be a sadly mistaken policy; besides being unfaithful to the great command,—at the present time, when the False Prophet begins to totter on his throne, hastening to his fall, and when the first streaks of a coming glorious day begin to be seen.

There are three great divisions of the work in Palestine, each of which has its peculiar difficulties, its special methods, its separate promise. These are—work among the Jews, among the Mahometans, and among the members of Oriental Churches.

The difficulties are numerous and formidable, but not therefore insuperable. And first amongst these stands the fact that all look upon the land as holy, and each dweller in it as having some religious distinction conferred upon him. This applies in a special manner to Jerusalem, but also in a minor degree to the whole land. The Jew comes to end his days in the holiest spot upon earth, and lives here not only for his own benefit, but also for the profit, in some way, of certain synagogues



or congregations, in other parts of the world, of which he is the representative. What then less likely than that he should listen to the teachers of a religion which would not only show him to be utterly mistaken, but would also take the bread out of his mouth, for these are supported by "Haluka" or alms from the people whom he represents. The Mahometan regards it as one of the most sacred cities, and to live and die here is a sure way to Paradise. While the so-called Christian thinks he has special merit in being here. To listen to the truth would dispel all these illusions, and therefore they are not likely to be willing to do so. But the impossibility of toleration on the part of Mahometans is the main hindrance. It is true that the Turkish law acknowledges to a certain extent the principle of toleration, and in accordance with that a Mahometan may become a Christian. Every Mahometan, however, will tell you that though this is an agreement entered into with Christian nations, it is incompatible with the principles of Mahometanism, and is never intended to be observed.<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that Mahometanism is a very different thing in this country from what it is in India. There, with a just administration of the laws, and a proper consideration and protection for human life, it is possible for a Mahometan to become a Christian with some hope of being allowed to live; and yet how few Mahometans do become Christians any one acquainted with India knows only too well. How much more difficult must it be where the Government is Mahometan, and human life is held very cheap even among its own subjects.

Another difficulty which stands in the way of Jews and Mahometans is the idolatry, whether real or only apparent, of the various Christian Churches. It is not within the purpose of this paper to inquire particularly into the question whether there is a real idolatry practised or not. It is patent to any one acquainted with Jewish and Mahometan feeling on the subject, that even without entering into the churches the votaries of those religions must think that Christianity is idolatrous. The various processions are enough to convince them of this, and if they should but enter one of the churches nothing that could be urged would induce them to come to a contrary opinion. And herein lies the difficulty of the Christian missionary. He must repudiate these Churches. He must maintain that his

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<sup>1</sup> If a man becomes a Christian, though he cannot be arraigned before the Court for this, he can be accused of some crime, however falsely, and be speedily consigned to that most miserable death in life, existence in a Turkish prison. Or a cup of poisoned coffee might settle the matter even more easily, and no inquiries would be made respecting his fate. Is it wonderful that men dare not listen to the claims of Christianity when they know the terrible consequences?

religion and theirs are entirely different; he must so live and so worship as to convince Jews and Mahometans that idolatry is abhorred by Christians as much as by them. If only some members of our own Church realized the vastness of the stumbling-block they cast in the path of Jews and Mahometans they would be less ready to coquet with these Churches when they visit this land.

Another difficulty is the gross ignorance of the mass of the people of all the religions. There are a few Rabbis who are learned men in their own peculiar way; who almost know the Talmud by heart, and who can refer at once to nearly any passage you may name. There are others here too who, though not so learned, spend their time in the synagogue reading the Talmud and the synagogue prayers. But the mass of the people can only read the synagogue prayers and the Talmud without understanding the meaning, and the women cannot even do this. The lack of anything that may be called knowledge is simply astounding.<sup>1</sup> With the Mahometans the case is very similar, only that the number of the men learned in the Koran is much smaller than those learned in the Talmud; while the mass of the people in the towns know nothing, and in the villages the only one that can read the Koran is the Imâm.

And when we come to the Christian Churches the case is not much better. The Latins, it is true, have their schools, and their education in some respects is a fair one. The Armenians, too, in Jerusalem, have a good school, and their pupils are taught very well. Some of their drawings would do credit to our Art Schools in England, and the Patriarch being somewhat of a scientific man, has the pupils carefully instructed in much useful knowledge. There is also a Greek school to be met with here and there, but the instruction is very limited in its range and in its amount. The great mass of the members of all the Churches can neither read nor write; while even the priests can hardly do more than recite their prayers. I have conversed with Greek and Greek-Catholic priests who had no Bible in their possession, or within their reach, and who had scarcely ever seen a Bible. Such men are placed at a distance from all opportunities of obtaining knowledge, and are the sole instructors of the Christians around them.<sup>2</sup>

This ignorance, then, is a great incubus which rests upon all efforts to evangelize the country, and forms one of the difficulties

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<sup>1</sup> This applies principally to the Sephardim, the Ashkenazim being better instructed, though even they are very far from having a good education, and what they have they bring with them from other countries.

<sup>2</sup> I have indeed always found such men willing to accept a Bible, and most decided in their promises to read it.

in the way of the spread of the Gospel. And yet, as we shall see, here is a vulnerable point where the attack should be made with the greatest vigour.

I must also here name a difficulty which missionaries have to a great extent made for themselves.

In former days, when converts were rare, it was the custom to hold out every imaginable inducement to bring over some who were willing to become Christians or Protestants; and when they had come over they were very much petted, and made to think themselves of very great importance. Connected with this, and in some degree originating it, are two things which are still in existence and are a constant source of trouble and difficulty.

The first of these is, that it is the general custom of the convents here to provide houses, and in many cases food also, for the members of the various Churches. It is no secret that, about a year since, the Greek Church bought over by gifts and promises about 300 members of the Latin Church. Now, if such people get the idea that they would be better off as Protestants, they are quite ready to come and offer themselves. The conventual system has pauperized and degraded the whole population, for its effects are felt even beyond the Churches.

The other trouble that I referred to, is the system in existence in Turkey—that all recognized faiths have a right to have a representative in the Mejlis or Court, and any one getting into trouble and having to appear before this Court, has the right to be helped by the representative of his Church. And so when it is noticed that one representative has more power than another with the Mejlis, or is more unscrupulous in his dealings, the tendency with the natives is to place themselves under him. Now the Protestants have their Khodji Bash, or representative, and when it has been seen that he has been able to do a great deal to help those for whom he has to appear, many have wanted to place themselves under him; and, on the contrary, if he has not much power they are ready to withdraw.

Now, in former times, missionaries seem to have been too ready to fall in with these abuses, and to do very much to induce people to join their communion, and to stand by them when in trouble, not only to see justice done, but in some cases even to defeat justice and to let the wrongdoer go free. And under Turkish rule, this can always be accomplished by a little judicious pressure, and some use of golden arguments. But such action must of necessity demoralize the people, and make the converts utterly worthless. All the Missions here have had to suffer from the too great petting of converts, if not from the worse practices that I have named.

Oriental habits, too, undoubtedly form a difficulty in the way of the spread of the Gospel. Fatalism is not confined to Mahometans. It is common to all Orientals. "*Min Allah*"—it is from God—is constantly on the lips of all, and pious as it sounds at first it is neither more nor less than an excuse for laziness. And convenient as it is, it stands in the way of the knowledge of "God in the face of Jesus Christ." And the almost universal habit of lying and deception, holds back even professed converts from rising to that character which they ought to exhibit. So deeply is this evil rooted in the native character, that many missionaries seem to think that even the Gospel can never raise them. To me it seems that the teaching has not been sufficiently pointed, and that even real converts have not been trusted as much as they ought to have been.

Having thus adverted to some of the difficulties of Missions in this country, I would now pass on to speak of some of the methods of work. I may place these under four heads: (1) *Evangelistic*; (2) *Pastoral*; (3) *Educational*; (4) *Industrial*. On the first two heads I need not say much. The *Evangelistic* work is carried on much in the same way as in other countries. Visits to shops in the Sukhs or Bazaars, form a chief feature of this work. In these, especially amongst the Jews, a few may be gathered together, and by a little judicious management may be led to converse on religion, and the claims of Christianity may be pressed.

The bookshop, under the management of an earnest pious man, may be made a place of meeting for many who can hardly be induced to speak to a missionary anywhere else.<sup>1</sup> With the Jews, the model of the Tabernacle is a great attraction.

But it needs constant acts of kindness, an unwearied patience, and a readiness always to listen to stories of trouble, even if no help can be given, and so to lead the people to believe that the missionary is a true friend, who seeks only to do them good.<sup>2</sup>

(2) The *Pastoral* work is of much the same character as in England, and I should not name it but for the sake of remarking that the two great Societies at work here, the Jews' Society and the Church Missionary Society, seem to work on different principles. With the former, the Jewish convert is always the

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<sup>1</sup> Street preaching, properly so called, cannot well be carried on here. It was formerly tried with the Jews opposite the bookshop, but the result was far from encouraging, stirring up opposition without bearing any fruit.

<sup>2</sup> How much such a friend is needed can only be realized by those who know how harshly the people are treated by their own religious teachers; and how wide a door is thus opened very few, even of those at work, seem to realise.

missionary, the Englishman the pastor; while with the latter, the European is the missionary and the native the pastor. I will not take upon myself to criticize either, as no doubt both have good reasons to urge; but it seems to me that in principle and in practice the Jews' Society's method is the better. The convert may be expected to know better how to deal with his unconverted brethren, while the European clergyman ought to set a higher standard before the converts.

(3) The *Educational* method. Herein, I think, lies the hope of the Missions for the future. Satisfied as they have been for ages with the ignorance which is their stronghold, the people are now beginning to see the advantage of some education. Moreover, they wish for something European. They look at it undoubtedly from the worldly point of view. But I take it that education, even if only secular, which I do not advocate, must strike the death-blow of these false religions. One who receives an education which opens his mind, draws out his powers of thought, and gives him access to the knowledge, the philosophy and the religion of other nations, cannot remain a bigot in that which he must soon see is untenable. And so if he does not become a Christian himself, he cannot persecute the man who does. Before education the terrible intolerance of Mahometanism must fall. And though we do not like to lose one who has been taught in our schools, yet by even such the way is being opened for others to believe. That the Jewish Rabbis hold the same opinion as to the effects of education, is seen by the fact that they are even more strongly opposed to Jewish schools in which anything of a European education is given, than they are to our Christian schools. If it were necessary then, I could even bring myself to support schools in which no Christianity was taught. But it is not necessary; for very many parents both Jews and Mahometans, are willing to have their children taught Christianity for the sake of the other education that they may receive. And though the schools may not be able to give as good an account of their results as might be wished, they yet can, even now, render a very fair account.

It is remarkable how the Jewish boys who have been taught in the Mission Schools here are turning up again either here or elsewhere, and showing the fruits of their teaching by becoming Christians. Very many instances might be given. It is a more difficult matter when we come to schools for the Arabs. In these, to begin with, only a small proportion are Mahometans, the principal portion are Greek Christians, with a few Latins. Last year, in the girls' school, at Nazareth, with over fifty girls there was not one Mahometan. In the boys' school, at Jerusalem, the proportion is about one in five.

But, even if the children are brought into the school, the

difficulties are not over. To train them as Christians is one thing; to enable them to live as such is another.<sup>1</sup>

There is also much difficulty with the Jewish girls. If they attend the schools, they are married before the time for leaving, and before we could have any right to induce them to be baptized. So early are they married, that it is not an uncommon thing to have married girls, widows and divorced girls, among the scholars.

But is it to be said that no effect is produced? By no means. Many of these girls grow up Christian in heart, though, from the force of Oriental customs, unable to make a profession. And though they may not be Christian in heart, they will not be found amongst those who speak against Christianity, or joining with such as will persecute those who would become Christians. And as time passes on and the young men and women marry, who have been both educated in the Christian schools, there will be a still further advance. And therefore, though only a few of the scholars may become Christians, the schools are our chief hope, and ought to be maintained in the highest efficiency.

And this brings into prominence the Preparandi Class, which the C. M. S. are now fostering with much care. The importance of this portion of the work can hardly be exaggerated. It is most necessary that the members of it should be carefully selected, not only for ability, but also for promise of piety, at the least; while the training must be of such a character that they must all perceive that the teaching of the truth as it is in Jesus is the first thing. And they ought not to be employed as teachers until they have given evidence of personal faith in Christ as their Saviour.

They should also have some experience of English Christian family life, as well as training in the theology of the English

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<sup>1</sup> I may give an instance which occurred at Talitha Cumi, the German Deaconesses' school for girls. A child was brought to them at the age of two years, with neither father nor mother, and as it seemed without any relative—certainly with none willing to bring her up. She was taught there until she was about sixteen years of age—being a Christian in thought, feeling, and hopes. She had not been baptized, because that is never done until the legal age for deciding for themselves. She was under preparation for baptism, when suddenly an uncle appeared and claimed her. She refused to go, as she said she was a Christian, and intended to remain so. However, application was made to the Pasha, who ordered her to be brought before him; and when the uncle had proved his claim, and had found a husband for the girl, the Pasha married her there and then, and handed her over to the care of her husband, in spite of the entreaties of the girl and the remonstrances of the Consul and others. For some two or three years the poor girl was never seen. Just lately she has been allowed to appear again, but utterly broken in spirit, under thorough subjection. It can only be hoped that in secret she is still a Christian.

Church. These are points that need to be insisted upon because of their importance for the future, and because present arrangements are not yet such as to satisfy these requirements.

(4) *Industrial Training* of the young. There is no industry in the country beyond the supply of the ordinary necessities of life, and it is a most serious question how to provide work for the Christians. It is a difficulty felt by all, but most nearly touching the work amongst the Jews. The mass of the Jews here, being partly supported by the alms of their co-religionists in other parts of the world, can eke out a living by doing work at a very low rate. But when they become inquirers they lose this Haluka, and are driven away from their work. While they remain as inquirers, and for some little time after, they must be received into some institution for teaching them remunerative trades, or they must be sent to some other place in Europe or America where they can earn a living. And if they remain until they have had their training, they must then be sent away, as little or no work can be found here. Thus the Christian community is not enlarged, and so its influence is not felt increasingly as it ought to be. This difficulty is less felt among the Arabs (though with them it is an acknowledged difficulty), because they are able to continue their former mode of life. Yet for the young among them it is advisable that as much industrial training as possible should be given.

Now we come to the inquiry, What is the *out-look* of the Palestine Missions? It must be acknowledged that it is somewhat dark (there are various complications which need very careful handling—into these it is not my province to enter, but I believe that with earnest purpose and prayerful seeking for guidance they may be overcome), but not without indications of a coming brightness.

To bring on the brighter time there is needed a decided policy in the Home Committee—to support the Missions to the utmost of their power—to have a clear code of instructions, as to admission of converts, regulation of Missions, and position and power of the Missionary Conference. And on the part of the Missionaries there must be a loyal carrying out of such instructions.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some alterations in the Missions themselves are imperatively demanded, which cannot be indicated here; changes the necessity for which cannot be seen by visitors, however capable, in a hasty tour through the country. And not only changes are needed, but a considerable extension, chiefly in the way of schools. If the work is to make progress among the people, the schools must be multiplied. There ought not to be a village where it is possible for a Christian to live without its school; if these are placed under *efficient* superintendence the results will soon be seen.

There are many places too that ought to be occupied, as they are of very considerable importance. Hebron with its 600 or 700 youths, and two or three times that number of Mahometans, has no work done for it beyond the occasional medical and missionary visits of the agents of the Jews' Society. If the two Societies could unite in promoting a medical mission here, for Moslems and Jews, it would be found an important field of labour. No other mission could succeed, as far as we can see at present, but a medical man is much needed there; and if the *same man* be a true missionary much good work for the Lord might be accomplished. Akka (St. Jean d'Acre) ought also to be more efficiently occupied. There is a school here which does its quiet work, but more might well be done in it and around it. There is only a small Jewish population, about 130, with one synagogue, but it is a considerable town with more business and less fanaticism than most other places in the land.

But in Safet and Tiberias there is the most urgent need. There are in the former place from 10,000 to 15,000 Jews, and I should judge that there are nearly as many Mahometans.<sup>1</sup> Well, what is done for such a place? A missionary journey is undertaken once a year, when four or five days are all that can be given to it. And yet there are promises of fruit. The Jews' Society are most anxious to occupy this, "the city set on a hill," but they have not the means. It is, next to Jerusalem, the largest place in Palestine; it is perfectly safe for a missionary, and yet it is almost untouched. Again, in Tiberias there are 4,000 Jews, and as many Mahometans, as nearly as I can judge; and for it the same amount of work is done as for Safet. I can testify, moreover, to the desire for some teaching. In addition to my work among the Jews (for which they are here most grateful), I spent an intensely interesting evening in an Arab house, at the special invitation of many people. When I arrived, I found the room filled with the smell of coffee, the fumes of tobacco, and other odours indescribable, and inhabitants whose name was legion, but the evening was none the less to be remembered for its intense pleasure. Around the room were seated a number of men, about fifteen, including the Imâm of the Mahometans, the Greek-Catholic priest, and several men of some position in the place. While the coffee was preparing, before which it would not be considered polite to open the

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<sup>1</sup> Figures must be given with all reserve here, as there are no means of verification: for example, at Safet, last March, I was assured by one of the Rabbis that there were not more than 5,500 Jews in the place; while the Cadi stated to me, most positively, that he had 12,000 Jews enrolled, and the work was not completed, but he felt sure there would be 3,000 more. Each had his reason for his statement, so I conclude that the truth lies between the two.



principal business of the meeting, I gave them some account of an English manufacturing town. Afterwards I spoke to them on the Beatitudes. They were intensely interested, and one of them, in thanking me in the name of the others, said he could not tell why, but a great change had come over them; for a year since they would none of them have cared to come out for such a meeting, but now they were longing for such instruction, and would gladly come two or three times a week. And both they and the Jews are most anxiously asking for a school. It makes one's heart ache to turn away from such appeals, and say "The people of England cannot afford to send you a teacher."<sup>1</sup>

From these centres that I have named the whole country on this side the Jordan could be efficiently worked with a system of schools in all the villages. So that the expense of thorough occupation is not a very great additional burden, demanding very few European missionaries, but calling for a careful and judicious development of the *Native Pastorate*. The fostering care of a wise bishop is needed for this. The men to be ordained must be carefully chosen and lovingly trained; trained by one who is thoroughly loyal to the English Church, and well versed in English theology. The appointment about to be made by the C. M. S. in connection with the Preparandi Class is of the utmost importance, and for it a suitable man should be carefully sought. Upon him depends very greatly the character of the native ministry of the future; though even after careful training injudicious treatment may spoil the work.

The appointment that may be made to the bishopric must have a great influence upon these Missions.

It is evident to most that the united bishopric, however good in theory, is in practice more of a hindrance than a help, and, though the withdrawal of Germany would necessitate the loss of half the income, it is for the good of the Missions that the sacrifice be made. The English are supposed to have all the benefit of the union. Certainly the Germans have none, and English missions are rather hindered by it. So it is devoutly to be hoped that Germany will withdraw. Then if an Englishman—a Churchman of piety, love, zeal, in whom the two Societies have full confidence—be appointed, we may look, under God's blessing, for great results. At present there is no Diocesan Organization of any kind, no oversight, and no stimulus to zeal.

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<sup>1</sup> An occasional visit is paid to Tiberias by one or other of the agents of C. M. S. stationed at Nazareth.

If a catechist or schoolmaster could be placed in each of these towns, Safet and Tiberias, and a pastor put over them who might reside for six months at Tiberias, and for the hot season in Safet, there would be every prospect of success. They are near enough for an occasional ride from one to the other, so that an efficient inspection might be maintained.

For something near six years, if not more, there have been no confirmations even, except in Jerusalem and Egypt. Bishop Barclay had laid plans which he was about to carry out when he was suddenly called away. If his successor will come to us with a firm faith in the power of the Gospel, in a spirit of humility, and with an earnest spirit of prayer, and will work in entire harmony with the two Societies, we may then look in confidence for abundant blessings to descend upon this land—once so honoured, now so down-trodden, yet in the future to be so highly exalted through the presence of her glorious King.

A. HASTINGS KELK.

Christ Church, Jerusalem.

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ART. V.—MODEL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE  
SICK POOR.

IT is now about half a century since the Provident system of medical relief was first tried in this country. For some time it made little or no progress; but during the last few years it has taken a fresh start. The vast increase in the numbers, in the wealth and in the political power of the working classes, renders every subject which affects their well-being a matter of importance to the nation at large. In particular it is felt to be most desirable to cultivate habits of prudence, forethought and self-reliance. For these reasons the Provident system now stands high in public favour. It has been adopted by some of our most eminent social reformers. Provident dispensaries, and kindred institutions, have been opened in many towns and villages; and at the present time a great scheme is being developed, under the name of "The Metropolitan Provident Dispensaries Association," with the view of giving the working people, in every district of London, the means of insuring themselves against the expenses of sickness through the agency of Provident Dispensaries.

My present object, however, is not to speak of the Provident system in general, but rather to direct attention to a particular locality in which it has been actively developed, and in which the medical arrangements for the relief of the sick poor are singularly good. This locality is Battersea—a parish which is in some respects remarkably well suited to form a field for enterprises of this kind.

The old parish of Battersea has of late witnessed great changes. At the beginning of last century it was the chosen home of the famous Lord Bolingbroke. His splendid residence was on the

banks of the Thames, next to the parish church. Antiquarians may still see a wing of the mansion, with a cedar-panelled room, within the yard of the adjacent flour-mill. Bolingbroke's monument, designed by Roubillac and adorned with characteristic sculpture by his own hand, is in the gallery of the church, whose quaint spire is a familiar object by the river side. But Bolingbroke would no longer recognize the picturesque little village of his day. The improvements which have been made in the central parts of London have driven artisans into the suburbs by thousands and tens of thousands. Before this emigration commenced, Battersea had already become a great centre of railway traffic. Almost all the railways to the south of the metropolis converged at Clapham Junction, and Clapham Junction is about the geographical centre of Battersea parish. What then could be more natural than that the working people should seek fresh homes in the neighbourhood of Clapham Junction, from whence they could be conveyed by rail to every part of the metropolis?

Thus the river-side village gradually extended itself to the south and south-west. The fine old suburban residences of rich citizens and wealthy gentry have been bought by speculative builders. Among others, the estate of Broomwood, the home of William Wilberforce, has quite recently been cleared and cut up by roads; while only this year Lavender Sweep, which is associated with the name of Tom Taylor, has been sold for building purposes, and already a street has been carried through it. In this way many acres of ground have been covered with small houses. Though in the lower parts of Battersea there is doubtless much squalid poverty, yet a great portion of the area of the parish is occupied by dwellings for a high class of artisans.<sup>1</sup>

Battersea, as it now stands is, as it were, an entirely new town, which may well demand new arrangements for medical relief.

Such is the site on which the various institutions we are about to describe have been erected.

It is the boast of Englishmen that no one need suffer the extremity of want, or die untended, if only he will accept the charity which the State has provided. With regard to the sick, our Poor Law, as amended by the Act of 1868, supplies all that can reasonably be expected. Where the Workhouse Infirmary

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<sup>1</sup> The increase of the population has been astounding. Thus—

In 1841	it was	6,617
„ 1851	„	10,561
„ 1861	„	19,582
„ 1871	„	53,988
„ 1881	„	107,199

And if it continues to increase at the same rate, it is estimated that by 1891 the population will have reached 147,000.

is well administered, it provides the patients with everything that is necessary. And, indeed, they may now receive, through this agency, or when transferred to a Sick Asylum, as good treatment as they can obtain at any charitable hospital.

The Infirmary of the Wandsworth Union is an admirable specimen of its class.<sup>1</sup> Thus the sick poor of Battersea, who have occasion to ask alms of the ratepayers, are met in a kind and liberal spirit. The charity, which the Poor Law affords them, is dealt out with no grudging hand. So that, as far as this class of the population is concerned, the arrangements are all that could be desired.

But it is a more difficult matter to know how to provide during the time of sickness for the class who are immediately above the paupers.<sup>2</sup> It has been the custom hitherto to provide for the medical wants of this class by charitable dispensaries and hospitals; and there can be no doubt that these institutions have done much good. Whatever alterations may now be required, in consequence of the altered state of society, we must never forget to give the charitable dispensaries and hospitals the meed of praise which they deserve.

The dispensaries not only receive patients at their consulting rooms, but they also undertake to visit the sick poor at their own homes. This has always been a very valuable feature in the work of the dispensaries, and must have brought an infinite amount of relief and comfort into many a poor man's family. But it is obvious that cases must constantly arise of such a serious, or of such a chronic character, that they cannot be adequately treated in a working man's home. Hence arose the need for charitable hospitals. At first these institutions confined themselves to receiving in-patients; but gradually they developed out-patient departments as well, and now these out-patient departments are conducted upon a very large scale.

Such is the provision which the voluntary benevolence of the public has made for that class of the community who are above

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<sup>1</sup> It is a modern building, and, at the time of its erection, the Guardians did their utmost to secure thorough efficiency by consulting various experts, and, amongst others, they took the advice of Miss Florence Nightingale. The structural arrangements are good, the wards are large and airy, the nursing is under the superintendence of trained and paid nurses; while the position of the medical officer has been greatly improved by the erection of a separate villa for his residence.

<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding all that was done by Lord Cranbrook's Act in 1868 to improve the Workhouse Infirmarys, there is still a great prejudice against them in the minds of the poor. The effect of this is that few or none will enter the infirmary unless they are driven to it by the pinch of extreme poverty. Those, therefore, who administer Poor Law sick relief may be tolerably sure that the applicants need the charitable assistance they obtain; and if they need it, it is likely to do them nothing but good.

the level of pauperism, but who, nevertheless, are not in a position to pay a doctor of their own. And a splendid provision it is! The number and magnificence of our charitable institutions for the treatment of the sick poor is the admiration of foreigners; and there can be no doubt that the care which is thus shown by the rich for their poor and suffering neighbours helps to bind different classes together, and gives strength and stability to the foundations of English society.

The number of dispensaries and hospitals in London alone is rather more than one hundred; and the number of individuals who annually avail themselves of the dispensaries, and of the out-patient departments of the hospitals, is fully one million.

Now, when we ask who they are who constitute this enormous number of persons, we find that they belong to various grades in society. Perhaps one-third, or one-fourth, belong to that class for whom the charitable relief of the dispensaries was originally intended, and whom we may distinguish as the struggling poor—those who need a helping hand to enable them to keep their heads above the level of pauperism. To assist such persons in a suitable and judicious manner is a true work of charity.

But of whom are the other two-thirds, or three-fourths, composed?

A few of them—let us say, 2 or 3 per cent.—are persons who have no claim at all to charitable relief. They could quite afford to engage a medical man of their own, and to pay him his ordinary charges. Such persons ought, whenever they are detected, to be rigorously excluded from the out-patient rooms. They are taking a mean advantage of the charity which is intended for others, and they ought to be dealt with accordingly.

If now we set aside this comparatively small number, it would appear that the great bulk of the applicants belong to the well-to-do work-classes—persons who are earning from 25s. to 50s. a week, and who can live in tolerable comfort, with a small margin to spare. Such persons, it is true, could not afford to pay a heavy doctor's bill, but neither, on the other hand, ought they to be encouraged to rely upon charity. If the great bulk of the industrial classes is to look for gratuitous assistance in time of sickness, what has become of the independence and self-reliance of the English nation? Sooner or later, sickness is almost as certain to arise in every family as is the need for food, for clothing, or for education. Is provision to be made for these latter wants, and is no provision to be made for the former? Is there no plan by which the working classes can be provided with medical attendance and medicine on terms suitable to their wages, so as to relieve them from the temptation of thus leaning upon others? Undoubtedly there is. This is just what the Provident system aims at doing; and it is certain that, if it were

generally adopted, it could supply the best drugs, and the most efficient medical attendance, on a scale of charges that would be within the reach of almost all who are above the level of pauperism. This has been proved beyond a doubt. The experiments which have been made upon a small scale show how efficient the system might be made, if it were adopted on a large scale.

Let us now see what provision has been made for the working people of Battersea on the Provident system.

In 1844, a charitable dispensary was founded in the parish. This mode of administering medical relief might be well enough in a village, where every really poor person was known; but in a populous suburb, such as Battersea was even then becoming, it was calculated to develop serious abuses. And not only was the principle upon which the dispensary was founded a faulty one, but the institution itself could hardly be said to have a very vigorous existence. Accordingly, in 1876, it was converted into a Provident Dispensary. From that time to the present it has gone on growing in extent and in usefulness. The Honorary Subscribers have shown a lively interest in the institution. The number of benefit members has steadily increased: while a sum proportionate to the services required of them has been set aside as an honorarium for the medical officers. If we turn to the Report for 1881, we find that over 8,600 persons were members during the year, and they received nearly 27,000 attendances from the medical staff—about one-half of these being at the patients' own homes, and the rest at the Dispensary. The financial position of the institution is said to be equally satisfactory. The balance available for division among the medical officers, after paying rent, dispenser, drugs, &c., was £617. This sum, by the rules, was divided according to the number of patients who had entered their names on the list of each medical officer; so that the payment bears an exact relation to the work done.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The following figures give a clear view of the progress of the Dispensary, and show the number of members, and the sum divided among the medical men, since the institution was put upon its present footing:—

In 1876 . . . . .	3,634 . . . . .	£112
„ 1877 . . . . .	4,006 . . . . .	£242
„ 1878 . . . . .	4,784 . . . . .	£271
„ 1879 . . . . .	5,016 . . . . .	£355
„ 1880 . . . . .	6,160 . . . . .	£415
„ 1881 . . . . .	8,639 . . . . .	£617

The remarkable increase in 1881 was due to the fact that a collector was appointed to call on the members and to receive their subscriptions. Thus they were reminded that their payments were due, and were saved the time and trouble of going to the Dispensary.

Among so many members it will easily be understood that cases not unfrequently arise which require in-patient treatment. But the two nearest hospitals, St. Thomas's and St. George's, are both about four miles distant. Moreover, both of these institutions rest upon a charitable basis. The former was founded by endowment for the sick poor, and the latter is supported by voluntary contributions for the benefit of the same class. Neither the one nor the other contain an element of self-help, such as it was the desire of the Battersea Committee to promote. Apart from this objection, four miles is a long distance to convey people who are so ill as to require in-patient treatment, and it is a long distance for their friends to go on visiting days. What could be more natural than that the managers of the Provident Dispensary should think of starting a new hospital in their own district, and placing it, as far as possible, upon a self-supporting basis?

Just at this time the fine old mansion, called Bolingbroke House, was offered for sale. It stood in a very healthy situation on the edge of Wandsworth Common, so that the principal frontage could never be injured. It was originally built for Mr. Willis, the banker; and though only four miles from Charing Cross, it was then a country seat, surrounded by a well-wooded park, with a lake and many acres of demesne. Already, in 1878, the extensive grounds around the house had been laid out for streets, and it was a question whether the mansion itself should be demolished to give place to small tenements. At this point Canon Erskine Clarke, the Vicar of Battersea, stepped in, and bought Bolingbroke House for £4,000, with the view of its being converted into a pay-hospital. The mansion itself, substantial and spacious, is well adapted for the purpose; and, as it occupies the entire space between two roads which have been cut at right angles to Wandsworth Common, it has a frontage on three sides, while the pleasure grounds which surround it secure an open space at the back. There is, therefore, a free circulation of air; and as the house looks out upon the fine elms of Wandsworth Common, it is likely for many a day to retain something of its rural character. When the house had been secured, an appeal was made for donations, in order that it might become a public institution; and the late Mr. Philip Cazenove headed the list with £500. Other donations have since been received, bringing up the total to £6,000.

But in the meanwhile additional expenses had been incurred besides the purchase-money.<sup>1</sup> The result is, however, very satis-

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<sup>1</sup> The sanitary arrangements of the mansion were revised by Mr. Frederick Beeston, of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, who gave his professional services as a donation to the experiment. It was found also that altera

factory. The hospital stands on freehold ground, and certainly if it had been built *de novo* at the present day, the cost would have far exceeded £10,000.

About the same time that Bolingbroke House was purchased, it was thought desirable to open a second Provident Dispensary for the Wandsworth Common district, as the Battersea Dispensary was too far off for the convenience of the residents in that neighbourhood. A local committee was formed, and the Wandsworth Common Provident Dispensary was opened in 1879. Some good basement rooms in Bolingbroke House, as well as apartments for a resident medical officer, were placed at the service of the Committee; and there the Wandsworth Common Provident Dispensary has been carried on ever since. It forms, in fact, a provident out-patient department for Bolingbroke Pay-Hospital. This second dispensary has also steadily advanced in numbers. The following figures show the number of its members in each year:—

In 1879	.	.	.	.	.	972
„ 1880	.	.	.	.	.	1168
„ 1881	.	.	.	.	.	1266

The medical officer of the Dispensary also acts as house-physician to the hospital, taking a general superintendence of its medical arrangements, and looking after in-patients under the direction of the visiting physicians and surgeons.

In December, 1880, the first in-patient was received into Bolingbroke Hospital, and from that date up to October 31, 1881, thirty-four patients have been treated in its wards. These persons have all contributed something, in proportion to their means, towards the expense of their maintenance, it having been found the best plan not to make fixed charges, but to inquire into the circumstances of each patient, and to require such a payment as he could reasonably afford. The individual payments have ranged from 12s. 6d. to £3 3s. per week; the latter charge being for a private room. The majority of cases have paid £2 2s. a week. The average weekly payment from each patient has been £1 10s. 6d.; and the total paid by patients has been £203 13s.

Each patient has cost, on a weekly average, £2 5s.<sup>1</sup> The

tions had to be made in the drainage; some of the internal fittings had to be modified; the grounds had to be enclosed, and the roads completed; and in due time some of the wards had to be furnished. All this involved an expenditure of nearly £3,000 in addition to the purchase-money.

<sup>1</sup> In arriving at this calculation certain charges have been included which are incident to the first establishment of the hospital. It may therefore be safely concluded that the average cost will in future years be less, because a staff of attendants had to be maintained for several months to prepare the house for the reception of patients. It is also



patients' payments have already defrayed 67 per cent. of the expenditure; and the Secretary expresses his confident opinion that, if all the beds were filled, and the weekly average payment of £1 10s. 6d. were maintained, the hospital would be self-supporting.

Of the thirty-four patients admitted, twelve were men, and twenty-two women. Many cases had, for various reasons, to be refused. Incurable cases, or cases of insanity, fits, &c., are, by the rules, inadmissible. A considerable proportion of applicants who sought to make the hospital their last home, or who proposed an altogether inadequate payment, were also declined.

Notwithstanding the great difficulty of making known the existence and advantages of a fresh institution, which can only be done by expending a large amount in advertising, it is interesting to observe, that of these thirty-four patients, eleven came from Battersea, fifteen from other parts of London and its suburbs, five from the provinces, and three from abroad.

Of those patients who resided in Battersea, six were members of the Provident Dispensary, which may be regarded as the out-patient department of the hospital. These six would have found ready admission to any of the charitable hospitals, and would, probably, have resorted to one or other of them, had there not been such an institution at hand as a Pay-Hospital, where they could obtain the medical assistance they required without sacrificing their independence and self-respect.

The first Annual Report of the hospital, from which these particulars are taken, gives a list of the occupations of the thirty-four in-patients; and it shows that they belonged, almost entirely, to the lower middle-class—just that class upon whom severe sickness falls the most heavily, and who would certainly, in most parts of the country, have to apply to a charitable hospital. And yet it is highly undesirable that such persons should be led to regard themselves as "objects of charity." They are able and willing to pay something for themselves, if only they could turn at once, when sickness comes upon them, to such an institution as Bolingbroke Pay-Hospital, where they would receive all the medical care and attention that their case required, and where also a kindly consideration would be shown for their pecuniary circumstances.

In order that the payments may fall still more lightly upon those who are disposed to use the hospital, the managers have been considering whether they could introduce a *system of*

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obvious that with an increase in the number of patients the charge per head will proportionately decrease, as the same staff will probably be sufficient to attend upon twice the number.

*insurance against the expenses of severe sickness.* The Provident Dispensaries now offer a system of insurance against the expenses of slight sickness. Why should not the same principle be carried a step further? As far as we can see, there is no reason why it should not, though the details may be difficult to arrange. The lower-middle and industrial class can rarely save much. But they can *insure* in many different directions. And a fresh line of insurance would be opened up before them, if the plans which the managers of the Bolingbroke Hospital have under consideration could be popularized. Perhaps a beginning could be made by offering the members of the Wandsworth Common Provident Dispensary to insure a fortnight's in-patient treatment per annum (if it was deemed necessary), on payment of double rates. Or the advantages of the hospital might be thrown more widely open, and any person who was willing to pay regularly 5s. a quarter might become entitled to the same privilege. If these rates were not suitable, a little experience would show in what way they ought to be readjusted.

Thus we have surveyed the arrangements which have been made for the sick poor in a single parish. If similar arrangements could be introduced into every parish, their beneficial effect upon the moral and social condition of the working classes would be incalculable. Sooner or later sickness enters into every family, and not unfrequently drags it down into poverty. But if a scheme of Sick Insurance could be devised, which would prevent this sad result, while at the same time it encouraged habits of prudence and forethought, there would be good reason to hope that the prosperity of the working classes would be placed upon a firmer basis. Though fluctuations in trade must continue to occur, and seasons of commercial depression must from time to time be expected, yet, when the drain caused by sickness was removed, the working man would be able to face these periods more hopefully; and the same forethought which led him to provide against sickness would probably teach him to make provision also against the time when work was slack.

W. FAIRLIE CLARKE, M.D.

ART. VI.—EPISCOPACY IN ENGLAND AND WALES;  
ITS GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT TO THE  
PRESENT TIME.

PART II.—THE SAXON CHURCH.

“WHEN the night is darkest the dawn is nearest,” and so a brighter day was soon about to shine on the remnant of persecuted Christians who still remained in England proper. Those also, who had made their homes among the western hills, and had been faithful to the truth during several generations, were about to see their principles triumph. In my boyhood I was once greatly interested by the suggestiveness of a little woodcut; it represented the burning bush which Moses saw, with the legend under-written *Nec tamen consumebatur*.

Every one has heard the romantic story—the truth of which, however, I do not impugn—of Gregory, afterwards Pope, but then a Deacon, being attracted by the pretty children in the market-place, and his double pun upon the words “Angli,”<sup>1</sup> which the children were, and “Deira,” the portion of Northumbria from which they had come. But every one is not aware that Augustine received a real Christian welcome; for Bertha, the queen of Ethelbert of Kent, was a Christian lady from Gaul, and he had a reception such as he could not have expected, and certainly would not have received from the heathen Saxons merely. Thus, the new church, or rather the new foundations of it, were laid more or less on the old lines: the chain was attached to the old one; and Providence seemed to be contradicting by anticipation the story of later times, that in 596 Augustine introduced Christianity into England for the *first* time. All honour to him, however, for what he did; the true story of the good work requires no exaggeration or addition. All honour, in like manner, to Christopher Columbus, who did *not* discover America;<sup>2</sup> but who was the first known European to touch its central portion, the northern parts having been known and visited for centuries, almost as far south as New York. And all honour to John Bunyan, who did *not*, in a strict sense, write the “Pilgrim’s Progress,”<sup>3</sup> but who adapted in plain Saxon English to the

<sup>1</sup> Non Angli sed *angeli* forent, si essent Christiani.

<sup>2</sup> “*Antiquitates Americanae, sive scriptores septentrionales rerum Antecolumbarium in America*,” studio C. C. Rafn. Copenhagen. 1837. [French edition, 1845.] See also Longfellow’s poem, “The Skeleton in Armour.” There is, in the Royal Museum at Copenhagen, a department for antiquities illustrative of America.

<sup>3</sup> “Le Pèlerinage de l’Homme compared with the Pilgrim’s Progress of

popular theology of his own time, part of the work of William de Guilleville, a monk of Normandy. This was known and admired in various countries of Europe, centuries before Bunyan was born.

Augustine was wise in his generation, or the Pope who sent him, probably both; for instead of his appearing with one or two followers, he came with forty of his brotherhood. This little army of spiritual warriors showed that they meant conquest, and they obtained an important *status* from the first, instead of approaching as petitioners, "with bated breath and whispering humbleness." They were received with great kindness; and Ethelbert not only showed them many favours but after some hesitation became their first convert. Augustine, therefore, instead of remaining at London, which was then a mere village in comparison with what it is now, settled at Canterbury, the little capital of the kingdom of Kent. This afterwards became the Primatial See. But, though London sunk from the first rank to the second, it retains that to the present day. After the two Archbishops, the Bishop of London takes precedence without regard to seniority of consecration.

(viii.) CANTERBURY.—There were now two branches of the Christian Church in the land (*a.*) the British and Scottish [*i.e.*, the Irish Celtic] and (*b.*) the Italian. They differed in the mode of computing Easter and also in reference to the tonsure; and unimportant as these points may appear to us, they evidently interfered with the uniformity or catholicity of the observance, and led to great results.

1. The Italian or Roman branch quite ignored their episcopal predecessors and contemporaries. They date the advent of Christianity from A.D. 596; and their lists which now furnish us with the principal materials of history, do not notice any one previous to that date. But inasmuch as there were several bishops at hand, Augustine had to decide what he should do in the matter of consecration. So in a set of nine questions which he sent to the Pope for solution, one (No. 6) was whether a single bishop might consecrate, when owing to distance another could not be had. Gregory's reply was, "Inasmuch as you are the *only* bishop in England, there is no other way of securing the consecration."<sup>1</sup>

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John Bunyan." 4to. 1859. "Le Pèlerinage de l'Ame." 4to. 1859. Both are copiously illustrated with coloured engravings. De Guilleville takes the pilgrim through this world, purgatory, and heaven; Bunyan modernizes the first part only. De Guilleville was born at Paris in 1295, he became Prior of the Royal Abbey of Chalis, and died in 1360. His work is quoted by both Chaucer and Lydgate; and the second part, or "The boke of the pylgremage of the Sowle," was printed by Caxton, in 1483. Numerous copies, French and English, printed and in manuscript, are in the British Museum. There is also a Dutch one. The two 4to volumes referred to here were edited by Miss Katherine J. Cust, and printed for subscribers. They are now rare.

<sup>1</sup> Bede, i. 27.

2. Various conferences were called in the hope of settling the disputed points—the first, at St. Augustine's Oak, probably near Canterbury, A.D. 603, but nothing was agreed upon. There were seven British bishops present, and several learned men chiefly from the great monastery of Bangor Monachorum, near Chester. Again they failed to agree, when Augustine, somewhat irritated threatened [his apologists say he “prophesied”] that in certain circumstances they should perish by the hand of the Saxons. This actually happened in 607, after the battle of Chester, when twelve hundred monks were massacred in cold blood,<sup>1</sup> who had gone out to pray for success to the side which they favoured. It is clear that Augustine knew well how readily difference of race would add to the animosity originating in difference of creed.

Oswi, King of Northumberland, summoned a great Council at St. Hilda's Monastery of Whitby, in 664, to try to arrange the differences between the two branches of the Church. The

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<sup>1</sup> Bede says “de his qui ad orandum venerunt, viros circiter *mille ducentos*, et solum quinquaginta fuga esse lapsos.” The numbers are given very diversely, but the monastery is said to have supported 2,400 monks before Augustine's time, divided into seven sets. The Saxon Chronicle coincides with Bede in the record, but says “sloh eac .cc. preosta” [perhaps the scribe omitted the letter m; indeed there is evidence of an omission, in the point which occurs before the letters.] The translation is, “This year Ceolwulf fought against the South-Saxons. And this year Aethelfrith led his army to Chester and there slew numberless Welshmen. And so was fulfilled the prophecy of Augustine wherein he saith: ‘If the Welsh will not be at peace with us they shall perish at the hands of the Saxons.’ There were slain . . . ? two hundred priests who came to pray for the army of the Welsh; their caldor was Scromail [Brocmal], who with some fifty escaped thence.”

Bands that masses only sung,  
 Bands that censers only swung,  
 Met the northern bow and bill,  
 Heard the war-cry wild and shrill:  
 Woe to Brocmal's feeble hand,  
 Woe to Olfrid's bloody brand,  
 Woe to Saxon cruelty,  
*O miserere Domine!*

Weltering amid warriors slain,  
 Spurn'd by steeds with bloody mane,  
 Slaughter'd down by heathen blade,  
 Bangor's peaceful monks are laid:  
 Words of parting rest unspoke,  
 Mass unsung and bread unbroke;  
 For their souls for charity

*Sing O miserere Domine!*—SCOTT.

William of Malmesbury, who wrote about 500 years after this event, describes the former greatness of the monastery and its desolation then—“tot semirutæ parietes ecclesiarum, tot aufractus porticum, tanta turba ruderum quantum vix alibi cernas.” They must have been buildings of stone, probably erected after the date of this battle.

Italian party had gained great strength, and were vastly superior in organization. The Scoto-Celtic party were eminently pious and self-denying; but, like their brethren in Ireland, were often little more than individual missionaries. The decision turned upon the fact that all admitted that St. Peter had received the keys of Heaven from Christ; and it was therefore in favour of the Italians. From that hour the Roman Church increased; while the followers of Colman, who had succeeded Columba at Iona, prepared to seek new homes. Thus, the Celtic branch was scattered, and soon became almost forgotten; after having kept the light of Christianity burning brightly in Caledonia, Northumbria, and other places, for more than a hundred years.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had formerly numerous *Peculiars* throughout England; as, wherever he or his predecessors had possessed manors or advowsons, the places were exempted from ordinary jurisdiction. But this privilege was abolished from and after the commencement of the year 1846.

(ix.) ROCHESTER.—In A.D. 604, or eight years after, the diocese of Rochester was separated from that of Canterbury. This was the first new See created by Augustine, after Canterbury, where he had set up his staff. It also was in the kingdom of Kent, and Bede describes it as twenty-four miles west of Canterbury. The first bishop was Justus, one of the forty companions of Augustine; but the See though nominally independent, was in some respects analogous to a chapel-of-ease in a parish. The diocese was a very small one; and it is at this moment, after numerous changes, the smallest in England except those of Liverpool and London. The bishop was originally appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was his chaplain and cross-bearer. It is said that in order to create an adequate endowment for the See, the deanery of Westminster was held along with it *in commendam* for many years. The cathedral is dedicated to St. Andrew; and the arms of the See were no doubt intended to be a St. Andrew's cross<sup>1</sup> with an escallop shell *or* on the centre. But, perhaps through the blundering of heralds, or far more probably, through that of painters and engravers, this has now become a St. Patrick's cross.

(x.) LINCOLN.—From the arrangement of dioceses in England

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<sup>1</sup> This may be seen on the "Union Jack." The cross of St. Andrew, which was added to it in 1603, lies behind that of St. George, and is a white saltire on a blue ground. The cross of St. Patrick, added at the Union in 1801—and which is a red saltire on a white ground—lies along the bars of St. Andrew's, but not in straight lines. That St. Andrew's cross was intended is clear from the seal of the mayor and burgesses, granted in 1165. On the obverse, St. Andrew is being crucified (on the usual saltire, or letter x cross), and two executioners are hauling him up by the hands,

in the seventh century, it is clear that Christianity was strongest at the south-east corner, where the three dioceses of Canterbury, London, and Rochester stretched in one continuous piece. They practically covered Essex,<sup>1</sup> Kent, and Middlesex. But as yet York was the principal Christian fortress in the north, or outside of these limits. Mercia and Mid-Anglia (both of which names mean nearly the same thing, etymologically but not locally) was a wide territory extending on one side from the Humber to the Thames, and on the other it had been penetrated by the long narrow kingdom of Strathclyde, which was mainly Scotch. There was also Lindissis or Lindsey on the eastern side. One may fancy what the diocese of Lincoln was in 625, when we know that it was still the largest in England after Ely, Oxford, and Peterborough had all been carved out of it. But large areas were not always set apart for dioceses; and bishops were numerous while kingdoms were few. Hence we find that Lincoln consists of an aggregation of smaller dioceses; and like Exeter and some others it illustrates the two antagonistic principles of union and separation. The first in the order of time appears to have been Dorchester,<sup>2</sup> in Oxfordshire, A.D. 625—whose list contains the names of the two Bishops of Leicester—and the second Sidnacester, which appears to have been virtually coincident with the district of Lindsey.<sup>3</sup> There is no such place now as Sidnacester<sup>4</sup> to be found on the map, but the Bishop of Nottingham, Archdeacon Trollope, has been at great pains in inquiring, and identifies it with Stowe. I subjoin a portion of his letter. The union of the two little dioceses appears to have taken place in A.D. 949. Bishop Trollope's account of the par-

<sup>1</sup> London was the centre of the East Saxon bishopric. In A.D. 604, ordinauit Mellitum ad prædicandum provincie Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tamensi fluvio dirimuntur a Cantia, et ipsi Orientali mari contigui, quorum metropolis Lundonia civitas est.—*Bede*, ii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The first two bishops appear to have been included in Wessex, for they are given under Winchester.

<sup>3</sup> The Saxon chronicle, naming Eadhed, a Bishop of Sidnacester, in 678, says, "He was consecrated bishop over the men of Lindsey; he was the first of the Bishops of Lindsey."

<sup>4</sup> The editor of the *Movumenta Historica Britannica* says in explanation of its site, "prope Gainsborough." Bishop Trollope says, "the diocese of Lincoln represents in part two English Sees, that of the Lindisfari, the seat of which was Siddena-cestra or Sidnacester—probably Stow, near Gainsborough—and that of the Middle-Angles, with its seat at Leicester, which supplied the spiritual wants of the eastern and midland counties. These two were a portion of the immense See founded by St. Chad at Lichfield. . . . Early in the 11th century, the two had become one, whose bishop established himself at Dorchester, through fear of the Danes at Sidnacester, after which he and his successors were called Bishops of Dorchester. Thence the See was removed to Lincoln by Remigius, the first Norman bishop, A.D. 1072, when he and his successors were called Bishops of Lincoln."

tion of this diocese is very curious; and it illustrates the changes which several others have undergone, but to a less extent:—

In 1072, the See of Lincoln comprised the counties of Lincoln, Rutland, Nottingham, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Leicester, and Hertford! In 1109, when the diocese of Ely was founded, Cambridgeshire was abstracted from it. In 1541-2, when the dioceses of Peterborough and Oxford were founded, the counties of Northampton, Rutland, and Oxford were taken from it. In 1550, the Archdeaconry of St. Albans was cut off from it. In 1837, the counties of Bedford and Huntingdon were transferred from it to the diocese of Ely, that of Buckingham to Oxford, and that of Leicester to Peterborough; and instead of these, Nottingham was abstracted from the province and diocese of York, and given to this See. The last abstraction was made in 1845, when the small remaining portion of Hertfordshire was given to the diocese of Rochester. Now, it has been decided by the Legislature to contract it still further, by abstracting from it the whole county of Nottingham, which with the county of Derby will constitute the new See of Southwell, to the great relief of the bishoprics of Lincoln and Lichfield, as soon as the required endowment has been completed.

(xi.) NORWICH.—The Saxon kingdom of East Anglia is represented as comprising Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire; and Suffolk is specially rich with the remains of former grandeur. Its churches are large and beautiful, far beyond the wants of the present population. The capital of the little kingdom was Dunwich, situate nearly midway between Southwold and Aldburgh. The king of the East Angles, Sigebert, was converted about 630, and at once the town became the seat of a bishop. But it was built on an exposed sandy shore, and has all been washed away by the sea, like Meols in Cheshire, between the mouths of the Mersey and the Dee.<sup>1</sup> At the time of the Domesday survey, Dunwich possessed a valuable herring fishery; and from the fines levied *temp.* Richard I. it appears to have been five times as important as either Ipswich or Yarmouth. At one time there were upwards of fifty religious foundations in the town, including numerous parish churches; but the outlines and ruins of only six of the latter could be traced in Sir Henry Spelman's time. Florence of Worcester relates that there were three bishops of East Anglia merely, but that the fourth, owing to his great age and infirmity, had a bishop esta-

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<sup>1</sup> Thousands of metallic implements have been found at both places, especially at Meols, illustrative of the manners and customs of the early inhabitants; and in general they are of the same kind. In 1863, I published an account of those found in Cheshire, with several maps, about thirty plates, and 300 wood engravings. There is a brief notice there of Dunwich.—*Ancient Meols*, pp. 381-386.



blished at North Elmham in Norfolk, and the dual system continued till about 818. It is evident that the decadence of Dunwich<sup>1</sup> was going on, for the dates of its bishops are not preserved; and Elmham (but probably both Sees) was vacant for 100 years. The two were united in 955, and in 1091 the joint See was transferred to Norwich.

(xii.) DURHAM.—The diocese of Durham appears to have been founded partly by accident. King Edwin of Northumbria was slain in a battle with Penda, a king of Mercia, a heathen, and Cadwallader, king of North Wales, a nominal Christian; but about a year after, or in 635, his son Oswald won back the country, and restored the chief minister. He did not send to either Rome or Canterbury for his bishop, but to Iona; and Aidan was chosen for him as the most suitable person. He was a Scot (*i.e.*, a native of Ireland), and spoke the Celtic language; but he soon learned the Saxon also. This was anticipating the laborious but worthy acts of some of our modern English bishops who, on their appointment to Welsh Sees, have learned the language of the Principality. But owing in a great degree to the exposed situation of York, he declined to settle there. From Oswald, his patron, he obtained a grant of the Isle of Lindisfarne, now known also as Holy Isle,<sup>2</sup> for there, as in a place of strength, he felt more secure. The Dean of Lichfield says of him:—<sup>3</sup>

St Aidan was a man of wonderful beauty and sweetness of character. He possessed in great perfection the gifts of gentleness, piety, and discretion; and these qualities had a great influence over the

<sup>1</sup> Florence of Worcester says that the first bishop of East Anglia had his seat at Dunwich, "in civitate Domnocensi," and adds, "postea East Anglia in duas parochias dividitur." The editor of the *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* explains, "Domnoc, hodie 'Dunwich' jam mari obruta." Florence also says, "Perierunt jamdudum episcopatus Rhipensis [Ripon], et Haugustaldensis [Hexham], vi hostilitatis; Legacestreusis [Leicester], et Sidnacestreusis [Stow], et Domnocensis [Dunwich] nescio quo modo." In the clergy list for the present year, Dunwich is represented as containing only 294 inhabitants. The place gives the inferior title of Viscount to the Earl of Stradbroke.

<sup>2</sup> Insulae Lindisfarne accedente ac recedente reumate his quotidie, instar insulae maris circumluitur undis, his renudato littore contiguus terrae redditur.—*Bede*, iii. 3.

The tide did now its flood-mark gain,  
And girdled in the saint's domain;  
For, with the flow and ebb, the stile  
Varies from continent to isle:  
Dry-shod o'er sands, twice every day  
The pilgrims to the shrine find way;  
Twice every day the waves efface  
Of staves and sandalled feet the trace.

SCOTT, *Marmion*, ii. 9.

<sup>3</sup> "The Mercian Church and St. Chad," pp. 15, 16.

rough Saxons, whose language he had to learn after his arrival among them. One of his first acts at Lindisfarne was to establish a school for boys, twelve in number, to be trained under his own eye, with the view to their becoming missionaries. Of these twelve boys, our Lichfield Ceadda or Chad was one.

Aidan's accommodation must have been of a very primitive kind, for on his death, fifteen years after, we find the building of a church and monastery undertaken by his successor St. Finian. Mr. Brash, in his "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland," is at great pains to disprove the statement that the early Irish never erected stone buildings; but he does not deny that such were very rare when stone was scarce or hard to quarry, and when wood was abundant. He quotes from Bede (viii. c. 25) on this very subject. "In the meantime, Aidan being dead, Finian, who was ordained and sent by the Scots [*i.e.*, the Irish], succeeded him in the bishopric, and built a church in the Isle of Lindisfarne, the episcopal See; nevertheless, after the manner of the Scots, he made it not of stone, but of hewn oak, and covered it with reeds." Of course the private residences were still less substantial; but long after the time of Aidan and Finian, an oratory was called by a Celtic word meaning "the oak house," and a church by another meaning, "the stone house."

Finian, like Aidan, was an Irishman and Celt from Iona; and as these two are recorded as the first bishops of Durham, it is pretty clear that it had been separated from York. The county palatine of Hexham, situated on the Tyne, had a bishop of its own from 678 to 810. The See was then transferred to York, but in 1836 it became part of Durham. The county palatine became part of Northumberland. In 884, the monks and bishop removed from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street, on the great Roman road between Durham and Newcastle-on-Tyne; and in 990 the See was removed to Durham. The Bishop of Durham ranks next after the Bishop of London, and this See was one of the wealthiest in England, if not the most so, before bishops were paid by fixed salaries.

(xiii.) WINCHESTER.—The See of Winchester dates from 636. It virtually represents the kingdom of Wessex; and in our earlier history it holds a most important place. Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, which closes before the Norman Conquest, tells us that it contained not only Hants, the centre, but Surrey, Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Somerset—seven counties! Within it were several small dioceses, as—(1) Dorchester in Oxfordshire (see Lincoln), which is enumerated with it, but only during the occupancy of two bishops; (2) Wilton and (3) Sherborne, united afterwards to form the diocese of Salisbury (which see); (4) Fontanensis [Wells], now in the diocese of Bath; and (5)

Creditonensis [Crediton], for which see Exeter. It is so large at present that it is said to extend "from London Bridge to the coast of France;"<sup>1</sup> but what must it have been when it extended from Kent to Cornwall, even to the Land's End? It was the fruitful mother of the present Sees of Winchester, Chichester, Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Exeter, and Truro, while it comprised a considerable part of Rochester.

In the reign of King Stephen, it was agreed by the Pope and King to form it into a province, making Winchester metropolitan; and this was concurred in at one of the most important synods ever held in England. It was ordered that the precedence of Bishops in England should be—Canterbury, York, London, Winchester. Afterwards, from the reign of Edward III. till that of Charles II., Winchester took precedence of all but Canterbury and York, because its bishop was, and is, Prelate of the Order of the Garter. In the reign of Charles II. the present order was first decreed—Canterbury, York, London, Durham, Winton. These five have all permanent seats in the House of Lords; they do not come within the rotation adopted in the Act of 1847.<sup>2</sup>

(xiv.) LICHFIELD.—Though the name of St. Chad is prominently connected with this diocese, he was not its earliest bishop. It represented, generally, the great central kingdom of Mercia; and to this hour, after all the changes which have taken place, it is still large and central. It is a little difficult to make out the history of those early times with perfect accuracy, for some lists represent Aidan and his three successors as Bishops of York, whereas elsewhere they are given as Bishops of Durham. Florence says that Diuna was made the first bishop, "*Merciorum, Mediterraneorum Anglorum, Lindisfarorum, contiguarumque provinciarum.*" The first four appear to have been *episcopi vagantes*; but St. Chad settled at Stow or Chadstow,<sup>3</sup> near Lichfield.<sup>4</sup> About 780, this See is said to have been erected

<sup>1</sup> It includes the Channel Islands.

<sup>2</sup> I have to express my great obligations to the Lord Bishop of Winchester, for his kind and full letter on various points of friendly criticism and important information.

<sup>3</sup> The seal of the See of Lichfield consists of a St. Chad's Cross. (For a description, see "Glossary of Heraldry," Parker, Oxford, 1847.) After five years he was translated to York; and several churches in the ancient Mercia and Northumbria bear his name. The chapel at Kirkby, near Liverpool, is dedicated to St. Chad; also St. Chad's [Tushingham] and Chad-Kirk, both in Cheshire; while Chat Moss, near Manchester, is said to bear his name.

<sup>4</sup> St. Chad, a Northumbrian and an Angle, went forth from Lindisfarne to one of the great monastic establishments or theological colleges of Ireland, to finish his education. On his return, he became Abbot of Lastingham, near Pickering, in Yorkshire, which had been founded by one of his brothers. Wilfrid had been chosen Bishop of York, but not liking to

into an Archbishopric,<sup>1</sup> by the consent of the Pope, but that it continued as such only during the lifetime of King Offa.<sup>2</sup> In 1075, the See was removed to Chester; but the next bishop removed it to Coventry in 1102. Hence it had until lately a double name, "Lichfield and Coventry," but (like Bath and Wells) it was only a single See. In 1120 it was removed to Lichfield; and in 1837, when the Archdeaconry of Coventry was given to Worcester, the latter term dropped from the title.

(xv.) WORCESTER.—The diocese of Worcester was founded, in 679, by another king of the Mercians; and was taken from that of Lichfield. It would appear that the city was then relatively of greater importance than several other centres of dioceses, for Florence becomes quite eloquent in sounding the praises of his native place.<sup>3</sup> The counties and dioceses of Worcestershire and Herefordshire adjoin, and the latter, as we have seen, extends

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be consecrated by bishops of the Celtic rite, he went on to Gaul; and lingered there so long that the Northumbrians were obliged to supply his place. Chad was the man selected, and as the Archbishop of Canterbury was then dead, he was consecrated by the Bishop of Winchester and two British bishops. When Wilfrid thought proper to return from Gaul, he found his place occupied; so he appears to have taken "occasional duty" both in Lichfield and on the south coast. Theodore, a distinguished priest and advocate of the Italian rite, was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury, and soon he expressed grave doubts about the validity of Chad's consecration. The latter expressed himself with great modesty, and resigned. This was probably the end wished for, as shortly afterwards he was appointed Bishop of Mercia [or Lichfield] with the approbation of all, including Theodore.

<sup>1</sup> In the olden time, terms were often employed with a less definite meaning than with ourselves. Thus Bishop and Archbishop were confounded in a way unknown to us. In the Eastern Church, every chief bishop is called an Archbishop, though he may not be a metropolitan. Such bishops as those of London, Durham, and Winchester, and perhaps Lincoln, Lichfield, and Ely, would be called in the East, and in old times in the West also, Archbishops. The Archbishop of Syra and Tenos, who was received with so much respect in England ten or eleven years ago, was not a metropolitan. Some have doubted, whether the Welsh Bishops of Menavia or St. David's were really metropolitans, after the removal of the See from Caerleon-on-the-Usk.

<sup>2</sup> Offa was King of Mercia during the latter half of the eighth century, or from 757 to 795; and by intermarriages of his daughters and otherwise, he possessed great influence in several of the neighbouring little kingdoms. But the Franks from old Gaul contemplated a descent upon Kent, and the Archbishop, who is called both Lambert and Jeambert, was discovered to be deeply interested in the plot. As a punishment to him, therefore, Offa created the rival Archbishopric of Lichfield; but when a revolt of the Kentish subjects took place, Cenwulf, the son and successor of Offa, suppressed it, and then "disestablished" the rival archiepiscopal See.

<sup>3</sup> He concludes by saying, "*Ordinatus est episcopus habens episcopalem sedem in predicta civitate Wigornæ, quam tunc temporis altis muris ac moenibus pulchris decorata multis urbibus clarior extitit atque sublimior.*"

into Wales and is grouped with the ancient Sees. But they are both special in one respect. Two sets of people are spoken of as resident within them, the Hwiccas and the Megasetae, whose localities could not be clearly identified. There is, however, an unpublished charter in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Wells,<sup>1</sup> which shows that the Megasetae lived in Herefordshire, and the Hwicci in Worcester. The latter had a regulus or kingling of their own, who probably had some sway both in Wales and England; and this fact would go far to account for some of the peculiarities. That Hereford, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Tenbury, &c., were within the Welsh lines in the eighth century there can be no doubt: for the river Severn was then practically the western boundary of the Saxon states.

(xvi.) CHICHESTER.—Chichester was founded about the same period, or 680. During the time that Wilfrid was wandering about a consecrated Bishop of York in Northumbria, while another occupied his See (*vide* Lichfield), he preached on the south coast as well as in Lichfield. His first home there was in Selsey Island; and the first twenty-four bishops are said to be of Selsey. Stigand, however, in 1082, “*de Saelescia ad Cicestriam mutavit episcopalem sedem.*” The city, and hence the diocese, took its name from Cissa, the second king of the South Saxons. Wilfrid is said to have converted the people of the Isle of Wight, now in the diocese of Winchester.

(xvii.) SALISBURY.—This is another example of the union of small dioceses, and is referred to under the head of Winchester. The earliest founded was Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, A.D. 705, with a jurisdiction, it is said, as large as that of four modern dioceses. But it should be borne in mind that population was then very sparse, and in thinly inhabited countries, such as Ireland, the Colonies, or the new States of the North American Union, a bishop rules over a large territory. Some of our own colonial bishops reckon their respective areas, not by acres, but by thousands of square<sup>2</sup> miles. The next was at Wilton, in Wilts, A.D. 906; and the two were united and removed to Salisbury in 1046. For a short time the See was situated at Old Sarum; probably selected on account of its strength. The diocese comprises Dorsetshire and the greater part of Wilts.

(xviii.) EXETER (*see* Winchester).—The history of Exeter

Produced at the Society of Antiquaries, London, on Jan. 15th and Feb. 19th, 1880, and explained by W. De Gray Birch, Esq., and H. C. Coote, Esq. The charter contains the signatures of the Bishops of Lichfield, Dorchester, Lindsey (Sidnacester), Worcester, Hereford, and another who cannot be identified.

<sup>2</sup> In the British Islands 1,000 square miles are very nearly equal to an average-sized county. Rutland, York, and some in Scotland, are exceptional.

diocese is somewhat peculiar, for it illustrates both union and separation. In 860 the diocese of Cornwall was founded for the "West Welsh,"<sup>1</sup> with Bodmin for its centre; and in 905 that of Devon, of which Crediton was the principal town. There were thirteen Bishops of Cornwall and twelve of Devonshire, and of the former the dates of only three are preserved. On the death of the thirteenth Bishop of Cornwall the Bishop of Devonshire procured the union of the two Sees; and Exeter being the principal city within the territory, the See was transferred to it in 1046. They have been again separated, though neither of the old names has been retained. Since 1877 the See of Exeter has been restricted to the county of Devon, and Cornwall has for its episcopal city Truro.

{xix.) BATH AND WELLS.—A church existed at Wells so early as 704, but the Bishopric of Wells was not founded till 905 (see Winchester). The church was dedicated to St. Andrew, and the arms of the diocese are a St. Andrew's cross; but the saltire, instead of being white throughout, is white and gold quarterly. The sixteenth Bishop, who was a Frenchman, having purchased land in the town of Bath, chose it as his place of residence; but the monks of Bath and the canons of Wells contended about the name of the See and the election of a bishop. This was arranged about 1150, by the Bishop decreeing that both names should be used in the title, that of Bath having precedence. But by an Act, 35 Henry VIII., the Dean and Chapter of Wells make one sole chapter for the Bishop.


This brings us to the Norman Conquest, and it shows how complete was the framework of the Church of England previous to that event.

A. HUME.

*(To be continued.)*

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<sup>1</sup> The Cornish people were so called, their language, till lately, being a dialect of the Cambrian or Armorican.



## Reviews.

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1. *The History of Scotland from Agricola's Invasion to the Extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection.* By JOHN HILL BURTON, Historiographer-Royal for Scotland. Blackwood & Sons. 1876.
2. *The Scottish Church from the Earliest Times to 1881.* St. Giles' Lectures. First Series. W. & R. Chambers. 1881.

NO histories should be more instructive than Church histories, and yet as a general rule few are more dreary and barren. The failure does not arise from want of a grand model. The Bible itself, if we may say so with reverence, is the type and epitome of all Church history—the type because its theme is the work of God in the world carried out by natural and supernatural agency, and the epitome because it depicts the past, and foreshadows, at least in outline, the future of the Church of God. It is true that there are limits of the extent to which such a model can be followed. We dare not write, as He writes, to Whom all hearts are open, and to Whom the future is as clear as yesterday. But surely the key-note of Church History, as of Bible History, should be the work of God, not the work of man. What witness for Christ have His servants borne in each successive age, how has that witness been received or rejected by the world, to what remarkable ends have purely human counsels been overruled by Divine Providence, what have been the sins of national churches, and what fruit those sins have borne—these, it seems to us, are the proper subjects of ecclesiastical history. No field of inquiry could be grander or more fruitful. A miserable substitute, surely, for such topics are wearisome wrangles between long-named doctors and heretics, dates and decisions of self-styled oecumenical councils, and tedious miracles of half apocryphal saints. How many ordination candidates have been exasperated by this portion of their studies, how few edified! And outside ordination candidates how few readers even turn over the pages of an ordinary Church history!

It is impossible, however, that the stereotyped fashion of writing on Church matters should not be affected by the more recent methods of treating general history. National life and national interests are beginning to find a place on the arena, which was confined to the intrigues of kings and queens, statesmen and generals; and among these interests historians are recognising the importance of religion. No doubt they often treat matters of faith with cynical contempt or supercilious patronage, but they are forced to study them, and in virtue of their cynicism or patronage to treat them with impartiality. Luther, Calvin, Knox, Baxter and Bunyan, are no longer ill-bred fanatics, but gifted, though mistaken, leaders of the people. Their doings, their sayings, their work and character, must be represented truthfully according to the view of their contemporaries. And as the story of each age unfolds itself, and the appropriateness of God's servants for the work they had to do,

becomes more manifest, we trust that the sphere of Church history will be more clearly defined. We shall not look for God's voice in the world among party bickerings, anathemas and excommunications, any more than we should seek it now in reports of the Church Union, or the judgments of Lord Penzance.

These reflections were suggested to us, partly by the recent death of Dr. Burton, and partly by the perusal of a volume of St. Giles' Lectures. We have no intention here of reviewing Dr. Burton's history. It has long been before the public, and its merits are well known. But there are reasons why his account of the Scottish Reformation is of special interest at the present time. As Churchmen, we feel that we are on the eve of a crisis, if not passing through a crisis, second in importance only to the Reformation era. As Englishmen we cannot help inquiring by what process Scotland, once fully as alien to us as Ireland, became our close and firm ally. From both these points of view the story of the Scottish Reformation is of surpassing interest. In Dr. Burton's work the tale is told with judicial impartiality, not without some affectation of philosophic indifference. In the St. Giles' Lectures, on the other hand, we have the story of the Scottish Church fresh from the lips of her most prominent ministers. We were not prepared to find that the Scottish pulpit was occupied with such themes on Sunday afternoons. We cannot help wondering how St. Margaret, niece of Edward the Confessor, to whom, we are told, "Scotland owes her solemnly-kept Sundays," would have regarded the discourses before us, as Sunday lectures. But as Church history they are unquestionably good, and perhaps owe some of their merits to the restraints imposed by the fact of their being pulpit and Sunday utterances. The desire to edify would help to bring into prominence what God has done by the Church in each age, and to exclude mere party questions and the strife of political factions. Nor are the lectures less instructive for being thrown into a popular form. We doubt whether any equally interesting compendium of English Church history is to be found. The lecturers are Doctors Lees, Boyd, Campbell, Mitchell, Macleod, Cunningham, Flint, Story, Tulloch, Charteris, Scott, and Macgregor. What the volume loses in connectedness as a history, it gains, for popular purposes, in variety of style and treatment.

But to return to our purpose, which is to discuss the place of the Scottish Reformation in the ecclesiastical and general history of Great Britain. We should be disposed to summarize it as follows:—The Scottish Reformers were raised up, first, to assert the paramount authority of God's Word in all matters of faith, without compromise, and without bias of political considerations; and secondly, to be the instruments of binding England and Scotland with bonds of common interest, too strong to be severed either by national prejudice, political misrule, or the remembrance of centuries of national wrong-doing. The first of these great ends was partly the outcome, humanly speaking, of the character and principles of the Reformers themselves; but both resulted chiefly, and in a very remarkable manner, from such an overruling of selfish human counsels to higher and nobler ends, as might well convince the most sceptical that "verily there is a God that ruleth the earth." We will venture to tell the story, familiar as it is, in our own fashion, with such comments as may be suggested from time to time by the works which we have mentioned.

One of the first peculiarities of the pre-Reformation Church in Scotland, which an English observer would notice, is its want of national sentiment, and insignificance as a national power. The Church of England, even in Romish days, was thoroughly English: it turned foreign prelates, when



they were thrust upon it, into English party leaders; it held the balance not unfrequently between the contending forces of the Crown and nobility. But the Scottish Church was not so truly National. Scotland, in her long strife with England, learned to welcome foreign interference. She was content to bolster up her just claim to independence with a Papal Bull, her Universities were fashioned on foreign patterns, her churches for two centuries designed on continental models, her principal clergy were educated abroad, and were aliens in all their sympathies. Poverty saved Scotland from the bands of hungry foreigners who swarmed over English benefices. But her own Churchmen were foreigners at heart, though none but Scottish blood might run in their veins. As long as France continued to be a distant but useful friend, the alien character of the clergy impaired their usefulness and weakened their hold upon popular affection, but it did not excite violent animosity. It was endured as a necessary evil, just as the baronial rule was endured; and Church oppression, like the baronial, was corrected and mitigated only by the general spirit of lawlessness and insubordination. Where he dared do so, each man took the law into his own hands, and so alleviated a tyranny which would otherwise have been intolerable.

This oppressiveness of the Scottish Church is a second peculiarity which distinguishes it from the English. No doubt our forefathers, too, had their burthens to bear, but in England every pretension of the Church was jealously scrutinized by the Crown; in theory, at least, all important excommunications, all trials of laymen in ecclesiastical courts, required the sanction or supervision of the king. The very revolt of Henry VIII. from Rome was no protest against Papal corruptions, but the crowning act of a long warfare to maintain the independence and complete sufficiency of English jurisdiction. Across the Border no such check upon the Church was possible. What little law there was owed its origin, directly or indirectly, to the Church. In one most important sphere of life the Church was both absolute and merciless. Without her no marriage was possible; yet such were the entanglements which she wove, that even with her help it was scarcely possible to contract a valid marriage. The extension of forbidden degrees was extraordinary. No persons could marry who had a common great-great grandfather or great-great grandmother, or who were connected by marriage within those degrees, or even who were brought within them by baptismal connections: of godfather or godmother. Hence, in a small and remote country like Scotland no marriage was secure. The Church herself defeated one great end for which she appeared to have been raised up. There was a time when she had been the one witness to licentious barbarians in behalf of the sanctity of marriage and purity of life. Now she was even more than the patroness of divorce, she made binding marriage all but impossible. Like the Jewish Church of old, in God's name, and with all manner of religious sanctions, she made void the very elementary commandments of God.

Other instances of Church tyranny might easily be named, such as "cursings"—by which the person and property of all persons who had taken an oath were at the mercy of ecclesiastics—excommunications, and interference with wills and successions. But to be brief, the Scottish bishop, presbyter and deacon of pre-Reformation days, can best be imagined as the exact opposite in every particular of the ideal set before Timothy by Paul. It would have been strange indeed if God had not appointed a day of reckoning for such a Church as this. But what good was to be brought out of this evil, and by what agencies, not the keenest of political observers could have guessed.

To all outward appearance the death of Edward VI. was the funeral

knell of the Reformation in the British isles. England passed immediately into Spanish hands, and Spain, it might be thought, was at once freed from a dangerous rival and strengthened by an important acquisition. The Spanish Court was nearer by one long stride to its desired goal, universal Empire founded on close alliance with a universal Church. It seemed easy to predict that heresy would now be crushed in England, that the joint power of Empire, Spain, and England would bring France to reason; that, with the suppression of heresy in France, all fear of heresy in Scotland was over, for was not Scotland the old ally, and now all but the subject, of France? Thus, no doubt, many reasoned with themselves; but we, looking back on the past, can see that the life of Edward VI. might have been far more formidable to the progress of truth than his death. Centuries of war had proved that England could defeat Scotland, but could not subdue her: they had proved that whatever England tried to force upon Scotland was detestable in the eyes of the Scotch. As nothing, humanly speaking, contributed more to the overthrow of Spanish and Roman tyranny in the days of Elizabeth than the good understanding between England and Scotland, so division and dissension between the two could hardly have failed to secure Philip's triumph. If Europe was to be saved from an intolerable despotism, religious as well as political, Scotland and England must be united in common defence of Protestantism; if Scotland was to embrace Protestantism heartily, it must not be imposed upon her by England, but appear, if possible, to be unpopular at the English Court. This end was precisely what the Marian persecutions and the fires of Smithfield achieved.

The early Scottish Reformers had laboured under the suspicion of being agents and emissaries of the English Court. We are not bound to believe, on the slight evidence adduced by Dr. Burton, that the martyr Wishart was the Wishart who was hired by England to assassinate Cardinal Beaton. But it is quite certain that there were English Protestants, and those in high places, who would not have hesitated to make their Scottish brethren traitors and even assassins if they could. Patriotism and hatred of oppression might as easily have bound the Scotch as the Irish to devoted adherence to Rome. But these dangers were averted by the death of Edward and accession of Mary. It was she who drove John Knox out of England, and so was a means of sending him to the work to which God had called him. It was she who let loose upon Scotland a flood of exiles, who were men of faith and piety, not mere plunderers of churches; and it was she who made them welcome in Scotland by treating them as the enemies of England. The First Covenant dates from the time of the Marian persecutions. In its terms it announces the great work which, in our opinion, was reserved for the Reformed Church of Scotland:—

We perceiving [runs the declaration] how Satan, in his members, the Anti-Christ's of our time, cruelly doth rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the evangel of Christ and His congregation, ought according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause even unto death, being certain of victory in Him. The which our duty being well considered we do promise before the majesty of God and His Congregation, that we (by His grace) shall with all diligence, continually apply our whole power, substance and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God and His Congregation, and shall labour at our possibility to have faithful ministers purely and truly to minister Christ's evangel and sacraments to His people. We shall maintain them, nourish them and defend them, the whole Congregation of Christ and every member thereof, at our whole powers and lives against Satan, and all wicked power that does intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid Congregation. Unto the which Holy Word and Congregation we do join us, and also do forsake and renounce the Congregation of Satan, with all

the superstitious abomination and idolatry thereof : and moreover, shall declare ourselves manifestly enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to His Congregation, by our subscriptions at these presents.—*At Edinburgh, the 3rd day of December, 1557 years.*<sup>1</sup>

The prominent features of this declaration are the determination at all hazards to maintain the pure Word of God along with a faithful ministry, and to renounce Rome with all her superstitious and idolatry. It was one thing, however, to subscribe this declaration as a bond of union amongst devoted Reformers, it was quite another to make it the basis and moving principle of a National Church. Dr. Burton has clearly traced the order and connection of events by which, far more than by human agency, this great work was accomplished. He reminds us how the Queen Regent, Guise though she was, was not yet committed to a policy hostile to Protestantism. "When in Edinburgh the great idol called St. Giles was first drowned in the North Loch, after burnt," and that was in 1558, soon after the signing of the Covenant, the Queen is said by Knox to have adopted a conciliatory tone to the rioters. "My joys, my hearts, what ails you? We mean no evil to you nor your preachers. The bishops shall do you no wrong. Ye are all my loving subjects." Had the Queen kept to such language, and had she been content to dismiss her French forces, the whole history of the Scottish Church might have been altered. With Elizabeth on the throne of England, Protestantism might soon have been stigmatized as an English faith, or some partial reformation have been effected, in which compromise and political considerations would have carried far more weight than the Word of God, or hatred of idolatry. Knox and his following would have become an extreme party to be disposed of by exile or other means. But at this very moment Mary and her brothers became convinced that all Protestants were rebels, and that none but Catholics could be true subjects. The conspiracy of Amboise, in 1560, marks the time when the Guise faction became irreconcilably committed to the overthrow of Protestantism. But in the latter days of the regency of Mary in Scotland, their policy was assuming this shape, partly through her influence. Thus it was, that Mary, refusing to be guided by her subjects, leaned solely upon France and upon the old Church; and thus, too, she identified that Church more than ever with alien oppression, and made all attempts at internal reform a mere object of derision. Indeed, but for the name of the "Twopenny Faith" with which Knox labelled it, we might never have heard of this last manual of the expiring Church; the last which it published, and the first in which it attempted to make its doctrine intelligible to the people.

On the 10th of June, 1560, the Queen Dowager died, but not before the conspiracy of Amboise had necessitated the return of the French troops to France; and the negotiations for the Treaty of Edinburgh, by which the long alliance between France and Scotland was dissolved, and England became, for the first time, her neighbour's ally and friend, were conducted within seven days of the Queen Regent's death. But for these events—the death of Mary, the departure of the French, and the alliance with England—we can hardly imagine that the 25th of August, 1560, would have been the eventful day which it proved to be for Scotland. On that day Parliament, in the name of the nation, abjured Romanism, made celebration of the Mass punishable in the last instance by death, and accepted the "Confession of the Faith" as the symbol of national belief. On that day the nation became Protestant, as far as law could make it so.

Of course, it would be absurd to regard the Acts of 1560 as the comple-

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<sup>1</sup> Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 345.

tion of the Scottish Reformation. Politically, we have but opened the first scene of that great drama. But the note which was then struck continued to be the distinguishing note and feature of the whole movement. A party, which took its stand, not on the Divine right of kings to prescribe a worship for their subjects, but upon the sovereign authority of the Word of God, had overthrown the old faith, and at the same time the traditional policy of many centuries. In course of time that party was so extended as to include the whole nation. By what steps the Scottish nation became identified with what had been the party of Knox and of Geneva, we have no space to tell. Nor does the tale need telling, for it is the well-worn history of Mary of Scots and her descendants. But it was of the utmost importance for Scotland, and in time for England also, that the Reformed Church rested her claim, not on any human, but on Divine authority. In the Confession of Faith adopted on that memorable 25th of August these remarkable words occur :—

We conjure you if any man will note in this our Confession any article or sentence repugnant to God's Holy Word, that it would please him of his gentleness, and for Christian charity's sake to admonish us of the same in writing, and we upon our honour and fidelity do promise him satisfaction from the Holy Scriptures or due reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss.

It were an easy but an ungenerous task to point out the deviations of the Scottish Church from the principles here laid down, and to reproach her with arrogance, over-dogmatism, and harshness. She had been more than human had she never deviated from so lofty an ideal. But it was the aim thus deliberately proposed, of unswerving obedience to the Word of God, that constituted the grandeur and the value of that Church to England as well as to Scotland. It was this principle which saved her amid the perils of the twelve years immediately following upon the establishment. When we remember what Mary's powers of fascination were, how irresistible to many of the sternest natures about her, how she tried her craft upon Knox in arguments and conferences, theological and political, we cannot but feel that there was a purpose in the sternness which he used, and that in the ruggedness of his behaviour there was something more noble, more Scriptural, more truly charitable than in the time-serving obsequiousness of the Elizabethan prelates. How hopeless would have been the wreck of the newly-launched Church had she been committed to any compromise with Mary's wickedness for her own security. It was happy for Scotland, that through all the foul scenes between Mary's arrival and her abdication, and again in the Civil Wars of the Regency, she was led by one who never feared the face nor courted the favour of any living potentate, but feared God and His Word only. Amid all the shoals and quicksands, the intrigues, plots and counterplots of those perilous years, the Church was kept in a safe course; she was neither made partner in the crimes of Mary nor of her opponents; not caught in the snares of Elizabeth, nor misled by the influence of false friends like Grange and Lethington, because her leader was one who would never countenance what he believed to be contrary to the Word of God, whoever might be the doer of it.

It was this principle of reverence for Scripture that made the Scottish Church a thoroughly national Church. We have seen that the old Church was hated because she was alien at heart. It would have been easy for the new Church to become unpopular on the same ground. But his unswerving fidelity to the Bible led Knox to criticize freely and to correct what he believed to be erroneous in the English Church. And his fidelity was rewarded by escaping the imputation of servility to England. There is no doubt that Knox was strongly impressed by French Calvinism; and

that he and his followers had many of their best friends among the Huguenots. But the course of events in France saved him from all temptation to make terms with the hated French faction in Scotland. Love for the Word of God led him to trust to the power of preaching rather than to court popularity. Hence, as Mr. Froude has eloquently said:—"The Commons of Scotland were sons of their religion. While the nobles were splitting into factions, chasing their small ambitions, taking security for their fortunes, or entangling themselves in political intrigues, tradesmen, mechanics, and poor tillers of the soil had sprung suddenly up into consciousness, with spiritual convictions for which they were prepared to live or die. The fear of God left in them no room for the fear of any other thing, and in the very fierce intolerance which John Knox had poured into their convictions they had become a force in the State. The poor clay which a generation earlier the haughty barons would have trodden into slime, had been heated in the red-hot furnace of the new faith." Nor were only the Saxon Scots cared for, but the Gael of Scotland, more fortunate than the Celt of Ireland, had provision made that he might worship in his own tongue—a provision of which Scotland to this hour reaps the reward, while England is suffering years, we had almost said, centuries of punishment for neglect in this very matter. Nor must we forget the pains taken to wed the affections of the people to their faith by the power of Psalmody and song, even though we may not wholly approve the "godly ballads," as they were called."

Here we must take leave of our subject. Other lessons, no doubt, might have been gathered from the Scottish Reformation. It is enough for the present, in these days of political perplexity, unbelief, and scientific dogmatism, to learn and weigh well the fact that God honours His Church, so long as she honours the Word of God. It is easy to be mistaken in political forecasts, easy to make concessions, which appear unimportant at the moment of making them, and afterwards prove to have been of vital consequence; it is easy to shift from tack to tack in the vain quest after the breezes of popularity; but it is not easy, nay, it is impossible, for the gates of Hell to prevail against the Church of God, so long as she continues to be faithful to the deposit committed to her charge.

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*Thomas Carlyle: a History of the First Forty Years of His Life, 1795-1835.* By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. Two vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1882.

In a preface to this work appears some interesting information with regard to a Life of Carlyle. In his will Mr. Carlyle expressed a desire that no biography should be written. He had collected the letters of his

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the "St. Giles' Lectures," p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Of these adaptations of popular songs to religious uses, Dr. Burton quotes this, among other specimens (vol. iv. p. 352):—

"With huntis up, with huntis up,  
It is now perfeit day;  
Jesus our King is gane a-hunting,  
Quha lykis to speid they may.

"Ane cursit fox lay hid in rox  
This lang and mony ane day,  
Devouring scheip, quhill he micht creip,  
Nane micht him schaip away."

wife, it seems, and prepared them for publication, adding notes and introductory explanations. These letters he placed in Mr. Froude's hands eleven years ago, with materials for an Introduction which he was himself unable to complete. Two years later, however, after he had made his will, Mr. Carlyle discovered that whether he wished it or not, a Life, or perhaps various Lives, would appear when he was gone. Since a Life there certainly would be, he wished it to be as authentic as possible. Besides the Memoir of Mrs. Carlyle, he had written others, chiefly autobiographical, "not distinctly to be printed," says Mr. Froude, "but with no fixed purpose that they should not be printed." He made these over to his friend, and also his journals and correspondence, "with unfettered discretion to use in any way" that Mr. Froude might think good.

"A few weeks before Mrs. Carlyle's death," says Mr. Froude, "he asked me what I meant to do. I told him that I proposed to publish the Memoirs as soon as he was gone—those which form the two volumes of the 'Reminiscences.' Afterwards I said that I would publish the letters about which I knew him to be most anxious. He gave his full assent, merely adding that he trusted everything to me. The Memoirs, he thought, had better appear immediately on his departure. He expected that people would then be talking about him, and that it would be well for them to have something authentic to guide them." These wishes, or directions, were observed. The Memoirs, as Carlyle's "Reminiscences," were published without delay.

The "Reminiscences," as soon as they were published, were briefly noticed in *THE CHURCHMAN* (April, 1881); a few extracts were given, mainly from those portions of the two volumes which form Carlyle's *In Memoriam* of his parents and his wife. The "Reminiscences" were reviewed at some length by Canon Bell in the June *CHURCHMAN*.

"Mrs. Carlyle's letters," says Mr. Froude, "are a better history of the London life of herself and her husband than could be written either by me or by any one. The connecting link is Carlyle's own, and to meddle with his work would be to spoil it. It was thus left to me to supply an account of his early life in Scotland, the greater part of which I had written while he was alive, and which is contained in the present volumes.<sup>1</sup> The publication of the letters will follow at no distant period. Afterwards, if I live to do it, I shall add a brief account of his last years, when I was in constant intercourse with him." It may be said, adds Mr. Froude, "that I shall then have produced no Life, but only the materials for a Life. This is true. A real picture, as far as it goes, however, will have been given; and an adequate estimate of Carlyle's work in this world is not at present possible."

As to the portrait of Carlyle, at present only partly drawn, yet full enough for almost every critical purpose, Mr. Froude refers to Carlyle's

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<sup>1</sup> In the present volumes, that is, the brilliant biographer has followed his hero "from the peasant's home, in which he was born and nurtured, to the steps of the great position which he was afterwards to occupy."

remarks on biographical portraits in his review<sup>1</sup> of Lockhart's "Life of Scott;" and he says that in dealing with Carlyle's own memory he has felt himself bound to conform to Carlyle's own rule. If I had studied my own comfort, he adds, or the pleasure of my immediate readers, "I should have produced a portrait as agreeable, and at least as faithful, as those of the favoured saints in the Catholic calendar. But it would have been a portrait without individuality—an ideal, or, in other words, an 'idol,' to be worshipped one day and thrown away the next." When the worst has been said against Carlyle,<sup>2</sup> adds his friend and disciple, there will be left "still a figure of unblemished integrity, purity, loftiness of purpose, and inflexible resolution to do right, as of a man living consciously under his Maker's eye, and with his thoughts fixed on the account which he would have to render of his talents."

In the first volume of this "Life"—or "History of the first forty years"—appear twenty-two chapters, beginning *Æt.* 10, and closing *Æt.* 32. Of Carlyle's early struggles, of his dyspepsia—a disorder which never left him, and for years was torture, like "a rat gnawing at the pit of his stomach"—of his natural impatience and irritability, of his disappointment in regard to Miss Gordon,<sup>3</sup> of his connection with Irving, and of the "three most miserable years" of his life, when out of humour with himself, with ill health, "a prey to nameless miseries," he wandered about the moors, or fretted himself in the loneliness of Edinburgh, the revelation is full and clear. There came upon him, says Mr. Froude—

"the trial which, in these days, awaits every man of high intellectual gifts and noble nature, on their first actual acquaintance with human things—the question, far deeper than any mere political one, What is this world then, what is this human life, over which a just God is said to preside, but of whose presence or whose providence so few signs are visible? In earlier ages religion silences scepticism if it cannot reply to its difficulties, and postpones the solution of the mystery to another stage of existence. Brought up in a pious family, where religion was not talked about or emotionalized, but was accepted as the rule of thought and conduct, himself, too, instinctively upright, pure of heart, and reverent, Carlyle, like his parents, had accepted the Bible as a direct communication from Heaven. . . . Young men of genius are the first to feel the growing influences of their time, and on Carlyle they fell in their most painful form."

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellanies*, vol. v. pp. 221, 199.

<sup>2</sup> Carlyle had a strange temper, and from a child was "gey ill to live with." He often said "cruel things" to his brother John, whom he dearly loved. He was ashamed of his language and oftentimes apologized. "Penitence, however, sincere as it might be," remarks Mr. Froude, "was never followed by amendment, even to the very end of his life." In judging others he was, oftentimes, bitter, harsh, and grossly unfair.

<sup>3</sup> An extract from a farewell letter shows "how the young unknown Kirkcaldy schoolmaster appeared in the eyes of the young high-born lady who had thus for a moment crossed his path." She wrote: "Genius will render you great. May virtue render you beloved! Remove the awful distance between you and ordinary men by kind and gentle manners. . . . Let your light shine before men!" Admirable advice.

Thus to poverty and dyspepsia, continues Mr. Froude, "there had been added the struggle which is always hardest in the noblest minds." Again: "The greatest of us have our weaknesses, and the Margaret Gordon business had perhaps intertwined itself with the spiritual torment."

Some of Mr. Froude's sentences, whether in regard to "spiritual torment," or religious experience and dogmas, invite comment. But Mr. Froude is Mr. Froude; of his doctrinal position or of his literary power, no remark is needed. We will only observe that as to his remarks on Carlyle as a prophet, or on the "phenomena" of the Bible and human life, our silence must not be misunderstood. Concerning Carlyle, indeed, his "pride," at the very time when his spiritual struggles began, is pointed out by our author himself (p. 91).

In 1820, when he was twenty-five years of age, Carlyle began his acquaintance with German literature. He was writing articles for Brewster's "Encyclopædia," and teaching pupils. Irving was steadily cheering him with confident promises of ultimate success. Never had Carlyle or any man a truer-hearted, more generous friend.

In 1821, Carlyle was introduced by Irving to the young lady who was afterwards to be his wife. Jane Baillie Welsh was an only child; tradition traced her lineage to Knox and Wallace. She was born in 1801. Irving, fresh from college honours, had become master of Haddington School, and was trusted with the private education of Jane Welsh. Dr. Welsh treated him as a son. Taking fever from a patient, Dr. Welsh was bled profusely and died. Had he lived his daughter's life might have been much happier. An heiress, with wit and beauty, called the flower of Haddington, she had many suitors. A secret attachment, however, had grown up unconsciously between herself and her tutor. While she was still a child Irving had entered into a half-formed engagement with the daughter of the Kirkcaldy minister; he was longing for release, and for a time, at all events, marriage was out of the question. A constant visitor at Haddington, Irving discovered that his real love was for his old pupil, and the feeling on her part was—this word is her own—"passionately" returned. The mischief was done before they became aware of their danger. Irving's situation being explained, Miss Welsh refused to listen to any language but that of friendship from him until Miss Martin had set him free. Irving was equally high principled. But there was an unexpressed hope on both sides that he would not be held to his word. It was an unhappy state of affairs. Miss Welsh was working eagerly at literature, ambitious of becoming an authoress, and winning name and fame. Irving thought of his poor friend Carlyle, and obtained permission to introduce him to her, as likely to be of use. Carlyle set her to read German books. Irving, of the nature of whose interest in her Carlyle had no suspicion, was vexed and uneasy. His own religious convictions were profound and sincere; and in a very striking letter to Carlyle he points out the mischievous muddle of æsthetic German mysticism. Now Carlyle disliked much that he found in his German friends; to him, as to many that are not "stern Scotch Calvinists" (p. 191), Goethe and Schiller appear to think that the hope of improvement for mankind lies in culture rather than morality—in æsthetics, in arts, in poetry, in the



drama, than in obedience to rules of right or wrong, based on the principles of Christian truth. But Carlyle persisted in his Goethe-worship.

In 1822, through Irving's kindness, Carlyle became tutor to Charles Buller, at a salary of £200 a year. In 1822, Irving became minister of Hatton Garden Chapel; and marriage was brought within measurable distance. He informed Miss Martin and her father of the condition of his feelings, and afterwards he informed Miss Welsh—in a touching letter, not unworthy of a Christian minister<sup>1</sup>—that from his engagement he could not become *free*. The struggle, we read, had almost "made his faith and principles to totter." "I stand truly," wrote Irving, "upon ground which seems to shake and give way beneath me; but my help is in Heaven."<sup>2</sup>

The character of Jane Welsh, Mrs. Carlyle, says Mr. Froude, was profoundly affected by this disappointment, and cannot be understood without a knowledge of it. Carlyle himself, though acquainted generally with the circumstances, never realized completely the intensity of the feeling which had been crushed.

After a time the correspondence between Miss Welsh and Carlyle grew more confidential and affectionate. It amused her to see the most remarkable person she had ever met with at her feet; she would sometimes ridicule his Annandale accent, and "snub" him; at other times she drew him back, and gave him hopes. In short, she had been disappointed; she was impatient of her surroundings; she was both romantic and ambitious. At length, in April, 1824, a sort of engagement was made. "She did not love him as she felt that she could love," says Mr. Froude; she had found him moody, violent, and selfish, yet she could not make up her mind to part with him. And so, in October, 1826, they were married. But she was not happy. Long years after, in the late evening of her laborious life, she said, "I married for ambition. Carlyle has exceeded all that my wildest hopes ever imagined of him—and I am miserable."<sup>3</sup>

During their residence at Craigenputtock, a dreary moorland farm, Mrs. Carlyle was sadly neglected. A devoted wife, she strove to make the best of the moody, ill-tempered philosopher; but the struggle was severe.

<sup>1</sup> Some beautiful letters from poor Irving to his "dear Jane" are given. In one of the best (p. 161) he points out the danger of worshipping success; the "intoxication of high talents," and the arbitrary tempers of men of literary power.

<sup>2</sup> "His intellect was shattered," says Mr. Froude. From the time of his marriage, "the old, simple, unconscious Irving ceased to exist."

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Froude makes some apologetic observations on Carlyle's selfishness. He sought a companion who would sacrifice herself in order to aid him in what he conceived to be his *mission*. It was selfishness of a rare, elevated kind, but selfishness still; and it followed him throughout his married life. He awoke only to the consciousness of what he had been, when the knowledge could bring no more than unavailing remorse.

Miss Welsh (writes Mr. Froude) had looked forward to being Carlyle's intellectual companion, to sharing his thoughts and helping him with his writings. She was not overrating her natural powers when she felt being equal to such a position and deserving it. The reality was not like the dream. Poor as they were, she had to work as a menial servant. She, who had never known a wish ungratified for any object which money could buy; she, who had seen the rich of the land at her feet, and might have chosen among them at pleasure; with a weak frame, withal, which had never recovered the shock of her father's death—she after all was obliged to slave like the wife of her husband's friend Wightman, the hedger, and cook and wash and scour and mend shoes and clothes for many a weary year. Bravely she went through it all; and she would have gone through it cheerfully if she had been rewarded with ordinary gratitude. But if things were done rightly, Carlyle did not inquire who did them. Partly he was occupied, partly he was naturally undemonstrative, and partly she in generosity concealed from him the worst which she had to bear. The hardest part of all was that he did not see that there was occasion for any special acknowledgment. Poor men's wives had to work. She was a poor man's wife, and it was fit and natural that she should work. He had seen his mother and his sisters doing the drudgery of his father's household without expecting to be admired for doing it. Mrs. Carlyle's life was entirely lonely, save so far as she had other friends. He consulted her judgment about his writings, for he knew the value of it, but in his conceptions and elaborations he chose to be always by himself. He said truly that he was a Bedouin. When he was at work he could bear no one in the room; and, at least through middle life, he rode and walked alone, not choosing to have his thoughts interrupted. The slightest noise or movement at night shattered his nervous system; therefore he required a bed-room to himself; thus, from the first she saw little of him, and as time went on less and less, and she, too, was human and irritable. Carlyle proved, as his mother had known him, "ill to live with." Generous and kind as he was at heart, and as he always showed himself when he had leisure to reflect, "the Devil," as he had said, "continued to speak out of him in distempered sentences," and the bitter arrow was occasionally shot back.

To the second volume (A.D. 1828-1834) we may return. Its main interest lies in the fact that Mr. Froude gives an answer to the question, What was Carlyle's religion? And his answer, briefly, is this: Carlyle "was a Calvinist without the theology!" Mr. Froude gives an explanation; and we may give the gist of it in a few quotations. Carlyle "did not believe in the Christian religion;" he "based his faith, not on a supposed revelation . . . ; experienced fact was to him revelation, and the only true revelation;" the miracles of "sacred history were not credible to him." Yet, while Carlyle rejected Bible narrative he "believed in the spiritual truths of religion;" and in his scheme of belief there was "room for prayer,"—"aspiration," at least, or "silence." How gloomy was the preacher of this melancholy gospel the volumes before us testify. His pious parents were infinitely happier; and as for his wife, whose faith he had "deranged"—the term is Mr. Froude's—she was miserable. "A dull gloom, sinking at last almost to apathy, fell upon her spirits."

*Proceedings of the Ecumenical Methodist Conference held in City Road Chapel, London, September, 1881.* Pp. 607. London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 2 Castle Street, City Road, E.C.

THIS volume should have received an earlier notice in our pages. The Report of the "First Ecumenical Methodist Conference"—to quote the words on the cover of the volume—has a real interest and value. Few who are interested in great religious movements or questions of Church polity will take up such a Report as this without finding material for thought, while for many members of the Church of England the movements of Methodism, more especially, of course, of the old Wesleyan body, have a peculiar interest.

The Report is published—according to the title-page—at the Wesleyan Conference Office, at the Methodist New Connexion Book Room, at the Primitive Methodist Book Depot, at the Bible Christian Book Room, and at the Methodist Free Church Book Room. In a note by the (four) Editors, we read:—

This book, being the record of a Conference which must be historic, as it marks a memorable epoch in the progress of our Churches, is commended to the great Methodist Family in the belief that its perusal will advance the cause of the Redeemer, by inspiring the followers of Christ with greater zeal in working for the conversion of the world.

A prefatory statement, drawn up by that eminent and accomplished minister, the Rev. William Arthur, gives sufficient information as to the steps which led to the formation of the Conference. The first step was the passing of a resolution by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church assembled at Baltimore in the year 1876. In May, 1880, a combined committee of Methodist Churches, British and Irish, Canadian, United States, Episcopal and non-Episcopal, with representatives of the negro race, assembled in Cincinnati, where it was agreed that the Ecumenical Wesleyan Conference should be held in City Road Chapel, the chief centre of John Wesley's labours, in September, 1881. The number of delegates was to be 400; half to be chosen by churches in Europe with their Missions,<sup>1</sup> half by churches in America with their missions; of the Eastern Section the President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference was to be chairman; of the Western Section, Bishop Simpson. The 5th of August was observed, on both sides of the Atlantic, as a day of special prayer for the Conference. On September 7 the delegated brethren assembled in the appointed place:—

They represented twenty-eight different denominations. They came from England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Africa, India, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, and from all sections of the United States, from Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, South America, and the West Indies. They belonged, for the most part, to the Teutonic and African races. Of the Teutonic race the three great divisions were represented—the main German stock, with the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian branches. Of the African race it would be impossible

<sup>1</sup> At a representative meeting in London, Nov. 1880, it was decided not to allocate the two hundred members of the Conference to the various Methodist bodies on the exclusive principle of numerical representation; so the two largest bodies get less, and the smaller ones more, than they would otherwise have had. The following is the distribution: The Wesleyan Conference, eighty-eight; Primitive Methodists, thirty-six; Methodist Free Churches, twenty-two; Methodist New Connexion, twelve; Bible Christians, ten; Reform Union, four; Irish Conference, ten; French, two; Australasian Conference, sixteen. The different Methodist bodies will elect their own members, and they will consist of ministers and laymen in equal numbers as far as practicable.

to say how many branches were represented, but they were not a few. Those loosely called the Latin races were not unrepresented, but their numbers were small. There was, however, in attendance no African born and residing in Africa, nor any native Asiatic, American Indian, or Polynesian. The portion of the existing Methodist family actually present was, therefore, broadly speaking, only so much of it as could send delegates capable of taking part in proceedings conducted in the English tongue. Numerous first-fruits of various races to whom that tongue is strange were praying for the Conference in thirty or forty languages, and the hearts of missionaries in the assembly were often turned towards those absent brethren in hope that future Ecumenical Conferences would witness the presence of many a nation and race not now represented.

The morning service was read by the President of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, the Rev. Dr. Osborn. The sermon was preached by the Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Matthew Simpson. At the close of the sermon the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to the assembled delegates.

It ought not to be omitted to mention that on the morning preceding the opening of the Conference a very large number of the delegates were entertained by the Religious Tract Society at a breakfast in Exeter Hall, and on the evening of the day of opening the whole of their number, with many other friends, were cordially welcomed at a public reception in the Mansion House by the Lord Mayor of London, the Right Hon. William McArthur, M.P.

The subjects treated in the opening days of the Conference were—

The grateful recognition of the hand of God in the origin and progress of Methodism : Statistical results.

Methodism, a power purifying and elevating society; the influence exerted on other religious bodies, and the extent to which they have modified Methodism.

Evangelical agencies of Methodism : "The Itinerant Ministry," "Lay Preachers," "Women, and their work in Methodism."

Then followed "Methodism and the Young," "The Lord's Day and Temperance," "Possible Perils of Methodism," "Education," "Missions," and other subjects, closing with "Christian Unity." The discussion on Foreign Missions is full of interest. The Wesleyans are doing a noble work in many spheres.

We quote a few sentences from Bishop Simpson's sermon :—

As to the divisions in the Methodist family, there is little to mar the family likeness. For, first, there has been among the Wesleyan ranks no division as to doctrines. The clear statements in Mr. Wesley's sermons, and the doctrinal character of the hymns constantly sung, have aided in keeping us one. All over the world Methodist theology is a unit. Nor, secondly, is there any radical difference in usages. The class-meeting, the prayer-meeting, the love-feast, the watch-night, though more or less strictly observed, are known everywhere in Methodism. So far as the membership is concerned, there is scarcely a single difference. Even in the Connexional bonds there is general likeness. The itinerant ministry, and the quarterly and annual conferences, exist in almost every branch. In the manner of legislation, and in the mode of effecting ministerial changes, there are some differences; but the points of agreement are so numerous as compared with the differences that we are emphatically one.

To the statistics given in various speeches and in appended Tables we may return. But a summary may now be given in two or three lines. Of "Itinerant Preachers," British Wesleyan, there are 3,326; of other British Methodists, 2,085; of United States and Canada Episcopal, 23,566, non-Episcopal, 3,675; total, 32,652. Of Local Preachers, the total number is 89,292. Of "Members" the total number is within a few hundreds of 5,000,000; of which 3,713,265 are United States and Canada Episcopal.

Now, at a glance, two things strike the eye: first, that the strength of Methodism is its Local Preacher system, and second, that Methodism is to a great extent American. It may be added that, in the opinion of one speaker (p. 65), the relative proportions of the Methodist populations of the world to the Anglican, are 14,000,000, to 17,000,000. Take these figures how one may they lend weight, we think, to the plea of Church Reformers for greater elasticity and for new organization within the Anglican community.

We may quote one extract from a speech by a Welshman, Mr. L. Williams (p. 96). He reminded the Arminian Conference that a powerful Methodist body in this country is not Arminian. He said:—

There is a Methodist Church that is not represented in this assembly. In Wales the popular Church—the most powerful Church—is known as the Calvinistic Methodist Church. The revival of the last century under the teaching and preaching of Howell Harris and Rowlands, and like men, whose names cannot be too highly honoured in this assembly, took a distinctly Calvinistic turn. That Church is now the most powerful Church in the Principality. It numbers 118,000 members, with two large colleges. The Congregationalists have about 90,000 members in the Principality, and the Baptists have 70,000. I think that would give a total of nearly 300,000 members out of a population of one and a quarter millions.

In regard to the “local” as distinguished from the regular or “itinerant” ministry, there exists, it seems, a considerable difference of opinion among Wesleyans. In the discussion on Evangelistic Agencies, Mr. Waddy, the eminent lawyer, sometime M.P. for Sheffield, spoke out plainly. He said:—

Our friends have been talking about *local* preachers. That is not the question. The subject as it is specified here (in the official programme) is “lay preachers.” Now, in one sense, all our preachers are lay preachers. Until the year 1822, when somebody chose to alter that tablet to the memory of John Wesley, and to substitute a new one, the words that were upon it were these—that “he was a patron and friend of the lay preachers, by whose aid he extended the plan of itinerant preaching.” Somebody, by whose authority I do not care now to inquire (though I know pretty well), chose to take away the original tablet and to substitute the present one, in which the lay preachers are done away with, and the inscription now runs thus—“He was the chief promoter and patron of the plan of itinerant preaching.” In the view of Wesley and in the “Church” view of us your status is still the same. You doctors of divinity, who wear your titles so honourably and so well—for you are as truly divines as the men of any Church; you doctors of law, who get that inappropriate degree, as I suspect, because you know little law but less divinity; you bishops whom we delight to receive, and to honour; you are all lay preachers according to this sense of the term—not “ordained” according to the notions of some Churches, but “set apart.” And that is the great point—we local preachers are not in that sense “set apart.” So some of you try to establish a distinction between us. You affect too much of the uniform and the livery—I must be plain—of other churches. I venture to say that what we want now is not that more difference should be made, but that less difference should be made between the two.

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The article on “A New Form of Verse” in the April *CHURCHMAN*, by the Rev. RICHARD WILTON, Rector of Londesborough, has called forth several communications from readers of this magazine. CANON SAUMAREZ SMITH sent a Rondeau as illustrative of Mr. Wilton’s opinion that this musical form of verse is capable of “bearing the burden not only of rural description but of religious contemplation.”

*Shâlôm, Shâlôm.*

(Isaiah xxvi. 3, margin.)

Peace, perfect peace is theirs who stay  
 Themselves upon the Lord each day,  
 Who, mid earth's weariness and care,  
 Breathe, inwardly, divinest air,  
 Imparting strength for all the way :  
 Strength in the midmost eager fray,  
 Strength, when the mortal powers decay,  
 Until death brings, as angel fair,  
 Peace, perfect peace.

What may not such souls do and dare ?  
 Ready their Master's cross to bear,  
 Knowing He will not say them nay  
 While in His love they watch and pray,  
 Hoping one day with Him to share  
 Peace, perfect peace.

Canon CLARKE, of Southport, wrote to the same effect, and also enclosed an experiment in the new measure.

*"Like Early Dew."*

Like early dew that sparkles bright  
 Beneath the blaze of morning light,  
 But soon forsakes the flowerets gay,  
 Unwilling long on earth to stay,  
 Eager to reach the cloudy height :  
 So youthful joys by age's blight  
 Are dimmed, and vanish out of sight ;  
 So sweetest memories pass away,  
 Like early dew.

But ere the burning heat of day  
 In manhood comes, or shadows grey  
 Of age obscure the path of right,  
 May not the soul begin its flight,  
 And heavenward soar on sunbeam ray,  
 Like early dew ?

Canon BELL has also favoured the writer of the article with a specimen of this new form of verse.

*Give God thine Heart.*

Give God thine heart : dark clouds will break,  
 His love around thee sunshine make ;  
 A light transfigure sea and shore  
 That never gleamed on them before,  
 And songs within thy soul awake.  
 God for thy Guide and Guardian take,  
 He ne'er will leave thee nor forsake :  
 Behold, He knocketh at thy door,  
 Give God thine heart.

Thy mind shall be like tranquil lake,  
 Whose bosom no rude tempests shake,  
 Nor winds of winter ruffle o'er,  
 And peace be thine for evermore :  
 For love of Christ and His dear sake  
 Give God thine heart.

It is gratifying to think that the introduction of the Rondeau to the

notice of the readers of *THE CHURCHMAN*, should have been followed by such practical and musical proofs of kindly appreciation: and it may well be hoped from these happy specimens that this graceful and light-hearted measure of our "sweet enemy France" (to use Sir Philip Sidney's phrase) may yet do good service to Englishmen in the cause of "Truth and Soberness."

There is another and allied form of verse called the *Rondel*, which is preferred by some good judges to the *Rondeau*. It boasts of an equal antiquity. A specimen may be given in the original old French, composed by Charles of Orleans (father of Louis XII., King of France), who was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt; and who now, after four centuries, has his sweet revenge on the English in their adoption of the metre which he loved, and with which he doubtless solaced his long imprisonment in this country.

*Rondel.*

(Charles d'Orléans, 1391-1465.)

Le temps a laissiè son manteau  
De vent, de froidure et de pluye,  
Et s'est vestu de brouderie,  
De souleil luisant, cler et beau.  
Il n'y a beste ne oyseau  
Qu'en son jargon ne chante ou crie :  
Le temps a laissiè son manteau  
De vent, de froidure et de pluye.  
  
Rivière, fontaine et ruisseau  
Portent, en livrée jolie,  
Gouttes d'argent d'orfaverie  
Chacun s'abille de nouveau.  
Le temps a laissiè son manteau  
De vent, de froidure et de pluye.

This *Rondel* has been translated by Longfellow,<sup>1</sup> but without proper observance of the order of the rhymes.

The *Rondel* consists of fourteen lines with two rhymes only—divided into two parts of eight lines and six. The lines, though the same in number, are shorter than those of the sonnet.

The sequence of the lines is as follows:—a, b, b, a, a, b, a, b—a, b, b, a, a, b. The opening couplet is repeated after the sixth line, and again after the twelfth line, thus forming a longer refrain than is found in the *Rondeau*.

An English specimen may be given.

"*They shall say always, 'The Lord be Praised.'*"

"The Lord be praised!" I love to say  
At blush of morn and evening's rose;—  
When first the conscious Orient grows  
Red with the thought of coming day:  
Or when mild evening's mantle grey  
With streaks of crimson richly glows;  
"The Lord be praised!" I love to say  
At blush of morn and evening's rose.  
  
As birds pour forth a gladsome lay  
When dawn its breezy signal shows,  
And when with pensive footstep goes  
Calm eve, they join in chorus gay:—  
"The Lord be praised!" I love to say  
At blush of morn and evening's rose.

R. W.

<sup>1</sup> P. 585, Rossetti's Edition.

## Short Notices.

*A Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament.* Prepared by C. F. HUDSON, under the direction of H. L. HASTINGS, Editor of *The Christian* (American). Revised and completed by EZRA ABBOT, D.D., LL.D. Pp. 508. London: S. Bagster & Sons.

This is a really valuable book; a treasure for students of the New Testament, whether they understand Greek or not. Its merits have been acknowledged, we learn, by English as well as American Revisers; Bishops Ellicott and Lightfoot, Canon Westcott and Dr. Angus, found the work of the greatest use; Dr. Schaff, President of the American Company, mentions that they thought it an invaluable help, and constantly used it. Professor Abbot, one of the American Revisers, had a share in preparing it. But while Hudson's Concordance is an admirable handy-book for the critical student, it may easily be used, as we have said, by the mere English reader, who, without desire to learn Greek (beyond the alphabet), seeks to know well the New Testament. Thus, for Sunday school teachers, for conductors of Bible classes, and other thoughtful lay workers, whether men or women, this Concordance has great attractions. Turning over its pages here and there, we have examined the work with care, and found it free from error or defect. As to the student who knows no Greek he looks in the English Index (p. 449) for "correction;" he finds it (p. 155, *ἐνανόρθωσις*,) as occurring only once in the New Testament, 2 Tim. iii. 16: he looks for "basket" (p. 444), he is referred to page 230, *κόφινος*, Matt. xiv. 20, xvi. 9; Mark vi. 43, viii. 19; Luke ix. 17; John vi. 13; to page 358, *σαργάνη*, 2 Cor. xi. 33; and to page 364, *στυγίς*, Matt. xv. 37, xvi. 10 (<sup>1</sup>L); Mark viii. 8 (<sup>2</sup>L S) 20, Acts ix. 25. Such words as *ἀγάπη* (love and charity) *ἀγιασμός* (holiness and sanctification), and *παιδεία* (nurture, instruction, chastening, and chastisement), when studied with this Concordance, open out new thoughts for the mere English student.

*Counsels to Candidates for Confirmation.* Founded upon "The Order for Confirmation." By JOHN W. BARDSLEY, M.A., Archdeacon of Warrington. Pp. 78. Elliot Stock. 1882.

There are several well-written books and tracts on Confirmation. Among them the little manual before us will find a good place. It has distinctive features; and it may prove of service to many who are not "candidates." The Archdeacon has given an explanation of the service itself; simple, but suggestive, as one would expect from a well-read—sensible as well as scholarly—divine; such an explanation was really needed. To thoughtful persons, whether in the Church or outside, who "dislike" the service, "can't understand it," and so forth, the Ven. Archdeacon's book may prove of real service. He does not shirk a difficulty; and though he presents "the ordinance in a brighter light than is sometimes thought desirable," he gives excellent reasons for so doing. The rule of good Philip Henry—"So to manage it that the weak may not be discouraged, and yet that the ordinance may not be profaned," has happily been the Bardsley rule. He points out the *reasonableness* of the service. Afterwards, he shows the true teaching of the Church as to the Sacraments, first of Baptism, and, second, of the Lord's Supper; and this, definitely, as the case requires, in regard to Church membership and fellowship. The exposition, enriched with apt quotations, is practical as well as doctrinal. Not the least valuable portion of the book, with regard



to candidates, is the closing chapter, one of suggestion and counsel. Throughout, from beginning to end, not a word is wasted; the book is singularly full; and the language (suitable rather for the middle-class than the "working") is clear and impressive. For a long period so good a treatise on a Church service never appeared; and even now, among many excellent handbooks, short commentaries, and manuals, this sound and able work deserves no stinted praise. One short specimen passage, one in which the Archdeacon handles a much debated matter, we may quote. As the word "regeneration" he says—

expresses the fact of the person baptized being brought out of the kingdom of nature into the visible fold of Christ, and being thereby made partakers of all the privileges which the Church can give, this blessing can be absolutely declared in the case of everyone to whom baptism has been rightly administered. Regeneration in this sense even Baxter admitted when he wrote, "All that the minister warrantably baptizeth are sacramentally regenerate, and are 'in foro ecclesie' members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of heaven." It is this which Matthew Henry also called "baptismal regeneration" when he said, "Their baptismal regeneration without something else will not bring them to heaven." In the highest and spiritual sense of the term, regeneration—viz., the blessing for which the bishop thanks God, can only be affirmed in the language of charity—that is, upon the supposition in the case of adults that they are sincere in their professions; and, in the case of infants, that the goodwill of our heavenly Father favourably alloweth the charitable works of their being brought to baptism, and answers the supplications of the congregation, as they are the requests of those that "earnestly believe and nothing doubt."

*Charles Lowder.* By the Author of "The Life of St. Teresa."  
Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

Charles Lowder went to Oxford in the year 1840. From a child he had been devout; as an undergraduate he yielded himself to the influence of Manning and other mystical teachers. At his first curacy he "used to say prayer in church by himself on the week-day." In the year 1845 he moved to Tetbury, and here he introduced "daily matins and evensong." After six years, finding that he "could not induce his vicar to move further in advance," he became one of the curates at St. Barnabas. Into "the Battle of St. Barnabas"—to quote the expression of the biography before us—Mr. Lowder threw himself with zeal; and he kept advancing in an "Anglo-Catholic" course. On one occasion he gave some boys sixpence to throw rotten eggs at the bearer of a "Vote for Westerton" placard. This raised a great scandal, and Bishop Blomfield suspended the curate from the exercise of his functions for the space of six weeks. He crossed over to France, and spent some days in a Roman Catholic seminary. He had taken letters of introduction to Romanist dignitaries, and he was present at their services. His biographer, the Author of "The Life of St. Teresa," tells us that Mr. Lowder's "enforced exile" (!) was to "bring forth abundant fruit."

In the year 1857 his bishop (Dr. Tait) expressed fears about the "mimicking of Popery." Mr. Lowder preferred to argue rather than submit himself. He "had an entirely new congregation to form;" and he was resolved to teach by ritual what he, Mr. Lowder, thought was "Catholic," and, therefore, right. The Bishop's warning, given in vain, was followed by the secession of his Curates. Messrs. Collins and De Burgh had been taught to value the Mass vestments (with a daily offering of "the Blessed Sacrifice"), to reckon a celibate Priesthood and the "Religious" life, worthy of special honour, and to practise Auricular Confession. What wonder if they "went over"? Again, in the year 1868, three curates went over. According to the narrative in the biography:—

They gave no warning or indication of their intention. One (Mr. Wyndham) was supposed to have gone to Kensington to visit a sick relative; he did not return to the midday dinner, and in the afternoon it was known that he had been "received." The next day he reappeared at dinner: after dinner he went up into Mr. Akers' room; in about an hour they both went out, and Mr. Akers was "received." The day after Mr. Lowder heard of it (he lived at the Clergy House, in Calvert Street, at the other end of the parish). He came at once to Wellclose Square, and asked the schoolmasters, who were at dinner, where Mr. Akers was. They did not know. Mr. Lowder at once sent for Mr. Shapcote, who was away on his holiday, to return immediately to the desolate parish. Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Akers met him at the Junction, and in the waiting-room he decided to follow their example. All this happened in the inside of a week, not only without any notice, but just after the people had been agreeably surprised by a sermon preached in the church in Wellclose Square, the previous Sunday, by Mr. Akers, in which they were told that they ought to be grateful to God that they were members of the Church of England, and could read their Bibles without fear of the Inquisition, and that our age and Church contrasted favourably with that of the Middle Ages. This sermon was preached on the Sunday evening; two days afterwards the preacher had made his submission to the Church of Rome.

At one time *two* curates; at another time *three* curates.

We turn to the closing pages of this biography. Mr. Lowder sought a much-needed change in a town on the Continent. At Zell-am-See he was taken ill. An English gentleman (Mr. Taylor) and his daughter, who were staying at the hotel, aided him in his short but fatal illness. The peasant nurse sent for the priest, and Mr. Lowder consented to see him. Miss Taylor has related what passed in the following words:—

The priest, a simple but kind man, asked me if he could be of use to confess him. I replied, "That I cannot say: he is a Catholic, but *not* a Roman Catholic." The priest did not seem to know what to do, and tried to explain: "Does he believe in the Pope?" "No," I replied, "not as you believe in him." Mr. Lowder had expressed a wish to be buried *here*, if in consecrated ground, so I asked the priest; but he said it was impossible, as he was not a Roman Catholic. Mr. Lowder being willing to see the priest, I went in with him to interpret (if need be), at my father's wish. He seemed quite able to speak, and in German said he was an Anglican priest, and asked if he could have the Blessed Sacrament administered to him. This was not possible. Then Mr. Lowder asked the priest if he would give him his blessing. The priest put on a stole, and said something in Latin which I failed to follow. He then asked Mr. Lowder if he should come in the morning, which was acquiesced in, and as he went out Mr. Lowder turned to me and said in a clear voice, "You are a witness that I die in the faith of the Anglican Church, for they may say that I died a *Roman Catholic*;" and I answered, "I am." My father then returned, and I mentioned this incident to him.

Early in the morning Mr. Lowder passed away. The peasant nurse who was with him relates that he had asked for the crucifix to be placed at the foot of the bed, that he might see it better. The Sisters of a convent at Zell-am-See "received into their care all that was mortal of Charles Lowder," and until relatives arrived, his bier was "reverently watched by the daughters of St. Vincent de Paul!"

The passages which we have quoted serve to show how near to Rome Mr. Lowder was, and also what were the natural results, in many cases, of the Tractarian movement. We admire, of course, the self-denying, persevering zeal of "Father Lowder;" but we must express our opinion that if, with a more careful study of New Testament teachings about the Religious life, he had loyally kept to the lines of our Reformed Church, his fervency and zeal would have brought about a truer, more really spiritual success.

*Intemperance: its bearing upon Agriculture.* With an Appendix containing the Testimony of Landlords, Farmers, Labourers, Travellers, Science, &c. By JOHN ABBEY. Second Edition, revised. National Temperance Publication Depôt, 337, Strand, W.C.

On the title-page of this ably-written pamphlet appears a quotation from Lord Cairns. The noble Earl says:—"There is not, at the present day, any question, in my opinion, which so deeply touches the Moral, the Physical, and the Religious welfare of the World as the question of Temperance." The pamphlet contains many interesting quotations, and the testimony given in the Appendix is especially valuable. Mr. Abbey quotes from the Bishop of Manchester as stating, "that in a Manchester parish containing 1,233 houses, the clergyman found, as the result of personal inquiries, that the heads of 907 families openly professed that neither they nor their households attended any place of worship. Ninety-three families called themselves Church of England people, 94 families called themselves Roman Catholics, and the rest were made up of different denominations, the Wesleyans being strongest with 54 families. The fact that 906 families out of 1,233 never attended public worship, was, the Bishop remarked, a scandal and a peril to society." But many of Mr. Abbey's striking quotations refer to the intemperance and immorality of rural districts. We give two extracts from the testimony of landlords, farmers, stewards, and others as to harvest without intoxicants. Mr. Walker, (near Faringdon) writes:—

To begin with myself, I have been an abstainer for thirty-three years, and think that if I abstain from all alcoholic drink myself, I cannot conscientiously offer them to others. Moreover, I am well aware that any kind of farm labour can be done better without beer than with it. I am at the present time farming upwards of 200 acres, and consequently employing a good deal of manual labour. The wages I am giving at the present time are fourteen shillings a week, with a good house and garden rent free, and in the harvest piece-work as long as it lasts. During hay-making and harvest only do I give any perquisites: we then make some tea, with plenty of new milk and sugar; and when late of an evening, their supper; and I can assure you that I have never yet had one complaint made from any one man of my treatment in not giving beer to those in my employ, and I have men that have been in my employ now for five years. The best testimony I can give will be that of my carter, who will have been with me three years the 6th of next April. I will ask him to write a few lines stating his experience. When he first entered my service he was an habitual drunkard.

The following letter speaks for itself:—

Acacias, Reading, June 18, 1881.

DEAR SIR,—I have much pleasure in answering your enquiries. I have had many years' experience, and consider that the men do their work better without beer. I pay an equivalent in money, and sometimes give cocoa and tea extra. I have farmed about 700 acres, in two distinct districts (500 and 200 acres). The plan has answered well for employer and men. It would be well, I think, if there were no drink sufficiently alcoholic to stupify men.

Yours truly,

GEORGE PALMER,  
M.P. for Reading.

Mr. John Abbey.

*Some Triumphs and Trophies of the Light of the World.* By the late Rev. M. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A., LL.D., Ph.D., Vicar of Little Lindford, Bucks. Pp. 120. Stock.

The first of the learned sermons in this book, *Hoshana Rabba*, was preached to the Jews of Leicester, at Christ Church, one evening of the Church Congress week. It was passing through the press at the time of the author's death; and a short Memoir has been written and printed.

Moses Margoliouth, was born in 1820, at Suwalki, in Poland, of Jewish parents, both of whom were descended from families renowned in the annals of Spain. He was trained in the strictest observance of the Law, and he became one of the greatest Talmudists of his day. In 1837, on a travelling tour, he met with a Hebrew Christian in Liverpool; they conversed about Jehovah Jesus, and Margoliouth consented to read a New Testament. In the course of three weeks, with prayerful study, he became convinced that the Nazarene was the Messiah; and on Good Friday, 1838, he made a public confession of his faith and received the Holy Sacrament of Baptism. His temporal struggles were now to begin, as his wealthy relations cast him off. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1840, and soon after his ordination was appointed through the Bishop of Kildare to the Incumbency of Glasnevin. Dr. Margoliouth was a voluminous author. In the year 1872, he started a monthly Magazine, *The Hebrew Christian Witness*. In the year 1877 he accepted the Vicarage of Little Linford. While on a visit to London, in February, 1881, he was seized with an illness, caused by an affection of the heart, and at the end of three days . . . "he was not, for God took him." We read (p. 18, Memoir):—

Dr. Margoliouth was greatly interested in an association lately formed called the "Parochial Mission to the Jewish Fund." This is presided over by the Very Rev. the Dean of Lichfield, and has for its honorary secretaries Canons Sir James E. Phillips, Bart., Vicar of Warminster, and R. Sutton, Vicar of Pevensey, Hastings; all sure friends of Israel, who have earnestly worked to establish it. It is now in very active and useful operation, its object being to supply curates especially trained and qualified to work in large parishes where Jews abound. Dr. Margoliouth had always felt that this was a want in our parochial system, he considered that the clergy, in whose parishes Jews resided, were bound to attend to the spiritual exigences of their Hebrew parishioners.

*The Year Book of the Church: A Record of Work and Progress in the Church of England*, compiled from official sources. For 1882. Edited by CHARLES MACKESON, Editor of the "Guide to the Churches of London," the "Church Congress Handbook," Low's "Handbook of the Charities of London," &c. Dedicated by express permission to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops, and published with their Lordships' sanction. London: Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row, E.C. 1882.

Mr. Mackeson, the Editor of this welcome volume, is known as an able and active Church worker, a writer of no mean order, and an experienced statistician. We learn from a prefatory note to the Year Book before us, that for nearly twenty years Mr. Mackeson was engaged in the preparation of one of the most important volumes of official statistics annually published by the Government. Of his "Guide to the Churches of London" nothing need here be said. We may quote the chief portion of his Preface:—

In submitting to the bishops, clergy, and laity of the Anglican Communion the first issue of *THE YEAR BOOK OF THE CHURCH*, the Editor desires to express his grateful thanks to the Most Reverend and Right Reverend Prelates, who, at the outset, accepted the dedication of the work and have allowed it to be published with their sanction. The value of such a work must necessarily rest upon its compilation from official and authoritative records, and the Editor is glad to be able to state that in all cases the bishops furnished him with the statistics of ordinations, confirmations, consecrations of churches, &c., which have enabled him to present, for the first time in the history of the English Church, complete tables on these points. Following the same course the

summary of the proceedings of Convocation has been digested from the authorized "Chronicle" of the Synod in the two provinces, and the text of the resolutions adopted in the Diocesan Conferences is also given from official sources. An abstract of the debates on ecclesiastical questions in both Houses of Parliament, and of the Acts passed, has been specially prepared for THE YEAR BOOK, and throughout the volume no effort has been spared to give information on which complete dependence can be placed. The debates at the Church Congress have been dealt with in a similar manner, the sermon of the Bishop of Manchester, the presidential address of the Bishop of Durham, and the Archbishop of York's paper on secularism being given in full, and with the advantage of revision by their respective authors. The work of the Church in Ireland, Scotland, India, and the Colonies is duly recorded, and the progress of Foreign Missions forms the subject of a section which will naturally assume a more perfect shape in future years.

Mr. Mackeson adds that a list of books, ecclesiastical and religious, has been included, and a chronicle of events. "In the chapter devoted to the work of the principal Church societies," we read, "the aim has been to present a brief account of the year's operations, rather than merely to describe the aims and official arrangements of the institutions, which is a matter beyond the scope of the present volume. The nominal list of ordinees in the various dioceses has been compiled from the tables furnished by the bishops." We have examined the book here and there; the statistics, as we expected, are ably and accurately arranged. It is remarkable that while Nonconforming bodies have some annual record of their work the Church of England has not. This "Year Book" will supply a real want.

*The Pathway of Safety.* By the Right Rev. ASHTON OXENDEN, D.D., late Bishop of Montreal. Hatchards.

*A Simple Exposition of the Psalms.* 2 vols.

*The Earnest Churchman.* Why am I a Member of the Church of England?

*Our Church and her Services.*

*Short Lectures on the Sunday Gospels.*

Some twenty years ago the present writer, in conversation with an eminent preacher about books suitable for parochial lending and distribution, was asked "How is it that Oxenden's books are so popular?" The answer given was, in brief, "They are simple and affectionate, they point to Christ, and they are printed in large type." This answer, we think, was good, and is good, as far as it goes (a particular incident causes us to remember the conversation), but subsequent searchings after really good books to give, lend, and recommend, particularly among what may be called the lower middle class, proved that more ought to be said about Bishop Oxenden's books. For example. The honoured author took a line of his own; he supplied a want; and this in several fields of exposition and advice. Thus, in regard to the Church of England, her History, her Services, he gave a simple suggestive statement, sufficiently full, and unmistakably clear and sound. Now, of sound, serviceable Church handbooks and manuals, even at the present time, the supply is by no means large. But in several ways, as we have said, Mr. Oxenden supplied a want; with a good doctrinal basis, he was practical, easy to be understood, and his words were winning.

It may be interesting to subjoin a statement—it strengthens our remarks—as to the circulation of Dr. Oxenden's books. Such a statement speaks for itself. Over two million copies of the good Bishop's books have been issued. We gladly record so cheering a fact.

1. *Short Lectures on the Sunday Gospels.* Advent to Easter. 17th thousand. Easter to Advent. 16th thousand.
2. *The Parables of our Lord.* 35th thousand.
3. *The Pathway of Safety; or Counsel to the Awakened.* 278th thousand.
4. *The Christian Life.* 47th thousand.
5. *Portraits from the Bible.* Old Testament. 37th thousand. New Testament. 25th thousand.
6. *Our Church and her Services.* 31st thousand.
7. *Cottage Sermons; or, Plain Words to the Poor.* 12th thousand.
8. *Cottage Readings.* 7th thousand.
9. "*The Pathway of Safety*" Series. The above Ten Volumes in a box.
10. *The Earnest Churchman.* 10th thousand.
11. *A Simple Exposition of the Psalms.* 8th thousand.
12. *Thoughts for Advent.* 8th thousand.
13. *Thoughts for Lent.* 8th thousand.
14. *Decision.* 27th thousand.
15. *Confirmation.* 532nd thousand.
16. *Counsels to those who have been Confirmed.* 10th thousand.
17. *Baptism Simply Explained.* 18th thousand.
18. *The Lord's Supper Simply Explained.* 75th thousand.
19. *The Earnest Communicant.* 448th thousand.
20. *Family Prayers for Four Weeks.* 1st Series. 120th thousand. 2nd Series. 22nd thousand.
21. *Family Prayers. Complete Eight Weeks.*
22. *Prayers for Private Use.* 118th thousand.
23. *Words of Peace; or, The Blessings and Trials of Sickness.* 71st thousand.
24. *The Home Beyond: or, A Happy Old Age.* 163rd thousand.
25. *The Pastoral Office.* Its Duties, Privileges, and Prospects. 4th thousand.
26. *Fervent Prayer.* 42nd thousand.
27. *God's Message to the Poor.* 22nd thousand.
28. *The Labouring Man's Book.* 52nd thousand.
29. *The Story of Ruth.* 14th thousand.
30. *A Plain History of the Christian Church.* 9th thousand.
31. *Great Truths in Very Plain Language.* 37th thousand.

The *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for April contains an ably-written article on the proposed Japan Bishopric. An admirable article on the "C. M. S. at home," contains many telling paragraphs, e.g.—

The distinctiveness and independence of the Church Missionary Society—not independence of the Church's recognized authorities, or of the Church's laws, but the independence which is the natural right of every voluntary association of Churchmen—are not only its strength in the administration of its vast work, but are to a large extent the ground of the enthusiastic confidence accorded to it by so extensive a circle of friends and supporters. There are thousands of persons wholly guiltless of what is called party-spirit, to whom the spiritual principles of the Society are dear; who trust it because they know its one aim is to do spiritual work, and to do it by the agency of spiritual men; and who work for it with an energy and a self-denial scarcely ever to be found among the mere supporters of "Missions" as an abstract duty.

*The Students' Commentary on the Holy Bible.* Founded on the "Speaker's Commentary." Abridged and Edited by the Rev. J. M. FULLER, M.A. Vol. IV. John Murray. 1882.

We are pleased to receive and to recommend another volume of the "Speaker's Commentary" adapted for students in general. The present

instalment of this valuable work contains Isaiah by Dr. Kay, Jeremiah by Dean Payne Smith, Ezekiel by Dr. Currey, Daniel by the late Archdeacon Rose and Mr. Fuller, and the Minor Prophets by various Commentators. The editorial work is excellent; and the printing is all that could be desired. These four volumes of a noble Commentary (Old Testament) would form a handsome addition to any theological "student's" library; they are portable, and—no small matter at the present day—cheap.

*The Life of H.R.H. the Prince Consort.* By Sir THEODORE MARTIN, K.C.B. People's Edition. Smith, Elder & Co., 15, Waterloo Place. 1882.

A wonderfully cheap volume. We are pleased that one of the earliest among the popular low-priced editions of celebrated or classic works has been published a People's Edition of the "Life of the Prince Consort." This work is so well-known that we need say little about it in its present form, save that it is printed in good clear type, neatly bound, with an Index. The circulation will doubtless be immense. Every private and lending library, however small, can now afford to place upon its shelves a copy of one of the greatest biographical books of the time, published only recently at a price which was fitting for a high-class work.

*Livy, Books II. and III.* Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. H. M. STEPHENSON, M.A., Head Master of St. Peter's School, York; formerly Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Pp. 300. Macmillan & Co. 1882.

This handy little volume, one of the best types of serviceable school-books, we have pleasure in recommending. The Notes are sufficient, and scholarly, not too long, free from overmuch translation. There are good Introductions; there are sectional marginal headings, with an Index; the printing is admirable. Another good book by Mr. Stephenson, "Select Epigrams of Martial," belongs to the "classical series" of the same publishers.

*Memoirs of Prince Metternich.* Edited by Prince RICHARD METTERNICH. Vol. V. R. Bentley & Son, 1882.

The earliest volumes of these Memoirs were reviewed in THE CHURCHMAN as soon as they were published. The volume before us covers the period 1830-1835. It contains little to interest any except politico-historical students. In 1831 Prince Metternich contracted marriage, for the third time, with Countess Melanie Zichy-Ferraris. The diary of Princess Melanie has been largely quoted.

*The Liberation Society, Arrested, Examined, and Exposed.* An Address delivered in the Central Hall, Darlington, on Wednesday Evening, March 8, 1882, by H. BYRON REED, Lecturer to the Church Defence Institution in the Northern Province. W. Poole, 12A, Paternoster Row.

A clever lecture; well printed, and very cheap.

For *Pulpit Talent*, by the late Dr. HORACE BUSHNELL (R. D. Dickinson) We cannot say we care much. The book is long, and, as we think, cold and dry.

The *Cottager and Artisan* (R. T. S.) is as good as usual; a valuable periodical. The *Home Visitor* (W. Hunt & Co.), edited by the Rev. P. B. Power, localized in many parishes, is bright, wholesome and instructive.

The Religious Tract Society is publishing several tracts of the same size and sort as *The Story of Easter*, tinted paper: of the "Seek Me Early" series, of the *Illustrated Messenger* series, of the "Every Week" series. All that we have read are really good. The *Illustrated Messenger*, No. 98, has an illustration of three railway servants in a signalman's box.

We gladly recommend *Talks about Christian Living* (R. T. S.), one of Mr. EVERARD'S suggestive little books; really practical. The "Talks" are short, and to the point, with here and there a striking anecdote.

*Thoughts on Prayer* (R. T. S.) may be useful to many. The compiler has brought "into the compass of a small volume the results of modern thought on the subject of prayer."

What we notice chiefly in *The Congregationalist* (Hodder & Stoughton) is its bitter Radicalism; to oppose Mr. Gladstone about the "closure" (especially for a "Moderate Liberal") appears almost an unforgivable offence. Such words as "truculent," "impudent," "envenomed spite," "unscrupulous language" meet the eye on a single page. *The Congregationalist's* review of Mr. Lansdell's charming book, "Through Siberia," does justice to its merits.

*Men of Mark*, No LXXVI. (Sampson Low), contains portraits of Sir Evelyn Wood, Canon Tristram, and Sir Michael Costa: it is a very good number. *Harper's Monthly*, a magazine which is full of choice illustrations, contains a readable account of Hawarden and the Gladstone family.

Messrs. Routledge have published four books of their "sixpenny edition" series, wonderfully cheap: *Robinson Crusoe*, *Grimm's Fairy Tales*, *Sandford and Merton*, and the *Swiss Family Robinson*; each well and largely illustrated.

*Fasting Reception of the Blessed Sacrament*. By the Rev. F. HALL, M.A., an "Assistant-Curate of S. Augustine, Kilburn" (Rivingtons), has reached a second edition. The little book, to a great extent a compilation, extracts from Pusey, Blunt, *Notitia Eucharistica*, &c., shows how far some who protest against Evening Communion are prepared to go.

A handsome volume, *Without Intending It* (R. T. S.), is a story of "John Tincroft, Bachelor and Benedict," by Mr. GEORGE E. SARGENT, Author of "The Story of a City Arab," &c. The story is pleasingly told and thoroughly wholesome, with a good deal of life; here and there, in the colonial experiences, occurs a specially interesting passage; and "John," in his courtship and married life, is well drawn. But the work seems to us, as a whole, rather weak; and the threads of the story, we think, might have been better woven.

Under the title *Golden-Golden* we have some capital stories by Mrs. PROSSER. This is one of the volumes of the R. T. S. large-type series, cheap, illustrated, neatly got up, and specially suitable for working-class people.

A year ago we had the pleasure of recommending *Reminiscences of Christian Life in India*; really interesting "Reminiscences," with a charming biographical sketch of General Charles Browne. We now cordially commend another volume by the same Author, *Reminiscences of Life in Mysore, South Africa, and Burmah*, by Major-General DOBBS: Dublin: George Herbert). This is a readable book, with a good deal of information. The long and honourable career of Colonel Dobbs in the Mysore country will be known to some, at all events, of our "Indian" readers.



## THE MONTH.

THE Queen arrived at Windsor Castle on the 15th. Her Majesty has derived benefit from the air and rest of Mentone.

Mr. Gladstone, in the first *clôture* division, had a majority of 39.

Dean Plumptre has published, under the title, "A Ritual Eirenicon," suggestions for appeasing strife. The *Record* says:—

Dean Plumptre has set himself to construct a formula which may fairly and honestly be understood by the Ritualist to mean one thing, and may with equal fairness and equal honesty be understood by the Evangelical to mean another. By the dexterous use of some words and avoidance of others, it is sought to leave the Ritualist in undisturbed enjoyment of his Eucharistic linen vestments and his coloured stoles, while the Low Churchman is to have an equal right to wear as old-fashioned a surplice as he likes, a black scarf, and even a gown in the pulpit. We will not inquire how far the Dean has succeeded with his word-puzzle, for in our view it is not very material. What we want is a clear and unmistakable rule which can only be understood in one way.

We gladly invite attention to the *Record*, now published once a week, and greatly improved; and we express our earnest hopes that the paper may have a long and prosperous career. The *Record* has shown of late a kindly and judicious spirit, a sound Church policy, with all its pristine ability and vigour.

Bishop Barker has entered into rest. A faithful, able, and honoured Prelate, as Metropolitan of Australia he exercised great influence for good.

The state of Ireland formed the chief subject of Conservative speeches at a great gathering in Liverpool. The Marquis of Salisbury said:—

For the present, that which presses upon the responsibility of the Government, and which every Englishman has a right to urge, is that order should be restored to Ireland. I am not pressing for an increase or a decrease of coercion. I do not desire to make any suggestion in respect either to the character of the legislation or to its amount; what I say is, that those are things for the responsible Minister of the Crown; and we have a right to insist, by whatever means, this system of murder shall be arrested, and the ordinary machinery and the ordinary action of society shall be restored. You may talk of the difficulties as you will, but every one knows perfectly well that if Ireland was under the Government of the German Emperor, or of the Indian Viceroy, or of the French Republic, or of the American Republic, the present state of things would not last.

Prince Gortschakoff has at length retired from the Foreign Office. Happily, not General Ignatieff, but M. de Giers, has succeeded the aged Chancellor: and hopes of peace are brighter.

Mr. Parnell was released, on parole, to attend the funeral of a relation.