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CORRESPONDENCE ON CHURCH AND RELIGION OF WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

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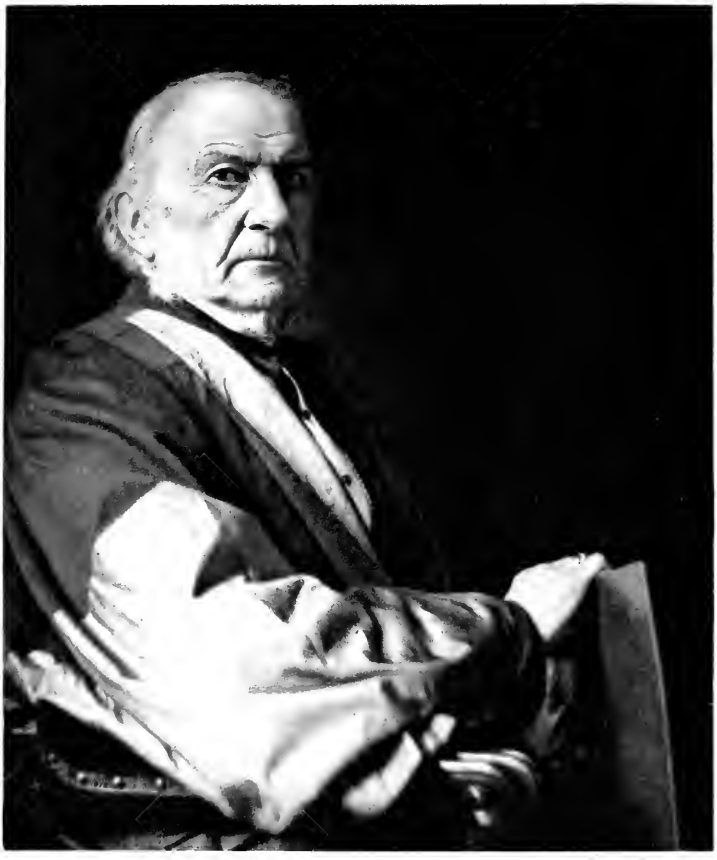

The Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone

From a photograph made in 1884 by Rupert Potter Esq re

CORRESPONDENCE ON

CHURCH AND RELIGION

OF WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

SELECTED AND ARRANGED
BY D. C. LATHBURY

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTORY

If Mr. Gladstone had carried out his evident intention, and woven into a continuous narrative the autobiographical fragments which remain among his papers, there would have been little need for the publication of his letters. In his case the memory was alike vivid and accurate. His recollection of what he was thirty or sixty years earlier was but little coloured by what had happened since. Between his life as written by himself in old age and his life as gathered from the letters in which he describes, with very varying degrees of fulness, remote events and vanished controversies, there would have been little discrepancy. We should have had in the autobiography all that is valuable in the letters, together with the advantage of his own comments on the manner in which he had played his many parts. As this is denied us, except as regards a few isolated periods, the letters must remain our main source of information. From this point of view it is fortunate that Mr. Gladstone was a great hoarder of manuscript. There was scarcely anything too trivial to be given a place in the Octagon. Early in his career his position became conspicuous enough to make his letters worth keeping, and while he was in office many of them were copied by various hands

into a series of folio volumes. Unfortunately, in the intervals when he was out of office this latter source of information fails us. Either he wrote fewer letters, or he was less careful and systematic in keeping copies of those he wrote. This is in part the explanation of the suddenness with which a discussion sometimes ends, and of the occasional disproportion between the importance of a subject and the length at which it is handled. Again, his letters have not seldom the air of memoranda intended to clear his own mind, and then it is almost a matter of chance to whom they will be addressed. At all times, indeed, there is a strong likeness between one letter and another. It could never be said of them, as it was of Newman's, that they are 'instinct with the consciousness of the person he addresses.' On the contrary, there is at times a curious unlikeness between letters and correspondents, and we are tempted to wonder how much the particular reader appreciated or even understood what was sent to him. Mr. Gladstone always wrote out of a full heart, and the subject nearest his heart was always religion. It is to this that he constantly returns, and returns with the evident conviction that his correspondent is as interested in it as he is himself. This is not a theory of letter-writing that is likely to minister to the lighter aspects of the art.

The reader will do well to bear in mind a distinction which Lord Morley has drawn between Mr. Gladstone's letters and his conversation. 'In table talk he could be as disengaged, as marked in ease and charm, as anyone; he was as willing as anyone to accept topics as they came, which is the first of all conditions for good conversation. When alone in his Temple of Peace it was not his practice to take up his pen in the

same sauntering and devious humour. With him the pen was no instrument of diversion.' Mr. Gladstone's correspondence will be read for what he has to say rather than for the way in which he says it. The letters included in these volumes will chiefly appeal to those who care to see grave questions gravely handled, and handled by a man who from his first entrance into public life was immersed in great affairs and passionately interested in the issues involved in them.

The selection now printed covers a period of more than sixty years. It deals almost wholly with a single subject, but it is a subject which takes many forms, and appeals, with varying force, to many publics. For this reason it has seemed best to arrange the letters under the several heads to which they relate, and to take these heads in the order of their first appearance in the correspondence. At the opening of his career his theological interests were centred in the relations between the State and the Church. This is the subject of some of his earliest speeches in Parliament, and of his first and chief book, and its hold upon him never lessened, though as time went on its character changed. The devotion to the principle of a State Establishment of religion which possessed him down to 1840 gradually yielded to his sense of the impossibility of applying this principle in its integrity to contemporary conditions. From 1845 onwards his chief ecclesiastical object was to fit the Church for standing the shock which she would certainly have to endure some day, though not in his own lifetime. Disestablishment, as he thought, need not be a disaster, and might even be a blessing, if, and in so far as, the Church had made proper preparation to

meet it. About 1840 Mr. Gladstone was drawn into the Oxford Movement. It never, indeed, took complete possession of him, but it gave a new direction to his thoughts and feelings. It made him in fact, though (so far as his own will went) never in name, a High Churchman instead of an Evangelical. Under this title I have brought together all the letters which relate to the varying fortunes of the conflict which, under different names and for different objects, has lasted for three-quarters of a century, and still agitates the Church of England. In the later developments of that conflict Mr. Gladstone had little share, but his interest in it revived whenever the place of dogma in religion seemed to him to be threatened. Next to these letters I have placed those dealing with kindred controversies in the Scottish Episcopal Church, the fortunes of which he followed with an attention stimulated by the part he had played, as a young man, in the foundation of Trinity College, Glenalmond, and of St. Andrew's Church at Fasque.

The second volume opens with the letters relating to his Oxford elections. Many of the questions with which they are concerned are dealt with in other chapters, but the occasions which drew them forth give them a character distinct enough to make them worth including, even at the risk of some repetition. The secessions of 1845 and 1851 had a very marked influence on Mr. Gladstone's mind, and for the rest of his life the controversy with Rome occupies a large place in the correspondence. While his interest in this question was always great, it became absorbing after the Vatican Council and the erection of Papal Infallibility into an article of faith. In his later years, indeed, even this subject lost, for him, something of its importance

by the side of the Controversy with Unbelief, and in the end his gravest charge against the Papal policy was that it had made it more difficult for Christians to act together in defence of the truths they hold in common. The letters on Education demand a place, because they show how Mr. Gladstone reconciled his abiding sense of the importance of dogma with his share in the Elementary Education Act of 1870. There remain a number of letters which I have brought together under the convenient, if not strictly accurate, heading of 'Personal.' It has often been difficult to decide to which chapter a given letter properly belongs, and in some cases a letter, relating to a subject which has already been dealt with, handles it in an individual and intimate fashion which makes this final chapter the most fitting place for it.

I have to offer my most sincere thanks to Mr. Gladstone's trustees, and to his family, for the generous confidence they have shown me. The letters were entrusted to me without reserve or condition, and the work of selection has been left entirely to my discretion. In carrying it out, my constant endeavour has been to leave no aspect of Mr. Gladstone's theology unrepresented.

If Lord Morley had not left 'the detailed history of Mr. Gladstone as theologian and Churchman' unwritten, there would have been no need for me to add to the letters so much introductory and explanatory matter. I trust that I have brought to the work the same essentials of 'candour and good faith' which he so justly claims for himself.

I am almost painfully aware that in one instance I have greatly exceeded the ordinary licence of quotation. I can only plead by way of excuse that this is a fate

which no one who has to write about the Oxford Movement can hope to avoid, except at the cost of saying infinitely less well what has already been said in perfection by Dean Church.

Among the many possessors of Mr. Gladstone's letters to whom I am indebted, I must specially mention his Majesty the King, who has graciously permitted me to print two letters addressed to Queen Victoria.

My sincere thanks are also due to Mrs. Maxwell Scott, who allowed Mr. Hope-Scott's correspondence to remain in my hands for two years; to Father Kent, of St. Mary of the Angels, London, and Father John Morris, of the Oratory, Birmingham; to Lord Acton; Lord Stanmore; Lord Iddesleigh; Lord Northbourne; Sir Walter Phillimore; Professor Friedrich; the Dean of St. Patrick's; Sir Henry Farquhar; the Baroness von Hugel; Miss Church; Mrs. Bosworth Smith; Mr. Taylor Innes; Dr. Barrett; Dr. Fairbairn; Messrs Macmillan; Mr. Edward Forbes, and many others.

D. C. L.

March.

CORRESPONDENCE ON CHURCH AND RELIGION OF WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND RELIGIOUS CORRESPONDENCE OF WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

CHAPTER I

CHURCH AND STATE

1829–1845

THE story of Mr. Gladstone's early religious training has been told by Lord Morley. An autobiographical fragment, part of a larger scheme which unfortunately was never carried out, supplies pretty well all the material of the narrative.* 'I can give,' he says in the opening of the second fragment, 'a tolerably clear account of the steps by which I was theoretically, by a very gradual process, built up into a Churchman. Of the relation between this process, which had its seat in my understanding, and any true conversion of the heart to God I do not dare, and, indeed, I am not competent, to speak. I had been brought up with no notion of the Church as the Church or body of Christ. Not only was there no visibility, but there was not even any collectivity in my conception of outward religion and religious observances. It once happened to me, on the top of a coach between London and Eton, to hear a conversation in which the interlocutors were a "con-

* Morley, 'Life,' i. 118.

verted" private soldier and an unconverted comrade, of the Foot and Life Guards respectively. There came a turn in it at which the first named of the two put the question, "Come now, what is the Church of England?" To which the other replied, "It is a d——d large building with an organ in it." I think this expressed the ideas of my childhood.' With the Evangelicals of that time religion was too personal a matter to fill any large place in a scheme of education. The utmost that could be done for a child was to remove any obstacles likely to stand in the way of his subsequent conversion. This vital change had no connection with any Christian society. It might, and did, take place in any one of them, and in the Evangelical denominations the circumstances attending it were substantially the same. Consequently, until after he left Oxford Mr. Gladstone had no religious history, except upon one point. In the summer of 1828 he read Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and accepted the 'hitherto abhorred' doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration — a very important addition to his stock of belief, but not one that at the time carried him much farther on the road to Churchmanship.

Of his religious opinions while at Oxford we have, as it happens, a precise account from his own hand. It is a document in which he describes, apparently as a private exercise, the state of religion in the University, and I give it in full, because it shows how completely at this date — March, 1829 — he was possessed by the ideas and terminology of the Evangelical School.

'The state of religion in Oxford is the most painful spectacle it ever fell to my lot to behold. Here is a seminary for furnishing with ministers a reformed and Apostolical Church. It bears, and it bears openly and

almost boastfully, the title of "a place more immediately dedicated to God's honour and service." It has means placed at its command fully adequate to the ends which it professes to seek. Its wealth is abundant; its learning gigantic; its reputation splendid; there is no spiritual, no intellectual, no physical advantage, which Oxford does not seem to possess. It is a goodly vineyard, planted thickly within, and strongly hedged about against the incursions of foes. We have no Papists, no Socinians, no Dissenters of any class. Where, then, are the fruits? Surely He who hath planted and hedged about this vineyard will look for its produce, and He will expect it to be proportionate to the splendid gifts which He has bestowed upon it. He will look for it in due season; and He will look for it in due abundance. And He will find neither the one nor the other. I do not allude to the deficiencies and imperfections necessarily inherent in all human offerings to the Most High. Would to God it were with these only we were to be charged! No, the defalcation here is far more extensive and far more awful. Here irreligion is the rule, religion is the exception. Why is it else that if we go throughout the whole country we find the ordinary personification of a wild and thoughtless young profligate to be the undergraduate of Oxford or of Cambridge? The evidence is too dreadfully conclusive. God only knows what the sentence may be which that evidence will cause Him to pronounce.

'Now what pretensions have we to unity? and what are the facilities we have for attaining it? The facilities seem to be all that can be desired — the pretensions, at least the just ones, none. Infidelity, Popery, and even Dissent, is rigorously excluded from among us. Is there any place where more acrimony prevails between the supporters of what are called High and Low Church principles? Or, how many are there who support either in sincerity, and from the simple and pure belief that they are the rules ordained by Christ for the constitution of His Church even to the end of time? Some few there are, for ever blessed be God's holy name! who unite with warmest attachment to the Church of England, and the most unfeigned respect for

the governors and constitution of the University, a piety wise, fervent, and consistent; but oh! how few! More numerous are a second class, whose zeal appears to outstrip discretion. They have, it appears, adopted a very high strain of doctrine, and on this very high foundation they seem to build all their notions of Christianity. They seem full of predestination and regeneration understood in a sense believed by others to be erroneous. Those others they might probably consider as outcasts from the Israel of God, because they do not participate in these ideas. Discord and suspicion ensue, and those who are seeking to serve God in spirit and in truth are thus parted. But blessed be the Most High for these also. By the grace of God, if they have not conquered *every* branch of sin, they *have* conquered many: they have utterly renounced the world, the flesh, and the devil; earthly ambition and pleasure, swearing, lust, and drunkenness, idleness, envy, slandering, malice, disobedience, vainglory, and *self-dependence* they have utterly forsworn; they have acknowledged with a true and lively faith the blessed Trinity, and they have built all their hopes on Christ, and centred all their desires in heaven. Who is he that shall dare to say of such men — even granting that they do hold erroneous doctrines not affecting their belief in the fundamentals of Christianity — even granting that they do lay too great a stress on these doctrines, this hay, straw, and stubble which they are supposed to have laid on the one foundation, and do betray uncharitableness *occasionally* towards their brethren — who shall say of such men that they are not within the fold of Christ? Each, even among true believers, has his besetting sin, and perhaps this tendency to set too high a value on peculiar opinions, and to think hardly of those who differ from them on points by them wrongly considered essential, may be theirs. But they are of the sheep of Christ. He beholds them from His throne on high; He looks upon them, and as He looks He loves. Let them go on in their path of tribulation, and let all who love their Maker bless Him for their knowledge of the Gospel way of salvation, and earnestly and heartily bid them God speed.

'In addition to these — the younger members of the University are now exclusively spoken of — there are

some who have a sincere but not a consistent respect for religion; there are others who look to it with a more abiding but a more formal regard; and there may be some who, like the poor worm that writes, are made up of a compound of this and every other absurdity.

'Such feel at times as though they could really bear the cross of Christ before the face of men; they wish, or persuade themselves they wish, to spend and be spent in His service, to maintain His honour, to bear His reproach, to adhere manfully to the truth of God, and go on rejoicing in their Christian course, caring not though they have to struggle against flesh and blood, the evil powers of this world and of the next, knowing that in themselves they are nothing, but in their Heavenly Father everything. Oh, there are moments when it seems as if scales dropped from our eyes and chains from off our souls, and when we seem ready to bear scorn and ignominy and tribulation rather than depart from, or wink at the departure from, one jot or tittle of the law of God. But the flight cannot be sustained, for we make wings by our own contrivance, and not according to the laws or by the power of God. Then comes the deadening and debasing influence of everyday pursuits and pleasures. Learning, power, distinction, pleasure, are all in our thoughts, but God is not. Yes, there may be and there is a limit to the omnipresence of the Most High. He is in heaven and the grave, on land and sea, in the tempest and in the calm, in the light and in the darkness, but in the heart of the wicked He is NOT! Oh, awful and appalling thought! how often have I my interest or my pleasure in my heart, but the door barred against my God.

'Thus, to use a friend's eloquent expression, the link is broken that should connect devotional sensibility with moral firmness. Our souls in the closet are lifted up to heaven, but when we pass the magic circle and mix among the world, they are weighed down thither also. We wear the garb of the world. We hesitate to give up its unlawful enjoyments, not because we like or desire them, but because we are AFRAID to own that we hate and would avoid them. We fear to tell the truth before man: but we fear not to tell a falsehood before God. However fully the understanding may have assented to the doctrines of the Gospel, the heart

under such circumstances cannot be right before God Almighty. Christianity, therefore, has not produced much practical effect on the heart and life: *favourite* lusts are not abandoned, self-denial and self-abasement are thought of almost as little as ever, temper is not restrained, we are expert in finding out the faults of other people's notions in religion, we speak acrimoniously of all, and we are esteemed by none. The sober Christian abominates our hypocrisy, the zealous our lukewarmness — while the man of the world may see that the servitude to it which is undergone is undergone not from a principle of love, but of fear.

'Who shall deliver from such a state but God only? O heavenly and most merciful God, implant in me a godly fear of Thee, root out from me my ungodly fear of men; let the blessed Spirit, who despises not so humble an office, condescend to purge my unclean heart, to take away from it my own wavering and vacillating resolutions, and place in their stead a permanent and habitual sense of Thy presence, a lively faith, a love hearty and unconstrained, a looking unto Jesus for redemption, unto the Spirit for grace. May every thought be brought into the obedience of Christ, and may I walk in the footsteps of my beloved sister — my once suffering, but now glorified, sister, though in heaven, still my sister. And may I do my duty to my parents and brothers and remaining sister: and may we all walk in unity of spirit, having one treasure and one object as we have the same covenant and the same calling, and at the last may we come to Thine eternal joy, through the one Mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus. For His sake, Amen.'

The acceptance of Evangelicalism as the one true form of religion was not, in the first instance, affected by his theological reading, rapidly as this diverged from the ordinary literature of the party. For Butler, the idol of his after-life, he claims no more than that the study of him 'lays the ground for new modes of thought in religion,' while of Hooker he says expressly that his exposition of the case of the Church of England

came to him 'as a mere abstraction.' There was little in his known character when he left Oxford in 1831 to indicate that he would differ theologically from the old-fashioned Church and State men, of whom Sir Robert Inglis, his colleague in the representation of the University, was an excellent example.

He left England for Italy in January, 1832, and on the road he made a short stay in one of the Vaudois valleys. In the reading of Church history then commonly accepted among Evangelicals, the people of these valleys filled a very important place. An early letter (written from Eton to his brother John, in 1826) describes them as having 'alone kept the faith pure and undefiled from the days of the Apostles,' and as being 'the parents of all the Reformed Churches, and more especially the cradle in which our own was fostered.' This grand conception did not stand the test of acquaintance, and Mr. Gladstone entered Rome with an imagination open to new religious impressions. They came to him, as he has himself told us, from two sources — from the vision of a lost Christian unity which awaited him in St. Peter's on the last day of March, 1832, and from an accidental examination of the Occasional Offices in the Prayer-Book at Naples, six weeks later. These two incidents changed in the end his whole attitude towards religion. What that attitude had been up to that time he describes in a fragment which bears the date of January 15, 1894:

'The Evangelical clergy were the heralds of a real and profound revival, the revival of spiritual life. Every Christian under their scheme had personal dealings with his God and Saviour. The inner life was again acknowledged as a reality, and substituted for that bare, bald compromise between the seen and the

unseen world which reduced the share of the "far more exceeding and eternal" almost to *nil*. The service was inestimable, but it was incomplete. The language of the Psalmist had now once more become a reality, in so far as it expressed the needs and longings of the individual soul; but there was no corresponding recognition of the Divine kingdom, of Mount Sion, of the great congregation, of the perpetual, indestructible existence of the Church of God. And yet the whole framework of Scripture, and that of the Psalter especially, testified to the indestructible union between the collective and the individual life. It was no wonder, for, through the unhappy course which our internal history had taken, the Protestant or negative idea had largely superseded that of the great teaching institute founded by the Lord and His Apostles; and the city set upon a hill, "the pillar and ground of truth," was conceived of as "our venerable Establishment" — the spiritual conception being everywhere clouded and coated over by that of the temporal law, under the forms of which it worked, and on which it had come even in the minds of very godly men, such as Mr. Robert Nelson, to place a most extravagant reliance.' This may be taken as his final judgment on the religious tradition in which he had been brought up.

The early letters in this chapter begin abruptly. It was not, seemingly, till Mr. Gladstone found in Manning a friend who took an equal interest in the relations of the State to the Church that he disclosed how large a place the subject held in his own thoughts. Of the Church as a Divine society, subordinate to the State in the civil order, but none the less supreme in its own, he had in 1835 only occasional glimpses. He saw that the connection with the State

had its dangers, but they were religious not ecclesiastical dangers. What he feared was the harm which the position of an Establishment might do to purity of doctrine. That it might do equal or greater harm to freedom of government—a point which some fifteen years later was to take such hold on his mind—had not occurred to him. As presented in these early letters, the function of the State is not to recognize the Divine society, but to teach the true religion.

In busying himself with ecclesiastical matters, Gladstone was, in a sense, only following the multitude. In the years that immediately succeeded the first Reform Act, changes in the Church were as much in the air as changes in the State. Had the agitation been confined to England, the attack might have been mainly directed against pluralists and clerical absentees; for in England it was the unequal distribution of ecclesiastical goods among their present possessors that had seized upon the popular imagination, and in principle there was nothing revolutionary about such a redistribution of Church property as would bring pay and work into closer correspondence. But 'Catholic Emancipation' had made it impossible to confine the attack to England, and to extend it to Ireland was of necessity to change its character. In both Churches, indeed, there were the same scandals as regards the apportionment of revenue, but in Ireland these went for little, in view of the fact that the Established Church of the country was not the Church of the people. What did it matter that one parson had £1,000 a year, and another only £100, when in either case the ministrations of the Protestant Rector might be limited to his family and his servants? Thus the Irish Church was threatened with, and in part under-

went, a kind of change which the Reforming party did not dream of applying to her English sister. Her twenty-two ancient bishoprics were to be reduced by ten, and such surplus as would remain after ample provision had been made for the spiritual needs of the Protestant population was to be diverted to objects by which their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects would equally benefit. But the men to whom the defence of the Church naturally fell were not likely to discriminate accurately between the two attacks. In England as in Ireland, Bishops and Deans and wealthy pluralists were to have their incomes inquired into for no friendly purpose, and a reformation of this type seemed but another name for destruction of the Establishment. When confronted by this prospect, the dignified clergy and the authors of what was soon to be the Oxford Movement took up radically different positions: 'The official leaders of the Church were almost stunned and bewildered by the fierce outbreak of popular hostility. The answers put forth on its behalf to the clamour for extensive and even destructive change were the work of men surprised in a moment of security. They scarcely recognized the difference between what was indefensible and what must be fought for to the death; they mistook subordinate and unimportant points for the key of their position; in their compromises or in their resistance they wanted the guidance of clear and adequate principles, and they were vacillating and ineffective.'* By the little company which daily met in the Oriel Common Room, this unlooked-for assault was met in a very different spirit. They saw in it a call to examine afresh the meaning of their familiar words and professions.

* Church, "The Oxford Movement," p. 2.

What was the Church? What was the ground of its claims apart from its connection with the State? From what source did its ministers derive their authority and their powers? It was with these and the like questions that the writers of the early numbers of the 'Tracts for the Times' were mainly concerned.

With neither of these groups was Mr. Gladstone wholly in sympathy. The idea of a spiritual society with a character, a constitution, and a system of law entirely its own was still but imperfectly known to him. By conviction as well as by training and habit he was an Evangelical, and by the Evangelicals, as he himself tells us, 'the pillar and ground of truth was conceived of as our venerable Establishment.' Above this level, indeed, he had risen even then. To cling to whatever the Church happened to have in the way of possession or privilege might satisfy ordinary Churchmen, but it did not satisfy Mr. Gladstone. What he was searching for was some clear principle on which to found his resistance to the proposals of the Reform Ministry. He found this in the doctrine that the State, in the nineteenth century as much as in the thirteenth or the sixteenth, has a conscience capable of distinguishing between truth and error in religion; and that, having this conscience, it is bound to give official and financial support to the true religion, and none other. Had Mr. Gladstone been only a theologian, he might have stopped short at this point. But he was a politician as well, and in this capacity he had to accommodate his theory to the actual conditions of English life. A few years earlier it would have been easy to do this. So long as Roman Catholics were excluded from the House of Commons, and consistent Nonconformists could only hold office by the help

of an annual act of indemnity, the principle of a State conscience was saved. It was still true that the law — apart from certain special suspensions of it — gave the full rights of citizenship to none but members of the Church of England. But the legislation of 1828 and 1829 had made short work of this consoling gloss. With Nonconformists holding civil offices as of right, and Roman Catholics sitting in the House of Commons, what room was left for the theory to which Mr. Gladstone stood committed? This was the question that he set himself to answer in 'The State in its Relations with the Church.'

The immediate occasion of the book was a course of lectures on Church Establishments delivered in London by Chalmers in May, 1838. Great as was Mr. Gladstone's admiration of the lecturer, he could not leave the defence of a cause that lay so near his heart to an advocate who 'flogged the Apostolical succession grievously, seven Bishops sitting below him, and the Duke of Cambridge incessantly bobbing assent.' The call to place the defence of the Established Church on surer ground was at once accepted, and two months later he was able to tell Manning that six of the eight chapters of which the book was to consist were already finished. The labour of writing was made greater by the detailed revision the manuscript underwent at the hands of James Hope (afterwards Mr. Hope-Scott). The origin of a friendship which held so exceptional a place in the history of Mr. Gladstone's mind belongs to another chapter. In this place I am only concerned with Hope's influence on the book. The request for frank criticism which is made in Letter 7 was promptly granted. Between July 26 and August 4, 1838, Hope sends over

a hundred pages of minute and careful comment — comment which necessitated the rewriting of some of the chapters, and at times makes it hard to determine whether a given idea is more Hope's or Gladstone's. Even at this early time, indeed, there are occasional traces of divergence between the two friends. Hope had received his first notions of real religion from Newman, Gladstone from the Evangelical writers to whom he had been brought up to look for guidance. As yet, however, they were able to work heartily together, and in October, 1838, when the book is ready for the press, Hope writes of their correspondence as having 'given me feelings towards you which are either generally not natural to me, or which have found few objects on which to rest. . . . There is no one on whom I so much rely for guidance and encouragement, or with whom I would so gladly act or suffer, as yourself.'

From the Bishops and the Church party generally, the book received a warm but somewhat puzzled welcome. The conclusion which Mr. Gladstone reached was excellent. What higher end could a public man propose to himself than the maintenance of the Established Church? But neither the reasons given for this conclusion, nor the use the author looked to make of it, at all appealed to them. Thirty years later Mr. Gladstone described the object of the inquiry he had undertaken as 'the determination whether the existing state of things was worth preserving and defending against encroachment from whatever quarter.' To the majority of Churchmen of that day this must have seemed a wholly unnecessary question. Anything in the nature of property or privilege must be worth preserving. But as Mr. Gladstone came in the

end to the right answer, they pardoned the windings of the road by which he reached it. They tolerated the argument for the sake of the conclusion. So long as they were allowed to keep all that they possessed, they saw no harm in the doctrine that 'the Church as established by law was to be maintained for its truth.' The further contention that 'this was the only principle on which it could be properly and permanently upheld' probably seemed to them mere surplusage.

Mr. Gladstone himself has told us how, immediately upon the appearance of the book, he found himself 'the last man on the sinking ship.' The truth of the Established religion was the least of its merits in the eyes of its political supporters. The wonder is, not that he should now have discovered this, but that in the years during which he was writing it should have remained hidden from him. He was in Parliament, he had been for a short time in office, he was marked out for greater place whenever his party returned to power. And yet he could see in 'the defence of the Reformed Catholic Church in Ireland as the religious Establishment of the country' nothing but 'a high and glorious, though an arduous, duty,' and could look forward to the blessed results which would 'follow from the general proclamation of Scriptural religion throughout Ireland.' That the first of these blessed results might be something like Civil War did not occur to him. It was this blindness to the circumstances of Ireland that saved his consistency. If the Anglican Church did not exist for the purpose of converting the Irish people, he did not care to keep it established. The claim put forward thirty years later, in 'A Chapter of Autobiography,' is perfectly just:

'My work had used none of the stock arguments for maintaining the Church of Ireland. I did not say, "Maintain it lest you should disturb the settlement of property." I did not say, "Maintain it lest you should be driven to repeal the Union." I did not say, "Maintain it lest you should offend and exasperate the Protestants." I did not say, "Maintain it because the body known as the Irish Church has an indefeasible title to its property." I did not say, "Maintain it for the spiritual benefit of a small minority." Least of all did I say, "Maintain it, but establish religious equality by setting up at the public charge other Establishments along with it, or by distributing a sop here and a sop there to coax Roman Catholics and Presbyterians into a sort of acquiescence in its being maintained."' Mr. Gladstone's defence of the Irish Establishment had from the first been an anachronism, and he had no sooner given it written shape than the process of disillusionment began.

The greatest compliment paid to 'The State in its Relations with the Church' was the careful and detailed examination which Macaulay gave it in the *Edinburgh Review*. He saw at once that Mr. Gladstone's whole theory rested on the fundamental proposition 'that the propagation of religious truth is one of the principal ends of government, as government,' and to this the author took no exception. Macaulay, however, had drawn the not unnatural inference that a writer who held that religious nonconformity ought to be a disqualification for civil office, and that the act of communion was the true and authentic mode of ascertaining conformity, must be prepared to repeal the Test Act. But Mr. Gladstone already knew what was possible and what was impossible in politics, and

he explained at once that what he had protested against was 'the principle that religious differences are irrelevant to the question of competency for civil office.' He had never said that the degree of relevancy was the same in all cases. Macaulay at once accepted the correction. 'If,' he wrote, 'I had understood that you meant your rules to be followed out in practice only so far as might be consistent with the peace and good government of society, I should have expressed myself very differently.' Still, there is one passage in the *Review* which must, one would think, have haunted Mr. Gladstone even at that early stage in his pilgrimage. 'If,' wrote Macaulay, 'there were, in any part of the world, a national Church regarded as heretical by four-fifths of the nation committed to its care; a Church established and maintained by the sword; a Church producing twice as many riots as conversions; a Church which, though possessing great wealth and power, and though long backed by persecuting laws, had in the course of many generations been found unable to propagate its doctrines, and barely able to maintain its ground; a Church so odious that fraud and violence, when used against its clear rights of property, were generally regarded as fair play; a Church whose ministers were preaching to desolate walls, and with difficulty obtaining their lawful subsistence by the help of bayonets — such a Church, on our principles, could not, we must own, be defended. . . . Those who preach to rulers the duty of employing power to propagate truth would do well to remember that falsehood, though no match for truth alone, has often been found more than a match for truth and power together.' These were words that might even then have made Mr. Gladstone ques-

tion — that even then, it may be, did make him question — the fitness of the Irish Established Church for the special work he had assigned to it.

A more really important criticism of the book was Keble's. This appeared in the *British Critic* for October, 1839. It is evident, from Gladstone's reply to a letter of Hope's (Letter 8), that the latter had been disturbed by the divergence upon several points between the writer of the book and the reviewer. It must be admitted that on some points this divergence was very marked. Keble could not count it among the recommendations of an Establishment that 'the fashion which might, in a wealthy and luxurious country, choose to reject attendance at church is enlisted in its favour.' This view seemed to him too much like that held by Alexander Knox when he instanced as 'one of the happy features of our Establishment that it diffused universally "a low form of religion."' Nor did he think much of the argument that the supremacy of the State 'does not destroy the independence of the Church, because there always remains the remedy of putting an end to the connection.' 'It really appears to us,' says Keble, 'that the remedy which she is here stated to have reserved is one which no power on earth could have deprived her of; it is just the martyr's and confessor's remedy, leave to suffer, when in conscience she dares not obey.' And then, in a striking passage towards the close of the article, Keble insists that 'however fearful the view which may be taken of a world antichristianized by the downfall of Establishments, might not a sadder picture be drawn, and one at least as likely to be realized, of a Church turned antichristian by corrupt Establishments? A State succession of heretical

pastors, creeds omitted or corrupted, holy prayers and Sacraments profaned, or modified, or cast by at the popular will; and all amid the din of self-praise, and high pretensions to evangelical truth, and every corner of the land ringing with gratulations to England on its containing, beyond question, "the most moral and religious people on the face of the earth."' What makes these warnings remarkable is the fact that Mr. Gladstone accepts them all without question. Keble, he thinks, must have 'had the gift of prophecy in its larger sense, so accurately does he interpret many hidden meanings that are in my mind rather than in my book. . . . With respect to Church discipline, all his alarms are unfounded.' I believe that these sentences exactly describe the real relation of the book to the author. 'The State in its Relations with the Church' expresses a theory of the subject which Mr. Gladstone was outgrowing even while he was constructing it. He began the book as an Evangelical; he finished it as, in a great measure, a High Churchman. What he wrote in 1838 was a true embodiment of the views he had held up to that time. But they were views his hold was already loosened from. He had as yet nothing definite to put in their place, and so long as this remained true he was not the man to discard them. But the moment that he read Keble's words he recognized the truth he was in search of. The process of emancipation had begun, and henceforward it was to go on without further interruption.

Mr. Gladstone's Parliamentary experience soon separated him from Manning as regards the temporal claims of the spiritualty. The great wealth of the Established Church made it impossible for any Govern-

ment to wait for her to remove abuses in her own way and at her own time. Manning was shocked at the creation of the Ecclesiastical Commission; Mr. Gladstone also would have liked to see it 'superseded by the Government for the Church collectively.' But those who would have held the first place in such a Government were themselves the chief obstacles to improvement. He did not think highly of the Churchmanship of the Conservative party in Parliament, but even they — so he tells Manning in September, 1837 — 'might easily be brought to acquiesce in such reformations of the suspended Church reforms as would divest them of all obnoxious principles,' if the Bishops who had seats on the Commission would give them a lead. A political party cannot be expected 'to defend the Church against its own constituted governors.' What especially moved him was the indifference of the Bishops to the fate of the Cathedral Chapters. They had done nothing to keep alive the principle of these great institutions 'by the connection with them of active, and chiefly learned and educational, duties.' A purely parochial ministry could not, in the long run, 'maintain the truth of religion unimpaired,' and it was by putting cathedrals to their proper uses that this want could best be supplied. That the lay members of the Commission should care only for the augmentation of small livings was natural enough, but the views of the Bishops should have taken a wider range. I have not printed any of the letters dealing with this question, because, in theory at all events, the function of cathedrals is now better understood. But they show, plainly enough, the nature of the divergence between Mr. Gladstone's estimate of the Ecclesiastical Commission and that of the Tractarian leaders. Both

attached great importance to the independence of the Church in her proper sphere. But Mr. Gladstone saw what the Tractarian leaders as yet did not see — that an Established Church could not claim in temporal matters the independence she might rightly assert in spiritual matters.

Of the other matters touched on in these early letters, the most important is the patronage controversy in the Established Church of Scotland. The two letters which relate to it (Letters 6 and 11) hardly prepare us for the enthusiastic admiration which Mr. Gladstone felt and avowed for the disruption of 1843. But the incidents in which the Free Church of Scotland had its origin were concerned with highly technical questions relating to presentations to livings, and it was difficult for an English Churchman to realize how much was involved in the Auchterarder and similar cases. He is careful, however, to say nothing in disparagement of the Scottish claim to independence in spiritual things, or in defence of the measures taken by the civil courts to impose ministers upon hostile congregations. Indeed, in a memorandum on a meeting at Sir Robert Peel's in June, 1838, he makes a very enlightening remark on the constitution of the Scottish Established Church as it then was: 'The true position seems to be this: The governing body [the General Assembly] seem to feel that the real title to the ministry does not depend on Presbyterial ordination. For if it did, why an absolute veto, not *motivé* nor subject to appeal, in the people? They have not the Divine commission by succession. They grasp at the best image of it in the sanction of the majority of communicants; better than that of a ministry, if fictitious, better than that of a patron or of a civil court. I cannot

but sympathize with them. . . . The question they may very fairly raise is this: Whether popular consent, at the very *least*, be not essentially embodied in the discipline of that Church which was incorporated with the constitution by the Act of Union? But the results are yet in impalpable obscurity — they may be immense.' They were immense, for they included the noble 'Claim, Declaration, and Protest' adopted by the General Assembly in May, 1842, with its closing appeal 'to all Churches of the Reformation throughout the world who hold the great doctrine of the sole headship of the Lord Jesus over His Church;' the announcement by Sir James Graham that the Government 'could not advise Her Majesty to acquiesce in these demands;' the rejection by the House of Commons of Fox Maule's proposal that the grievances of which the Assembly complained should be investigated by Parliament; and the consequent foundation of the Free Church. Yet to none of these events is there any reference in the letters.

Two things, however, must be borne in mind in explanation of this omission — one, that the position of a member of the Government not in the Cabinet necessarily reduces him to silence on all controverted matters not relating to his own department; the other, that even Mr. Gladstone's faculty of interesting himself in many subjects at once had its limits. In the spring of 1843, besides his exceptionally laborious work at the Board of Trade and the deepening interest of the Tractarian conflict at Oxford, the restoration of discipline in the Church of England was very much in his thoughts. Nicholl, the Queen's Advocate, had introduced a Bill for the reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and, in conjunction with

Hope, Gladstone sent him the suggestions referred to in Letters 14 and 15. Their object was to draw a clear distinction between the temporal and spiritual spheres. The Queen's Courts were to deal only with the mixed questions of matrimony, testamentary causes, tithe, and Church rates, and with them only in their civil aspects. The jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Court in spiritual matters was to be at once narrowed and enlarged. Any person cited before this Court who declared himself not to be a Churchman, or made a similar declaration voluntarily, was to be exempted from any ecclesiastical process; but he was also to forfeit his title to Church ordinances and to a place in church. At no time had Mr. Gladstone desired that any man should be counted a member of the Church of England merely by reason of his being an Englishman, or been blind to the profanity involved in forcing Church services upon those who were unwilling to accept them. The severance between him and the Parliamentary friends of the Church was already in progress. The latter were willing to forego any claim on the part of the Church to exercise authority over wanderers from her fold. What they could not endure was that she should be permitted to deny them admission to her Sacraments or a share in her government. They insisted on shutting their eyes to the fact that Englishman and Churchman were no longer two names for the same person. Long afterwards Mr. Gladstone's support of the statutory permission given to Nonconformists to bury their dead in churchyards without the service appointed in the Prayer-Book was urged as one of many reasons for questioning his ecclesiastical consistency.

1. *To the Rev. H. E. Manning.*

ALBANY,
Sunday Evening,
April 5, 1835.

MY DEAR MANNING,

. . . The latter part of your kind letter opens to me a subject of the deepest and most vital interest, for politics would become an utter blank to me were I to make the discovery that we were mistaken in maintaining their association with religion, and I therefore take this early, and I hope not improper, opportunity of refreshing my mind after a week of much anxiety as well as physical labour (and yet I feel ashamed to talk of either while our noble leader Peel is going through an amount of both so infinitely transcending that of his subalterns or even his colleagues) by dwelling a little upon the topics to which you have adverted, and upon which I have the happiness of very much concurring in your opinions.

I think with you that if, in contemplating the state and destinies of the Church, we set out from that point of view which has reference to what we may call her sectarian interests, it is impossible to avoid lamenting her connection with the State, which in greatly enlarging the extent must also materially diminish the purity of her communion. But I find from more considerations than one a more than countervailing weight of reason and utility which induces me to banish this thought of discontent almost as soon as it has been tangibly entertained. For I apprehend that such an argument as is now drawn in favour of separation, out of the undoubted fact of adulteration resulting from union, would go equally to impugn the designs of Providence in originally extending the Church by immediately appointed and inspired agents beyond a very small and narrow society, within which alone it seems possible that an uniformity of feeling and of discipline should be upheld.

Again, admitting the proposition that we cannot generally expect a high general standard of Christianity in a national Church, I do not know nor believe that it follows, or is true, that the religion of individual minds trained within such a Church, where it is active

and vital, is of a quality inferior to that which is produced within sectarian communities. On the contrary, I believe that, as in our own Protestant Church we are thought by many never to have equalled the *prima virorum* of the Roman Catholic Church, so religious men are bred and edified among us under far happier conditions than among seceders from our Church. The principle of the tares and wheat, of the good fish and bad, seems applicable to them. Believing that not only all things work together for good to them that love God, but also that all things have their existence and their use strictly for the sake of them that love God, I believe consequentially that even this immixture of sinful elements in the body of the visible Church is ordained and calculated to give a hardier texture and a fuller development to Christian character in its happy possessors. You may remember in Thucydides the ὅστις ἐν αναγκαιοτάτοις παιδεύεται, κ.τ.λ., as applied to the Spartan discipline, and may it not be so in the Church, that this world's warfare is more effectually and beneficially experienced in a ruder contact with it than when men are educated in the seclusion of a limited society, hold intercourse only with such as have either the reality or at least the strict forms and technicalities of religion, and, little acquainted with those storms which howl around the walls of the city of refuge, are proportionally little able to appreciate the protection which it yields? I do not indeed mean to say that such arguments as these would adequately recommend to my mind antecedently to experience a very promiscuous communion as preferable to a very strict one; nor upon the other hand to deny that, if adopted without qualification, they may be pushed to a length at which their application becomes obviously pernicious and absurd. But seeming to recognize in the prophetic delineations of the Church which Scripture yields, as well as in its recorded history, an assemblage of circumstances which go so far as to prove to my mind, that it was not the will of the Redeemer to exclude up to the utmost limits of our power persons practically disowning Him from the privileges of His Church, it becomes a delight as well as a duty to trace in His established dispensation mysterious and elaborate, but I trust beneficial,

results. And upon the whole my mind inclines to feel that a portion of the impatience wherewith the present state of our Church must be regarded, having reference to the deterioration of its *average* quality from nationality, ought as a matter of duty to be repressed.

I confess I think that, besides the consideration stated above that a more masculine religion may be acquired in a more mixed society, there are as it seems to me many peculiarities attaching to the Church, as contradistinguished from Dissenting bodies, which all go to afford greater advantages for the formation of a spiritual life. Of course, in the first place, the greater purity and comprehensiveness of those views of Christian truth which she entertains and has embodied in her permanent forms of worship and professions of belief, views so tranquil and so profound, so animating and so sober. But, further, her spirit is so much more catholic; her system affords so much less scope for the pride of self-will; her privileges, avowedly open to all, come to men so much less as favoured *individuals*, so much more as members of a favoured body, and that body the universal Church, in which our individuality is as it were absorbed. All these things seem to me in our communion so much to hinder and shame presumption, and so loudly and clearly to preach humility, that I cannot but feel persuaded the Establishment, *even* as it is at present, affords far more efficient instrumental aids for entering thoroughly into the mind and spirit of the Redeemer, than rival schools of more plausible pretension.

You may see much that is erroneous or defective in what I have stated, but I do not anticipate your general opposition to it, nor do I mean or regard it as a reply to the sentiments you have expressed, but only as a protestation against certain not legitimate but apparent inferences from them.

In several ways I think one arrives at the moral necessity, *i.e.*, the religious obligation, of a Church Establishment. In the first place, to consecrate the function of governors considered as individuals, who are of course bound whatsoever they do to do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks by Him; and again, viewing them in their collective capacity, as

the vital organic principle of that society which we term the nation, which, acting in and by them, must hallow that action by religion, which religion must have a definite form, and I need not say a definite form of State religion is a Church Establishment. Then comes the argument of obligation upon the Government to teach religion, because it has facilities for so doing, and every living agent is bound to teach religion if and in proportion as he has such facilities. A fourth consideration is, the use and necessity of religion to the State. Now, here are four distinct courses of argument enumerated, and for aught I know there may be many more, all converging upon the same point and proposition, which is that in the best polity, the polity which would be the best, we must have a State religion.

Now, being satisfied of the truth of these considerations, one is upon the other hand alarmed and hurt by the idea that this profession of a certain religion by the State must or can be injurious to that religion, being admitted to be beneficial to the State and incumbent upon it as a matter of Christian necessity. It is not too much to assume that this contrariety of interests is apparent and not real. God's dispensations do not run counter to one another, nor does any man or institution incur real evil by doing real good. I think that the Dissenters of this day admit this to be true, and consistently with it maintain that the Church corrupts the State and injures it, in addition to being herself injured and corrupted by it.

What, however, are the interests of the Church which are supposed to be thus injured and corrupted? An institution can scarcely be said to be capable of an interest distinct from that attaching to its members. If it can have an interest, it must be in that figurative sense in which we imagine it to be good for inanimate things to attain the highest beauty and perfection of which their nature is susceptible. Or if for the interests of the Church we substitute those of religion, these I apprehend can only consist in its extension. If, lastly, we look to the individuals composing the Church, the interests of that Church in this view must be best fulfilled (and concurrently herewith the interests of religion most promoted) where the greatest

amount of religious feeling, habitude, and practice is produced. Now supposing, what I believe to be the case, that the Established Church is calculated, firstly, to educate the chosen people of God in a high state of spiritual purity; secondly, to encourage by a gradual process into active religion timid spirits weaned from this world, but not prepared for a sudden or painful transition; thirdly, to save from the deluge of utter profligacy, and preserve in a greater or a less attachment to religious ordinances and professions and even feelings, a very large class of persons who would otherwise be totally without God in the world; and supposing, moreover, what is perhaps true, that the last and lowest of these three functions is, it may be, the especial and characteristic work of an Establishment—still, though it follows that the average moral state of those who term themselves members of the Establishment may often be lower than that of other Christian societies, I cannot believe that the Establishment itself is therefore less blessed or less honoured, if she fulfils this essential condition, that by her existence a greater aggregate of religion and obedience to God is produced, than could be the case were she (as you say) disestablished.

Now if this be the case, it will follow that that strict and fenced state of Christian communion which the mind is so apt to desire is not providentially ordained for us, but that as members of the Church militant we are to trust like the Spartans of old to our armour and the courage which God can work in us, and not to any exterior fortifications. The truth is, we do injustice to our argument in permitting the Establishment to be judged on the same ground as a sect. That it contains more persons not inwardly religious is nothing to her discredit, if they are persons who but for her would be divested of every feeling of regard to a God, and prospectively of every appointed, calculable, and hopeful means of being brought within the true fold. All these are independent of other but most important uses of an Establishment — two especially which strike me, the first as being by far the most fixed and durable repository of revealed truths as against infidelity; the second as being an ever-abiding centre of unity, ever exercising in greater or less efficacy an attractive

gravitating force, and ever testifying against the scandal and detriment of schism.

Of course, nothing of what I have said is intended to apologize for our present miserably relaxed condition: but only for such *degree* of comparative relaxation as may be essentially entailed by the necessities of our condition as an Establishment. But why should we remain as we are? There is no reason in the essence of the case, but many, I fear, in its circumstantial position. It has long appeared to me that the Church of England must have her legislative constitution revived: that the objections to such revival, though considerable as inculcating care and caution in the mode, are unable to touch the nature of the thing contended for — that they are all of a secondary order, whereas the arguments for endowing an organized body with the regular means of collective action and self-government are primary and irresistible. But when the Bishop no longer stands in his diocese as sole both in legislative and executive power and presents a spectacle not indeed realizing but approximating to a realization of theoretical absolutism conjoined with practical impotence; when a self-reviewing and self-renovating principle is provided, which shall be the conscience of the Church and shall have power to execute its awards; I hope, trust, and pray that *then*, without having forfeited any of the incalculable advantages of an Establishment, we may have got rid of the burden and the shame of its present state — oppression on the side of the government attended with constant reviling on the score of the debility which that same oppression has produced, and practical shortcoming in the performance of its functions and in the attainment of its high and noble ends.

I am reading Knox, and agree very much with what you said of him, except that, so far as I have yet got, I think that all one's agreements with him are substantial, whereas I cannot help thinking most of those positions in which he seems to deviate from the line of our articles are capable of being resolved, if not into verbalisms, at least into misapprehensions not affecting the vitality of his views.

Believe me always,
Very sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

2. *To the Rev. H. E. Manning.*

CARLTON GARDENS,
Sunday Evening,
April 2, 1837.

MY DEAR MANNING,

. . . I am prompted to return to . . . that hard and formidable question which must not be evaded, how the principle of Catholic Christianity is to be applied in these evil and presumptuous days to the conduct of public affairs. Of the mere enunciation of these principles I have said something already, but I now inquire of myself in what way they are to be embodied in the administration of government. I look to Ireland — Maynooth stares me in the face. I look to Canada and I find the House of Assembly in the Upper Province are about passing a Bill to apply the proceeds of the clergy reserves to the endowment of the following sects or bodies: Church of England, Church of Scotland, Church of Rome, Wesleyan Methodist, Baptist. I look to the West Indies and I find the money given for the religious education of the people is receivable by all Protestant societies alike. Lastly, I look to Australia and I find there what threatens to become an avowed and systematic adoption of the principle of concurrent endowment for the two Established and the Romish Churches, along with other apparently undiscriminating aid to various separatists.

This is a formidable state of things, is it not? If the Government is to be merely the exponent of the will of these various sections of the people, then it is well. But if the very idea of Government be debased by supposing that it is only to be actuated by and not also to actuate the people; if a national Church ought to be supported for the sake of that Truth which it embodies and propounds; if *unity in that Truth* be the genuine end of all human life, and of human society inclusively; and if the corrupt bias of nature, away from unity, require the counteracting force of laws, institutions, and authorities, to neutralize its mischievous effects — then what shall we say to these things? Are we to support all forms of religion? No, one will say, but all forms of Christianity. What, those which by retaining the name seem but to

aggravate their awful rejection of the substance of revealed truth? Another then will give up the Unitarians, or say we have no such sect calling out for endowment in Ireland or the Colonies. Well, then, shall the Government pay the priest on this side of the road to denounce and anathematize its own faith, still its own predominating faith, taught on the other? Shall our Church colonists and our Romish colonists thus draw from the same source the means of contradicting one another, and of rending (not to inquire now *who* rend) the body of Christ? If so, then why is not this principle applied to Ireland? Plead the Act of Union forsooth against a people, against the millions crying out for spiritual instruction and food! For if the Roman Catholic religion be spiritual food, which we with a safe conscience can administer, then I say Ireland is the place of all others which has the strongest claim. I need not proceed one step farther, and put the case where it is proposed to endow only the Established Churches and the Protestant sects termed 'orthodox.' But I ask this question. Is the adoption of any one of the principles of these several cases compatible with any true notion, I say not of the functions of Government, which are very secondary in *comparison*, but of a National Church, or with the reasonable anticipation of blessing from on high? Shall we, if the thing be unfit in itself for *home* Government — shall we, as regards the Colonies, be absolved by the consideration that the funds are generally drawn from themselves, and not from us? I can find no answer to any of these questions which admits of an acquiescence in the modes of proceeding which I have recounted.

Let me, however, say this: After considering the question of the Scotch Church, I am of opinion that it ought to receive a *bona-fide* support from the Government abroad as it does at home and I do not, therefore, stand upon the basis of the Apostolical Succession for the administration of Government as I would for my own individual conduct. In adopting this particular limit, not the most satisfactory or rather pleasing to my own mind, I am supported by the belief that we thus may hope to secure the promulgation of a definite body of Christian truth, made operative,

as I see experimentally in Scotland, in a manner that indicates Divine Grace, and endowed, as it appears, with some principles of permanence as well as vitality.

But now, for the sake of simplicity, to take the case of Maynooth: how is it possible to remain in the present practice with a good conscience? If we teach the teachers, why not teach the hearers too? If we teach either, do we not *ipso facto* surrender that great idea, that good idea, of a National Church which was born with the Reformation and gradually developed in the succeeding generations? I understand that idea as having involved the following assertions: that the Church and the nation ought to be co-extensive and under one visible head; that the visible head was competent, and was bound, to lead the people to the truth; but that it was limited in the use of means by a consideration of the subject-matter, Truth, which does not admit of inculcation by force. That headship was in the King personally, and its functions are exercised by the Government of which he is not only the apex but the origin. If two religions be established, one of which utterly excommunicates the other, while the other gravely alleges against the first that by her false interpolations she hazards the very life of the Truth, what has become of that competency, of that obligation? What has become of the character of a Governor? Will not a man whose desire it is while alive to be dead, and to have his life hid with Christ in God, will he not fly from political functions as from pitch, and desire to be free in the narrowest circle rather than fettered and motionless in the widest, to be free, acting for himself, to act for God, rather than to be invested with powers and attributes which he may not use for the only end that can permanently bless them?

These are subjects that press upon my heart with a weight indescribable. It is so clear that all other things must be sold in order to secure the pearl of great price, that the light of the proposition forces itself into eyes ever so obstinately closed. And I know not how any man of conscience could become a politician, when that walk of life has become the only one in which a man may not avail himself of the opportunities

placed within his hands for promoting the glory of God. It may be said the opportunities were *once* within the hands of the political man, but under the new principles of government they are so no longer. I am not sure of that, and if I were, still I say, that being the case, is the business of government the one in which the children of the Church can any longer take delight? Where is the sweetening compensation for all the cares and excitements of public life, and even for its terrific drain upon the sympathies and the affections of the heart? Even the glorious hope of being enabled by working at the sources of the nation's life to do some good there which shall flow through a thousand channels and give a greater effect to Truth than can be given by the individual man, who works with his single arm, whereas the governor touches the spring which moves a multitude of instruments. Or lastly, if it be still in doubt whether the character of government be any longer paternal, or only ministerial, shall we lend our concurrence to a course of action which, only continued for a certain period, will permanently affix to it the latter character, and utterly erase all traces of the former?

There may seem to be great affectation in speaking of these duties and responsibilities of governors as affecting myself, but yet they do affect me, though on a scale infinitely reduced in proportion to my insignificance. They remain unchanged whatever be the diminution of the absolute quantities represented, like the fixed relations expressible in the fraction $\frac{0}{0}$. I must make up my mind upon them. Coming events cast their shadows before; those shadows are gigantic and gloomy, and I scarce know how to face them. The Conservative party in this country may long be spared accession to office — for as moral agents they might with some show of reason consider this an exemption, so fearful are the temptations to compromise of principle which resumption of the Government would bring with it in respect of the one thing needful. But, on the other hand, this searching trial may be imposed upon them suddenly and soon, and I would earnestly wish, with all the calmness of which the subject will allow, to sift and probe my own opinions to the very

bottom, to separate chimera from reality, to learn where to take a stand, and having taken to hold it. At least you will see that I have freely unbosomed myself to you. I desire to know how my thoughts are mirrored in minds purer than my own, and whether they come back to me attested or exposed. As a friend and as a minister of God, I am sure you will lend me what aid you may towards compromising everything that is not principle, and upholding everything that is. I am more anxious for the first than anything in the world, except the second. And more, I am sure that you will pray for us upon whom has fallen a task so infinitely beyond all human power. Not that there is cause to repine. God has richly blessed us, in giving us for our school of spiritual discipline a period and circumstances when everything that is precious is assailed, and is to be defended. But O that as our day is so may our strength be; that the men who are among us so highly endowed with integrity of character and honesty of conscience as well as with powerful talent and large experience may take their position upon the truth of God and abide by it to the last! Pray for them; and do not scorn to pray for me, whose need of grace is a thousandfold augmented as it has been forfeited a thousandfold by my life.

Believe me, my dear Manning,
Yours truly attached,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

3. *To the Rev. H. E. Manning.*

6, CARLTON GARDENS,
Sunday Evening,
April 23, 1837.

MY DEAR MANNING,

I gladly appropriate a peaceful hour to renewing the consideration of the great subjects to which your two as yet unacknowledged letters refer. . . .

I take first the case involving the smallest departure from the principle which I assume should regulate the individual conduct of a Churchman, and it is one immediately impending too: namely, that of a grant to the Scotch Church for the purpose of its extension among the uninstructed and untended population of that

country. I think that this grant is a natural and right consequence, upon a case of deficiency being shown, from its acknowledgment as the Church of the country. Admitting that acknowledgment, as I do, to be anomalous, I still look upon such a grant — or upon a recognition of that Church in the Colonies, and pecuniary aid there given to it — not as a superinduction of a new anomaly, but as a part of the old one. I am aware that the question of conscience is not resolved by anything I have said; but I wish to get at the form in which it presents itself, and I think it is this: the law and constitution of the country recognizes the Scotch Church, schismatical undoubtedly in its origin, as much, in my opinion, as they do the Church of England; and therefore the inquiry which suggests itself to my mind is, whether that recognition contaminates in a religious sense the administration of government in this country, so as to render participation in that office unwarrantable to one who feels it for himself to be a matter not of indifference, nor of tradition, to which of the two communions he should belong, but of conscience.

And here I am not sure whether I shall have your concurrence, but I proceed freely, aware at least of the difficulties of the subject, and not obstinately wedded to the details of opinion in which I must express my general sense and inclination.

I am not, then, of opinion that a man is forbidden to mingle in the concerns of a Government which professes to be a nursing father both of the English and of the Scotch Church. You see I assume for the present, and to a certain extent, that right of legislation which you question; putting aside the discussion of the difficulties raised, because my assumption extends only to the right, or rather duty, of legislation in aid, and not of interference for the purposes of regulation — only to the duty of offering to a religious communion the secular means whereby it may be propagated.

Now, even in respect of pecuniary aid, I should hold myself bound as an individual to confine myself to religious objects in connection with what I believe to be, in the most legitimate and strictest sense, the Church among us; because I recognize so decidedly its superior

claims, and along with them I see its demands to be such as never will have been fully satisfied, so that there is no surplus (as it were) remaining to apply in aid of an inferior agency.

But I do not see, were this not the case, that there would be a valid objection of conscience against giving money, suppose, for the extension of the Scotch Church on account of the original defect in the title of its ministry. And this I should say mainly, not from any *a priori* reasonings upon that title as unimportant when compared with the faithful exposition of the Word of God — a ground, I think, dangerous and questionable — but rather from believing that I see in the fruits of righteousness which the Scotch Church has produced under an unapostolical ministry, for a period, with short intermissions, of nearly three centuries, and of one and a half without interruption — fruits too which she continues to produce at this day and with increasing promise — an assurance, to my mind incontrovertible, that God has been pleased to supply that want which man could not have supplied or expected to be supplied, to accept the service rendered Him under whatever ignorance in this behalf, to give results upon human character through the instrumentality of that Church which nothing but the powers of the covenant given to the true Church could have brought forth. Upon this principle I do not scruple to attend Presbyterian worship when too remote from my own; and I would not as at present minded feel disposed to withhold pecuniary assistance from that Communion, were the Apostolical Church in this respect also as well as locally remote, and did she not ask from her children whatever tribute they can render; and simply because I think that God has owned, and therefore man ought not to disown, the Church where the great Catholic truths of Christianity have been preserved free from material error and corruption, and whose operation upon the minds and habits of the people appears to be generally and effectively in conformity with the will of God. And further I will observe, that her case is materially distinguished by her adoption of creeds (even such as they are) from that of religionists who admit of no restriction whatever on private judgment in the interpretation of Scrip-

ture, and who therefore can hold out no sort of security from day to day for the continuance of the truth among them.

I have thus placed the justification of concurrence in the support of two Church Establishments, not upon any distinction taken by the law, because this I am of course aware would be wholly irrelevant, or at least insufficient, but upon an argument religious in its nature, whether sound or not — a proof *a posteriori* that there is so much of harmony in the operation of the *Kirk* as compared with that of our Church, so much of the mark of God's presence in results only producible by Divine grace, and those through a series of generations, that I think the agency of that body does work out the fulfilment of His will, and that in the main by the way of co-operation and not of antagonism.

But I have treated it as a matter of conscience for the individual to belong to our Church, and not to that of Scotland, and I think not inconsistently with the above, because for ourselves individually we are bound to fulfil the whole measure of righteousness according to the degree of the revelation, and seeing the Apostolical ministry as a part of the Divine dispensation I cannot set it aside; yet it holds as a general principle that, even as by the practice of our Lord Himself, men may be justified in withholding from others that which they are not able to bear, and giving them as much of the truth of God as they are able to bear, provided you do not give them therewith what is contrary to that truth.

Again, I have held it a matter of conscience to devote means and exertions exclusively to that Church in which the entire scheme of Christianity is found, so far as regards our individual capacity, on the score of her superior claims; and I would guard against the imputation of inconsistency in refraining to apply the whole breadth of this principle to government in this manner: In the Parliament I (A) am one of a body, and we work there not individually, but by collective results, expressing the conclusions of the whole. I must not, therefore, expect the whole of my individual views to be carried out by the State, but must allow something to those of my neighbour B, provided he

be there in the same capacity as myself, which is true of the Scotch Presbyterians, but not true of any other body of religionists. Undoubtedly this *constitutional* view would be superseded by an objection of conscience, did I feel that the giving aid to a Church or religious body not having the Apostolical Succession was *per se* sinful; but not having that objection, I think my distinction is a valid one, between the rule for the individual and that for the member of Parliament, say, or man in office.

That it is not sinful I am led to infer as well from considerations stated above as from that remarkable injunction in the case of him who cast out devils in the name of Christ, yet followed not with Him — 'Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us' (Luke ix. 50). I do not know how far any inference to be drawn herefrom is qualified by the account in Acts xix. of the sons of Sceva; but it always appears to me as indicating with peculiar beauty the tone of proceeding towards those who act for God according to their belief but without authority. There is something like indirect sanction, but no encouragement given to the parties themselves to persevere in this irregular action; and the whole contrasts remarkably with the case of Korah and the rest under the old dispensation. But here it may be said there is no aid given, and the case now before us is whether aid shall be given, *i.e.*, by the Government, to the Presbyterian Church. I confess I doubt this; I doubt whether the question of aid to the Presbyterian Church is one to be decided as *de novo;* and, although I might think that we of the English Church might be justified if we *were* the real agents and prime movers in such a matter, I doubt whether we *are* more than parties formally or passively concerned, namely, in working out the compact entered into by our forefathers without any extension of the terms, and permitting our Presbyterian fellow-labourers in the Legislature or Government to exercise rateably their share of influence in favour of their own system of religion.

I take one view of the subject, therefore, to be, as a fulfilment of a political treaty embodied in the Scottish Act of Union, a duty undoubtedly, unless forbidden by a higher law. Another view, therefore, determining

the former, depends upon the affirmation of this proposition, that we may assist a method of teaching which, though not deriving its commission from God's known appointment, does nevertheless appear upon the whole to convey His will with faithfulness, from its bringing forth fruits which He alone can give. A third consideration, not immaterial although secondary, is with reference to the views and impressions of men: that there is no such *discrepancy* in the teaching of the English and Scotch Churches, as to destroy the unity of the faith before men, and in the character of the impressions it makes upon their minds. As to the title of the ministry, we know that they are for the most part wholly uninformed.

There is a fourth view of the subject upon which I should write with more hesitation, though if made out it would be more conclusive. I have already alluded to the method, which in the ancient Church was termed, I believe, *οἰκονομία*, of reserving certain parts of truth according to the incapacity of the hearer, and promulgating them to him as he advanced. Now this, I think, is very applicable to a system of Education, which purports to be instruction merely — *i.e.*, working through the faculties and affections alone, which is obviously incomplete and preparatory in its nature, and in which the human creature is a recipient and not an agent. Can the support of the Presbyterian Church be looked upon by us as an *οἰκονομία*? It does not negative what our own Church teaches in general, nor more than the members of our own Church and her ministers do: and if they are permitted to do so, is it not by an *οἰκονομία*? I well know it is very far from teaching all the truth which our own blessed Mother conveys. But I say, may we regard this as an *οἰκονομία*? The Presbyterian Church does not deny nor revile our ministry. If my question should be answered in the affirmative, this would come as an *a priori* justification. But I confess I am not sure that it can — because this system, not like one of mere schooling, proposes to be a Church, and stands in the place which was occupied by an Apostolical government.

I seem to myself, after having recognized the right of the Presbyterian Church under an existing political

compact unopposed by religious duty, to have ample room left for refusing to endow the Romish Church, or to teach her faith as at Maynooth: because Romanism, in Ireland at all events, does not work in harmony with Christianity as taught in our own Church; because she is avowedly a rival and an anathematizing body; because her support along with that of our own Church is wholly inconsistent with any idea of a Church Establishment as involving some *definite* and harmonious form of Christianity; because, contradicting us everywhere, hers can be no case of *οἰκονομία*; because she has no compact of earthly faith to plead. But enough for one letter.

You will observe that I have only, as it were, travelled *across* your letter. You make everything depend upon an hypothesis with respect to Parliament. Now, in the first place, I take the King as the real fountain of authority in legislation; but, to pass on from this because his position also is anomalous with reference to Presbyterianism, Parliament then is — (1) actively Catholic in part; (2) actively Presbyterian in part; (3) passively, or negatively, made up of the various other sects that enter into its material and political composition, but who have no right to act there for their own religious communions. I am quite clear that this is not a body competent to conduct the whole legislation of the Church, or any of its legislation except such as is mixed in its nature, having reference primarily to temporalities. Over these I do think it may claim a right of regulation, though I am not prepared to say an exclusive one. But I cannot take the refuge offered by the other branch of your supposition — namely, the view of Parliament as a purely secular body: I yet hold and feel that Kings ought to be nursing fathers of the Church, and that the road from *separation of Church and State* to atheism is, if indirect, yet broad and open.

Pray continue your assistance to me in my need, and may God bless you in all things.

Believe me,

Affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

4. *To the Rev. H. E. Manning*

FASQUE, FETTERCAIRN,
September 27, 1837.

MY DEAR MANNING,

Your letter of the 21st arrived here yesterday, and you will not be surprised at my commencing by the expression of the extreme embarrassment which in my mind surrounds the whole of the specific subject to which it adverts. It is not difficulty adhering to myself personally as a member of a political party which constitutes the knot: but it is the grievous, the apparently hopeless, anomaly of an opposition between the highest officers of the Church in the Commission and her professing (and truly professing) friends out of it. I have no doubt that the Conservative party in Parliament could easily be brought to acquiesce in such reformations of the suspended Church Reforms as would divest them of all obnoxious principles — *if* the Bishops who are members of the Commission would give them the cue. But, considering the average of information and of principle on these subjects, one cannot but see that is hardly to be expected of them to defend the Church against its own constituted governors.

There are, however, three questions touched in your letter. What I have said relates to *one* of them: namely, the best means of procuring modifications of the known and impending plans of the Commissioners. For my own part, I confess, the grand alteration which I should desire is the recognition of the principle of cathedral institutions by the maintenance of the establishments, and the effectuation of that principle by the connection of active and chiefly learned and educational duties with them in the sense of Pusey's plan. The more we look abroad and about, the more strongly I think we must be convinced of the inadequacy of a purely parochial ministry in the long-run to maintain the truth of religion unimpaired, and proportionally the more anxious not to ward off the threat of change from our cathedrals, but to give to that change a thoroughly restorative character, and of course to exclude from it whatever tends to cripple the energies of the subjects to which it is to be applied. The Commissioners *were* in an excellent position for benefiting the Church

through the cathedrals; they are now in a worse, though, I doubt not, still a tenable one, if they would use it; but how it is to be held against them I do not dare to conjecture. I rejoice, therefore, to see a disposition among the clergy to attempt working upon the Episcopal Commissioners, and I trust that it may be largely manifested and successful.

But here I arrive at a *second* of the three points: namely, the retrospective consideration of what *has been* done by the Act of 1836. And this naturally subdivides itself into the erection of the Commission: and the particular subject-matter of the enactments put for execution into the hands of that body. As regards the first, I do not think I take quite so strong a view as you do of the *de jure* disqualification of Parliament to counsel the Crown touching the Church in matters primarily or partially relating to her temporalities. Consequently, and perhaps also from not being perfectly fresh in my information as to the details of the recommendations comprised in the Act, I do not altogether feel the desirableness *per se* of extinguishing the Commission, though I am far from entertaining a very positive opinion. The objection of ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπιά might be met, I should think, by some simpler alteration — perhaps. I apprehend it is nearly impracticable for the Archbishop and his colleagues to recede *in toto*, even were they so inclined — which, with their ages or characters, or both, is highly improbable. Nor upon the second branch of the enactments themselves, as considered apart from the executors, am I aware of any vital objections. I do not say that I shall *like* the Commission, even as an instrument for managing Episcopal revenues and limiting dioceses under certain rules; but I am not certain that in this capacity it may not be right and wise to endure it, though again I must hint that I speak from but indistinct recollection of the exceptions already taken to what has been done.

But, with such impressions, my desires naturally flow into two channels. The first I have already named: I anxiously wish to see the Commissioners themselves induced to change their plans about the cathedrals. The other has reference to the *third* and remaining division of our subject: namely, the establishment of a

Government for the Church collectively. I should wish to see the Commission superseded by such a Government, but I do not know whether we should gain by its abolition before the substitute was in readiness. Now the question is, how best to prepare men's minds for such a Government, and make them feel the want of it? Here I should doubt if you have much of immediate countenance to anticipate from the heads of the political party friendly to the Church. Strange to say, it is a novel subject, like that of all forgotten duties, and it would present itself to them firstly under that disadvantage, and next as objectionable because seeming to open new points of hostile discussion in connection with the Church. And among the Bishops who is there ready to support it? I do not know that we have affirmative evidence from any, even if we might conjecture, as we wished, of one or two. I confess, therefore, that I look to the clergy themselves to operate on public opinion and on their flocks in endeavouring to make the want felt, and to show the reasonableness of the principle. This result must flow out of a ministry which teaches the doctrine of the Church as a living body, for if a living body, she must have a living unity of organization.

I do not think the difficulties are in the nature of the thing, but in the existing prejudices and want of information. Convocation should not be our permanent government: but as the worm to the chrysalis, or, rather, to the butterfly. The existence of the Convocation might enable the Crown, if well inclined, to advance the cause greatly, more than if, at the outset, the subject could only be handled in Parliament.

If what I have written should appear to you indefinite or insufficient, or both, at all events do not let this have the effect of checking our free communication on the subject. I trust we have the same object in view.

Ever affectionately yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

5. *To the Rev. H. E. Manning.*

6, CARLTON GARDENS,
March 15, 1838.

. . . As regards the House of Commons, I never have said, and I cannot say, all that I feel. I yearn and long for a speedier development of the great questions that are at issue; but I am aware that this is a fleshly feeling, and a stepping out of the will of God within which we are appointed to stand, and therefore strive, or should strive, to repress it, and await the unfolding of events according to the will of Him who orders the times and seasons. So far as I know myself, I am not afraid of being seduced by ambition — my personal dangers lie another way — but I hope other and more competent persons may appear to witness for the principles of the Church in the Councils of the State. Speaking not as regards personal but general interests, I see no unclouded future except that which lies beyond the grave; in the meantime, if we can live up to our duties, every day will bring along with its peculiar pressure its own appointed and sufficient consolations. Amidst all external discouragements — and their painfulness consists most in this, that they have their access through the medium of the sympathies and affections — one is constantly thrown back upon the scrutiny of central principles, and they never fail for a moment to attest their own sufficiency. Is the doctrine of a Church a part of the truth of God? Is the principle of corporate religious obligation a part of the truth of God? I find no reply, even in the lowest whisper, but the affirmative; and it then becomes shameful to ask, Is the truth of God valuable? Must it, however oppressed, betrayed, neutralized, disguised, confounded with a thousand extraneous considerations — nay, clogged with whatever human corruptions alien and hateful to its nature — must it proceed upon its destined path until judgment finally goes forth to victory? . . .

6. *To the Rev. R. Buchanan.*

LONDON,
June 22, 1838.

. . . It would not be easy for me to explain, [or,] without writing at great length and raising some controverted points to describe, the feelings with which I regard the late proceedings in Scotland and in the General Assembly; but I cannot be wholly silent on a question which concerns and involves matter of such deep interest. Individually I am convinced that the realization of the true idea of the Church, and its resolute maintenance, are the instruments most likely to be found of effectual avail in the defence of the institutions of the country against the dangers which beset them, and of all sound and pure personal religion against the insidious aggressions of infidelity. In this belief I anticipate a degree at least of your concurrence, and I rejoice to find the principle upon which the State supports the Church laid down by you with so much truth and perspicuity. In short, there is very much with which I cannot but sympathize in the sentiments of yourself and those with whom you act.

Again, you appear to me to represent with fairness the question at issue, when you say that it is whether the *veto* law be in the jurisdiction of the Court of Session or of the Assembly. I am sure you will allow me to say without offence, that with the highest respect for the Scottish clergy and a full appreciation of their character and exemplary usefulness, I am unable to bring my own mind to a concurrence in the fundamental principles of their ecclesiastical polity. But at the same time the question whether the *veto* law be not comprehended within the actual scope of those principles is one upon which, while I do not feel myself qualified to pronounce a decided opinion, I *do* feel that much may be said in favour of an affirmative reply. As a member of the Church of England, I cannot pretend to acquiesce in the principle of the *veto* according to the signification which I conceive it to bear: but yet I think that there is a ground of sympathy deeper and more fundamental than the difference between us — namely, a sense of the necessity

of a Divine warrant and authority to the visible Church as the appointed channel of spiritual influences, and the permanent guarantee of sound Christian doctrine. I therefore find myself recognizing with you a conscience of truth in governments, and an attested Divine commission as the basis of the powers and functions of the Church. I earnestly trust that in the progress of events, as we learn more of our necessities and of our duties, we shall attain to union in the application of these principles, as well as in the principles themselves. In the meantime I beg to assure you that, so far as I am concerned, I shall endeavour to judge with caution and candour of the whole progress and sequel of this highly interesting question, whatever inconvenience may arise from the adoption of this or that particular course. My own feelings on the subject are strong and deeply rooted: I cannot conceal from you that they proceed upon different assumptions with respect to the constitution of the Church, but I should have thought myself wanting in my duty upon so vital a question had I failed to notice your invitation, and at least to specify those subjects in which I trust we agree, as well as to avow that there are others where we take up different positions. . . .

7. *To J. R. Hope.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
July 18, 1838.

MY DEAR HOPE,

. . . I hope that its [manuscript of 'The State in its Relations with the Church'] general tendency will meet your approval, but a point about which I am in great doubt, and to which I request your particular attention, is, whether either the whole or some of the chapters are not so deficient in clearness and arrangement as to require being absolutely rewritten before they can with propriety be published? Making allowance for any obscurity which may arise from its *physical* state as a MS., I hope you will look rigorously at it in this point of view, and tell me what you think is the amount of the disease and the proper kind of remedy. I can excuse myself, consider-

ing the pressure of other engagements, for having written irregularly and confusedly upon a subject very new in many of its parts, and requiring some abstraction — at every turn it has brought home the truth of Bacon's observation, that politics are of all sciences the most immersed in matter; one has to go on detaching, as it were, soul from clay all the way through — but I should be inexcusable if I were to *publish* in such a state. Between my eyes and my business I fear it would be hard for me to rewrite, but if I could put it into the hands of any other person who could, and who would extract from my papers anything worth having, that might do. I wish very much that something should be published by somebody on the subject, and that speedily, to begin to draw attention to a subject on which men's minds are so sadly undisciplined. When set in motion the ball will roll, as I anticipate.

As regards myself, if I go on and publish, I shall be quite prepared to find some persons surprised; but this, if it should prove so, cannot be helped. I have not knowingly exaggerated anything, and when a man expects to be washed overboard he must tie himself with a rope to the mast.

I shall trust to your friendship for *frankness* in the discharge of your irksome task. Pray *make* verbal corrections without scruple where they are needed.

Sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

8. *To J. R. Hope.*

FASQUE,
November 6, 1839.

MY DEAR HOPE,

I can set you at your ease in a very few words respecting Keble's article: there was not a word of it which could occasion any misunderstanding on my part, and the pains which it evinced as well as its spirit commanded my warm and grateful admiration. In some places I thought the writer had the gift of prophecy in its larger sense, so accurately does he interpret many hidden meanings that are in my mind rather than my book. I refer here to some things in

the former part of his review. I can conceive no desolation so entire and awful as that of a Constitution which has lost its savour.

With respect to Church discipline, all his alarms are unfounded; and when I have an opportunity a few words may be added to preclude the inference which he feels himself compelled at least conjecturally to draw.

I had thought of asking permission to quote in an appendix the passage in which he works out the application of the prophecies to my subject; could you do this for me with perfect convenience? If you do, pray convey to him my warm and respectful thanks for what he has done, although I well know how little any personal consideration could enter into the elevated views with which he wrote.

. . . I think of you much, but I have never told you all I think, and never shall. May God Almighty ever bless you for the glory of His name and for the good of His Church is a wish, a prayer, which we may exchange without reproach.

Believe me,
Your truly attached
W. E. GLADSTONE.

9. *To the Rev. H. E. Manning.*

FASQUE,
November 13, 1840.

. . . I am busy with recasting my former book, and have now, I hope, done the substantial part of it. It will have grown, I think, about 50 per cent. in bulk, and will have much more pretension to method and to making known its own meaning. The chapter at present given to the theory (II.) is enlarged into four (one of which includes the present III.), which treat respectively of (*a*) the duty, (*b*) the inducements, (*c*) the abilities, (*d*) the rights (πολιτικὸν δίκαιον), of the State in respect to religion. The chapters now IV., V., and VI. are much amplified, and I mean to have a brief statement of the ecclesiastical ground of our Reformation, in which I want your help a little, not

being here well armed with references. I take the argument to be this:

1. The Pope's jurisdiction was abolished under Henry VIII. by a valid Act of the Church.

2. It was irregularly and *invalidly* restored under Mary. [*Pencil note:* 'By Commiss. and letters not signed.']

3. The Act of Supremacy (1 Elizabeth, ch. 1) annulled by State authority the incompetent State Act of Mary.

4. The surviving Bishops who refused the oath of supremacy being hereby ejected, room was made for the consecration of Parker, and all follows in order.

But I wish to be clearly in possession of the grounds of the invalidity of the reunion with Rome under Mary, which I think Palmer states clearly enough, but I have him not at hand. Had she ejected a majority of the canonical Bishops? Or if not, how does the historical point stand? . . .

I most heartily wish that there were some genuine student of history whom we could set to work to supply a correction to the list of unjust propositions relating to Church matters which might be collected out of Mr. Hallam's books. For instance, I have noticed these: that Convocation was occasionally and rarely consulted; that private judgment was the ground of our Reformation; that Cranmer saw no difference between Bishop and priest (true of him at one time, we must allow); that Hooker did not hold the succession; that the foreign reformers made it a point to root out episcopacy, and that foreign orders were pretty usually allowed. Such a thing, if done at all, should be done with the utmost *respect* and kindness; but his books are on other accounts so valuable that his sad prejudices on these subjects are likely to be the more effectively and permanently mischievous . . . .

10. *To Lord Lyttelton.*

HAWARDEN,
December 9, 1840.

. . . In Ch. VII., Sect. iii. [of 'Church Principles considered in their Results,' I endeavoured to state the popular notion as well as I could, and rather

believe I am accurate: and that the ascribing powers at all to the visible Church is the grand point of distinction, and that although Dissenters have not all those covenanted mercies which the theory of the Church teaches, yet that they have, when that theory is granted, all that they claim themselves. But I think a conversation with you will be of service to me, and will enable me to comprehend more fully the scope of your objection, so that one way or other we may be of one mind. . . . Jeremy Taylor's view of the seventy should be, I apprehend, as much typical as historical. I have heard a man show in a sermon when the Apostles received the diaconate, presbyterate, and episcopate — nay, also, when our Lord Himself had each! I imagine rather that they are historical evolutions, and that the offices are logically subsequent not antecedent to the persons. This I meant to argue against the German theory of involution: that there were official names given to men to whom certain functions had been entrusted; that what we have to trace and verify is the delivery of these functions, which wherever they can be found are determinate, whereas the names, in the early times, are excessively indeterminate. Had there been a portion of Scripture to this effect, 'Every man made a presbyter shall have the power of order,' then, doubtless, if the Romish Bishops of the sixteenth century had made men presbyters, they would, without intending it, have given them the power of order. But, on the contrary, there is no such law: the question is one of pure history: To *whom* was the power of order given?' 'In the Apostolic times to presbyters,' say the Presbyterians. Now I submit that, if we grant this allegation, it utterly falls short of their purpose, because there came a period in which all the presbyters who had had it *given* them had died off and had not transmitted it to other presbyters. I am not sure that priests were ordained *nominatim* when the rupture occurred, but if they were, the meaning of the term must be fixed either by Divine or ecclesiastical right. Now, there is no Divine law which fixes it and includes in it the power of order, and ecclesiastical law and usage are clearly against it. . . .

Upon the whole matter I am not less obliged by your remarks (which I think will generally tell in due

time) than delighted with your general concurrence. It is my nature to lean not so much on the applause as upon the assent of others, to a degree which perhaps I do not show: from that sense of weakness and utter inadequacy to my work which never ceases to attend me while I am engaged upon these subjects. Be assured, however, that you become very responsible when you give me your commendation, and to no small extent a sharer in and a producer of my acts; in proportion, therefore, as it is valuable — or if you like it better I will only say valued — be jealous in dispensing it. I have presumed, not indeed into empyrean heights, but into the murky and chaotic depths of a civil investigation regarding the union of the Church and the State, where 'behoves me now both oar and sail to urge'; you give me the favouring breeze. I wish you knew the state of total impotence to which I should be reduced if there were no echo to the accents of my own voice. I go through my labour, such as it is, not by a genuine elasticity of spirit, but by a plodding movement only just able to contend with inert force, and in the midst of a life which indeed has little claim to be called active, yet broken this way and that into a thousand small details, and certainly unfavourable to calm and continuity of thought. Nothing would induce me to handle matters to which I am so little competent, except the belief that the πίστις ἠθική may in such a case be of some service to the cause, may even more than counterbalance the direct deficiencies, just as I argued with my own conscience about accepting the office of Examiner at Eton. Now all this, as you well know, is a kind of argument that will not bear counter-reasoning, and its gist is to make you feel how much duty is incumbent upon those who are willing to be in friendship with me. . . .

11. *To J. Hamilton.*

BOARD OF TRADE,
September 24, 1841.

I continue to feel a lively interest in the questions relating to the Established Church of Scotland, on a part of which I had the pleasure of conversing with

you in the spring, and which present at this moment so unsatisfactory an aspect; and I have perused the Memorial, of which you were so good as to address to me a copy, with the earnest hope that it might offer such proposals as should conduce to a speedy and peaceful settlement. With respect to my own private sentiments, I have already described them to you in conversation as governed mainly by this rule: that Parliament should endeavour, under the contract of the Union, to deal with Scottish institutions in the spirit of those institutions themselves, understood and interpreted, in great measure, according to the sense of the recognized and constitutional organs of the Scottish people. I may add that the distinct, and in some respects different, cast of my own religious creed does not prevent my earnestly desiring that the controversies relating to independence and non-intrusion may be determined in the manner most favourable to the maintenance of your national establishment of religion.

12. *To James Lord.*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
October 8, 1841.

. . . I have gone so far in my disapprobation of the original principle of the grant to Maynooth College, as once (two or three years back), if not more, to testify that sentiment by a vote against the annual grant in the House of Commons. My meaning, however (so expressed in a work published by me in the year 1838), was to protest against the vote as an annual and voluntary renewal of a compact to which I did not wish to be a party. I did not feel entitled to prejudge the question, whether the College of Maynooth had or had not acquired through prescription and successive authorities a claim on Parliament binding in honour to a continued endowment, until a violation of its original conditions or understanding should have been substantiated. My objection lay, as I have stated in and out of Parliament, against a form of support which bore the aspect of disavowing any pledge and repeating the act as one of free-will from year to year. The more I have considered the question, especially since

an appeal of Mr. Sheil's in the year 1840, on Mr. Plumptre's motion (which had the effect at the time of sending me away from the House without voting, from not seeing my way clearly, without consideration of the evidence alleged), the more I feel the strength of that equitable claim which seems to me to have grown up since 1795, transmitted through the Union, and through the hands of many Ministers, and of some peculiarly conscientious Ministers opposed to the original principle of the grant; and the less can I discern, on the other hand, any method of obviating by any substitution the objections to its present form, and the misapprehensions which it must tend to encourage in the public mind. I hold, as ever, that States should use all their moral force to deal with every question not foreclosed by express or implied compact, according to the laws of duty or conscience; but in the case of entailed obligations their discretion is not similarly unconfined. The advantage derivable, as it seems to me, from the case of the Maynooth grant is in the admonition which it affords us for the future. Unable to bring myself to resist the grant when it was proposed by a Government which I did not support, I could not, I think, with consistency have accepted the office under the present administration, which to my knowledge or full persuasion intended to renew the proposal, if I had meant on a future occasion to alter my course in this respect. . . .

13. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

WHITEHALL,
December 14, 1841.

MY DEAR MANNING,

. . . As to discipline, I sympathize deeply with your pain. To speak crudely my own crude thoughts, I apprehend that the only way to revive the system is to do it permissively, and as it were in a corner. Why should not a man having a small flock, and his churchwardens and persons of influence with him, devise sober rules with the allowance of his Bishop for his own people, and introduce them by degrees. May he not require the private confession and contrition of the parties? Would it be impossible to secure this

in a small rural parish by means of persuasion and influence? May he not make a good use of the rubric enjoining or advising Communion after matrimony, in combination with the exhortation to confess before Communion in certain cases?

14. *To the Right Hon. J. Nicholl, LL.D.*

WHITEHALL,
February 22, 1843.

I ought to apologize for addressing you on the subject of the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill which you have lately, on the part of the Government, introduced, particularly as I am aware that I am quite incapable either of forming accurate and sufficient judgments or of expressing myself clearly upon such a question; but my excuse is a conviction of its incalculable importance, and the strength of my feelings with respect to it. Not, however, with respect to the whole matter included in the Bill, but to that part which occupies a very small portion of it — I mean what relates to the jurisdiction over Church Offices and Church Ordinances.

I understand the purpose of your measure with relation to causes in their nature temporal to be, to provide cheap and effectual processes, before an appropriate tribunal, for their determination. On the other hand, it provides for the maintenance, and for the authority in the most essential particulars, of the Diocesan and Provincial Courts; but does it not leave their jurisdiction in its present state of hopeless and, to the world at large, most scandalous confusion?

Now, as our laws have emphatically recognized the principle that civil disabilities are not to be annexed to separation from the Communion of the Church, have not the reasons been removed (I speak generally) which formerly caused it to be thought politic to clog and fetter the exercise of her earliest, inherent, and most necessary powers? If she is no longer to rely for the affection and respect of the people, in anything like the degree in which she was wont, upon secular motives and political privileges, doubtless she is to derive a purer strength from elevating her tone of teaching and of life. But surely in proportion as this standard

shall be raised, while you will have less and less disposition to cling tenaciously to temporal rights and to legal exclusions, you will also find a rapidly deepening and extending conviction that she must give effect to her doctrine in her discipline. Without this, indeed, the former must remain in great part either a vague abstraction, or even in not few cases an absolute profanation.

I apprehend there is no doubt, though this be a matter rather for the ear than for the house-top, that the laxity, or rather nullity, of discipline purely religious within the Church of England, especially when combined with a view of the wider province and formidable powers of what she calls her Ecclesiastical Courts, constitutes an offence to the whole Christian world, but more especially to the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Protestant Dissenters, who, placed in close contact with her, have the keenest insight into the defects of her organization, and, being scarcely able to discern in the existing judicatories the traces of a spiritual character, are thereby violently and not quite unjustly prejudiced against her. I believe that those who have examined into the motives of the earnest-minded persons who constitute the best and real strength of Dissenting bodies will report that the principle of attraction to them consists in this, that they have generally speaking a system of Church discipline which bears practical testimony to the distinctions between right and wrong in the conduct of their members.

Doubtless you propose to relieve the Church of one portion of this complex odium, by transferring to a secular tribunal what are at present the most important functions of her courts. But is not your work essentially partial and defective if you leave them with nothing but titles and impracticable powers, objectless, and therefore likely to become ridiculous? Is not the time when prescriptive functions are to be taken away the fit time for removing with them disqualifications of which the proper grounds have ceased? Can any serious-minded man, English or foreigner, knowing ever so little of *Church* discipline in its mildest real and effective form, whether in foreign Churches, in the Scriptures, or among Dis-

senters, look at the state of our ecclesiastical provisions with respect to the admission of persons in notorious sin to the privileges of the Gospel, and not pronounce them shameful before God and man? I conceive it to be undeniable that the clergy are responsible for the administration of the Sacraments: but who can tell what practical remedy exists if an intemperate clergyman unduly rejects, or an indifferent clergyman unduly admits? It is with pain that I repeat words which M. Bunsen used to me in speaking of our discipline: 'Your Church laws,' he said, 'are the *parties honteuses* of your whole system.'

But is it not almost as much due to Dissenters, and to the principle of toleration, that some regard should be had to this matter, as to the Church and its members? I have made some inquiries, and I find that it is not clear whether a man might not now be prosecuted, and subjected to compulsory summonses and to costs, in the Ecclesiastical Courts for publishing a treatise containing Unitarian sentiments or those of any other heresy. Suppose a complaint of this were to arise from the Dissenting quarter: would it be a sufficient answer to reply that the processes are cumbrous, that public opinion also would be hostile, and that practically no fear need be entertained? Or would it not, on the other hand, be found absolutely necessary to declare by law that all persons who have departed from the Communion of the Church should be exempted, when so declared, from the authority of her judicatures, as well as incapable, until reconciled, or her ordinances?

But I learn that, while it is uncertain whether heresy may not be prosecuted in the Spiritual Courts, it is scarcely doubtful that Dissenters may be sued in them for immorality. Is it not clear that such a jurisdiction ought (as a portion of a good arrangement) to be cut off, and that all parties would be thankful for its abrogation? a point upon which their frequently conflicting claims appear to converge. I have spoken of the rights of Dissenters; but is it not manifestly wrong that the person whose case I have supposed above, as avowing heretical opinions, should be able to present himself at the administration of the Holy Communion, and that there should be no clear law

(if I am right in supposing that there is none such) to warrant and oblige the celebrating clergyman to refuse it to him?

I do not doubt that this question has difficulties of which I am not aware, and that your Bill may probably have provisions looking in the direction I have indicated. Even with my own scanty information I can conceive that there would be matters requiring some adjustment in detail, as, for example, the law of burial. Am I right in supposing that a man executed impenitent for murder must at present by law be buried with the Office used, or that, if the case be not so horrible as this, yet it is not very far short of it? And if so, a question would arise making almost any plan of improvement desirable — viz., how the law could be altered for the worse? Whatever demands the civil right of Dissenters or other persons not in the Church might make upon the purse of the community, or even, to take an extreme case, upon the actual churchyards, their satisfaction to the full would, one should suppose, be entirely compatible with the relief of the conscience of the clergyman from the present dilemma — a dilemma of which the sense has been dull in times when the Church has been little operative for good, but of which there will be a more acute and moving consciousness in proportion as purity of doctrine and sanctity of life shall be more and more esteemed.

I am deeply impressed with the conviction that this is no secondary matter, but organic and vital to the Church: that no Church Extension, as it is called, no Clergy Discipline, however good in their way, will do the statesman's work of reclaiming the population to God and to their own welfare without Church discipline. The corruption of discipline more than that of doctrine moved and forwarded the Reformation; the revival of discipline was one of its earliest, greatest, and noblest objects, although it has now been brought, in the train of events, into utter inanition and contempt. Do what you will with costs and citations, I mean in corrective causes; or rather are you not bound to treat them as in the category of temporal consequences, and to deal with them accordingly? But no endowments will procure, will win back again

for the Church, that intelligent and cordial reverence which as respects great masses of the people she has lost, unless they see that she has the mission of reforming the heart and life by an administration of Divine ordinances conformed to the unalterable distinctions between right and wrong, between truth and untruth. Without these credentials she contradicts her own charter; for how can the estranged population be awakened by the sincerity and earnestness of her witness, if in her dealings with her members she takes little or no account of the truth and the morality she proclaims? I have had some concern in that which is termed Church Extension; and I do not hesitate to express my belief that anyone who views it as a system — in London, for example — will, upon attending carefully first to the quantity, but also and still more to the *quality* of the congregations formed, find that it has *essential defects* as yet unsupplied. With the upper and middle class, who are alive and sensitive to the powerful action of opinion, we may gain much way even as we are; and the Church *is* now making inroads upon Dissenting bodies, whose congregations are chiefly made up of persons above the condition of labourers. But if the foundations are to be made sound, if the masses are to be cared for, if the Church is to be really in the towns as well as in the country the Church of the people, I venture to express the most profound conviction that it cannot be without the restoration of a spiritual discipline founded upon fixed and intelligible laws. . . .

15. *To the Right Hon. J. Nicholl, LL.D.*

WHITEHALL,
February 27, 1843.

I feel yet more strongly, and I must freely own that I am much clearer in my general convictions and in the grounds of them, with respect to the necessity of *contemplating* a restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, and of acting in the way of preparation, whether immediate or remote, for it, than as to the particular propositions which ought to be introduced among the enactments of your Bill relating to Ecclesiastical Courts.

The constantly growing and strengthening desire for discipline in the Church is not founded, I apprehend, upon any feeling or movement of a transitory kind. Most people are agreed, that if there had not been in the present century a fundamental change in the habits and views of the clergy, the Church Establishment must have been ere this time broken up. But that change has simply consisted in the fact that they now prize highly the truths, precepts of living, and ordinances, and I should add the well-being of their people, which formerly (to speak generally) they held in far less regard. Now, it is scarcely possible that this profound and comprehensive alteration of feeling should find adequate satisfaction in the mere *declaration* of truth in the Church: it surely must, in the nature of things, struggle to bring itself into and to govern her *action* also towards her members.

Endeavouring to look impartially at the question, I do not believe that, if the demands growing out of this sentiment be urged with a due regard to the exigencies and capabilities of the time and to the state of men's minds, the State ever will commit itself in conflict with the Church by a denial of them — a conflict how different from any which in the long course of the history of Christendom ever has occurred! Those demands in full I take to be: freedom to administer her laws (laws approved by the State itself), in forms agreeable to justice, over her own members, and to confine the privileges, rid of all civil appendages, to those who acknowledge the obligations of her communion.

But I feel most strongly that neither the clergy, the laity, nor those who have quitted the Church are at the present moment in such a state as would admit of the immediate application to practice of a system founded upon this basis of truth and justice; that it would be an enormous evil (great as I admit the paradox to be) if all those who disobey the acknowledged laws of the Church, and therefore the ecclesiastical laws of the State, were at once or speedily to be visited with those spiritual censures which, under another state of things, would legitimately follow.

I am, however, much inclined to believe that there are parishes in the country where the reasonable

discipline of the Church might even now be applied with immediate advantage; and we may remember that, though Scotland has always had such a discipline, it has not been from that cause that the present or any former troubles there have arisen. On the other hand, it seems to me that there is danger to be apprehended from the zeal of some among the clergy, if, at a time when you avow that you are readjusting the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, no *indications* be given of a desire gradually to bring the law, and especially the practice, of the country into a more satisfactory state. And surely it is a favourable circumstance that there never was a period when there existed so great a willingness, and even desire, to surrender privileges, in themselves not small, which have been conferred in former times, but which are not necessary for the due discharge of spiritual functions.

I have drawn out suggestions upon this subject in conformity with your desire,* by no means in the belief that it is possible they should form a fit basis for its consideration: but simply because I feel it to be my duty to deal with you in the most unreserved confidence, and because I am sure that you will treat leniently any disclosure of ignorance, if it be not also attended with presumption. In writing on the question I have run out into great length of words; but I will sum up all in two brief propositions — namely, that it is desirable, in dealing with the Ecclesiastical Courts by any legislative measure,

(1) To contemplate and prepare for a free and general exercise of spiritual discipline over members of the Church of England;

(2) To prevent by proper checks the premature application of such a system to practice.

I therefore conceive that the essence of the whole matter lies chiefly in the suggestions marked IV.–VII.: which of course is to be viewed in combination with the check supplied in VIII. It is material that this check should be effective. I have only two remarks to add: that the brief sketch drawn by the Bishop of Lincoln appears to me, if it be not presumptuous to say so, to convey a very just idea of what in its outline

* See Appendix.

the Church Discipline should be; and, secondly, that for many reasons I concur in your view that the House of Lords is a much fitter place than the House of Commons for the introduction of any alterations which cannot be taken as mere matters of course. . . .

16. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

WHITEHALL,
August 14, 1843.

You ask me, When will our Bishops govern the Church? My answer is by another query, When will any body govern anything? The Bishop of London tried his hand in the last Charge: the results, so far as I can see, are not inviting. Government altogether is what is vulgarly called *on its last legs* — I mean as applied to all public institutions of compulsory obligation. Thus much it seems to me we may say: the authority of government is still one of the social forces whose combination directs the machine — one of many, not a mere clock-hand, but one of the weights that work the pendulum — and the art of the governor, no longer well worthy of his name, at least when he is busied about the higher parts of his vocation, is, to affect the direction of the resultant by the application of his own element of force this way or that. Here is rather a long text, which would admit of a proportionable sermon, adapted to the world's old age, in which and doubtless for which we all have been born. . . .

17. *To the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D.*

WHITEHALL,
March 15, 1844.

MY DEAR DR. WORDSWORTH,

. . . As years are added to my life, I do not find that hope becomes less sanguine in my mind as to the prospects of the Church; but I confess that the prospects of the connection between the Church and the State do present themselves to me as more dark and dubious from year to year. It is not the decay of the religious life among us, but it is the progress of the democratic principle, supervening upon a state

From a drawing by George Richmond, R.A.

MR. GLADSTONE, ÆTAT. THIRTY-FOUR.

of division and disorganization in respect to Church Communion, which becomes, I think, continually more formidable. If I believed the Church to be synonymous with the Establishment, or to be dependent upon it, I should be in despair, but having sentiments the farthest possible from those, I find the sense of confidence and joyful anticipation predominate over fear.

Believe me, with much repect,
My dear Dr. Wordsworth,
Very faithfully yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

18. *To J. R. Hope.*

FASQUE,
August 20, 1844.

. . . The purpose of Parliamentary life resolves itself with me simply and wholly into one question, Will it ever afford the means under God of rectifying the relations between the Church and the State, and give me the opportunity of setting forward such a work? There must be *either* such a readjustment, or a violent crisis. The present state of discipline cannot be borne for very many years; and here lies the pinch. Towards the settlement of money questions something has been done by the Church Commission and the Government, and think they may do more.

As to the general objects of political life, they are not my objects. Upon the whole, I do not expect from the good sense of the English people, the force of the principle of property, and the conservative influence of the Church less than the maintenance of our present monarchical and Parliamentary constitution under all ordinary circumstances; and I do not flatter myself with the notion that this will be better done by my remaining to take part in it. But the real renovation of the country does not depend upon law and government, and those who desire to take part in the work, except so far as it is connected with the specific readjustments to which I have referred, must, I think, seek their province elsewhere. . . .

CHAPTER II

CHURCH AND STATE — *continued*

1845–1848

HAD Mr. Gladstone been left to himself, the definite change in his convictions on the relations of the State to the Church might have been delayed for some time. It was the decision of Peel to increase the Maynooth grant and to make it permanent that compelled him to reconsider the whole question. The grant had originally been made by the Irish Parliament, and at the time of the Union the liability was taken over by the Imperial Parliament. The sum annually voted was £9,000, out of which ten professors and two hundred and fifty students had somehow to be supported. It was plain that things had come to a pass which made the continuance of this miserable pittance impossible. Either Maynooth must cease to receive Government support, or it must be treated with decent liberality. Sir Robert Peel proposed to take the latter course, and this necessarily brought him into conflict with the views of which Mr. Gladstone was the most recent, and the most convinced, exponent. How was the doctrine maintained in 'The State in its Relations with the Church' to be reconciled with a measure designed to make permanent provision for the supply of clergy to a hostile communion? When this proposal was first mooted in the Cabinet, it was suggested that the evil day

might be put off by an inquiry whether the character and influence of the college could be improved. Mr. Gladstone, with an anticipation of the insight he was afterwards to show in Irish matters, thought such an inquiry quite useless. 'The real gravamen of the charge against Maynooth was this — that the pupils partook of the feelings of their countrymen, and that they were educated according to the discipline of their Church.' It soon became clear that Peel's mind was made up, and Mr. Gladstone was at once faced by two questions: Could he support his leader's new policy? and, if so, Would it be right for him to support it as a Cabinet Minister? Upon this latter point he felt no real doubt. In his book he had specially identified himself with the endowment of a single religion, and with the preference of this religion on the sole ground of its theological truth. Even if he had come by this time to see that the maintenance of this principle was no longer possible in Ireland, the personal question remained. His political honour demanded that he should not, even in appearance, be a gainer by his change of opinion. He had now to inquire what in these changed circumstances would be most for the public good, and, however sure he might be that the retention of his official position would not influence his conclusion, he could not expect the world to see this. It seems strange to us now that Mr. Gladstone's resignation should have puzzled his contemporaries as much as it evidently did. To one mind, even then, it seemed completely justified. If Mr. Gladstone had been content to offer in the House of Commons the simple explanation suggested by Newman in the letter which will be found farther on (Letter 21), it is hard to believe that he would have left a single hearer in

doubt as to the absolute propriety of the course he had taken. 'As it was,' says Lord Morley, 'his anxiety to explore every nook and cranny of his case, and to defend or discover in it every point that human ingenuity could devise for attack, led him to speak for more than an hour, at the end of which even friendly and sympathetic listeners were left wholly at a loss for a clue to the labyrinth.'

Properly understood, therefore, Mr. Gladstone's action on Maynooth was a very simple matter. The ground of the proposal to make the grant larger and permanent was the propriety of doing well what had to be done somehow. But Mr. Gladstone's mind was already busy with larger questions. In a memorandum of a conversation with Lord Stanley, dated March 12, 1844, there occurs this passage: 'I said . . . that I *could* conceive the scheme of surrendering the Church — of saying, "We recognize the principle of the popular will; we allow the property to be made over for the support of the religion of the great majority; we place the Roman Catholic priesthood in the situation of our national clergy for Ireland." There would still remain tremendous, perhaps insuperable, difficulties, even within Ireland itself, in the existence of a Protestant proprietary aristocracy; but still, if the experiment was really to be tried of placing that great actual power which wields the popular forces in Ireland on the side of the Government and of the Union, this, it seemed to me, was the form in which, to do it full justice, it must be tried.' This plan had nothing in common with concurrent endowment. It contemplated the continued establishment of a single religion in Ireland, the difference being that the choice of that religion was to be determined not by its truth,

but by its being the creed of the majority of the people. In this same memorandum Mr. Gladstone declares himself in favour of re-establishing diplomatic relations with the Pope as a measure demanded 'by his temporal sovereignty, by the number of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, by the more direct relation subsisting in almost all the Colonies, by the qualified relations subsisting in Ireland,' and by the circumstance that only in this way, as he then thought, could the contemplated measures about Maynooth have much hope of success. Even in 1844 Mr. Gladstone was not under the delusion that in negotiations relating to the Roman Catholic religion the Pope is not a factor that counts. It is true that, in a memorandum written in 1894, and quoted by Lord Morley, he speaks of 'the gross error' of which he was guilty in tendering himself to fill the post he wished to see created. But this censure need not be taken as applying to the direct representation of Great Britain at the Vatican. At the time of the Council, and later in connection with affairs in Ireland, Mr. Gladstone would, I think, have been glad of an opportunity of approaching the Roman Curia through an accredited Minister, whether at Rome or in London.

The letter to Lord Lyttelton (Letter 25) indicates the steps by which Mr. Gladstone was working out that revised theory of the relations of the State to the Church which he was never again to alter. He disliked the concessions he felt bound to make, not for their own sake, but for the effect they were likely to have on public opinion. The conviction that 'our remaining religious nationality had ceased to be worth preserving' was not inconsistent with profound regret that time and circumstances had brought it to that pass. But

that it had been brought there he had no doubt, and when non-Christians had a recognized and important share in the conduct of public affairs, nothing was to be gained by excluding them from Parliament, Accordingly, in 1847, the year of his first Oxford election, he spoke and voted for Lord John Russell's motion for the removal of Jewish disabilities. In the preface to the reprint of his speech he argued that, as the Jew had, from an alien, come to be a citizen, and, from a citizen having rights of person and property only, had come to be a citizen having access to the franchise, to the magistracy, and to municipal government, there could be no reason for keeping him out of Parliament, unless it were a religious reason. The opponents of the motion found this religious reason in the fact that the Legislature when it included Jews would be no longer Christian. But, in the highest sense of the word, this change had already been wrought. Members of Parliament had ceased, in that character, to 'profess a known and definite body of truth constituting the Christian faith.' Of the two remaining senses, one — that the members all call themselves Christians — was not worth preserving; the other — that Parliament contained a great preponderance of Christians — would not be in the least affected by the presence of a few Jews.

The letter to Bishop Blomfield (Letter 26) explains why Mr. Gladstone took no part in the controversy excited by Lord John Russell's appointment of Hampden to the See of Hereford. He was quite ready to 'use every effort' to make it impossible that a Bishop should again be thrust on an astonished Church by the mere will of the Prime Minister; but he was not disposed to do other men's work, or to lead where it was his place to follow. If the Church was to be saved

from a possible repetition of this insult, it must be by the intervention of the Bishops. Mr. Gladstone leaves his correspondent in no doubt as to the mischiefs that will follow if the Bishops do nothing, but he is not inclined to save them from the consequences of their own timidity. There were other causes, possibly, that disposed him to leave the controversy alone. Hampden might be a heretic, but the reason why he was accounted one was the censure passed upon him by the University of Oxford in 1836. But on that occasion he had not had a fair trial. He had been condemned in general terms, but these terms 'did not really declare the point of imputed guilt.' Against such an indictment even perfect innocence could have no defence. The letter in which these words occur* was not, it is true, written till 1856, but the conviction may well have been growing up in Mr. Gladstone's mind nine years earlier. Moreover, between 1836 and 1848 he had had, as we shall see in another chapter, abundant opportunities of estimating the fitness of the University authorities to be judges of heresy. In the controversy which comes next in the correspondence we shall find no similar lukewarmness on Mr. Gladstone's part.

19. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

WHITEHALL,
January 30, 1845.

It is virtually all over and I am out, but, so far as this is concerned, with a clear judgment and a sound conscience. I am sure I should have broken 'the terms of my compact with public confidence' — 'I thank thee for that word.' It might not have been discovered now, but my sin would have found me out

* It is given by Lord Morley — Life, i. 124.

hereafter and at some vital moment, if I had, as a member of the Government, been party to a proposal reopening so much of the great question of Church and State — in principle almost reconstructing their relation for Ireland, and, depend upon it, seriously modifying the aspect of the case for England also.

Do you know that daily intercourse and co-operation with men upon matters of great anxiety and moment interweaves much of one's being with theirs, and parting with them, leaving them under the pressure of their work and setting myself free, feels, I think, much like dying — more like it than if I were turning my back altogether upon public life.

I have received great kindness, and, so far as personal sentiments are concerned, I believe they are as well among us as they can be. . . .

Hope is wholly with me.

20. *To the Duke of Newcastle.*

WHITEHALL,
January 30, 1845.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

My obligations to your Grace on public and on personal accounts have made me anxious that you should receive from myself and not through public rumour the intelligence of my retirement from office. It has not yet taken formal effect, but it is finally decided on. A statement of this purport has appeared, no one knows how, in the *Times* of this morning, before any disclosure of the kind was intended by the parties principally concerned; but though in one sense premature, it is correct as to its substance with regard to me. I resign upon the ground that the opinions which I have published on the subject of the connection between the Church and the State render it improper for me to participate, as a member of the Administration, in some of the measures which, according to public anticipation, they are about to take with reference to Education in Ireland. But although it has seemed to me an imperative duty under my circumstances to secure the position in which I may form a presumably independent judgment upon matters of so much moment, I am bound to add that, adverting to the

character of the times and of the religious and political sentiments which prevail, I can cast no blame upon Sir R. Peel and his colleagues either as individuals or as a Government on account of their intentions, so far as they are known to me, and my feelings of regard and attachment to them remain unaltered. Although my hope may have been frustrated, that I should be myself the bearer of the news, I thought it due to your Grace that you should be apprised of the facts in my own handwriting.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

21. *From the Rev. J. H. Newman to Mr. Gladstone.*

LITTLEMORE,
April 18, 1845.

MY DEAR MR. GLADSTONE,

I should not venture to incroach upon your time with this note of mine, but for your letters to me last autumn, which make me read with great interest, of course, everything which is in the papers about you, and encourage me to think that you will not think me intrusive.

As various persons ask me what I understand is your present position, I will put down what I conceive it to be; and I will beg you to correct my account of it just as much or just as little as you please, and to determine, as you think best, whether I shall say I have your authority for any statements you may kindly make in your answer or not.

Useless words always look cold and formal on paper. I should not think of saying (what I really hope it will not even come into your passing thoughts to doubt) how great interest I feel in the line of thought which is at present engaging your mind, and how sure I am you will be conducted to right conclusions. Nor is there anything to startle or distress me in what you are reported to have said in the House.

I say then: 'Mr. Gladstone has said the State *ought* to have a conscience — but it has not a conscience. Can *he* give it a conscience? Is he to impose his own conscience on the State? He would be very glad to do so, if it thereby would become the State's conscience. But that is absurd. He must deal with facts. It has

a thousand consciences, as being, in its legislative and executive capacities, the aggregate of a hundred minds — that is, it has no conscience.

'You will say, "Well, the obvious thing would be, if the State has not a conscience, that he should cease to be answerable for it." So he has — he has retired from the Ministry. While he thought he could believe it had a conscience — till he was forced to give up, what it was his duty to cherish as long as ever he could, the notion that the British Empire was a subject and servant of the Kingdom of Christ — he served the State. Now that he finds this to be a mere dream, much as it ought to be otherwise, much as it once was otherwise, he has said, "I cannot serve such a mistress."

'But really,' I continue, 'do you in your heart mean to say that he *should* absolutely and for ever give up the State and country? I hope not — I do not think he has so committed himself. That the conclusion he has come to is a very grave one, and not consistent with his going on blindly in the din and hurry of business, without having principles to guide him, I admit; and this I conceive is his reason for at once retiring from the Ministry, that he may contemplate the state of things calmly and from without. But I really cannot pronounce, nor can you, nor can he perhaps at once, what is a Christian's duty under these new circumstances — whether to remain in retirement from public affairs or not. Retirement, however, could not be done by halves. If he is absolutely to give up all management of public affairs, he must retire not only from the Ministry, but from Parliament.

'I see another reason for his retiring from the Ministry. The public thought they had in his book a pledge that the Government would not take such a step with respect to Maynooth as is now before the country. Had he continued in the Ministry, he would, to a certain extent, have been misleading the country.

'You say, "He made some show of seeing his way in future, for he gave advice. He said it would be well for all parties to yield something. To see his way and to give advice is as if he had found some principle to go on." I did not so understand him. I thought he distinctly stated he had not yet found a

principle, but he gave that advice which facts, or what he called circumstances, made necessary, and which, if followed out, will, it is to be hoped, lead to some basis of principle which we do not see at present.'

This letter has run to a greater length than I had expected, but I thought I would do my best to bring out the impression which your speech has given me of your meaning.

I am, my dear Mr. Gladstone,
Very truly yours,
JOHN H. NEWMAN.

22. *To the Rev. J. H. Newman.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
April 19, 1845.

MY DEAR MR. NEWMAN,

You have expressed with great accuracy the view which I take of the question of Church and State as a whole, enveloping in it the particular question as to Maynooth that at present agitates England.

According to the old European and Christian civilization (to go no farther back), the State was a family, and the governors had the position and the duties of parents. According to the modern notion the State is a club; the Government is the organ of the influences predominating in the body. Where its spirit is hard, what has been called the tyranny of the majority rules with a high hand. Where its spirit is more gentle, as it can scarcely fail to be in every State founded upon the ancient basis, other sentiments entertained by bodies of sensible magnitude besides those of the mere majority find their way into and are represented in the action of the State.

With us the State is neither a family nor a club: but it is on its path of transition from the former to the latter. It is less like a club than America or than France: it is less like a family (I mean as to duties, not as to their fulfilment) than Austria or than Russia. The public men of the present day are — I must not conceal it from myself — engaged in regulating and qualifying, and some of them in retarding, this tran-

sition. But the work proceeds; and as to that work regarded as a whole, and its results, I view them with great alarm.

The State cannot be said now to have a conscience, at least not by me, inasmuch as I think it acts, and acts wilfully, and intends to go on acting, in such a way as no conscience — that is, no personal conscience (which is the only real form of one) — can endure. But the State still continues to act in many ways *as if* it had a conscience. The Christian figure of our institutions still remains, though marred by the most incongruous associations. There are, therefore, actual relations of the State to Religion — I mean to determinate religion — which still subsist and retain much vitality, and offer opportunities of good in proportion to it, however they may be surrounded with violent moral contradictions. For the sake of these opportunities I think that public life is tolerable, and in my case, as it at present stands, obligatory. But it is like serving for Leah afterwards to win Rachel.

I have clung to the notion of a conscience, and a Catholic conscience, in the State, until that idea has become in the general mind so feeble as to be absolutely inappreciable in the movement of public affairs. I do not know whether there is one man opposing the Maynooth Bill upon that principle. When I have found myself the last man in the ship, I think that I am free to leave it.

But some persons will say a principle is not to be regarded as a ship which may be left in extreme necessity; it is a witness for truth, and power and life belong to it as such. Then my answer is, I do not think that any theory of government is in this sense a principle. My language has always been, 'Here is the genuine and proper theory of government as to religion; hold it as long as you can, and as far as you can.' Government must subsist; and if not as (in strictness) it ought, then as it may.

At this point comes in the question whether the work of government has not therefore become absolutely unclean, and whether it should not be abjured. That is a very difficult question — I mean the first part of it. Upon the whole, for specific reasons, I have made up my mind in the negative — not with an entire con-

viction, perhaps, but as the better of the two alternatives before me. But most emphatically do I agree with that sentence of your letter: retirement to have anything like its full meaning must be retirement from Parliament as well as office.

I am quite unable, I confess, to give any definition of the abstract character of the acts of a State while it is, like ours, in its course of transition. I understand that when it has come to be a club it acts like a clock — a good or a bad one as the case may be. When it was in its early and normal condition it acted, or should have acted, like a man, or even more like an archangel. In our case the ancient principle of reverence to truth, the supreme law of the State in its higher condition, is crossed and intercepted by the law of representation and equality of claims according to number and will — the supreme law of the State in its lower condition, when the hand of Death is palsying it by however slow degrees. In the sense, therefore, of incapacity to give a moral definition of acts in which I myself concur, I am at fault — a serious difficulty.

But as to the course which offers to my mind the only alternative other than that of retirement, I have framed my general idea of it. It is, in all those cases where the State acts *as if* it had a conscience, to maintain that standard as nearly as we can: and in other cases to take social justice according to the lower, but now prevalent, idea for a guide. 'A principle' I can hardly presume to call this. In the House of Commons there is, unfortunately, no word with which such liberties are taken. But it is a sort of general rule, though planted, I grant, upon ground infirm enough.

I do not know that I should have the least difficulty in subscribing your letter as it stands: and I could much rather say ditto to you than do your work over again in my own language. Still, I thought I should convey to you less of my own mind by merely stating assent than by placing before you my view in a positive and distinct form, so as to enable you to judge how far I really fulfil your meaning, and likewise what my own is worth.

You will perceive that much of what I have said

here is not fit to be said in public; especially for this great reason, that the demonstration in detail of the necessity for giving ground, and all strong statements of that necessity, enhance the evil from which they flow. This is a difficulty with me; higher interests require me to run the hazard of misapprehensions which in other circumstances it would be a duty to try to obviate. I may now try it, but it is with my hands tied.

A copy of my speech will be sent to you by the publisher. If you take tne pains to read, you will find it probably less obscure than the report in the newspapers. In the meantime I am exceedingly thankful both for the interest you express and for the very valuable statement which you have put into my mouth. I cannot ask you to pursue the subject farther; but I am sure you will understand that it is not from any other motive than the fear of intrusion upon you.

Believe me, etc.,
W. E. G.

23. *To the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D.*

HAGLEY,
December 3, 1845.

MY DEAR DR. WORDSWORTH,

I am particularly obliged by your kindness in sending to me a copy of your sermon on Individual and National Duties, because of its near reference to subjects in which I have had occasion to feel a deep interest and to take a part. Indeed, I ought the more sensibly to feel this obligation because I cannot but perceive that my own recent course falls within the scope of your disapproval; and I am well aware that it involves a departure from that which I myself have indicated as the true policy of a State in its best condition. Such departure can be avoided until the national life, in its relation to religion, has sunk to a certain point, but no longer. From a nation so divided as we are, and so little faithful to the capabilities of our own institutions, we cannot, I fear, at least I cannot, longer ask or expect the return to a standard so much higher than our moral state.

This view, if it stood alone, is one of gloom and sadness. But, on the other hand, if (not without long-continued reflection, and even resistance) I can now look for less than you look for at the hands of the State, I feel that the very brightest hopes are necessarily treasured up for us in the religious energies of the Church, unless we ourselves shall destroy them.

Forgive me if I thus freely and yet thus slightly enter upon a subject so vast and so difficult, with an appearance, too, of presumption, as I must confess when I remember to whom I am writing. But it is one that has occupied a large share of the thoughts of my life, and on which I can more readily excuse myself in any fault towards you, than in the fault of coldness and reserve.

To your son, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, too, I have written and spoken freely, if not fully, on this subject, though, I fear, not so as to afford him the satisfaction which he has furnished to me and to many others by his excellent publications.

I remain, my dear Dr. Wordsworth,

Yours sincerely and obliged,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

24. *To Sir James Graham.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
July 21, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR J. GRAHAM,

I know that I can trust to your personal indulgence, and there are some feelings so strong that it is an act of dishonesty to repress them. Such are the feelings which, not your vote, but your speech on the Manchester Bishopric Bill, and our conversation of this morning on it, confused in everything (on my side) but its results, have excited in my mind. I hope that I am not in any sense the organ of a party: I am sure that I do not now write in that capacity. I would rather, for instance, speak by the mouth or pen of Sandon than my own.

You view the Episcopate, in the Church of England, as a lofty isolated power, for the control of clerical offenders, and for the discharge of certain important but yet simply ritual duties.

The *prevalent* belief of earnest Churchmen in general, almost without distinction of age, and quite without distinction of party (unless in the case of purely nominal Churchmanship), is, on the contrary, that the Episcopal principle, whatever be the nature of its source or its sanction, is as matter of fact the active principle, both of union, and of life and movement, in the Church, and that in proportion to the vigour of the Episcopate will always be the vigour of the Church.

You think that the zeal of Bishops, and the quantity of their interference, requires upon the whole rather to be limited and repressed, than to be encouraged or augmented. The sentiment of the Church I humbly affirm to be, that the Bishop is responsible for the whole spiritual state of his diocese, to the full extent of every energy of his mind and body, and of every gift and power that he possesses; that weakness at the centre is actually with us at this moment a cause of weakness, and yet more a cause of disunion, in the parts around and even far from it; that the relation of the Bishop to the work of religion in his diocese, and to individual Christians within it, is too remote, and abstract, and formal, and requires to be brought nearer, and made more living and pastoral.

You point to an instance of a Bishop who only discharges formal duties. Your argument would have been just as good to show that the parishes of 50,000 or 100,000 with one or two clergymen needed no subdivision. For the clergy of those parishes were hardly in any single instance overworked. Many were non-resident.

You refer also to a Bishop who interferes too much —*i.e.*, wrongly. I answer it is probably because, being a man of fervid zeal, unwilling to leave anything undone, and utterly overdone with his work, he makes a false step now and then, through a defect of consideration, for which others will become responsible if they determine to refuse him relief.

Is the view, which I assert to prevail, a theoretic view? I say no. For some years we have been at work, with nothing but the Episcopal principle, under God, to sustain us, for the Colonial Church. What have we seen? The gentle born and bred clergy of

England, in the flower of youth and hope, in the path of popularity and preferment, have quitted all that is dear to flesh and blood to build up the Church in the wilderness. The poetry of Heber is now become fact: it is upon the icy mountains, and from thence to the coral strand, it is amidst severe self-denial, hard and constant bodily and mental labour, without hope of distinction or reward on this side the grave, that these men are giving the proofs of their Apostleship and following their Lord with a devoted love. Is this zeal to be repressed? Is this interference dangerous? Examine the state of the Colonial Church, and you will find first there has been but a single case of want of harmony with the civil power, and that easily to be accounted for from personal qualities on both sides. But more than this; while the Church at home, *comparatively* apathetic in its work and feeble in its government, is racked with dissensions which some appear to think will destroy it, those dissensions are *scarcely* known in the Colonial Churches.

There are those who believe that our social evils must mainly be cured by moral remedies, and that in England the Church is the only body that can by possibility administer them to the nation at large. It is certain that she does not do this now. She cannot do it by Church extension only. Her scattered presbyters, in the populous districts, find themselves isolated and feeble, and the *people* are *not* reclaimed. And, even now, the cures can hardly be supplied. I venture to say, more Bishops, *if they be chosen under a due sense of responsibility*, will make more, ay, and, if I must say so, will also make cheaper clergy. Of this we have proof. While enough clergy for the cures cannot be found at home, Bishops going to Colonies, with no more than a pittance to offer, and that temporarily, have more candidates than they can supply even with that temporary pittance.

We want a combining power for our scattered presbyters. They themselves call out for, not interference, but guidance. The wretched state of the law *makes* guidance into interference, *makes* arbitrary and irregular proceedings. I grant there are many arguments against multiplying Bishops in lofty civil station, exactly like those we have: but you are against

the increase of spiritual energy, through any public measure, in the Episcopate. I do not say that in this country our Bishops can be exactly what the Colonial Bishops are; but I do say that there is an immense field, as yet unoccupied, for them to occupy, and great increase of presbyters with a stereotyped number of Bishops will in many respects make the mass even weaker and more unwieldy than it is.

The Church loses, by slow degrees, her civil privileges; your doctrine I must say is in effect that, as these props, on which she has long leaned, are gradually removed, there shall be no gradual provision, by herself, of others more akin to her inherent nature to replace them — that in an age when everything that lives advances, she shall be condemned to a stationary barrenness. I must put it to you, presumptuous as I may seem, that such conservative principles as these are in effect destructive — destructive first of the inner life of the Church, then of her nationality, and lastly of her institutions in general, so far as they are connected with her.

I hope and pray the Church may be wise enough to refuse to stake her existence upon any battle for civil and external, and especially for exclusive, privileges; and I have witnessed with hope and joy, during the last two months of my own experience, the growth of a disposition to face the risks of the time, and to deal with it in civic matters on its own terms. But with this there grows, and even more rapidly, a disposition freely to stake all upon whatever is vital to the spiritual existence of the Church, and to her addressing herself in earnest to a work as yet almost unattempted — I mean bringing back to *Christianity*, at least to its habits, the millions who have lost all but its name, not by means drawn from the State, not by encroachment upon the civil rights of Dissenters, but by a more free development of faith and love from within, under the guidance of its natural and established heads.

I would not have said these things, had they not been wrung from me by a sense that they are true, *and* that they are vital — vital in policy as well as in religion; had I not been convinced that such doctrine as yours, from such a quarter, threatens mischief far

beyond my power to measure. Judging as a mere reader of newspapers, I cannot readily overstate what it has already done. Nor would I have spoken thus of the Church, had I been an outside observer only; but I have been enough connected with it, for many years, near the centre of its working, in many of its principal organs, to make me feel that I am in some degree a witness to facts, as well as a propagator of opinions.

I have thought it better to write, though warmly and somewhat hastily, than to delay what I had to say.

Believe me,

Most sincerely yours,

W. E. G.

Although I hope it is hardly necessary, let me say that no one of my friends working for me in the Oxford Election was aware of my sitting down to write this letter.

25. *To Lord Lyttelton.*

FASQUE,
September 10, 1847.

. . . Only a few days ago I wrote to Northcote upon the subject of the Jews, in answer to a sort of inquiry from him on behalf of others. I fear I cannot send you anything which will convey a clear or intelligible view to Mr. Mackarness, to whom I am much indebted, and to whom both on that and on more general grounds I would gladly render any information or assistance. I doubt if there is such a *national* feeling against their admission as could alone be pleaded for a temporary continuance of their exclusion. I feel the pressure of the political argument in their favour. On the other hand, I do not value much the theoretical distinction between Christian and no Christian, so thoroughly has that name as a constitutional designation been reduced to a shadow. But I do view as a *serious* evil the practical effect and impression of the measure. It would be again divesting ourselves of some part of our remaining religious nationality. And the whole question of the secularization of the State must in my opinion be considered in connection with the organization

of the Church. If the Church is to be petrified, and the Grahamic view established as normal, I think we cannot but oppose the Jews; but if directly or indirectly we can add weight (real and not merely logical weight) to the claim of the Church to have what is essential to her development done for her, by consenting to the admission of the Jews, I for one am ready. This, I think, is just the Bishop of Oxford's view. He is the only person with whom I have recently conversed on it. I know this bargaining notion scarcely bears exposure in its nakedness, and yet I am sure it is at the root of all wise policy for the Church. But removed as I have been from Parliament during two sessions, I am really without even the imperfect means which others may possess of forming any opinion how far we can or should now endeavour to initiate the *quid pro quo* system by committing ourselves to the entire abandonment of religious tests for Parliamentary duty. All to which I have made up my mind is — (1) positively, to try to act in some way upon the view which I have named; and (2), negatively, to do nothing and decide nothing now which would needlessly hamper me at the time when a decision will be necessary. Were I to write, I could write in the sense of recommending that the Church should feel and act in the general sense above described. . . .

26. *To the Bishop of London* (*Blomfield*).

HAWARDEN CASTLE,
January 31, 1848.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

I have heard, though not from any person engaged in the case, that the mandamus in the [Hampden] case will be refused by the Court of Queen's Bench, and that no further proceedings will be taken. I write entirely with reference to the assumption that these expectations will be realized. If they are not, your lordship will, I hope, be at no trouble in connection with this letter beyond the perusal of it.

I *suppose* it, then, to be now the declared and established law of this country that the choice of Bishops for the Church shall depend henceforward without

legal control on the will of one single man, the Prime Minister of the day.

My apology for volunteering an opinion on this question to your lordship must be found in the necessity which these times have brought about that juniors and inferiors should often use that freedom, at least to the extent of an assurance of service and support.

It appears then, I confess, to me as a layman of the Church, that we ought not in conscience to rest contented with such a state of things, but should endeavour to secure the imposition of some either formal and legal, or at least substantial, check on so great and so uncontrolled a power.

I am ready to use every effort for the purpose of giving effect to this conviction, and I have not the least hesitation in speaking thus to your lordship (in whose diocese I reside, and with whose kindness and confidence I have so often been honoured) before consultation with any political or private friend.

It will depend entirely, however, on the judgment of the Archbishop and of your lordship, and on the prevailing sense of the Bishops, whether I, for one, either make or join in any such attempt at all. Nothing but mischief, in my opinion, would ultimately result from an endeavour purporting to be made on behalf of the Church except with a decided assurance on their part. I have no doubt that many of my constituents will presume, as some have already done, to move, and my feelings are with them. I greatly fear that if the Church shall acquiesce in such a state of the law, taken in connection with the other circumstances and tendencies of the day, it will disparage her character, restrain the development of her energies, and insure her a conflict at a future time, with the double disadvantage of diminished resources and questioned consistency. Not that there will be flagrant and outrageous appointments made, probably a Minister in proportion as his intentions are hostile will be careful to avoid whatever would rally and concentrate the spirit of resistance; a less violent process is far more likely, and will be far more injurious.

I look upon the progressive secularization of Parliament as not less certain than if it were a result subject to mathematical laws and there must be on the whole,

as years proceed, a greater and greater distance, if not estrangement, between the civil and the spiritual power.

My own feeling, therefore, is most decidedly in favour of some positive effort: but I shall be governed by the judgment to which I have referred, absolutely as to the question of making any effort at all, and principally as to the form which it should assume and the specific object to be sought.

I trust in God it may be found that party distinctions in the Church are to have no bearing on this question. The end in view would be to secure a real and permanent regard on the part of the Government to the spirit of her laws and formularies. These form a defined, a broad and a solid ground on which we stand together, and which, it seems to me, we ought to join in common to preserve.

Your lordship is, of course, free to make use of this letter as you may conceive its purpose to require. . . .

I remain, with much respect,

My dear Lord Bishop,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. G.

CHAPTER III

CHURCH AND STATE — *continued*

1849–1854

THE decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the Gorham case awoke in Mr. Gladstone the most passionate indignation. While the judgment is still undelivered he warns Mrs. Gladstone that it 'may impose duties upon me which will separate for ever between my path of life, public or private, and that of all political parties. The issue is one going to the very root of all teaching and all life in the Church of England.' To Mr. Gladstone this was a new feeling. For him the question which had disturbed Newman and Ward had never had any serious meaning. The necessity of communion with Rome, the realization of which had cost Newman years of struggle and agony, seemed to Mr. Gladstone a delusion which blinded men to their plain duty. Sir Thomas Acland describes him at this very time as speaking with contempt of men who had 'the superstition to suppose that they must join the Church of Rome to save their souls, and desert their calling to work out the destiny of Englishmen and all God has called the Church of England to.' We have here the explanation of his unwillingness to touch upon the Roman question with Hope in the period that followed Newman's secession. There was no common ground

from which they could start, no premise which they could both accept. Mr. Gladstone was not a man to think lightly of the salvation of the soul, but he could not associate it with what he regarded as a mere theory. Secession never presented itself to him as an act prompted by a conviction, reached after long conflict, that the Church of England is not a part of the Catholic Church. He regarded it throughout merely as a desertion of one part of the Church for another which the convert found more to his mind. Even his love and admiration for Hope — 'the head of all his contemporaries' — did not alter his estimate of this particular step. What Hope 'held his "pearl of great price" had never,' he says, 'offered itself to me otherwise than as a temptation and a sin.' This explains Hope's silence while he was coming to a decision. It would have been only natural that every stage in a process which in Hope's case lasted nearly ten years should have been talked over between two men linked together by an exceptionally close friendship. Yet during that whole time, says Mr. Gladstone, Hope 'never wrote or spoke to me a positive word indicating the possibility of this great transition.' No doubt he had discovered at a very early stage of the conflict by which his conscience was distracted that there was no answering note in his friend's mind. An attitude of absolute conviction, unshaken and unshakable, gave no promise of any good to come from confidences or arguments. Long afterwards Mr. Gladstone described the private conscience as 'the inner citadel' of the Christian Church. But on this one question he would allow the private conscience no place. He was only oppressed with the sense of a great vocation foregone, of the work of reviving and reforming the Church

of England deliberately laid aside. I have noted this characteristic of Mr. Gladstone's mind here, rather than in its more natural place in connection with the Oxford Movement, because it helps to explain the shock which the Gorham Judgment gave him. As regards the Reformation settlement his mind was, and always had been, absolutely at ease. The Church of England had at that time done nothing which in any way derogated from her claim to be a true part of the Catholic Church. More than this, she had lately shown an extraordinary return of vitality. Faulty as she no doubt appeared when compared with what she ought to be, the contrast with what she had been fifteen years earlier was, he thought, in the highest degree encouraging. But the Gorham case confronted him with two new and startling questions. The fullest satisfaction with the historical position of the Church of England was quite compatible with grave doubts as to the use she seemed likely to make of that position. An absolutely orthodox past did not insure a particular Church against a heretical future.

The circumstances out of which this new trouble arose were these: The Crown had presented Mr. Gorham to a living in the Diocese of Exeter. Some letters he had already written on the nature and effect of Baptism determined Bishop Phillpotts to exercise his right of examining a presentee before instituting him. Mr. Gorham's answers to the questions put to him were not considered satisfactory, and institution was refused. The case was tried in the court of the province, and decided in the Bishop's favour; but on appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the judgment of the Dean of the Arches was reversed, and Mr. Gorham's views were declared not to be

'contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England as by law established.' Whether the views thus pronounced legal were identical with those on account of which Mr. Gorham was refused institution was a question much debated at the time, but it was not a question likely to trouble Mr. Gladstone. To him what was of real importance was not the exact shade of Mr. Gorham's heresy, but how much of it had been declared by the Judicial Committee to be doctrine which might lawfully be held by a priest having cure of souls in the Church of England. As defined in the judgment, it was this: 'That Baptism is a Sacrament generally necessary to salvation, but that the grace of regeneration does not so necessarily accompany the act of Baptism that regeneration invariably takes place in Baptism; that the grace may be granted before, in, or after Baptism; that Baptism is an effectual sign of grace by which God works invisibly in us, but only in such as worthily receive it — in them alone it has a wholesome effect; and that, without reference to the qualification of the recipient, it is not in itself an effectual sign of grace.'

The judgment of the Judicial Committee was given on March 8, 1850, and its nature and effect is examined by Mr. Gladstone in a memorandum dated two days later, and headed 'Draft for Consideration.' In the grave circumstances created by the decision, 'What,' he asks, 'is the duty of the members of the Church of England to the State, which has spoken; to the Church of England, which will have to speak, or by her silence to attain the same end; and to the Christian faith, the Holy Scriptures, and the Church of all time and place, the tribunal of final appeal on earth in regard to

religious doctrine?' To the first of these questions he gives a reply which, had Churchmen generally made it their own, might have prevented much of the mischief caused by the action of the court. The duty of the members of the Church of England to the State is 'peaceably to request liberty of conscience for the Church, and cheerfully to pay the price which the State, acting within its own sphere, may think fit to affix to that liberty.' He answers the remaining questions in the same spirit. Churchmen must inquire whether the Church of England accepts or rejects the judgment. This could be best ascertained by reference to an Episcopal Synod, or some body corresponding and coextensive with the Upper House of Convocation. If the answer of the State to the prayer for liberty of conscience were unfavourable, the Bishops must be moved to reject the judgment individually. This will clear the path of those members of the Church who do not intend to be parties to the surrender of her faith. The solemn renunciation of communion with a body which, having once possessed the inestimable treasure of the Divine Word, should have betrayed it is the last step to be contemplated. But inevitable and imperative as this course must be, it cannot be 'usefully or innocently' entertained 'until all available means shall have been used for obtaining from the Church her ay or no upon the judgment in the Gorham case.'

There is another document, which is even more remarkable, because it was written nearly two years later, and handed to Bishop Wilberforce, apparently as a permanent record of Mr. Gladstone's opinion on the subject. I give this in full.

Memorandum read to the Bishop of Oxford on January 22, and copy given him on January 23.

January 22, 1852.

1. By the Gorham Judgment a foundation is laid for emptying of all their force the articles of the Creed one by one, as public opinion by successive stages shall admit and encourage it.

2. Also for habitual assumption by the State of the office of interpreting the Creed, as well as the other documents of the Church.

3. A minority of the Bishops, including neither of the Archbishops, have protested, each for himself.

4. A minority of the clergy, including perhaps a fourth part of the whole number, have protested also, some of them in dioceses or archdeaconries.

5. The Primate has instituted a priest rejected by his Bishop for false doctrine, declaring that his office was ministerial, and consenting so to use and discharge it.

6. The Bishop has admitted among *his clergy* the priest so instituted.

7. In 1850, after the judgment, a large portion of the Bishops strove for a measure which would have given to the Episcopate the power of deciding any point of doctrine involved in any appeal; [it was] opposed, however, by many of their number, and not supported by the Primates.

8. In the more favourable of the two Houses of Parliament this Bill was rejected on a second reading by a great majority.

9. The session of 1851 passed away without the renewal of the Bill, and without any *definite* announcement that it would be reintroduced, or that another measure of like tendency would be substituted for it at a specified time. Its prospects, bad before, are greatly damaged by this delay.

10. There is not the smallest hope of the united action of the Bishops in seeking hereafter for any such measure; nor any great probability that even a bare majority of them can be got to concur in it.

11. Every rational principle of calculation leads to the conclusion that the tone of the Episcopal Bench with respect to dogma or authoritative teaching will

decline instead of rising in the course of any period of future years.

12. The character of the English Episcopate, and of the Church so far as the latter is determined by the former, is to be read not in the isolated acts of a minority, and in part only in the personal acts of the majority, but much more and mainly in the *united acts of the whole body*.

13. Of these there have been two very solemn and considerable. One of them was the address on Papal Aggression, with the prayer that temporal penalties might be enforced against the assumption of diocesan titles and jurisdiction by Prelates of the Roman Church.

14. This prayer, however intended, affords a powerful argument to statesmen against granting any relief of the nature sought in 1850. Was this felt when the prayer against aggression and the year's acquiescence in the present system of appeals were ominously conjoined? Perhaps not; but, at any rate, new liberties for ourselves and new restraints upon others cannot stand together, and he who asks for the one practically renounces — that is to say, will never get — the other.

15. Another solemn and united act was the rubrical declaration of last spring. The world sees that the English Episcopate cannot unite to defend an endangered doctrine of the Church — a doctrine endangered by an instrument that cuts at the whole foundation of doctrine — but can unite to check certain revivals of ceremonial which are known to tend as a whole to bring our worship a step nearer to that of the Eastern as well as the Roman Church, and on which no opinion is here given or implied. The world will fairly infer that the Protestantism of the Church of England, as represented by its living Episcopate, has a rigid and an elastic side — a rigid side towards the ancient Church with which it is continuous and identical, but an elastic and expansive one towards the system which destroys doctrine by destroying authoritative teaching; that both the particular question of Baptism and the claim of the Church as against the civil power to decide or interpret all doctrine, are in the view of the Episcopate as a body open questions properly so called.

16. Verbal protestations, not followed up by continuing action, and above all by united action, in the face of preponderating numbers and influence, and of a living and working system of law which with time consolidates itself, are at first respectable and practical, but gradually become unmeaning, and degenerate at last by repetition into sheer imposture.

17. This will not be regarded as a formal statement, but as an indication of the manner in which various considerations group themselves before me.

W. E. G.

The controversy about the Gorham Judgment led inevitably to a controversy about the tribunal by which it had been delivered. In the first instance, its claim to be a proper ecclesiastical court had not been challenged. The Bishop of Exeter, equally with Mr. Gorham, had pleaded before it, and so far had recognized its jurisdiction. Had the judgment gone the other way, the still unsettled conflict as to the right of the Judicial Committee to sit as a court of final appeal in ecclesiastical causes might never have arisen. It is not likely that the Bishop had at starting any serious fears about the result of his action. He may well have thought that the Baptismal Service, with its unmistakable announcement 'seeing that this child is regenerate,' made his opponent's case hopeless. Now that the mischief was done, the defeated party was naturally led to question the authority of the court which had disappointed this confident expectation. When looked at closely, it was hard to see in it any vestige of a spiritual character. As a tribunal for the trial of heresy, it owed its existence to an accident. The authors of the Act of 1833 — the Act which created the Judicial Committee — had no reason to suppose that such cases would ever come before the new court. The appeals from the Court of Arches with which they were

familiar related to questions with which doctrine had nothing to do. Consequently they may well have thought it a matter of no moment that in the court as actually constituted the Church was merely a spectator. In the Gorham case the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London heard the arguments, and two of them concurred in the judgment; but had all three of them dissented from it, the result would have been the same. In law the Committee was a spiritual court; in fact, it was as much a civil court as the Court of Queen's Bench.

This consideration had startled Bishop Blomfield even while the case was still undecided, and in the previous February he had introduced in the House of Lords a Bill creating a new Court of Appeal. This was to consist of the two Archbishops, the three senior Bishops, the Dean of the Arches, the Judge of the Consistory Court of London, one Professor of Divinity from Oxford and another from Cambridge, and the Lord Chancellor. As in such a court the Lord Chancellor would have been the only layman in the ecclesiastical sense of the term — the Dean of the Arches being appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Judge of the Consistory Court of London by the Bishop — this measure would have gone far to quiet the minds of those disturbed by the judgment. But it received no support from the Government, and soon dropped out of notice. Later in the session Bishop Blomfield introduced a second Bill, and had he shown any perseverance in keeping it before Parliament, he would have found in Mr. Gladstone an ardent supporter. The English Constitution, as he understood it, satisfied the legitimate demands alike of the Church and of the State. 'The Queen

alone,' we read in another memorandum, 'has power to judge finally in all causes, ecclesiastical and civil.' But, 'according to the Constitution, this power should be executed in spiritual matters through the Spiritualty,' and 'no amendment of the law will be satisfactory which does not provide for the reference by the civil power of questions of doctrine to the spiritualty.' In Bishop Blomfield's second Bill this principle was fully recognized. Wherever a question involving doctrine came before the Judicial Committee it was to be referred as of right to the Episcopate, and their decision was to be final. The Bishop introduced the Bill with what seemed a real sense of its importance and of the evils which would flow from its rejection; but when the appeal to Parliament had failed in the Lords, he did not think it worth while to carry it farther. The request for liberty of conscience to the Church, which Mr. Gladstone thought so essential, was not pressed with any importunity. The Government was not even asked to name the price they would affix to it. The Bishops, it may be, knew too well that what the Bishop of London had asked for would never be granted for anything short of Disestablishment, and this was not a sacrifice they were prepared to make.

It was not Bishop Blomfield, however, who disappointed Mr. Gladstone most. Ten months after the judgment he tells Phillimore of a note he has just had from Bishop Phillpotts, 'speaking of his anxiety to fight the battle of the Church. . . . How can I tell him in most decorous language that the battle of which he speaks was decided, and decided by his turning tail, when he wrote to the churchwardens of Bampford Speke?' The Bishop had opened the battle with a letter which combined the characteristics of a literary

review and a sentence of excommunication. It began with a criticism of a new edition of one of Archbishop Sumner's books, and ended with a solemn protest that, as he could not, without sin, hold communion with a supporter of Mr. Gorham's heresies, he would not hold communion with the Archbishop. But the Bishop did not take the course suggested by some high legal authorities, and treat the judgment of the Judicial Committee as dealing only with a temporal right. Had he done this — had he left the income of the benefice of Bampford Speke to be enjoyed by Mr. Gorham and instituted another priest to the cure of souls — he would have raised a clear issue between the Church and the State, and forced the Bishops to take one side or the other. Instead of this, the Bishop obeyed the monition of the Dean of the Arches, brought Mr. Gorham's presentation into court, took no steps to protect the parishioners of Bampford Speke against his teaching, but contented himself with directing the churchwardens to 'hope' that their Vicar had 'thought better' of his errors, and, in the event of this hope proving groundless, to provide the Ecclesiastical Courts with material (drawn from his sermons) on which to found a prosecution for heresy. What Mr. Gorham did preach in his new parish is not, I believe, on record; but the Bishop of Exeter must have known perfectly well that the Judicial Committee were not likely to condemn as heretical the very doctrines which only six months before they had pronounced to be 'not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England.'

When the controversy passed from the bearings of the judgment to the character of the court which had pronounced it, a sharp and far-reaching division dis-

closed itself in the ranks of the attacking party. According to one section, the Judicial Committee owed its existence as a court for the trial of cases involving doctrine to an unintentional perversion of the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy. According to another, it was a legitimate outcome of that doctrine. To take the latter view could only lead, as the event proved, to the abandonment of the Church of England. If she had consented to the Tudor statutes in the sense it was now sought to impress upon them, she had ceased to be a Church for 300 years. If, on the other hand, she had, under the Elizabethan settlement at all events, surrendered nothing that was vital, she had only to get back to the position then secured to her. Mr. Gladstone was a convinced advocate of the latter view, and into this aspect of the controversy he threw himself with the same enthusiasm as inspired him on the baptismal question. It is not necessary, however, to go into the question here. His pamphlet on the 'Royal Supremacy,' first published in 1850, has been often reprinted, and though, as time went on, other subjects took stronger hold on his attention, he never saw any reason to change his opinion on this one.

It is natural to ask why so little came of this resolute and measured condemnation alike of the judgment and of the court which pronounced it. The one has never been reversed nor repudiated; the other is still in existence, and has again and again heard appeals in ecclesiastical causes. 'Verbal protestations' against the judgment there have been in abundance; deliberate and persistent refusals to recognize the court or to obey its directions have grown more and more common. But we look in vain for that 'continuing, and, above all, united,' action which, as Mr. Gladstone thought in 1852,

could alone save verbal protestations from degenerating into sheer imposture. How was it that he was willing in the end to put up with a state of things which in the first instance he had denounced so strongly? The answer to this question will come more conveniently in a later chapter.

27. *To R. Phillimore.*

FASQUE,
December 3, 1849.

MY DEAR PHILLIMORE,

. . . If the existing laws of the Church of England are not sufficient to fix her doctrine about *Baptism* so as to insure a decision in conformity with her general sense, her position will, I fear, undergo a rapid change; for upon no other point can her Faith be more securely guarded by written law, and we shall be led to the inference that no mere law can be trusted without the living voice of the Church. I do not know who are to be the Judges. It may be a severe trial of our judicial system; for on one side the evidence is so clear and strong, on the other the whole sacramental doctrine, root and branch, is at variance, at deadly variance, with the age and its tendencies. Uninformed as I am, I have faith in the strength of the case, and in the Providence that has so wonderfully kept the Church. If the decision were to be in Mr. Gorham's sense it must, I think, lead to an assault upon the Prayer-Book, and then some definite issue would be reached.

O Newman! without thee we never should have had a Gorham case showing its face among us. But such is the antipapal feeling of the country that, if a man would but vent enough of that, he might wellnigh preach the Koran.

Believe me,
Your attached friend,
W. E. G.

28. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

FASQUE,
December 30, 1849.

. . . I well remember the distress with which, bred in the extreme narrowness of the so-called evangelical

opinions, I used to puzzle myself about the condition of persons apparently obedient, and contemplate the two great horrors on either side, one of saying the appearance was all false, and the other of saying that it must be followed by eternal misery. However, it is not there only that narrowness is to be found — every fervent religious movement, particularly among Englishmen, will partake of it. I remember a sermon of Newman's which was a valuable corrective — perhaps he would unsay it now — and surely yours must, under God, operate powerfully in the same way. . . .

Were we together I should wish to converse with you from sunrise to sunset on the Gorham case. It is a stupendous issue. Perhaps they will evade it. On abstract grounds this would be still more distasteful than a decision of the State against the Catholic doctrine. But what I feel is that as a body we are not ready yet for the last alternatives. More years must elapse from the secession of Newman and the group of secessions which, following or preceding, belonged to it. A more composed and settled state of the public mind in regard to our relations with the Church of Rome must supervene; there must be more years of faithful *work* for the Church to point to in argument, and to grow into her habits; and besides all these very needful conditions of preparation for a crisis, I want to see the question more fully answered, What will the State of its own free and good will do or allow to be done for the Church while yet in alliance with it? There are some questions of which I can conceive, and imagine practicable, a Parliamentary settlement that would be of immense value — the Colonial Church, for instance, and the Church Rate. Of course I mean in the way of liberty, to be bought with gold. But I also fear and feel that we are not yet prepared for the temporal sacrifices that are indispensable to a prosperous issue.

Many things look as if it were the purpose of God that the crisis of the Church *quoad* her nationality should be delayed. Upon the other hand, no more signal Providence has ever attended her destinies than that which has now placed Baptismal regeneration in the front of the battle: first because it really lies at the root, second because also visibly, thirdly because the

sense of the Church, as written, is so plain, that an opposite decision would be non-natural to the very last degree, and would even shake the credit of the judicial character among us. As to the Real Presence and some other doctrines, one can understand how their opponents lay claim at least to a *locus standi*, but if Mr. Gorham be carried through, and that *upon the merits*, I say not only is there no doctrine of Baptismal regeneration in the Church of England as State-interpreted, but there is no doctrine at all, and Arians or anybody else may abide in it with equal propriety. So that this would be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the present position, and there would stand forth clear as day, to all who did not shut their eyes, the absolute necessity of the living voice of the Church to guard her mute witness against profanation.

But are we ready for this? Of what I am — since each must in the first place answer for himself — practically I know nothing: but in the reflective man I am ready for the worst, though not having lost hope in what is better; on the contrary, as to this particular judgment, I cannot but think the question is, Will they sustain the Bishop, or will they evade the point? But the matter will not end here.

Badeley seems to have made another great and noble effort for the Church. . . .

29. *To the Rev. W. Maskell.*

6, CARLTON GARDENS,
February 23, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,

I interpret some passages towards the close of the pamphlet you have been good enough to send me as inviting from those who read it an expression of opinion upon its contents; and if in giving utterance to that opinion I seem to speak without due reserve, I am sure you will forgive me in that same spirit of regard for truth and the Church in which you always write.

I cannot then but say, with great deference, that I demur to your entire constitutional view and statement of the case. To what you imply or state of the doctrine of Baptism itself I as cordially assent, nor

could you, I think, state in any terms too strong for me its rank and its necessary place as an article of the Christian Faith.

I have the consolation of thinking that the points on which I differ from you are points on which you will agree with me if you can, or would if you could. On the other hand, I have great cause for regret in the recollection that my occupations at present utterly incapacitate me from stating grounds by which in some particulars I might have hoped or tried to affect your judgment. Indeed, I could not even enumerate with any care the points of difference between us. Some of them, however, are the following:

1. Your statement of the royal supremacy as established at the Reformation, in which it appears to me that, when you find a strain of language a good deal diversified, you construe the whole, not according to the general result, but according to the extremest construction that could be put upon any part if it stood alone.

2. Your view of the place of the royal supremacy, which is over all causes, *civil* as well as ecclesiastical, in the constitution; according to which we live under a despotism, and will not law, mere power not the guidance of counsel, rightfully governs us.

3. Your view of the judicial office, respecting which you do not seem to advert to the fact that its function is limited, and that when it reverses, alters, or otherwise legislates, under pretence of construing, its proceedings are not only bad and wrong, but incompetent and illegal.

4. Your view of the place given to Convocation by our laws, which appears to take no account either of the fact that the Thirty-nine Articles were framed and promulgated upon its authority, and adopted by Parliament from it, or of the fact that our only binding or symbolical books, the Articles and Liturgy, are at this moment law by an Act which recites that Parliament received them and adopted them from Convocation.

5. Your view of the function of executive officers of the Church, however high, and of their capacity to bind its members by their acts, in respect to which I should much wish to refer you to Mr. James Hope's

masterly pamphlet on the Bishopric of Jerusalem, where he shows *what* law, and specifically what Church law, is, and how those who have it with them, and also how far, they stand in a position which cannot be destroyed either by judicial perversion, or executive disobedience in the line of either excess or neglect — showing at the same time that these words are not to be lightly used, but that the time has been, and again may be, when the *law* of the Church might even be with private individuals, and might fail to be found among its rulers and Judges — a time of confusion of course, but one out of which there is a way. Of course, also, I speak of a particular Church, not of the collective Church, duly organized and its voice ascertained; yet even of the collective Church, without the last qualification, the proposition would at times have been true.

6. Your view of Church History as not affording precedents for the decision of causes involving doctrine under royal or imperial authority.

But you will see that it was not without reason that I began with an apology which I now most sincerely repeat, and I am yours with great truth and respect,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

30. *To R. J. Phillimore.*

6, CARLTON GARDENS,
February 26, 1850.

MY DEAR PHILLIMORE,

Remonstrance and complaint can hardly ever come to me otherwise than as a good, and more especially if they are transmitted through you. At the same time, when they are in such very general terms, I lose great part of the benefit. Having on no occasion wilfully or to my present knowledge, omitted to do in the House of Commons anything that was for the benefit of the Church or the University, and that was in my power, I know not how to alter anything in my conduct from being told that I do not do enough. This is not mere fancy or caprice or constitutional bias towards avoiding notoriety. I am convinced that if the Church is to be served in Parliament in any positive manner (I do not speak of simple protests against evil)

it must be done quietly; and that the appeals to Church feeling out of doors, which it is so comforting to hear, in almost every instance provoke a reaction tenfold stronger than any sympathy they draw forth. I have seen, and men of all kinds are beginning to see, the results of our former systems in the deadly straits to which we are reduced as a Church at this moment. What has caused us to come to them? Not Roman Catholic Relief: not the repeal of the Test Act: but the miserable policy of mere resistance to change, and of tenacious adherence to civil privilege, combined with the stealthy progress of latitudinarian opinion.

These are very fractious sentiments, you will naturally say. I do not mean to fall back upon such generalities when at any moment it is shown me that a given thing is to be done, or is to be opposed. They are my answer only to the counter-generality that I do not do enough. I am not very sanguine about my system, but there is absolutely no other that affords the slightest hope. We have such knots to unravel as we can only make worse by force — until we come, as perhaps we may too soon, to the last struggle of all to break what we cannot disentangle: and then multitudes of those who are now clamorous will fall to the rear and turn their backs. It is my daily and nightly thought how to repair piecemeal the fearful errors that have been committed — how to make [? clear] the ground on which we are to stand, and which can hardly be said now to exist. But, as I have said before, this does not imply that I have made no omissions, committed no faults — only that my fault, whatever may be thought, is in reality neither indifference nor cowardice, and, to be amended, must be shown. . . .

31. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

BRIGHTON,
April 29, 1850.

. . . I have been putting down some thoughts as to the Supremacy. After the ordeal of this particular time, and after perusing Cawdry's case, which contains Lord Coke's view of the law, I feel better pleased with

the Reformation in regard to the Supremacy than at former times, but also much more sensible of the drifting of the Church since away from the range of her constitutional securities, and more than ever convinced how thoroughly false is the present position.

Whether they will ever be made use of depends on other considerations. You will, I am sure, bear in mind, even amidst the pressure of more important thoughts, that I am looking individually, at the proper time, for your advice. When you think I ought to take any more prominent step than I seem to be taking, I trust to your saying so. I have two characters to fulfil — that of a lay member of the Church, and that of a member of a sort of wreck of a political party. I must not break my understood compact with the last, and forswear my profession, unless and until the necessity has arisen. That necessity will plainly have arisen for me when it shall have become evident that justice cannot — *i.e.*, will not — be done by the State to the Church. But it may arise as truly, though less plainly; for I am not to *assume* that, if there be a hope of justice from the State, my continuance in political life is necessarily right in order to do what I can towards improving that prospect. The one thing I hope you understand clearly is that the political life is simply a means to an end, and is to be considered in no other light whatever, and that the abandonment of it may be the best mode of using it.

Another point. Let us look at the very blackest side of affairs, and assume that the majority of the Bishops do nothing except to ask for and obtain a *cobbled* amendment of the Constitution of the Court, not recognizing any principle nor giving any guarantee to the Faith. Still, I suppose that it would be a first duty, upon the adoption by law of any such proposal, to take steps for bringing Gorham's book, or the doctrine in some other form, before such a Court, and to obtain its judgment. If the judgment were really right, it would give relief to the urgency of the pressure. If it were palpably wrong, and the Bishops still acquiesced, the matter would be bolted to the bran so far as concerns them. Then might come a middle kind of judgment, not clearing up the case either way, but I suppose it would rest with those who carried on the suit to pre-

vent any evasive issue, and keep the head straight to the wind. . . .

32. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

6, Carlton Gardens,
June 23, 1850.

. . . If there be a real standing-ground within the Church of England for the principles of the Church Universal, then indeed this controversy, with its disastrous incidents, has for its evident purpose to lift her up to a higher vocation and destiny than she has ever reached before — of course with the correlative of ruin and shame proportionably deep. As to the reality of that standing-ground, my mind has no misgiving. This is indeed a judgment of trivial weight, founded upon very narrow knowledge; but it is deliberate, and is formed after trying to appreciate arguments the other way.

The truth seems to me more and more to be that a *Church* takes a great deal of killing. It is an historical reality, of a continuous and immensely prolonged existence, with all the incidents that attach to long duration combined with a fluctuating indeed, but never ceasing, activity. No institution, even human, that can be thus described easily dies, disappears, or passes out of its own essence. Much more is this the case when, for the particular instance, the historical element reaches back to, is founded in and coincident with, the Divine. I mean the Divine not merely in the deep and real sense of the abiding Presence, but in the sharply defined sense of the Apostolic Charter and words from our Saviour's lips.

My mind, I confess, recoiled from Sewell's doctrine as an outrageous paradox when in a recent sermon he spoke of the forfeiture of the independence by the Church as a thing impossible, and I still feel it to be indubitable that under a certain amount of pressure the soul is pressed out from the body; but that operation is no slight matter.

Although there is certainly another side to the question, yet in part also it seems to me as if it were want of strong habitual faith which made the mind sometimes

incline to estimate lightly the relation of duty and substance between itself and the Church, even when in point of affection and delight that relation is all absorbing. If it has the reality and solidity of a Divine ordinance, as we believe in the letter, it is indestructible until the Divine Spirit shall have passed from the vacant shrine, and then it is not destructible only, but destroyed.

But what an event is the passing of that Spirit! I have seen twice in my life a very fearful conflict between life and death for the possession of a human form; it seems but a weak type of the mortal agony of an ancient and Apostolic Church, when the strong man armed keeps his house, and the stronger man comes to dislodge him. But the parallel fails; the defender is stronger than the invader; there cannot be death by violence from without, only by treachery from within. If the Episcopate, in which the Church is founded, fall bodily away, then indeed the sheep are scattered upon the hills; but if a portion of that body be faithful, must not the authority of God remain, and remain entire, with them?

In this rambling way I get at a conclusion nearly this: that, assuming we have now a basis in the Church of England on and from which to contend for her, then, in the event of an issue to the contest unfavourable so far as the public establishment of religion is concerned, the first and greatest question of duty arising after that issue must in the first instance be solved not *by* but *for* us who are laymen, and even you who are clergymen — for us, and *by* the Episcopate, which term must mean in the last resort those members of it who adhere to the Catholic faith, not merely to opinion coincident with it in the matter *immediately* at stake.

I entirely enter into your feeling if I rightly apprehend it to be that you can now no longer assume the basis of the Church of England, and simply work for her upon it; but the basis itself requires to be vindicated and cleared against the encroachments which it has suffered. . . .

One main reason why I have never ceased to deplore the continual rain-dropping of proselytes into the Church of Rome is, because it seems to me that this

process is one essentially retrogressive with reference to that great subject of reunion, and one that, sufficiently widened and continued, would place an impassable chasm between this noble English people and the Catholic Church.

My hopes and convictions for the English nation are only second to my faith in the Church. Yet, while I do not presume to say how far (for instance) the Church of France may be necessary *for France*, with my whole soul I am convinced that, if the Roman system is incapable of being powerfully modified in spirit, it never can be the instrument of the work of God among us; the faults and the virtues of England are alike against it, and the English nation must be reprobate.

When I say against it, pray understand that I mean against those elements of it which have of late been acquiring greater prominence: those elements of it which, strange to say, are represented in their highest intensity by the English proselytes.

But this is digression: the principal present duties seem to be to watch and promote the carrying of this great controversy, steadily to definite legal and constitutional issues; in the meantime to marshal, by all such means as men like you can employ, all that mass of feeling and principle, lay as well as clerical, in England which you describe as anti-Roman and also anti-Protestant, and to prepare men of right intentions but less defined ideas, lying outside that circle, to recognize and act upon this principle: that the faith of the Church is her first concern, her position relatively to the State, and even to the people, her second.

33. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

6, CARLTON GARDENS,
June 26, 1850.

. . . You are going about to prove that the Reformation Supremacy differs essentially from that, not indeed of the immediate, but of the more remote pre-Reformation period — *i.e.*, to deny the sense which not only the formularies of the Church, but the texts of the law books, give to certain *legal* declarations.

This, upon the face of it, is a bold undertaking; and surely every principle of duty will bind you to the strictest examination and proof, and to ruling real doubts, otherwise insoluble, not for but against your conclusion.

The indignation with which I denied rumours respecting you had reference simply to this — that *they* implied precipitancy and light-mindedness, and I knew not only that you would not be guilty of either, but that it would be monstrous to presume them. I did not mean to fix your ultimate course in unforeseen contingencies. Nay, I could not even for myself subscribe the promise of renunciation which you declare your inability to make: strong as are my feelings with respect to the anathemas of the Church of Rome enforced upon proselytes (most of all as considered in reference to the Eastern Churches); with respect to the corruptions which she more than allows within herself; with respect to the impossibility of her recovering England until she has herself come to a wiser mind, according to those very pregnant words ascribed to Laud; and generally to her incapacity, as she is now worked, of satisfying the rational (and therefore in my view sacred) needs of the human mind, and the demands of such freedom as is essential in the long-run to spiritual, moral, and mental, as much as to corporal, health. . . .

34. *To the Bishop of London (Blomfield).*

6, CARLTON GARDENS,
July 16, 1850.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

I think it my duty to inform your lordship of the present state of feeling within the limited circle of my own personal acquaintance, direct or indirect, with regard to the great question that agitates the Church.

The speech in which your lordship laid such broad and solid ground for a legislative measure gave, I believe, the warmest satisfaction, and along with that sentiment necessarily excited corresponding expectations.

Those expectations are now flagging, and a dread begins to be entertained lest the vital interests of the Church which are involved in the issue should be left only to the chances of a periodical struggle in Parliament, which must in all probability be renewed more and more faintly in each Session, and must shortly cease to be renewed at all, unless there be such measures taken by the Bishops as shall keep the sound and warm feeling of the Church still rallied around them.

By what you and your Right Rev. Brethren have already done, I am convinced that you *have* prevented lamentable events which must otherwise have happened. A continuance of effort will, I trust, further and even permanently prevent that scattering which seems to me certain to ensue, should a persuasion unhappily come to prevail that the protesting Bishops mean to treat the question *only* as one for Parliamentary argument in reference to the constitution of the Court of Appeal.

Men feel the consolation of knowing that the formularies of the Church are properly its law, and that those formularies remain unaltered. On this account it is that they so generally admit the character of the Church not yet to have been compromised by the late Judgment. But, on the other hand, that is also strongly felt which your lordship told us with so much force of truth, that much of our law is of necessity Judge-made law; and it is felt that if the Judge-made law of the late decision, now finally affirmed by the Courts, shall govern the proceedings of the Bishops of the Church in admission whether to orders, licence, or benefice, that will be effectively the law of the Church of England, and the mere *litera scripta* of the formularies, however clear, can no longer be pleaded against it.

Under these circumstances men must either look to their Bishops as their natural leaders and protectors, or they must act for themselves in modes more or less perilous. In these times of mistrust it would not be difficult to lighten the present pressure and demand upon the Bishops for guidance, but it would be at the cost of many lamentable occurrences, and at the hazard, I fear, of utter disorganization. I suppose, therefore, that each man in his sphere should urge and encourage others to rely on the Bishops.

But for this it is, I think, extensively felt to be essential that the Bishops should not act in the Parliamentary sphere alone, but should stand forth as the shepherds of the people to reassure their fainting hearts, not only upon their own personal belief, which is hardly in question, but, in terms of whatever decorum and reserve as to the late Judgment, upon the larger question whether the Church of England is to be henceforth governed and administered according to the true doctrine or not. This, it has been hoped, might be done by some joint proceeding, such as was spoken of at an earlier stage of these sad affairs; and the hope is perhaps the more natural because no one can feel very sanguine of our attaining any effectual remedy, who calculates only on the Parliamentary force available for your lordship's Bill.

One of the apprehensions I entertain as of a danger both possible and proximate is this: that unless such indications as I have referred to be given, many will grow more and more afraid of seeing the life and faith of the Church crushed under its outer framework, and will be very unwilling to rally in defence of its civil Establishment, especially on occasions when it is a favourite point of attack. I have in view particularly the Irish Church. The licence, too, of opinion among its clergy, the conduct of some of its Bishops in Parliament, the commencement of doubts in the minds of many whether it is really and firmly teaching in the face of the Church of Rome all the articles of the Catholic Faith, its utter inaction and seeming satisfaction with the Gorham Judgment, all tend to increase the strain of the vote for the Irish Church.

Another apprehension, of course, is secession.

A third is this. The licence of construction has been carried up to contradiction by the recent Judgment. It has been done, no doubt, in favour of one particular class of opinions only. But persons of other schools will avail themselves of it should they come to believe that what has been done will be acquiesced in. Whatever amount of secessions there might be to the Church of Rome in such a case, many would remain behind even of those most vitally differing from what may be called Gorhamism — many, indeed, with afflicted hearts, in silence and in doubt, but

many more who with avowed estrangement of affection from the Church of England would more and more freely indulge whatever tendencies they might have acquired towards the Church of Rome, and, working effectively for her, would nevertheless at the least plausibly maintain their position by pleading in their own behalf the principles of construction involved in the Gorham Judgment.

Of all these forms of evil, and perhaps of others yet more formidable, I see the germs even within the circle of my own personal knowledge: and for all of them, as I believe, there may be one and the same preventive — namely, evidences proceeding, I will not say from all the Bishops, but at least from some combined *body* of them, that they hold the doctrine of Baptism to be authoritative in the Church of England.

For I need hardly observe to your lordship that the language adopted by some Prelates, reaching apparently to this extent of meaning, that the religious character of the Church never can be affected by such a Judgment, even if accepted and habitually acted upon, though it may have a composing effect upon minds of a certain tone, yet on the contrary alarms in the highest degree those who accept in its full and natural sense the declaration that the Church is bound to be a keeper and witness of Holy Writ, and who therefore see that she cannot fail to have the doctrines of the Faith which Holy Writ contains, not for the accident only, but for the law of her teaching.

35. *To George Finch.*

6, CARLTON GARDENS,
June 14, 1850.

. . . You are right in saying that I do not attempt to argue any doctrinal question. My pamphlet is addressed to the distinct and likewise vital inquiry by what kind of tribunal great judicial questions involving Christian doctrine should be tried.

I can find no words to express the full depth and strength of my conviction that such exercise of authority in that solemn subject-matter as we have lately seen, by

a secular Court, is contrary to the very first principles of the Gospel, and must be fatal, wherever it is permitted to grow into a system, to all fixed dogmatic teaching. After this you will not, I know, repeat to me the question whether it would not be much better to leave things as they are.

I do not look upon the Bishops as infallible in any sentence they may give, however solemnly, more than I am infallible myself in the guidance of my children; but as the primary responsibility for their souls is entrusted to me in the character of a father by the ordinances of God, notwithstanding my weakness and sinfulness, so it has pleased Him, I believe, to give to the Bishops with the first place in the Church the first place also in the work of guarding and declaring its doctrine, and that place they have filled in fact for eighteen hundred years.

When you say that the decrees of Councils have not been decisive without the aid of the secular arm, I conclude you speak of legal enforcement, which in my view is, I confess, a matter altogether secondary to the main question, whether the Church of Christ is or is not to discharge the functions to which He has appointed her, in her own sphere. . . .

I have no fear of the evils of any honest agitation, evangelical or other, for the alteration of the services or for whatever purpose, that I can for a moment put in comparison with the horror with which I contemplate, first, a scheme of construction so demoralizing as that which has lately raised judicial countenance, and, secondly, a system of law which gives to the civil power the office of declaring from her formularies what is the doctrine of the Church, or, that I may follow the astute line of the judges, the office of declaring what *it is not* — a much more dangerous form of procedure in connection with the tendencies of the present day.

Christian dogma will not be undermined by opposite assertions, but by limiting and impairing negations.

If legal persons as such are the fittest to construe the documents of religion, why should they not construe Holy Scripture for us, and so draw articles of faith? The Church cannot legislate upon doctrine, in the common sense of the term. Her legislation of

that class, to be legitimate, can be nothing but construing — construing the Word of God according to the analogy of the Faith.

Bear with me when I sorrowfully and deliberately say: I am sure the whole principle of infidelity is hidden in the assertion that lawyers are the fittest persons to interpret formularies of faith. . . .

36. *To Henry Hallam.*

6, CARLTON GARDENS,
June 15, 1850.

MY DEAR MR. HALLAM,

A letter from you on such a subject as that of my pamphlet cannot but be most valuable, and the great kindness and forbearance with which you write to me deserves and obtains my sincere gratitude.

I wish to refer to one point in the historical part of the case. I have not quite omitted, but I have passed slightly over the *facts* of the first year of Elizabeth. As far as I understand them, they in no degree interfere with what I have written: pray correct me if I am wrong, and if your patience is not yet exhausted.

1. Doubtless the Bishops were deprived for a specific offence — the refusal of the oath of supremacy.

2. That oath was imposed by 1 Elizabeth, ch. 1, passed to restore with some modification the supremacy established under Henry VIII.

3. That supremacy was founded wholly or partly upon a formal Act of the Clergy in Convocation, whose consent was completed by the consent of the laity in Parliament.

4. The consent of the laity had been retracted under Mary, and the retractation was retracted under Elizabeth.

5. But the Act of the Clergy remained all through, and canonically was as good on the accession of Elizabeth as it had been before 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, ch. 8.

6. If, therefore, the Church of England had legitimately and validly admitted the royal supremacy, I apprehend that the legislature was certainly justified in imposing an oath which did not go beyond its terms.

I do not, then, at all enter upon the questions connected with the irregularity of the appointment of this or that Bishop, and in no particular have I knowingly omitted anything material that can tell against me; while I am too well aware of my scanty knowledge and weak recollection, and am unfeignedly desirous that the whole matter should be sifted to the bottom. On the theology of the case I will be very brief. To me authority in the Church seems as distinct from infallibility as in a parent or a State: but I constantly find the assumption, which I only name in order to decline it, that without infallibility there is no authority. Bishop Butler is the fountain of all my conceptions, such as they are, on that subject. Nor can anything be further from my mind than to shut out the laity. The question, I think, lies not between laity and clergy, but between the spiritual and the secular power. It is the image of the secular power deciding doctrine that I contemplate — forgive the word — with horror. I doubt whether, by your definition, the Free Kirk in Scotland is Protestant.

Believe me,
Yours most sincerely and much obliged,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

37. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

6, CARLTON GARDENS,
July 9, 1850.

. . . The only use, however, of my writing is not to refer to the principles and results in which I agree, but to any point in which I do not follow you.

The main one is your view of the right of appeal as settled under Henry VIII. (N.B. error in p. 47, first of Queen Elizabeth). I am at issue with your constitutional doctrine. The King is not the will that governs the land: but the symbol of supreme power. Even then he was so, for judicial purposes: and it was not long after that he was declared incapable of sitting in his own Courts. The power of which the Crown was the symbol was that power in which Church decrees were to be clothed. The mind which was to wield that power was in the case of temporal law the

mind of the legal profession, in the case of the Church the mind of the Spiritualty. If you say the appellate jurisdiction committed to the King the choice of persons in a manner quite outside the law of the Church's order, I will not stop to dwell on the case of Constantine and the Donatist appeal, but I say this: *De facto* the Delegates did never, as far as we know, till a century and a half later sit on a case of heresy. The question therefore is, How was it *intended* to deal with such cases? and this, it appears to me, is most rationally answered by the passage in the 'Reformatio Legum': *Si gravis sit causa*, etc.

Of course it is essential to estimate aright the *animus* of the State in those statutes before you can measure the bearings of theological principles on the case: for that *animus* rules the fact with which you have to deal.

I should be little vexed at a variance between us on a point of historical or constitutional doctrine were it not that it appears to me your account of the statutes of Henry VIII. greatly weakens the authority which your Tract is in other respects so well fitted to carry.

I have said this without going at all into the *nature* of the appeal, which I am quite convinced partook at least of the character of the *tanquam ex abusu:* and, before you decide to the contrary, look back to the Constitutions of Clarendon (I believe I have quoted the passage), and note the significant similarity of language. I am clear of this from the statute itself, that the appeal to the Crown was not intended to be the addition of another term to the series, but something specifically distinct. . . .

38. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

6, Carlton Gardens,
July 30, 1850.

. . . I must confess that I should not only be satisfied to accept a measure which would give the Church forthwith a voice for judicial purposes in the public, solemn, and collective sense of the Episcopate, but should be better content with it than with the immediate restoration of Synodical action.

Before you put wholly out of your mind the question, What is the effect upon a Church of conceding to the Prince a power of selecting Ecclesiastical Judges from among the Bishops? — which certainly involves *in posse* a departure from her regular organization — I should be glad to know that you had considered fully the bearing of the principle upon the case of the Church in Russia, where, if I understand right, its government is in the hands of the most Holy Synod, and this is not only subject externally to restraint, but is also composed of persons nominated from among the Prelacy by the Emperor, with a lay supervisor or Commissioner.

A principle ought, indeed, to be stronger than a fact. But yet before fully committing myself to the consequences of any abstract proposition which purports to apply general truth to the course of human affairs, I should always wish to have the general and broader results of it before me, as they not unfrequently lead to useful re-examinations.

I cannot dismiss from my mind the doubt whether you do not give a little more stringency to the obligations *per se* of the provincial organization of the Church (so to speak) than it is in rigour entitled to. It is after all, I apprehend, in the Episcopate that the sum of the Divine Charter lies; the provincial organization is the regular means of ascertaining and giving effect to [the] sense of the Episcopate. Any supersession of it involves danger, but I do not see that, so long as it is danger only, vitality need be touched. . . .

39. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

HAWARDEN,
August 25, 1850.

. . . I don't know whether it is worth while at present to pursue the discussion about the Judicial Supremacy of the Crown; for at the present time our difference, I think, is not practical, and the juncture in which it could become so would be one greatly advanced and improved in comparison with this. Of course, however, I admit the Crown cannot be an

Ordinary in the proper sense. When I urged its being the symbol of the Supreme *Power*, I meant to lay the stress wholly on the last word: on an idea which does not belong to Church Authority at all, but is conferred by the State, and is distinct from the guiding mind and from authority. There is a dilemma involved in the very foundation of a national establishment of religion; and I have some doubt whether your present form of reasoning is not too strait for its solution. But I have no heart to contest that matter, at a time when I sadly feel that it is now become, or fast becoming, one practically insoluble.

I do not think so badly of the Church in Russia as you do. I could assent, indeed, to the terms 'debased' and 'indefensible' for it, but on principles which would certainly insure their application, and, though in different senses, with equal force, to the Church of England and the Church of Rome. I don't believe the Synod is practically the registry of the will of the Czar; you might, I think, have said with more justice it was so theoretically. I find in that Church a strict and unbroken custody of the faith, much more than in the Church of Rome; art, literature, civilization, I can hardly look for in a people so late and recent in European society; my mind revolts from its exclusive and anathematizing spirit, but in this, unhappily, it only imitates and retaliates upon the Church of the West.

My third point you have turned round upon me, and given it a sense different from my idea, but one, no doubt, of infinite importance. My answer will be clear. I find the Church in fractions. One of these pretends to be the whole Church, but palpably is not, for there are other vast bodies which even *its* own voice admits to hold the faith while it condemns them as in schism. As to *us*, I entirely feel with you: (1) That our Provincial Synod is the Judge of Faith within the four seas; (2) that it is, after all, an insular authority. I might feel the force of the 'challenge that comes over the water' if it came from *one:* but it does not. I *may* feel it, if present fears grow into reality, and the Church of England ceases to teach the faith with authority and in its oneness. You ask, Is it possible to defend our separation from the Universal Church? I reply it is

impossible, by any act in the power of man, to rejoin the Universal Church; for in rejoining one part you must anathematize another. There is no act or form of duty that seems so high in these days (if in any days) as to strive for 'reconciling the members of Christ's body in the Unity of the Divine Kingdom'; if I desire *anything* with sincerity, with my whole soul I desire that. The Church of Rome of necessity enters largely into any such conception; but in my conscience I believe that no living men have done so much to prevent the reunion of England with the Western Church as those who, by seceding to it, have brought our communion to the verge of disorganization, and given to the popular heresy, which was fast sinking into annihilation, a strong, perhaps it may prove a triumphant, position. True, you do not speak of re-uniting individuals, but the *Church* of England. That is a very different matter. Still, how can I desire that the Church of England should become party to an anathema upon other portions of the household of Christ?

It may seem chimerical to say, Would to God that the See of Rome would be content with having its own abuses and corruptions endured, and would be more enduring towards others, and fling away the curses that it deals except when they are uttered in vindication of the Faith of Christ. Perhaps it is so; perhaps she has bound herself too fast to what in brevity, but not in jest, I will call the neck or nothing policy; further, perhaps, even being such as she is, she nevertheless may be the last compulsory home of all who, in the West at least, intend with God's help to hold by a definite revealed truth; but if it be so, a long and loud alas! for Christendom.

It seems to me, I confess, that what we want is the divine art to draw from the present terrible calamities and appalling prospects the conquering secret which doubtless they contain, the secret which shall realize the object you yourself have clearly and recently set before me: namely, to rise through this struggle into something better than historical Anglicanism, which essentially depended upon conditions that have now passed away; to struggle to turn the present position to account for Christendom, which those now engaged

in resisting the Committee and its Judgment may do, if God shall so turn their hearts.

I rejoice to see that you are at work bringing this resistance into form. We see no new sign of hope from the Bishops. He of Exeter seems to me to have befooled himself — I hope, but know not, that the word is too strong — by his letter to the churchwardens. Under these circumstances, much passes through the mind — such is my experience — which for the present defies verbal expression; and I feel that I cannot write a letter, even to you, without misrepresenting myself, and the more so in proportion as I try to write seriously and plainly. Nor, perhaps, is this unnatural; events are in germ, so should not thought be?

But from month to month the germ unfolds, and I find in myself a growing sense of two things: first, the duty to make a fight in, and for, the actual Church of England. On which I propound this question: Whether any man ought to *resign* a charge or post of trust in her until she has herself either by Convocation or by the Episcopate accepted the Judgment itself (as some Bishops certainly have), or the authority of the Committee (as others have). At first it seemed to me that, supposing the Bishop of Exeter to renounce obedience to his Metropolitan, and to be deprived, that then others should resign and not prolong the contest; but now I ask myself whether they can lawfully give up a cure of souls (say), which they have lawfully had laid upon them, unless either in one of the cases I have already named, or in the case that the Judgment shall have grown by use into clear law.

The other point I have to name is one which, perhaps, drew your notice in my draft letter to the Bishop of London. Will not many remain in the Church of England avowedly for the purpose of effecting a change in her position? If the State will not allow her to construe her own laws, and itself plainly and wilfully misconstrues them, will they not perhaps say, *summa res agitur*, you must not speak to me of this or that detail, you want to destroy the life of the Church, I must struggle to save it? Is it among the possibilities of this strange time that we should see men, clerical and lay, in the Church of England, avowedly endeavouring to *negotiate* with the See of Rome? I do

not much like the word which I have used: but as to the thing, I can conceive of postures of affairs in which it might be warrantable or even laudable. Thus much I strongly feel, that whatever sense of *duty* may remain, or whatever love, towards that ancient and venerable branch of the Catholic Church, under whose shadow we have grown up, a great and rapid change is passing upon my feelings towards its rulers and representatives *as such*, or at the least, it now becomes a question in each case what sentiments are due to this or that priest or Bishop, according as he has shown his intention to cast his lot this way or that in the great agony that has begun. . . .

40. *To Mrs. Gladstone.*

FASQUE,
September 5, 1850.

. . . The truth is, I think, however we may deplore these secessions, that we must not confound them with former ones, and we must *prepare to see more*, many more, unless the Church of England, by the mouth of her rulers and members, shall put an end to her shameful hesitation and give people clearly to understand whether she thinks it her duty to teach the Christian Faith or not. We must hope in the mercy of God, and look to His guidance by events as they unfold themselves; and must for the present think less of the Church of England as an organized society (so long as she is content to be a Babel) than of what she has been and what we hope she will be, of the many orthodox clergy and laity within her, of her true Sacraments, of the blessed and precious Word of God, of the Church throughout the world, and of the communion with the unseen who have been delivered from these calamities. . . .

41. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

6, CARLTON GARDENS,
October 6, 1850.

. . . In looking back upon our conversation, much occurs and recurs; it is not now as it was, a jar ran

through it — the latent idea on my part that you were unjust in your modes of judgment to the Church of England, and on yours, perhaps, that I am lagging behind the truth. There is, however, only one point on which I wish to say a word, for it is practically, I think, very important: and shall be briefly handled.

I said the 'Church and realm' was not bound to the Judicial Committee and the Gorham Judgment: that the Church had not 'received the same.' You said, Yes, it had accepted the 'discipline,' the judicial system as established by the Statute of Appeals. The point, therefore, is this: whether the Judicial Committee be within the Statute of Appeals. But which of the two, its letter or its spirit? I say that within the letter of our statutes, and of our constitution, every fraud, every falsehood, every absurdity, may be found to lie. That it is in the spirit, the constitutional intent of that statute, I emphatically deny. If you ask me for proof, I cannot find it in the *practice* under it: since no case of heresy has ever been tried through under its provisions. But surely nothing can be more complete as a proof of its *spirit* than the contemporaneous provision of the *Reformatio Legum*, which said, if a grave cause arose, it was to be tried by a provincial Council. Therefore the Judicial Committee, being a secular tribunal, wholly foreign to the order of the Church, is at variance with the spirit of the statute, and the Church which has accepted the statute has not accepted the Judicial Committee. The Acts of the 3rd and 4th William are no more morally than they are chronologically within reach of the Canon of submission. That they stand in a certain relation to the statute, I grant: but it is the relation in which the φθορά of a thing always stands to the thing, beginning from the nature of the thing itself, and by an undue preponderance commonly of *some* among its elements.

This is to supply a gap which I ought to have filled when we were together. . . .

The troubles and anxieties of these years (1850–51) were greatly increased by Lord John Russell's 'Durham letter,' and by the position taken up by the great majority of Churchmen in reference to the Papal

aggression. Why the Anglican hierarchy should have objected so strongly to the assumption by Roman Catholic Bishops of titles derived from places instead of from points of the compass it is hard to say. The step did not — so far as the law of England went — give them any powers derived from a higher source than the consent of those over whom they were exercised. To Mr. Gladstone the attitude of the Anglican authorities seemed incapable of explanation on any grounds of logic or common sense. Two years before they had been overtimid in demanding liberty for themselves; now they were overbold in refusing liberty to other people. In the eye of the law a Roman Catholic Diocesan Bishop held the same position as the superintendent of a Wesleyan circuit. If one was an intruder, so was the other. In this instance the flame of Mr. Gladstone's indignation was fanned by the conviction that the real object of popular and ministerial detestation was not the Pope or Cardinal Wiseman, but a small and unpopular remnant in the Church of England. 'There are persons,' he tells Mrs. Gladstone, 'who would still go on talking about the Church and the Papists while all the articles of the Faith were being stolen from them in succession. . . . Such is the guilt and responsibility of those who, being rulers of the Church, aid and abet that abominable theft.' The very men who were busy in uttering and printing incoherent outcries because a Bishop who had long superintended the Roman Catholic congregations in London under one name proposed to continue the work under another seemed ready to let the Creed go clause by clause. 'Looking at this agitation,' he writes to Phillimore, 'I am afraid that its principal aim with many, and its most important results, will be to set up

and exaggerate still more the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy . . . and to discourage and discredit all teaching of dogmatic truth and dogmatic faith in the Church of England.' It was the inaction of the ecclesiastical authorities in view of this state of public opinion that disturbed him. 'I am not afraid of direct legislation against the Church. She has shown a disposition to accept ruin and mischief, which ought to content her enemies without their recourse to violent measures. They must be greedy indeed if they are not satisfied with what the last twelve months have brought, and with seeing that external enemies may stand still and fold their arms, and leave it to friends and sons to do the work.' Under the disheartening sway of these feelings, it was a real relief to him to forget these petty squabbles about names and titles in the defence of a great principle. He had already made long strides towards the complete recognition of religious liberty as the foundation of all wholesome relations between the Church and the modern State. He was now to advance, by a single speech, to the position of its foremost champion. In the debate on the second reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill he spoke, says Lord Morley, 'to a House almost solid against him. Yet his superb resources as an orator, his transparent depth of conviction, the unmistakable proof that his whole heart was in the matter, mastered his audience, and made the best of them ashamed. . . . The whole speech is in all its elements and aspects one of the great orator's three or four most conspicuous masterpieces.' It is here that we meet for the first time that 'most solemn, earnest, and deliberate protest' against all attempts to meet the spiritual dangers of the Church by temporal legislation of a penal character

which recurs so often in his letters. The progress of one spiritual system, he warns the Government, can only be hindered by the progress of another. And then, looking round on the minority, 'insignificant in point of numbers,' but bound together by the conviction that they had on their side the principle of justice, he ventured on the bold prediction that they would shortly have the strength of public opinion as well. Seldom has a prophecy been fulfilled so promptly and so completely. Within two years out of that insignificant minority had been formed what, but for unforeseen foreign complications, would have been one of the strongest Governments of the century, while the Ecclesiastical Titles Act was repealed twenty years later, without its admirers being able to point to a single prosecution attempted under it.

The last in this group of letters (Letter 46) gives a very clear exposition of Mr. Gladstone's views upon the prospects of the English Establishment. He did not think that its position was seriously threatened. The set of opinion, indeed, was towards Disestablishment, but he neither wished nor expected that it would come in his time. He had a clear conviction, however, that it would not be averted by the kind of policy which found favour with the Church's Parliamentary friends. At all events, if it was thus averted, it would only be by the sacrifice of more essential things. The attempt to retain indefensible privileges did but make the maintenance of legitimate rights harder. 'The majority are always willing to pay to-day what would have been accepted yesterday, but never to pay what will be accepted to-day.' They forget that he who would get justice must be ready to do justice.

42. *To Sir Walter H. James, Bart.*

NAPLES,
December 20, 1850.

. . . I grieve for the intrusion of the Romish Prelates: but I do not, as at present advised, see my way to legislation against it. Lord John Russell's conduct in writing his letter to the people, and especially the populace, under the name of the Bishop of Durham, seems to me to be everything *except* what it is described to be in the votes of thanks. But we must wait and see what he will do. I suspect he has more rocks and breakers ahead than he reckoned upon when he dipped his pen in gall to smite first the Pope, but most those who not being Papists are such traitors and fools as really to mean something when they say, 'I believe in one Holy Catholic Church.'

I have not read the Bishop of London's Charge in a corrected report, but I wholly dissent, like you, from his comparison between the Roman abuses and the Judicial Committee with its fruits.

43. *To the Rev. W. F. Hook, D.D.*

6, CARLTON GARDENS,
June 23, 1851.

MY DEAR DR. HOOK,

My feelings on the subject of the Papal Aggression Bill are much too strong and decided to let me leave you by my silence under the supposition that I can give even the most qualified acquiescence to your remarks so far as they bear upon that Bill. In a former question, indeed, that of the Jewish Emancipation [Bill], I have felt the pressure of doubt and difficulty on religious grounds, and I bow with great respect to what is said in the sense opposite to that which, on the whole, I embrace. But in reference to this Bill, I know no more clear and few more sacred public duties incumbent on me as a Churchman than that of opposing it. I object to it as a public man because it is politically unjust, and tends to religious and social disunion; and further because it is a great public imposition palmed upon the people of England. I say this privately as

well as publicly; aware at the same time that there are some few men like your excellent host who, by some process incomprehensible to me, have arrived at the belief that it is both honest and effective. But even if, as a public man, I could assent to a measure the most discreditable to its authors of any that I can recollect, as a Churchman I would rather make any sacrifice that could be demanded of me than tolerate it for one moment. I do not disguise the formidable nature of the papal aggression that is now going on and rending inwardly the English Church. I am not anxious of falling short in my anxiety to meet it; but I entirely deny that by supporting this miserable Bill I should be 'leading the battle against our deadly foe.' My firm belief is that scarce any greater injury can be done to the Church of England at this time of day than to seek or promote such a Bill as a measure of defence to her, so that I should be doing the work of her deadly foe if I supported it: a Bill which confers upon her what is worthless and offensive, and which in my judgment erects new and formidable obstructions in the way of her obtaining satisfaction for her real and reasonable, her urgent and most crying, wants. And perhaps I ought not to feel surprised at the strength of your language and feeling, when I consider how strong are my own in the converse sense, though with a common object.

I trust to you to forgive a letter which a less frank and open person would set down as constituting a new offence, and, with equally sincere and far better merited reciprocation of your friendly sentiments,

I remain ever,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

44. *To Rev. C. E. Radclyffe.*

DOWNING STREET,
February 19, 1853.

SIR,

I have had the honour to receive your letter of yesterday, and I beg leave to send you a publication of mine, in which my sentiments respecting the Jewish disabilities are expressed.

With respect to the two propositions urged in your letter, it appears to me that in their strictness they are not satisfied by the present constitution of England.

It is open to question, in my opinion, whether a vital distinction can be drawn between the framing of laws by persons who do not profess Christianity, and their administration by such persons sitting as judges.

It is yet further open to question whether the declaration by a person entering Parliament 'upon the true faith of a Christian,' according to its now received interpretation, amounts to a national profession of the Christian Faith in such a sense as to be essentially distinguished from the national profession which would remain while a Legislature consisting in the main of Christians strove to frame its laws with a view to the welfare of our Christian institutions, and in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel.

I am not aware whether anyone has been subjected to as much inconvenience as myself on account of having voted for the removal of Jewish disabilities. I have so voted, not to satisfy any desire, or to realize any speculation, of my own: but as a simple debt which I think is owed to civil justice, and which, as occasion may offer, I shall still deem it my duty, so far as it depends upon me, to recognize and discharge.

With the fullest acknowledgment that you are right in founding your political arguments upon the basis of duty to God,

I remain, etc.,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

45. *To Sir W. Heathcote, Bart., the Rev. John Keble, and Others.*

DOWNING STREET,
March 16, 1853.

I have received and read with the respectful attention it deserves the letter which you have jointly addressed to me on the combined subjects of the Canada Clergy Reserves Bill, and of the Colonial Church Bill, which was introduced into Parliament by me during the Session of 1852.

My first duty is to return my cordial thanks for the kind and considerate tone of your letter.

My next is to express my sympathy with the spirit in which you treat of the two questions, and my concurrence in the view you take of the connection between them.

I shall best, I think, define my own present position in regard to the Colonial Church Bill by a short recital of facts. When the late lamented Bishop of Sydney had arrived in England, he gave me the opportunity of an early communication with him on this important question — I think in November last. I told his lordship that, as it appeared to me, in consequence partly of the pledge of Sir John Pakington to deal with the question if he should remain in office, but mainly of the mission of his lordship to this country and of the probable presence of other Colonial Bishops here, the question had in great measure passed out of my hands, and that it must now lie primarily in the hands of these Prelates as the natural representatives of the Colonial Churches, and in those of the Government.

I added that my best aid, in any form which might appear advisable, would be at all times at the command of those Prelates, with a view to the promotion of their purpose: while I thought the cause itself might derive advantage from passing into a position in which it would be less closely associated with my name than heretofore.

I have held the same language since the change of Government and my own assumption of office — subject indeed to the qualification that the direct duties now incumbent upon me necessarily limit the proportion of my time which can be made available for any legislative purpose not in my department, but likewise with the assurance that to no subject, among all those now before the public and Parliament, and not within my own province, should I be so anxious to give my best attention.

Within the last two months I have had repeated interviews both with Colonial Prelates and with the Bishops of London and Oxford upon the question of the Colonial Church Bill: and have afforded them every explanation of the purpose of the provisions in my own Bill, together with the best suggestions I could

offer as to the proper mode of carrying the subject forward.

I have also put the Colonial Secretary in possession, as far as I was able, of the facts of the case, and of my views concerning it. Those views have in no respect altered, unless it be in this, that I become every day more convinced of the weight and urgency of the reasons which recommend the adoption of a legislative measure founded substantially on the principles of the Bill of last year.

At the present moment, however, I apprehend that the question has not been placed before him officially in such a shape as to enable him to bring it before the Government or to take any decision upon it himself.

The Bishops from the Colonial Churches who are now in England are, I believe, still in consultation on the measures they will take, and in communication with the Archbishop of Canterbury, whose views, I have some reason to believe, are not wholly unfavourable to a Bill framed upon the principles which I have described.

It will, I think, be evident to you that, as matters now stand, the decision of the Colonial Prelates, and of the Bishops with whom they may advise in England, must precede any other step. As respects any aid I can give towards that decision, they know that I am at their command. As respects anything ulterior, I shall be guided by the views and convictions I have already described myself as entertaining — views and convictions which I shall be the more anxious to prosecute from being assured that they have your warm sympathy.

46. *To the Rev. E. Stokes.*

BROADSTAIRS,
August 17, 1854.

MY DEAR MR. STOKES,

I think it must be from defect of expression on my part if you are pained by my statement that the ultimate tendency of nearly all opinions is 'towards' the separation of Church and State. You seem to find this a startling proposition, and, on the other hand, to

view as a barren abstraction or truism the other statement, that a Faith without State Alliance is better than State Alliance without a Faith. But in my view the first of these is the truism, and I think that, in order more completely to take the sting out of it, I made the same assertion respecting democracy or equality as respecting the separation of the Church from the State. And again, the first proposition, which to you is the truism, to me is the hinge and the hub of all policy whatever that bears upon the question. All the difficulties of such policy in the present day turn upon the doubt whether State Alliance and a Faith will prove permanently compatible or not. Now, my principle of action is to maintain the State Alliance, subject to the higher obligation not to endanger Faith. Your letter is, indeed, to me but another proof of that which every day proves more and more to my conviction — namely, that the great bulk of those who love the Church of England are not yet awake to one-half of her difficulties and her dangers, the fatal results of an obstructive and reactionary policy too long pursued by those who term themselves her friends. You think no one would dispute that it is better to have a Faith without State Alliance than State Alliance without a Faith. On the contrary, I find that the great majority of the members of the Church of England do dispute and deny in word or act this very proposition. You think that, if the separation is coming, the Church should be strengthened to meet it, instead of being weakened, thwarted, and allowed less liberty than the Dissenters. But what I think has not yet come into view is, that the Church of England as an Establishment is now paying the penalty of the mistakes and misdeeds of her children; that liberty is not to be had without paying for it; that the bulk of her members, clerical and lay, are not willing to pay, and it is vain for the minority to say, Give us liberty, while the majority refuse to pay the price. I mean they always refuse to pay the price that would obtain the object. That price increases from day to day. They, the majority, are always willing to pay to-day what would have been accepted yesterday, but never to pay what will be accepted to-day. Such is the blind and losing game that they

have now for so long a time been playing against themselves; and the upshot of it has been not to secure the State privileges of the Church of England at the expense of her religious liberty, but to place the latter at the utmost hazard for a short and dubious prolongation of the lease of the former. You, I dare say, complain that the Church does not as a spiritual body get justice, and you may naturally think it is for want of effort on the part of those who ought to seek it for her. Of the latter I shall say nothing, but the former is perfectly true; and rely upon it, the great purpose to which all who love the Church should devote their thoughts is to consider practically of the ways in which she may get justice done her in the things that are most essential — it being (to my view, at least) perfectly plain that at present this justice is withheld.

Let me add one explanation. By religious liberty I mean constitutional — *i.e.*, qualified and restrained liberty. The unlimited freedom of a Church is wholly incompatible with the sound and true idea of the alliance between Church and State. Yet one other word. What *is* strengthening the Church? I think the Oxford Bill (setting aside the one evil of a Parliamentary title to Dissenters) strengthens it greatly, but that is not the general opinion, and what is intended for service stands with many as cruel injury.

Believe me, with much regard,
Very truly yours,

W. E. G.

CHAPTER IV

CHURCH AND STATE — *continued*

1854–1866

THE eternal question of the relations between the Church and the civil power was again raised, in a very acute form, by the Divorce Bill of 1857. Down to that year the marriage laws of the Church and of the State had been — in theory — identical. The only legal divorce known to either was divorce *a mensâ et thoro*. This was all that the Ecclesiastical Court could grant, and in matrimonial causes no civil court had any part. There had grown up, however, a practice of overriding the law by special statutes for particular cases. As this process involved a heavy bill of costs, divorce *a vinculo* was in effect a privilege of the rich. To the law reformer it seemed plain that, if the relief afforded by a private Bill was one to which a petitioner was justly entitled, the process of obtaining it ought not to be made specially difficult. We can now see that the right way of meeting this attack would have been to demand that the indissolubility of marriage should be regarded as a point of Church law as distinct from State law. There were two reasons which prevented Mr. Gladstone from doing this with any effect. One was the difficulty of getting the English public to understand the meaning of such a distinction; the other was his own unwillingness to

see divorce *a vinculo* made a part even of the State law. This second obstacle made him the leader of a forlorn hope. One Divorce Bill after another had run its course through both Houses without opposition, except for want of proof of the fact of adultery. All that Lord Palmerston's Government sought was the substitution of ordinary legal procedure for the cumbrous machinery of a private Act. Mr. Gladstone might call this a change, but to the average Englishman he himself seemed the advocate of change. As things were, anybody could get a divorce from an unfaithful wife if he were rich enough to pay for it. If the proposal to cheapen the process were rejected on the ground of morality, Parliament, if it wished to be consistent, must pass no more private Divorce Acts. It is just possible that, if in the first instance he had concentrated his efforts on the ecclesiastical side of the question, he might have made a better bargain for the Church, and prevented the ecclesiastical scandals which have occurred from time to time. But even if he had taken this course, he would have been headed by his old adversary, the Church Parliamentary party. What chance could a lay champion have against a Bill the second reading of which had been supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and nine Bishops?

Mr. Gladstone, however, seldom stopped to estimate either his own chances or his opponents' strength. 'He fought the Bill,' says Lord Morley, 'with a holy wrath as vehement as the more worldly fury with which Henry Fox, from very different motives, had fought the Marriage Bill of 1753.' But, except in hurried notes to Mrs. Gladstone, his correspondence shows but few traces of the conflict. Those who wish to know his mind on the question must go to the

article in the *Quarterly Review*, which is reprinted in the sixth volume of 'Gleanings of Past Years.' All that he could do in the House of Commons was to obtain the passing of amendments which 'narrowed and abated' the wrong the Bill did to the clergy. They were not to be compelled to solemnize marriages when one of the parties had a husband or wife still living, but they were not permitted to close the doors against the use of the church for that purpose by another clergyman. It was a compromise which, as things turned out, did more harm than good. Without it, the Act might have had to be enforced in circumstances which would have shocked the public conscience, and induced Parliament to recognize the remarriage of divorced persons only as a civil contract. With it, the resistance of the recalcitrant clergy has been only a personal matter. The last two letters on this subject that I have printed show that the lapse of thirty years had in no way lessened Mr. Gladstone's dislike of the Act of 1857, or his conviction that the 'innocent party' in a divorce suit 'is often the more guilty of the two.'

By the time — some twelve years later — that the kindred question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister came before him, Mr. Gladstone had satisfied himself that the choice which the Church would one day have to make would be between having separate marriage laws for herself and for the State, and allowing the State to make the law for both. To the first of these courses, so long as the Church remained established, the Liberal party would certainly offer strenuous resistance — a resistance which could only be overcome by the help of a very strong body of Church opinion. Unfortunately, this strong body was

enlisted on the wrong side. The solution Mr. Gladstone favoured would have been opposed, he tells Dr. Binney, not only by Liberals, but by a 'phalanx composed of such men as the Lord Chancellor [Hatherley], Sir R. Palmer, and, as far as I know, all, or nearly all, the Bishops whose opinion would carry weight with the Church.' In 1869 Churchmen would not hear of any opposition between the morality of the State and the morality of Christ. They are now coming to see that the refusal to recognize this change in the opinions and feelings of society can but land them in that 'something worse' which Mr. Gladstone foresaw as long ago as 1855. This is only one of his many warnings which have first been put aside as fanciful and too late seen to be true.

The letter to Miss Burdett-Coutts (Letter 61) is one of several dealing with the judgment of the Judicial Committee in reference to the Church in Natal. Mr. Gladstone, in common with the great majority of the subscribers to the Colonial Bishopric Fund, had supposed that the bishoprics founded by its aid were to remain 'parts of the organic system of the Church of England.' On that view Bishop Colenso, when deposed by his Metropolitan, the Bishop of Cape Town, would have had the legal right to question, by appeal to the English Privy Council, the validity of the Metropolitan's sentence. Instead of this, he denied the right of the Bishop of Cape Town to hear the case at all, and this contention the Judicial Committee sustained. Their decision had consequences which neither Colenso nor the Metropolitan, nor perhaps even the Judicial Committee, had foreseen. It had been decided that the deposition was 'null and void in law.' But, as Mr. Gladstone told Mr. Cardwell, this decision extended

only to the relations belonging to that established position which the Church in South Africa was now declared to have never possessed. The relations belonging to the Christian Church as such were not touched by the action of the Judicial Committee. The Church of England in South Africa, to which Bishop Colenso claimed to belong, had disappeared, and its place was found to be taken by a voluntary Church. There remained the question whether the holder of the See of Natal had a right, after the see had been declared to have no legal existence, to receive the interest of £10,000 which had been given for his benefit. This point was decided by Lord Romilly in Colenso's favour. The result of the whole business, embarrassing as it was at the time, was the emancipation of the Church of South Africa. Freedom, however, brought with it the usual financial consequences, and we find Mr. Gladstone writing to Phillimore: 'As, if the consecration of a new Bishop now takes place, I presume he may have to depend upon voluntary contributions, I am quite ready to join with others in guaranteeing him an income.'

47. *To Lord Lyttelton.*

CUDDESDON PALACE,
June 9, 1857.

. . . Learning from the Bishop of Oxford that in a letter to him you spoke unfavourably or indefinitely about the Divorce Bill, I write to beg you will not fail to read a pamphlet advertised in last week's *Guardian*, and called 'Considerations on Divorce *a Vinculo* in Connection with Holy Scripture,' by a Barrister (apparently Badeley). It appears to me quite unanswerable in its proof that Scripture prohibits all such divorce, nor can I find anything in the

arguments of the Greeks, far less of Bishop Cosin, whose treatment of the Scripture evidence is trumpery enough, which at all stands against it. My impression is that you would be of the same opinion. The question turns partly on the accuracy of readings and translations.

Over and above the Scripture argument, the Bill is most formidable, I think, in its bearings on the position of the clergy and the Church. If the Scripture is to be interpreted for the clergy by Parliament in a sense adverse to the old law of the Church of England, and if the religious ordinance of marriage is to be treated as null at the bidding of the civil Court, and persons already married in the sense of the Church are to be remarried to others by the Church, I know not what ground of defence will remain when Parliament proceeds to deal with doctrines and creeds. Indeed, I do not quite understand and should like to know how you have been able to keep yourself away from the discussion of a Bill so vital.

48. *To Lord Lyttelton.*

HAWARDEN,
June 11, 1857.

. . . Will you be so kind as to send me a copy of your Divorce Bill — either the last print of it, or all the prints if there be more than one?

I agree with you that it is dangerous in the matter of marriage to restrain any freedom which Scripture gives. I recommend the pamphlet, however, as showing that this is a freedom which Scripture does not give. And I think you fully feel the force of the appeal upon the danger and mischief of referring it to Parliament to say for the Church what Scripture determines in the matter.

Why, again, if Scripture gives liberty of divorce in adultery only, do they give it for things other than adultery? And if it is given for adultery, why is this benefit (forsooth) withheld from the injured woman? . . .

49. *To the Rev. F. Meyrick.*

HAWARDEN,
June 28, 1857.

MY DEAR MR. MEYRICK,

I am deeply anxious about the Marriage Bill, and there could be no petition which I should present with a more earnest desire to give effect to its prayer than one against the Marriage Bill.

At all times I should have objected to a Bill which forced upon the Church the remarriage of divorced persons — *i.e.*, should have supported a proposal for relieving the clergy from its operation. But I have recently spent a good deal of time in examining the argument, and I object to the relaxation of the law *in toto*, though I do not feel the *same* objection in degree to civil remarriage which I entertain to the profanation of the religious rite involved in the Bill as it stands.

Sir W. Heathcote and I have communicated much on the subject, and we shall, I trust, act in entire union though with little hope. It was a sad mistake that this subject was missed by the Convocation (of the Church).

Most sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

50. *To Mrs. Gladstone.*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
July 31, 1857.

. . . Parliamentary affairs are very black; the poor Church gets deeper and deeper into the mire. I am to speak to-night; it will do no good, and the fear grows upon me from year to year that when I finally leave Parliament I shall not leave the great question of Church and State better, but perhaps even worse, than I found it. Eight thousand clergy have signed the Declaration. . . .

51. *To Mrs. Gladstone.*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
August 8, 1857.

. . . We are fighting hard, as you will see, on the Divorce Bill. All this is preparatory to the great effort for exempting the Church from its scandal and the clergy from its cruelty. I never was engaged in any Parliamentary battle in which I felt a deeper anxiety, and I am happy to say we have *hopes* that the House of Commons will give, in the teeth of Lord Palmerston, what the House of Lords refused. . . .

52. *To Mrs. Gladstone.*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
August 12, 1857.

This is a blacker day with us as well as you. The Cabinet is now sitting, and will decide whether to make a rational concession to us or not; but all the signs at present are bad, and the probability is that they will offer either nothing or else something that we cannot accept. In this case all we can do is to put shoulder to shoulder and fight the Bill to the last, and this, please God, we will do. We who have taken an active part are, I think, united, and Walpole now joins us, which will be of use. Of course it smashes my immediate prospects of getting away (unless the Government make the concession), but this I cannot lament in so very great and important a cause. . . .

Sir J. Graham is with us in the Marriage Bill — much to my delight, and much too, let me add, to my surprise. I am as thankful to be in Parliament for this (almost) as I was for the China Vote.

53. *To the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.*

October 6, 1857.

. . . The question, I think, is this: Can those who differ as you and Mr. Keble do, and as multitudes of the clergy do, on the remarriage of the innocent party, unite against that assumption of authority by Par-

liament to alter the law of the Church in spirituals and to dispense with and reverse canonical obligations which is involved in the Act? . . .

The proceedings of the present year out of Parliament, as well as in it, may well, I think, give ground for considering whether the time has not arrived for some kind of association throughout the country among the clergy generally, if not among others also under given circumstances, having for its ground the integrity of the Prayer-Book and the maintenance of the law of the Church in spirituals against the assumption of sole power by the temporal authority.

54. *To the Rev. S. E. Gladstone.*

March 28, 1885.

. . . I have much hesitation in venturing even to say a word. But this I would say — there ought to be much caution in drawing any broad distinction between the innocent and the guilty parties. For this only means innocent and guilty in the Divorce Court, and the person who comes off as innocent there is often the more guilty of the two. It is, I apprehend, on account of the unsafety of this rule that *no* divorced person is received at Court. . . .

I do not feel at all *clear* that innocence bears upon the case. . . .

55. *To W. G. F. Phillimore.*

HAWARDEN,
November 27, 1888.

MY DEAR WALTER PHILLIMORE,

1. Some time ago you kindly took trouble at my request in supplying an account of proceedings in the Divorce Court, which, however, it was, I think, found difficult to obtain in a perfect form. It occurs to me that we might and ought to have this through Parliament, and that you probably would find no difficulty in sketching the proper heading for a full and clear account. What I should like described [in] very lay language is the number of suits instituted from year to year (*a*) for judicial separation, (*b*) for divorce

a vinculo; the grounds alleged for each, specifying the cases where there is a co-respondent; the issue of the proceedings; the number of cases of intervention against collusion. The cases of husband would, of course, be distinguished from those of the wife: no names given. Will you kindly undertake to put this into proper shape and send it to me?

2. There are, I conceive, certain cases which never come before the public at all from being handled in chamber, and from not raising the issue directly. I suppose we have no means of getting at these?

3. This question of marriage is looming in proportions more and more gigantic. I almost believe it is the one cardinal test of the Christian civilization. I have long felt that the sceptical movement would and must come up for trial through its effect on married life and on all sexual relations; and now the question of married life is coming up in even worse forms than that of divorce.

4. The divorce laws of America are in some cases incredibly bad; and they all gravitate to the worst, for a divorce obtained and affirmed (*e.g.*) in Connecticut holds, as is alleged, in every State of the Union.

56. *To R. J. Phillimore.*

DOWNING STREET,
July 26, 1859.

Pray look at the enclosed sketch of a scheme on the vexed question of Church Rate.

The greatest blow the rate has received has been the discovery that an addition of fifty or sixty to the relative strength of Lord Derby's party in Parliament has added nothing to the numbers in favour of the rate. . . .

57. *To R. J. Phillimore.*

HAWARDEN,
Christmas Day, 1861.

MY DEAR PHILLIMORE,

. . . I wish I could answer confidently your question about Subscriptions, but I have never studied the question extensively, and for many years not

at all. But I think you will find matter worth notice in Burnet's ['Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles']; for his doctrine is that there must be a consent of opinion meant by subscription, and this derives force from his position as a *quasi*-latitudinarian divine, or at least a liberal one. Waterland I suppose to be one of the strongest men who has handled it, and in his Case of Arian Subscription the Answers to Plea I. and Plea XVI. contain some good matter. I advise your looking at him. Near the end of the 'Supplement' he quotes a good passage (taking into view the incidents of the man) from Whiston. The controversy on Blackburn's book was, I should think, conducted by the advocates of Subscription on somewhat low and narrow grounds. They were Rutherforth, Ibbetson, and others: but I have not been able to examine them thoroughly. You speak of the fragment of Burke, but if I recollect right there is good matter of his reported in the Parliamentary History on the Feathers Tavern Petition Debate. The controversy in 1834 on Admission of Dissenters, I think, produced some good tracts, but I rather think they are in an early volume of my series in London; I cannot find them here. . . .

58. *To Sir W. Farquhar.*

OSBORNE,
January 31, 1865.

MY DEAR FARQUHAR,

I have read carefully the Bishop of London's preface, and Mr. Fremantle's Introduction, to the important volume of 'Ecclesiastical Judgments of the Privy Council,' which has just been published. Both these are, I think, compositions of great ability, and calculated to act with weight on the public mind. While I am not satisfied with their tone, and especially with what seems occasionally to peep out, yet they by no means proceed upon bases so incompatible with the true ideas of Faith and Revelation as (for example) the article in the new *Edinburgh* (to judge from the first portion of it), and, moreover, the historical matter which has been brought to light, some of it for the first time, is not without a real bearing on the merits of the entire subject. At the same time, I do not think that

the author of the Introduction shows himself to have written with an entire simplicity of aim, or has striven to give the same degree of prominence to facts in his favour and facts which are adverse. It would, I think, be of great advantage if some competent person were to travel over the ground, and to see whether there are gaps in his statement which ought to be filled, and whether and in what particulars his estimate ought to be re-adjusted. I return to town this evening, and I shall try to see the Queen's Advocate and learn what view he takes of this volume, and especially of the historical part. Of course he could not do what I speak of.

I am very desirous to know what has become of the correspondence in which you engaged some time ago with respect to some measures to be taken for strengthening Convocation and improving its Constitution. The subject is an important one, and it might become much more so in consideration of the persons taking it up.

For my own part, as far as I know myself, my first desire is to know fully and fairly the facts which bear upon the question. The *facts* of our condition in the English Reformed Church do not constitute of themselves an absolute law, but they determine the ground of civil and constitutional right on which a man must meet and deal with those who may be of other opinions and inclinations than his own.

I have never been much disposed to a great exaltation of clerical power, and I agree in the necessity of taking precautions against the establishment, especially by an insular and local, though in its sphere legitimate, authority, of new doctrines for that Christian Faith which is not for England or France, but for the world. Further, I believe that it has been a mistake in various instances to institute the coercive proceedings which have led to the present state of things; and I remember telling the Archbishop of York at Penmaenmawr, when he was Bishop of Gloucester, that it seemed to me we had lived into a time when, speaking generally, penal proceedings for the maintenance of Divine Truth among the clergy would have to be abandoned, and moral means alone depended on. But, on the other hand, I feel that the most vital lay interests are at

stake in the definite teaching and profession of the Christian Faith, and that the general tendency and effect of the Judgments has been, and is likely to be, hostile to that definite teaching, and unfavourable also to the moral tone and truthfulness of men who may naturally enough be tempted to shelter themselves under judicial glosses in opposition to the plain meaning of words. The judgments of the present tribunal continued in a series would, I fear, result in the final triumph (in a direction he did not desire) of Mr. Ward's non-natural sense; and the real question is whether our objection to non-natural senses is general, or is only felt when the sense favoured is the one opposed to our own inclinations.

I am extremely sorry to see one thing in the Bishop's able and circumspect preface — namely, that the 'Judgment' was prepared so as to express the views of all those members of the Committee who concur in the recommendation, and therefore that he is fully responsible for the language and mode of reasoning employed, which is what I deplore in the late affair; for as to the mere point of acquittal or condemnation of the men, I have not such a knowledge of the case as warrants my forming a confident opinion.

I remain, my dear Farquhar,
Affectionately yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

59. *To Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart.*

HAWARDEN, CHESTER,
August 9, 1865.

We shall hardly in conversation get on so grave a subject as that with which our letters wound up, and I will therefore state what seems to *me* to be the point of difference between us, though I cannot quite tell how it comes to be so. Of course we are agreed that, among various dangers, the nearer, or the more formidable, ought as such to receive the greater attention. I think our agreement goes one step farther: we should both say the loss of faith is worse than the loss of Establishment (though many seem to hesitate about this). Then the only question remaining is,

Which danger is the nearer? And here we seem to part company. I think the danger of the loss of faith has been coming on for twenty or twenty-five years — that is, ever since the breakdown of the Tractarian, and the bold development of the rationalizing, movement — with a fearful rapidity, and now impends like a cloud, of which we cannot indeed define the nearness, but we see and can say it is near. But, on the other hand, the Disestablishment of the Church is far off, and the impediments, or bulwarks to be overcome are many and great. An immense power defends the Establishment against an attack which is feeble, and which is from without; and this immense power has a clear knowledge of what it means and is about, as men always have when they fight for temporal and social interests. A much more limited power, utterly wanting in clear and firm self-consciousness, defends the faith against attacks which are strong, and which draw their strength from within. All the definiteness of purpose, as well as the numerical strength, is with the defenders in the first case, and with the assailants (except a handful who have it among the defenders) in the other. And naturally I feel concern when any among those who properly belong to that handful apply that strength in the quarter where it is least wanted, *more* than where it is wanted very urgently indeed.

To illustrate my meaning I will just observe that the attack on Church Rate is commonly quoted — and it is almost the only thing to quote — in proof of the formidable character of the assault on the Establishment. Now I contend that it is very *doubtful* whether the principle of Establishment would not be more secure if Church Rate were abolished. The objections to the abolition come, it seems to me, from another source. I do not say Establishment *would* be safe in England after abolition; I say it is arguable. I think it *clear* that in Ireland the Establishment has been infinitely relieved and made far safer by the abolition of Church cess. The attack upon Establishment in England is in embryo; it is only as matter of argument that it is respectable, as a political power it is almost contemptible. That *some* of the anti-Church Rate people look upon this measure as a blow

to the Establishment only show me their feebleness and their Brobdingnagian estimate of Lilliputian proceedings. . . .

60. *To Sir W. C. James, Bart.*

HAWARDEN,
August 12, 1865.

MY DEAR WALTER JAMES,

. . . Let those who think nothing is to be gained, except in connection with the Conservative party so called, consider that in 1852 Walpole, as Secretary of State, said the Convocation could not be allowed to sit and debate, and then read an article in the *Daily Telegraph*, which is the advanced popular paper of the day, with a vast circulation — on Wednesday last — strongly in favour of free speech for Convocation. I was greatly pleased to see this — such things give one hope. On the whole I think that Erastianism, which has lived and outlived its time, is at length decaying, and will soon be like to die.

Affectionately yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

61. *To Miss Burdett-Coutts.*

CLIVEDEN, MAIDENHEAD,
April 22, 1866.

I have read your letter and its enclosure, and I very sincerely sympathize with you in your peculiar position, the result as it is of your own munificence. But I frankly own it seems to me that, to use a homely phrase, you put the saddle on the wrong horse: that it ought to be laid on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and not on the Bishop of Cape Town.

I entirely concur with you in thinking (and, like you, I have the advantage at least of recollection and participation from the first) that the Lambeth Declaration aimed at carrying into the Colonies regularly constituted offshoots of the English Church, in which the whole course of discipline, and therefore of appeal,

would run as it ran in the English Church according to the law of that Church. According to that law there seems to be no doubt of the authority of the Bishops of the Province of Canterbury to depose a Bishop for certain grave causes. A Province regularly constituted in South Africa according to the law of the Church of England appears to imply a corresponding power in its Bishops. What appeal may lie from that sentence I do not know. That is a question for the lawyers to answer, but it has not been put. In the exercise of their power, as a Court of first instance at the least, the Bishops of South Africa meet, and depose Bishop Colenso. Bishop Colenso does not appeal from the sentence, but demands (I believe this has been the case) that it be declared null and void for want of title. And the Judicial Committee declares that in a legal sense the sentence was no sentence at all, the Province no Province at all, the Patents no Patents at all, and in effect that the Royal Supremacy in South Africa is barred by the existence of the Colonial Legislature. And the Crown proceeds accordingly.

This sentence of the Privy Council amounts to the utter destruction of the Supremacy in South Africa by the hands of the Crown itself, and it is law (whether good law or not is immaterial — I believe it to be bad law) until overset. Can it be overset? I think *not*. I think that when the highest Court in England has recognized such a power in the Colonial Legislature, and this recognition has been adopted by the formal act of the Crown, it is practically to be regarded as final, and the only questions remaining are what things ought to be done to meet the new condition thus established.

As a Treasurer of the Colonial Bishopric Fund, I have had to consider this matter, and also as a member of the Government. Even to me, the shock was a very rude one; and I hope you will not think, because I am now treating the question dryly, that I do not feel how much harder it has been, and must be, to you.

In the first of my two capacities, I have proceeded on the following propositions. With the opinions of Bishop Colenso, with the justice of the sentence of Bishop Gray, I have nothing whatever to do, any more than if I were Sheriff, and had to make the arrange-

ments for hanging a culprit, I should have to do with the question whether, in my opinion, he was innocent or guilty. My business is in both instances to sustain the authority of the tribunal. Had Bishop Colenso appealed against the sentence, had it been found that the appeal would lie, had the sentence been reversed by the law of the Church of England, then, whatever I might have thought of the reversal, it would have been my duty to pay salary to Bishop Colenso, and to disregard any caveat, protest, or other proceeding, on the part of Bishop Gray. But Bishop Colenso and the Judicial Committee, between them, have thrown the whole case out of what we all supposed was its legal course. Nothing therefore remains for me but to recognize the Church of Africa as what they have made it, a voluntary Church. I see there a Metropolitan with his suffragans, meeting to exercise powers not stolen or usurped from the See of Canterbury, but in an ecclesiastical sense freely and regularly devolved by Archbishop Sumner, and agreeable to the ancient and primitive constitution of the Christian Church — powers on which it appears self-evident that that Church must fall back whenever and wherever its partner, the State, thinks fit to cease keeping company with it. I see Bishop Colenso, while in words acknowledging the Royal Supremacy, in act causing it to be destroyed, and disclaiming all ecclesiastical control except that of 'the Queen,' which he knows perfectly well she cannot exercise, as her authority is only appellate, and presupposes an intermediate Court. Nothing can be clearer than my obligation as a Treasurer of the Colonial Bishopric Fund, now that for South Africa the State props have been knocked away, to uphold what remains — namely, the ecclesiastical relation, which binds together the members of that Provincial Church, and binds them also to the English Episcopate which sustains their act. For we, the Treasurers, while in some sense coadjutors, are only servants of the Council, which consists of the whole body of the Bishops; and I believe a Court would compel us to pay according to the orders of the Council. It is partly that Council, and partly the Primate of Canterbury, through which and whom the South African Church is still, it seems to me, united to the

Church of England, though one of its cables has been cut.

We, founding ourselves on the Judgment, say there is no See of Natal in the sense of the founders of the fund, and therefore, of course, no Bishop of such a see. It seems to follow that it is the duty of the Bishop of the Province to provide that portion of the Province with episcopal superintendence.

The question as to your endowment and your rights appears to me to lie outside this (as I think) irrefragable line of argument.

If you think fit to say that you regard your bequest as equitably void, upon the breaking of that link which connects an African see (through appeal) with the Crown, you raise considerations of the utmost nicety and difficulty, with which I am not at the moment prepared to deal, and I can neither admit nor deny the claim. But I give the strongest and most unhesitating opinion that, whatever else may happen, the restoration of the supremacy of the Crown, such as it exists in the Province of Canterbury, in the Province of South Africa is practically impossible; and that you will probably have to choose between claiming back your endowment, with whatever likelihood of success, and allowing it to remain, covered by such sanctions and guarantees as the principles of a sound Church constitution, without State aid, can supply. I quite feel with you a great uneasiness at what may follow from the exercise of judicial powers by Synods merely ecclesiastical, especially if small, remote and unchecked by an active public opinion. But in the American Episcopal Church it has been found practicable in a great degree to obviate any dangers from such a source. It ought to be *easier* to gain this end in our Colonial Churches. For the moral weight and authority of the English Episcopate, and especially of the great and ancient See of Canterbury, will have an immense effect in guiding the Colonial Churches; and it seems to me that, when the legal questions now pending are decided, it ought to be further and very carefully considered what further provision can be made for maintaining the harmony of the Colonial Churches with one another and with the Mother Church at home, and that probably some of the best, wisest, and most

experienced Bishops from the Colonies in various parts of the world will have to meet in England and consult on these grave matters.

While I feel for your perplexities, and for those of many others, I cannot but think you have ample reason to be satisfied with the fruit, which God has permitted you to see, of your pious labours for the Churches in the Colonies. Remembering what they were some forty years back, when I first began (from my father's having a connection with the West Indies) to feel an interest in them, I must own that they present a cheering, a remarkable, indeed a wonderful spectacle, and that on the whole they seem likely not only to adorn the Church of England, but also greatly to strengthen her for the work she has to perform. . . .

CHAPTER V

CHURCH AND STATE — *continued*

1866–1894

THE Disestablishment of the Irish Church has often been used to make good the charge of inconsistency against Mr. Gladstone's ecclesiastical policy. In 1841 he had brought out a new edition of 'The State in its Relations with the Church.' In 1868 he asked the House of Commons to declare that the time had come for putting an end to those relations in Ireland. How could acts in themselves so contrary be brought into harmony? What his critics did not see then — what some of them do not see now — was that the Irish Establishment was the worst enemy of the Irish Church. In 1841 he had maintained that it was the duty of the English Government to present the Anglican type of a pure Scriptural religion to the Irish nation. He might have been of that opinion in 1868, and yet have introduced the Disestablishment Bill. A religion which appropriated the revenues of a National Church to provide services and Sacraments for a well-to-do minority, and left a majority largely composed of the poorest peasantry in Europe to provide services and Sacraments for themselves, was taking the surest way to make itself hated. Probably by 1868 Mr. Gladstone had come to see that the conversion of Ireland to Anglicanism was one of the most

unlikely of human events. But it did not need this conviction to make him an advocate of Disestablishment. It was enough that the ecclesiastical system of Ireland allotted the wealth to one Church and the souls to another. Why, then, was it so long before this change of view had its counterpart in action? Because it was not until 1868 that any useful result would have followed from a different policy. How vital this consideration seemed to Mr. Gladstone may be inferred from 'an autobiographic note, undated, but written near to the end of his days.' 'If,' he says, 'Providence has endowed me with anything that can be called a striking gift, . . . it is an insight into the facts of particular eras, and their relation one to another, which generates in the mind a conviction that the materials exist for forming a public opinion and directing it to a particular end.' Lord Morley, from whom I take this quotation, goes on to say: 'It is easy to label this with the ill-favoured name of opportunist. Yet if an opportunist be defined as a statesman who declines to attempt a thing until he believes that it can really be done, what is this but to call him a man of common sense?'

The process which began in 1845 had made a remarkable advance only twelve months later. This is evident from a letter to Manning written on March 6 in that year: 'I have not arrived at any set form of opinion concerning the Irish Church. The question that pursues me is this: Can social justice, which of course varies in its form and application according to the conditions of political society, warrant the permanent maintenance of the Irish Church as it is? I have not yet been able to find the grounds of an affirmative answer; but it is only right that I should

not conclude in the negative till the whole time left me for consideration shall have elapsed. My intention is never again to pledge myself at an election on the subject — should it come next week. As to my book, I believe people could show from it, if they chose, that I am bound after Maynooth, so far as consistency binds, to strip the Irish Church. The silver hairs of that indeed most reverend old man, the Primate, move me. I have been reading his Charge to-day, but it does not answer my question. I wish I could get a synodical decision in favour of my retirement from public life. For I profess to remain there (to myself) for the service of the Church; and my views of the mode of serving her are getting so fearfully wide of those generally current, that even *if* they be sound they may become wholly unavailable.'

In the case of Ireland, thus to exchange the theological for the political atmosphere was to travel far on the road to Disestablishment. The appeal to social justice really decided the question.

Irish Disestablishment, however, holds but a small place in this division of Mr. Gladstone's correspondence. Long before 1868 the interest of the subject had become mainly political. Upon the rights and wrongs of the matter men had made up their minds, and all that was left to be decided was, on the one side, whether the time had come for making the assault, and, on the other, whether resistance was any longer useful. The election of 1868 decided the first question; the acceptance of the Bill, in principle, by the House of Lords decided the second. The measure had the support of two men so distinguished in their several ways as Thirlwall and Church. Indeed, the charge of the former to the clergy of the

Diocese of St. David's, delivered in October, 1869, will always remain the most effective, because the most reasoned and impartial, of all the defences of Irish Disestablishment. Nowhere can there be found a clearer appreciation of Mr. Gladstone's early position on the question. 'The religious theory of the Irish Church Establishment,' says the Bishop, 'rests upon the assumption that it is a right and a duty of a Christian State to exert all its power and influence for the maintenance and propagation of true religion. This, of course, involves the further assumption that the State, as represented by its rulers, is capable of ascertaining which is the true religion, and this not only as between Christians and adherents of other creeds, but as between various forms of Christian faith. As long, however, as society, in its religious aspect, is homogeneous, the question will not arise unless as matter of otiose speculation for thinkers in their closets; but the case is manifestly changed when the unity of Christian belief has been broken up into a number of Christian sects.' An attempt to vindicate the Irish Church Establishment on this ground could only succeed on the theory that by virtue of the union England and Ireland had been fused into one nation, 'and thus what had been a minority became a majority, entitled to all the advantage of superior numbers.'* Nowhere, again, has the plea of sacrilege been better disposed of than in the following passage: 'Whenever we speak of the sacredness of any material offering made to the Most High, it must always be with the reservation — tacit, if not express — of the fundamental truth that such an offering can

* 'Remains, Literary and Theological, of Connop Thirlwall, D.D.,' vol. ii., p. 212.

never be acceptable to God in itself, or as supplying any want of the Divine nature, but only as a sign of that devotion of the heart which He has declared to be pleasing to Him, and by virtue of which it is at the same time in the highest degree beneficial to the offerer; so that the benefit to man is a measure of the degree in which it is acceptable to God. But when the offering is of a permanent kind, as an ecclesiastical endowment, a large experience has abundantly shown that the sign may remain after the thing signified has passed away; that it may become a form without the substance, a letter without the spirit: unmeaning as a sign; powerless as an instrument; worthless alike to God and man.'* Bishop Thirlwall only regretted the refusal to recognize any approach to concurrent endowment in the disposal of the surplus. Some arrangement of that kind would, he thought, 'have been more generally beneficial, more in accordance with the professed object of the measure, more conciliatory to Irish feelings.' But he recognized that what seemed to him most desirable 'appears to have been for the present impracticable, and so opposed to the general mind and will of the country that it would have been beyond the power of any Government to have carried it into effect.'

The two letters which close the Irish series show Mr. Gladstone's deep disappointment at the changes in the Prayer-Book, which was the first independent act of the Disestablished Church. His contentment with a formulary in possession did not make him less anxious that, if it was altered, the changes should be for the

* 'Remains, Literary and Theological, of Connop Thirlwall, D.D.,' vol. ii., p. 219.

better. In the case of the Irish Church they were all for the worse, and his displeasure is clearly visible in the letter to Mr. Fleming (Letter 77). We shall see farther on how warmly he resented an attempt of the authorities of the Scottish Episcopal Church to give the English Communion Office a position of greater authority than their own native Office. Much the same feeling was aroused by the deliberate lowering of doctrine in the Irish Prayer-Book against the strong and persistent opposition of Archbishop Trench. This feeling did not, however, prevent him from expressing hearty satisfaction with any progress made by the Irish Church as 'the consequence or sequel' of Disestablishment. In a letter to Mr. Stephen Gladstone, written probably in 1878, he notes the growth, in the years between 1860 and 1877, of contributions from £5,885 to £25,300, of communicants from 9,322 to 13,582, and of church attendance from 30,668 to 58,907, and adds: 'This *is* a reward!' Good work was always valued by Mr. Gladstone, even when it was not done in the way he liked.

62. *To Sir R. Phillimore.*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, S.W.,
February 13, 1865.

MY DEAR PHILLIMORE,

. . . I would treat the Irish Church, as a religious body, with the same respect and consideration as the Church of England, and would apply to it the same liberal policy as regards its freedom of action.

But I am not loyal to it as an Establishment.

It exists, and is virtually almost unchallenged as to its existence in that capacity; it may long (I cannot quite say, long may it) outlive me; I will never be a party, knowingly, to what I may call frivolous acts of disturbance, nor to the premature production of schemes of change; but still comes back the refrain

of my song, 'I am not loyal to it as an Establishment.' I could not renew the votes and speeches of thirty years back. A quarter of a century of not only fair but exceptionally favourable trial has wholly dispelled hopes to which they had relation: and I am bound to say I look upon its present form of existence as no more favourable to religion, in any sense of the word, than it is to civil justice and to the contentment and loyalty of Ireland.

Affectionately yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

63. *To John Bright.*

HAWARDEN, CHESTER,
December 10, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. BRIGHT,

. . . I started in life a believer in the Irish Church Establishment, and I spoke strongly for it more than thirty years ago. But in 1845, when I left office to place myself in a position of freedom with respect to Sir R. Peel's proposal on the Maynooth grant, I considered that I became free with respect to all Irish ecclesiastical questions, and on first standing for Oxford, in 1847, I declined pledging myself in principle to the Irish Established Church. If I took long to ruminate upon the matter before speaking, it was, first, because in Ireland itself the question slept; and, secondly, because it is well to ponder much upon a subject that, if I mistake not, will prove very difficult to deal with, and may again lead the Liberal party to martyrdom. My own personal difficulties or preferences on this great matter are as nothing to me compared with the evil of the present system and the advantage of altering it fundamentally. Further, I think that it is better so to alter it as to destroy the principle of State Establishment in Ireland — better for the country at large, better for the members of the body itself, although I regret, from another point of view, to do anything which, by removing certain Bishops from the House of Lords, affects the constitution of that House, and weakens what is in one sense a popular element in its composition. The basis of your plan seems to me the best of any I have seen in print. There are many details that in your outline

you have not mentioned, and which would require time to consider, but the basis is the main thing. . . .

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

64. *To Sir Roundell Palmer.*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
April 4, 1868, 4 *a.m.*

MY DEAR PALMER,

I cannot tell you with what grief I have read your letter, while I feel it is selfish to speak of any other grief by the side of that which you have experienced.

Great sacrifices, and the presence of most kindly feelings towards those who do what you scruple to do, will ever mark and adorn any course you take. And yet, surely, these are not all which are wanting to justify human action, and I own that, from the point of view which reason suggests, I cannot see how on your own showing you are justified in declining to take part in a great and arduous task.

For God's sake take a little more *time* to consider this. It is very bold in me to preach to you, but really truth — at least, what I suppose to be truth — constrains me: I cannot see for the life of me what you propose to say (unless through tenderness for us you have kept back other things) as warrant for your renouncing the part which seemed to be incumbent on you.

Cardwell will see you to-morrow — I write this on returning home after the divisions. I am a very poor creature fastened to a very great work, but my mind is clear, and I have faith that the right will stand approved.

Believe me,

Most sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

65. *To Sir Roundell Palmer.*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
April 4, 1868.

I wrote to you in haste this morning, on my return from the House. I need not tell you I have thought

further and with deep anxiety on your letter, and have tried to appreciate your position. But I will be brief. The great danger of the time now is that, through the action of the adversary, the case of the English Church will be put into the same category with the case of the Irish.

The step you have meditated will have a very powerful effect — I do not say in strengthening the hands of our opponents, for I do not believe that it is possible now to strengthen them in a way effectual for repelling the present attack, but in establishing that connection between the cases of the two Churches, and in practically drawing on the inference from the one to the other.

This is surely a very strong objection: and if, as you think, it may be necessary for us hereafter to offer a firm resistance to possible consequences of this act, do not do anything to make those consequences more likely.

I do not ask you, however, on this ground alone to march with us. But what I ask is this: pray consider in your own mind what there is that we can do effectually (so far as in us lies) to detach the case of the Church of England from that of Ireland; and then let us in common see whether not I only, but your own colleagues generally, could not meet your views, and enable you both to do what I think you feel to be just and righteous towards Ireland, and likewise to prevent or obstruct the unrighteous application, on this side the water, of a work of action suited only to the case of the other side. . . .

66. *To Sir Roundell Palmer.*

HAWARDEN,
Good Friday, April 10, 1868.

. . . Of the topics you suggest, the greater part have weighed upon my own mind during a large part of the (nearly) thirty-six years of my public life; and at one time (in 1844–45) in circumstances not wholly dissimilar from your own, except that probably you look at them with a keener and more sensitive conscience than I did. The general result does not place me at

variance with all you say. I feel the tendency to divergence which you describe. Yet that tendency belongs to the present stage of these controversies. When the political privileges of religions are not in question, I think you will then find that there is a deep divergence between what we may call the sectarian and the anti-sectarian masses of the Liberal party itself, you and I standing probably much more with the former than the latter. But I venture to say two things with some confidence. First, hardly any phase of opinion in the Liberal party is more dangerous than is that of the pure Church and State man. For though he values his religion much, yet when it comes to the point he always surrenders it in detail rather than run any risk of breaking with the civil power or of surrendering conditions of nationality. Secondly, for many long years I clung to the belief that the best hope of doing good to the Church was by making it the main aim to retain the confidence of Churchmen. I do not undervalue that confidence now: but I am sure, and I think from experience, that it is *chiefly* by retaining the confidence of the Liberal party that any good is to be done to the Church in its highest interests. The best things that have been done to the Church in our time, apart from mere arrangements of property, have been the restoration of free speech in Convocation, and the emancipation, so to call it, of the Church in the Colonies. The latter of these is due almost wholly to Liberal Governments: and as to the former, condemned by Walpole on behalf of Lord Derby's Government in 1852, it was given by the Liberal Government of Lord Aberdeen which succeeded him. . . .

67. *To the Archbishop of Dublin (Trench).*

HATFIELD,
December 14, 1868.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

The General Election and its consequences in the speedy resignation of the Government have now been followed by the definitive constitution of a new Administration, and matters have thus reached a point at which I think it becomes me to remember that dur-

ing the first stage of the struggle in relation to the Irish Established Church — I mean in the course of last spring — your Grace showed no desire to discontinue personal relations with me, but even the reverse. I therefore think I cannot be wrong at this early period in troubling your Grace with this note, in which, however, I desire to notice only one or two points, and that briefly and simply.

In the first place, I wish to say it will ever be my wish to have as much and as free communication with your Grace in relation to our modes of procedure as you may think fit to encourage. To press beyond what your free will and judgment may dictate would be alike unwise and indelicate.

In the second place, all views and wishes which may be entertained by the Primate and the Irish Bishops, and by other leading clergy in general, will at all times have my most respectful attention.

In the third place, I am personally very desirous to promote all just opportunities for free communication within the body of Irish Bishops and clergy at this most critical juncture for them and for the whole Church.

The Government, indeed, could not consistently with its duty supply arms against itself, or, rather, against the measures which it holds to be essential for the public good.

I must not assume anything, yet I cannot exclude from view the possibility that the time may come, if it has not arrived, when the authorities of the Irish Church may desire to consider, not so much whether the transition is to be effected, as the manner and conditions of it, and the point of arrival for which we are to make. A perusal of your Grace's Charge makes me sensible that these subjects have not been absent from your mind. I have a strong impression that *when* such a time has come, it would be just and well that any facilities dependent upon the Crown should be given to the Irish Established Church for the purpose of considering its position and of making a [? permanent] provision for the future.

Your Grace will, I am sure, construe favourably the spirit in which this letter is written on my own responsibility, for I have nothing in relation to the subject of it on which to consult the Cabinet. At

a later date it may be my duty to invite the attention of the heads of the Irish Church to parts of the great subject in an official manner. At present I have no title to make such an invitation. I am, however, desirous of turning to account any instrument which may be of real avail, and therefore I wish not to lose any chance of that free intercourse, be it partial or entire, which I feel to be among these instruments. But having said thus much I leave the matter entirely in your Grace's hands.

And I have the honour to remain, with much and sincere respect, your Grace's most faithful and obedient

W. E. GLADSTONE.

I used the freedom to send you a copy of a pamphlet recently published by me; not as part of the argument, but only as personal explanation.

68. *To the Archbishop of Dublin (Trench).*

HAWARDEN, CHESTER,
January 14, 1869.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,

The Home Secretary has forwarded to me the Memorial of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, in which they ask the licence of the Crown to meet in a Synod or Convocation with reference to the present circumstances of the Church in Ireland.

I naturally read this Memorial with some reference to my recent informal and private correspondence with your Grace.

It will be submitted to the Cabinet, and I will not anticipate their decision. But they will have before them the non-action of the late Government, and the distinct refusal of the Administration of Lord Palmerston to allow the Bishops and clergy of Ireland to meet, with the authority of the Crown, as representing an Establishment. With these facts in view, I cannot doubt that they will decline to lend that authority to the gathering of any Assembly which is to be convoked with the aim, on the part of its leaders, of resisting the measures they think essential for the public good.

It is, of course, an altogether distinct question what view they might take, if the intention of the leading

Prelates were defined in the sense of endeavouring to lead the Assembly to the consideration, under whatever reservation or general protest, of the conditions under which a new state of things was to be established, and of the mode of regulating the transition.

The second paragraph of the Memorial seems to look to the former of these alternatives; and it appears not to be contradicted or qualified by the third.

I wish that your Grace should be clearly in possession of the conditions under which, as far as I am concerned, it would be practicable to recommend that the Memorial should be entertained. If they are in any manner accessible, it would be easy to devise the means of bringing them upon record. It is only in that case that I would ask you to favour me with a reply to this letter.

I have, etc.,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

I have spoken of 'the leading Prelates' because anything beyond this would really be outside of the scope of the present letter.

69. *To J. T. Delane.*

10, DOWNING STREET,
February 27, 1869.

DEAR MR. DELANE,

. . . 1. A person whose name is immaterial said to one of my colleagues to-day, 'I know the Government plan! disestablishment, disendowment, compensation for vested interests, and application of the surplus to secular purposes.' This is true in a certain sense, yet has the same relation, I think, to the truth as the skeleton to the man.

2. The English Bishops have behaved extremely well in Convocation, under the guidance, apparently, of my Lords of Peterborough and Oxford. You gave them credit a few days ago; they have now finished the business and overcome the Lower House, and they deserve another slice.

3. The 'thorough' Church party in Ireland are not at one among themselves, and are building upon the hope of our divisions and the splitting off of sections,

or the excitement of religious prejudices. I think we shall give no fair ground for such a revival, but our friends will do well to be warned.

4. Unless I am much mistaken, the great fight of the opponents will be upon the demand for the whole Post-Reformation Endowments, as contra-distinguished from the concession we made with regard to private gifts really given to the present Irish Church. This ground will not be bad for us.

70. *To the Bishop of St. David's* (*Thirlwall*).

March 4, 1869.

My dear Lord Bishop,

Though the pressure on my time obliged me to postpone thanking you for your kindness, I did not fail to profit by the opportunity it gave me of *re*-perusing your charge of 1845. I do not think I had forgotten it, but it was written over in my mind, like a palimpsest, by your more recent Charges.

For my own part, I should readily have accepted almost any allowable means of putting an end to the present state of ecclesiastical arrangements in Ireland; but if we intended to gain the object we had in view, we really had not, in principle, a very wide choice of means.

With my best acknowledgments,

W. E. Gladstone.

71. *To the Dean of Chichester* (*Hook*).

Carlton House Terrace,
March 8, 1869.

My dear Dean of Chichester,

It is with great pleasure that I learn you think favourably of our plan for dealing with the Irish Church, and that you are willing to give us the advantage of your name and authority as well as of your approval.

There is no doubt that every adhesion of the class and character of yours improves our position as to the power of dealing equitably and favourably with the Church.

I send some papers, the material of which may be used, though no reference should be made to them

in public, and any inquiries you may make shall be answered to the best of our ability.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

72. *To the Bishop of Gloucester (Ellicott).*

March 9, 1869.

I am much gratified by the terms and spirit of your letter. The provisions of the Bill apply the surplus partly to new wants as yet unprovided for, partly to the relief of existing charges which we think injuriously imposed, and which have been recognized by a Committee as meriting that description. It is indeed true as you say, that the Church would get but a trifle out of a rateable distribution of the surplus. But the moment we came to give money to Roman Catholic Bishops and clergy, difficulties would arise which would prove extremely formidable now, though it seems likely that they might have been got over in the time of Mr. Pitt. . . .

73. *To the Bishop of Ely (Browne).*

June 8, 1869.

. . . The State which refuses to allow a perpetuity even in the line of natural descent can never, in my opinion, escape from the responsibility of a high and paramount stewardship on all corporate property whatever, ecclesiastical or lay. That passage from Bishop Butler which has been quoted repeatedly during this arduous controversy expresses my creed upon the subject.

74. *To Archbishop Manning.*

July 13, 1869.

The unexpected vote of the Lords last night on concurrent endowment has further complicated the position of the Irish Church Bill, and of that House as connected with it. You will probably have observed that this vote is quite different from that proposed by the Duke of Cleveland. The Duke's proposal referred

to houses only. It was matter for argument whether, inasmuch as the glebe houses were to be surrendered to the Established Church on very favourable terms, some *corresponding* concession was not required by the principle of equality which was to govern the winding-up arrangements. But the vote of last night, which gave to three denominations (leaving 100,000 Methodists, however, in the cold) glebes as well as houses is, or rather would be, a flat violation of all our pledges to the country. In your late note you have expressed so strongly and clearly your idea of the basis on which the late remarkable co-operation of the Liberal majority has been founded, that I see you think, like me, it is the only possible basis. The question whether any other basis would be abstractedly better is a question at this moment for debating societies. On Thursday at a quarter past five I shall move, please God, to restore to the Preamble the words of our solemn compact with the people. I have no doubt of the thorough soundness of the body of your co-religionaries. . . .

75. *To Archbishop Manning.*

July 24, 1869.

Your last note was of much value, and showed me at once with what an accurate eye you had measured the situation. But I cannot thank for it alone; I am much indebted to you on behalf of the Government for the firm, constant, and discriminating support which you have afforded to our Bill during the arduous conflict now happily concluded. Some day when we meet I may perhaps be able to go back upon some of the circumstances.

Should you happen to write to Cardinal Cullen, pray be kind enough to ask him to accept a similar tribute of acknowledgment from me.

76. *To Archdeacon Stopford.*

March 6, 1870.

. . . I have this morning been able to read your 'notes of preparation,' and I find [in] them, if I may so

presume to say, the same knowledge, terseness, discrimination, and just judgment, of which I had ample experience twelve and fifteen months ago. I have followed with great interest in the public journals, and not without trembling, the accounts of ecclesiastical proceedings in Ireland. Of the literature of the question, I have seen almost none; and I am going to ask of you the favour that you will *tick* for me, on the enclosed fly-leaf, which I have cut off your pamphlet, those of the publications enumerated which you may think worth examination. What the true construction of Sections 19 and 22 of the Act may be, it is not for me to say. But I know something of the intention with which they were drawn, and it was this — that the Irish Church, *when constituted*, might, if it thought fit, subject itself to *any* kind of metamorphosis; but that it absolutely must perform its first act only in one way, namely, by constituting itself according to the laws and principles of an Episcopal Church. How far this indispensable condition would be fulfilled by the new-fangled schemes and notions in regard to the position of the Bishops which seem to have been afloat, history, which must be the witness to those principles, will enable us to judge. I humbly subscribe to pretty nearly all your propositions, and among them to those in which you vindicate the popular principles involved in the ancient device of Bishops. That is the true key to sympathy, and not the attempt to mould Episcopacy according to fancy, like a Chinese lady's foot. . . .

77. *To Rev. V. R. Fleming.*

HAWARDEN,
September 3, 1877.

REV. SIR,

. . . I did express sympathy with the Church of Ireland as a religious community. It was at a time when it stood upon the basis of the same religious formularies as the Church of England; and I had neither the obligation nor the inclination to believe that it endured those formularies only through compulsion or temporal inducement.

In expressing that sympathy, I did not use cere-

monious phrases only; but felt that the Irish Church, in view of the changes coming, was about to have, in my very limited sphere, rather special claims upon me.

When the change came, the first act of the Irish Church, in the use of the efficacious means of action which, I will make bold to say, no man strove so hard as myself to secure for her, was to reconsider the doctrinal and ecclesiastical position. I make no accusation, but state a fact. If she had a right in her large sphere, I have a right, and a duty, in my small one. The result upon my mind is that, with rather imperfect information, I scarcely know what the disestablished Church is, and I know still less what she may become.

Under these circumstances, pressed as I am on every side with a much larger number of demands than I am able to meet, the special claim of which I spoke has entirely disappeared, and I think it the most prudent course not to mix myself in her concerns until she has clearly seen her way, and I have as clearly seen what that [way] may be.

I need hardly say that this statement has not been prompted by any desire on my part to force my private opinions on your notice, but has been drawn from me by the challenge which I consider your letter to convey. . . .

I have the honour to be, Rev. Sir,
Your faithful servant,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

In the letters which immediately follow, Mr. Gladstone appears rather as a spectator than as an actor. Old questions come up again, but in forms which do not admit of any near solution. Disestablishment is always visible in the distance, but, in England at all events, it is as yet only a matter of speculative interest. A future generation will have to take it in hand, but the writer himself neither expects nor wishes to be alive when the time for doing this comes. This absence of desire does not spring from any abstract dislike of Disestablishment. There is no trace in the

letters of any return to the ecclesiastical visions of his youth. In more than one particular, however, the question had, he thought, become less urgent than it had been in 1850. He welcomed the growing indisposition to the legal enforcement of orthodox belief. He thought the changes in the composition of the Judicial Committee had emphasized the purely temporal character of the court. He saw in the revival of Convocation an assurance that the Prayer-Book would not be subjected to grave changes without the Church having an opportunity of at least making her voice heard. There were but two clouds on the horizon which seemed to him really threatening. The one was any active interference on the part of Parliament with Church affairs. The other was any attempt to enforce ritual conformity by a court of Law. His long political experience had convinced him that the best service the modern State can render to religion is to let it alone. The case of Scotland was different. There the Establishment was the Church of a minority, and so had no stronger foundation than the indifferent acquiescence of the majority. The moment this is exchanged for 'an unequivocal desire' on the part of that majority to put the Establishment away, away it must go, and this certainly deprives it, while it remains, of any element of real hardship. In Scotland, he thought, the question would be more naturally settled by some action on the part of the Scottish members, though it does not appear how he proposed to insure the abstention of English Conservatives when they saw their neighbour's house on fire. He was profoundly convinced that an Established Church is safest when it is least noticed. For this reason he disliked the Scottish Patronage Bill of 1874,

which gave congregations in the Established Church the very liberties, as regards the appointment of ministers, the denial of which had led to the disruption of 1843. 'My impression is,' he writes to Lord Selborne, 'that if it passes it will lead to a movement for Disestablishment in Scotland more serious than any that has been known there, and likely to spread its influence into England.' In this case Mr. Gladstone has not proved a true prophet. The movement of events as a whole is still probably in the direction of Disestablishment, but there has been a distinct slackening in the rate at which it proceeds. Mr. Gladstone would hardly write now, as he wrote in 1872, 'Erastianism, which was the general creed of the political world when I entered Parliament in 1832, has greatly lost ground; it has entirely departed from many minds, and is weakened in almost all." At all events, if he did write this now, it would be with reservations as regards the effects that might follow upon some unlooked-for outburst of irritation or panic.

78. *To M. Arnold, Esq.*

WILTON,
March 30, 1869.

DEAR MR. ARNOLD,

I thank you very much for your kindness in sending me your book. If the body of it is as interesting as the preface, I shall read it with much avidity. The questions which you handle in the preface are of a constantly growing importance. But I am one of those who think that, when we pass away from the present Church Establishments, they will be succeeded, not by a new fashion of the like species, but by what is termed the voluntary system. I can contemplate this result without great uneasiness; not because I think it absolutely good, but because it may be the best and safest of the alternatives before us, as the

most likely to keep in a state of freshness the heart and conscience of man. Of the narrowness which you ascribe to Nonconformists, I find the root, not in the absence of State influence, but in what I may call non-veneration of the past, or incapacity, from whatever source, to claim and appropriate our full share of our heritage.

I have always thought it one of the great blanks of my life not to have known Dr. Arnold. He was very kind about it, but my work, like his, was hard, and I little anticipated how soon the door was to be closed against me.

Yours, etc.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

79. *To the Bishop of Colombo.*

May 5, 1870.

. . . Pray accept my best thanks for your kind note. The times are indeed difficult and slippery with regard to that large class of questions which concern religion and the Church. The tendency, however, of the mind of Parliament is, without the adoption of any extreme doctrine, towards the policy and habit of non-interference. It appears to me that this tendency is on the whole the safest and the best accommodated to the time. There is another tendency in some minds which I for one view with much more apprehension and disfavour. It is the tendency, for the sake of keeping the State up to a quasi-religious character, to tamper with the integrity and freedom of religion itself.

80. *To A. Strahan, Esq.*

1872.

. . . Though far from being on the side of Scottish Presbyterianism as against the ancient constitution and succession of the Christian Society, which is the salt of the earth, I have all my life been with it as against the Erastian system. Much as I have appreciated former writings of yours, I do not remember to have read any of them with warmer sympathy and admiration than this article. . . .

81. *To Dr. Döllinger.*

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall,
April 29, 1872.

My dear Dr. Döllinger,

. . . I venture to send you herewith a tract which I wrote in 1850 on the historical idea of the Royal Supremacy, according to the sixteenth-century view of it, and the constitutional settlement then arrived at. I have never seen cause to recede from it. The condition of the English Church has since that time been much worsened by the spread of rationalizing unbelief. On the other hand, besides that its activity and spiritual life have continued to open out with growing vigour, it has gained one corporate advantage of immense value — namely, its collective voice in its two representative Convocations for the two Provinces of Canterbury and York. These bodies now meet regularly, may give *utterance* to their judgments on any matter they choose, and, though they have no binding legislative power, have been to a certain extent recognized in the previous examination of measures affecting the Church which have been afterwards submitted to Parliament.

At *no period* in or since the sixteenth century has Parliament touched the detail of the authoritative books of the Church of England; and the Prayer-Book has been ratified, as the Calendar of Lessons was altered last year, only on the joint initiative of the Crown and the Church in Convocation.

On this account what I have said in the tract respecting the helpless condition of the Church under the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has become inapplicable. Indeed, the judgments of that Committee seem to lose weight, and one which it passed last year has not been generally accepted or obeyed.

Believe me, with all respect and regard,

Sincerely yours,

W. E. Gladstone.

82. *To the Earl of Shaftesbury.*

May 7, 1872.

. . . I feel that the proceedings of Convocation are in many respects open to criticism. But its sittings for discussion have now had the sanction of (I think) eight successive Governments; and of these more than one has distinctly approved its undertaking actual business on certain subjects. Upon the whole, I think this policy has been a wise one, has tended to work well, has supplied a vent for opinion and for complaint, has prevented discontent from growing to extremes, and has mitigated, somewhat as Church Congresses have mitigated, the violence of controversy and party spirit. I must add that Convocation works, even if feebly, as a moral influence, and that, in my opinion, of many years' standing, it is by moral influence that the Church of England must be guided and held together, rather than by penal and coercive proceedings which, as far as I can judge (and I admit it is very imperfectly), have rather inflamed her wounds, and have produced a greater amount of harm than of good. I quite agree in thinking that a reform in the constitution of the body is desirable, and that such a measure could not be conducted under better auspices than those of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Convocation itself proposed a reform of itself in, I think, 1854, but the Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen declined to give it the sanction of the Crown, perhaps because the whole subject was then too crude. You would yourself, I think, value the action of a well-constituted Convocation: at least, if my memory serve me right, such used to be your opinion. . . .

83. *To Rev. H. Lowe.*

HAWARDEN,
October 22, 1873.

. . . My opinion of Lord Brougham's Act in its ecclesiastical bearing has not, I think, much changed since I wrote on the Supremacy in 1850. The Court had then given a judgment which appeared to me to

be founded on policy, not on law. It did this at a time when the Church had no organ of speech recognized by the Constitution; and it was two years later when Mr. Walpole, on the part of Lord Derby's Government, declared (in effect) he would not remove the gag from the mouth of Convocation. When the privilege of constitutional speech was restored, the case was much changed for the better. But the Court, while professing only to expound laws as far as legal principles would carry it, was still (except under Lord Kingsdown) infected with a theological bias. By relegation to a purely temporal tribunal this theological bias is as far as possible excluded. It may doubtless happen that the new Court may, either rightly or wrongly, construe the law in a sense which is not that of the Christian or Catholic Faith. But the Church has a voice with which it can utter, and pray for what it may think the case requires from time to time. We have certainly made a considerable change from the state of things contemplated, as I think, by the statutes of Henry and Elizabeth. In that change I do not, as at present advised, see an invasion of the Faith, but an alteration or modification of the Constitution. Such an alteration may fairly be called unconstitutional if made haphazard, or if the spirit as well as the form be changed. Both those charges applied in a degree to the Act of 1833. I do not see that the Act of the present year is obnoxious to either. Perhaps these few sentences may convey to your mind in some part my view of the case; but I am sensible that every one of them would require a comment much larger than the text. Having gone thus far, I must not close without stating what I see now, but did not see so clearly in 1850. About ten or twelve years ago, I expressed to a Bishop now on the Bench my conviction that the time had gone by when the Church could be beneficially influenced by the action of *any* Court as a Court of Doctrine, and when we should rather seek to be governed by moral forces only. I adhere to this opinion.

84. *To Rev. Joseph Parker, D.D.*

23, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, S. W.,
June 10, 1875.

. . . Personal and social intercourse, between persons ecclesiastically separate, I value, and desire to promote; but it is my fixed conviction that what is called interchange of pulpits, unless as between bodies substantially agreed in their ecclesiastical constitution, is a dangerous mistake, calculated to injure alike truth, charity, and order, although it is recommended, I perfectly believe, with the sincerest desire to promote them.

I do not enter upon the question of the title of ministers and others of the Church of England to promote alterations of its laws and constitution; and I lament the very hard words with which that course of conduct is often judged. I fully admit the title of the nation to generalize the constitution of its Establishment of religion, and I shall cheerfully accept the serious consequences to myself, if that is done in the cause of justice — that is to say, with a trustworthy prospect of rendering it the Church of a greater proportion of the people. But seeing no such prospect, and anticipating only discord and dissension as the main fruit of the effort, I must with much respect stand aloof and take my own line. And I earnestly desire to see all Christians zealous in upholding the laws and rules of their own religious communions rather than disparaging or despising them, while I own it to be their business, and not mine, to determine for themselves what are those laws and rules, and what they claim. . . .

85. *To the Duke of Argyll.*

September 9, 1878.

I can conceive that the disestablishment of Presbytery in Scotland would send some more of the peers and gentry into the Episcopal Church; and, if I understand you rightly, you think this biases me in its favour. I think not, but I admit that we do not

know always our own biases. In good faith I am not able to see the very great moment of the question for Scotland, one way or the other. The change would be rather favourable, I think, to definiteness in doctrine and to the unity of Presbyterians, and would leave religious provision on the whole much where it is. But on the other hand there is no crying grievance or mischief, and I have no desire to make one. In England, without doubt, the question is extremely large. I think that Selborne and a number of excellent men have almost a superstition on the subject. In *some* it reaches such a point as to be dangerous to faith, and to entail a risk of sacrificing the end to the means. But even were the question ripe and my mind made up in favour of the change, neither of which is the case, I should contemplate with pleasure and relief the high improbability of its becoming a practical question during the short remainder of my political life. Had the policy of the Public Worship Act been actively followed up, it would soon have brought about a crisis.

86. *To Lord Selborne.*

August 16, 1880.

. . . I have asked Bright (who has been here), and he has kindly undertaken for me, to find out, if he can, whether there is likely to be any serious movement against the recital in the Burials Bill about the action of Convocation. It is so much an established practice to make recitals of this kind in the case of ecclesiastical legislation — though the cases have been mostly those of Commissions, because Commissions have been more frequently employed — that I cannot regard the omission as anything but a deliberate slight, or, in other words, an insult. This is a step with regard to which I cannot compromise: it is contrary to my personal honour to have anything to do with such a proceeding. I consider myself to have been pledged to the clergy by a long course of conduct, to oppose them without fear when civil right requires it, but in all cases to treat them with respect. In this way I have tried to maintain some harmony between the orders of the State, and to bring the clergy not to look upon Liberals as neces-

sarily enemies. About Establishment I care less than many, and about the other amendments in the Burials Bill I care little (except so far as good faith to the Archbishop requires), but on this matter I am very stiff. I assume that the University members, who are a kind of representatives of the clergy, will not throw them over. If they did, *that* might make a difference. . . .

87. *To the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tait).*

September 9, 1880.

. . . The Cabinet have felt a great anxiety to fulfil, in letter and in spirit, the arrangement entered into between your Grace and the Lord Chancellor, and consequently they wished to maintain the fourteenth clause [of the Burials Bill. See last letter].

Individually I went one point farther; for, though not caring about the clause greatly in itself, I think the rejection of a proposal of that nature, regularly arrived at with the sanction of the Crown, and the substitution of another by private action in the House of Commons, is a bad and dangerous, or at least inconvenient, precedent. I was therefore prepared to see the leading Nonconformists, and to use the best means in my power to induce them to support the clause, as well as to go to the House for that specific purpose.

But this was necessarily dependent upon the adoption of a similar course by the members for the Universities, whose position in the House of Commons is in a very special sense that of representatives of the clergy.

In this state of the facts and expectations, I found that Mr. Hope had made a speech which was understood to be adverse to the clause, and that Mr. Walpole openly declared his disapproval of it. I satisfied myself further, by private communications, that there was no chance of effective support from the University members, and hereupon I abandoned all intention of taking a special and personal part.

It had now become evident, not only that the Government could not carry the clause, but even that they could not make any decent array in support of it; and I could not but agree with Mr. Bright when

he represented to me that, however desirous my colleagues might be to keep faith with your Grace, there could be no advantage in their marching into the lobby with a minority ridiculously small. . . .

There is no need to recall the successive stages of the Bradlaugh case. The whole controversy was intensely distasteful to Mr. Gladstone, since it presented him as the champion of a man whose opinions on questions both of religion and morality he greatly disliked. But he did not for a moment feel uncertain as to his duty in the matter. The question whether Bradlaugh ought to sit in the House of Commons was one for the decision of a court of law acting on purely legal grounds. A majority of the House of Commons wished to reserve it for their own decision — and that a decision arrived at in an atmosphere of unreasoning passion. It is not, however, to his letters that the student will turn for instruction as to Mr. Gladstone's attitude in this final struggle for religious equality. All that he had to urge in behalf of Mr. Bradlaugh's title to take the seat in which an English constituency had placed him is to be found in his speech in 1883 on the second reading of the Affirmation Bill. Mr. Gladstone lifted the subject far above the trivial technicalities in which the speakers against the Bill had involved it. With him the question was whether the kind of Theism which was content with the exclusion of Bradlaugh from the House of Commons had any value as influencing conduct. If it had not — if it implied no more belief than Voltaire had professed; if it carried with it, not 'a practical recognition of a Divine governing Power, to which we are to account for every thought we conceive, for every word we utter,' but a 'mere abstract idea dwelling in the air

and the clouds' — then Mr. Gladstone saw in such exclusion an injury to the interests of religion no less than to those of civil liberty. For religion — or, at all events, Christianity — knows nothing of that 'God of some sort or another' in which one of the earlier speakers in the debate had professed his belief. Its conception of Theism embraces an 'acknowledgment of Providence, of Divine government, of responsibility, of retribution,' and not one of these supreme ideas would be furthered by the exclusion of Bradlaugh from Parliament. In the end Bradlaugh took his seat, and the original resolution of the House of Commons was struck out of its records eleven years after it had been passed. It had served its temporary and unworthy purpose, and this was all that was required of it.

88. *To the Right Hon. J. C. Hubbard.*

THE DURDANS,
June 11, 1881.

. . . I think that in *foro conscientiæ* Bradlaugh has committed a gross error by presenting himself to take the oath. He has no moral right to bisect it into a significant and an unmeaning part. The law prescribes it not merely as a promise, but as an oath; and as an oath he does not take it. . . . I fear that here we part company. The House of Commons has acted, in my view, beyond its powers: has acted, as I should say in ignorant and lay phraseology, illegally. Can any good come of this? B. has fulfilled the law, or he has not. If he has, he should sit. If he has not, the Courts should correct him. In contending that Atheists have no conscience, no doubt you have great predecessors. Locke, I think, argued this when he denied them toleration. Or it may have been that his philosophy did not allow of any conscience at all, and that he only thought that Atheists had not the fear which serves the purpose of one. But I cannot hold this proposition in the face of such facts

as Holyoake, such as (at one time) John S. Mill. And I am very doubtful of the proposition as a proposition of philosophy. God may have been pleased to impress upon our nature enough of Himself to imply the rudimentary obligation and faculty which may suffice for some natures, though not for the common run. What I think as to any further legislation is that no good is to be drawn by including Agnostics and Pantheists and yet excluding Atheists, that it is best to recognize frankly that religious differences are not to entail civil disabilities, and, in regard to the present controversy, that it tends to weaken reverence for religion in the body of the people.

89. *To Charles Bradlaugh.*

June 21, 1881.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, in which you desire to have an interview with me on the subject of your seat for Northampton and your exclusion from the House of Commons.

On reflection, I am of opinion that it will be far better if our communications are carried on by writing on this particular subject. You are aware to how considerable an extent Liberal and public interests have been brought into prejudice by untrue suppositions as to communication between you and the Government. Now, there is no change whatever in the spirit in which we should desire to approach the question, much as we may be hampered by its difficulties. But whether the difficulties be great or otherwise, I am sure it is expedient that there should be no room for misrepresentation as to what may pass between us, and that, with reference to the interests of justice in the case, there should be a record of what we say or do. I rely upon your candour with the utmost confidence to interpret aright the purport of this letter.

90. *To Sir W. R. Farquhar, Bart.*

February 10, 1882.

. . . I think we can exchange ideas when we meet, even about Bradlaugh, without fear of any miscarriage.

Though you disapprove my action, I am sure you accept its principle, which is that of doing justice at the cost of every kind of misapprehension and political inconvenience. Did I not accept the principle, I should still follow the same course on account of the highest of all interests, the interest of belief; for I am thoroughly convinced, not that Bradlaugh's opinions are not mischievous, but that as matter of fact the present exclusion of him by the House of Commons is doing tenfold more for Atheism than his taking the oath on his own responsibility could possibly do.

91. *To Sir T. Acland, Bart.*

March 28, 1882.

. . . I write only to remind you of what I think is the safest, as well as eminently true, ground for your son as to Bradlaugh (who I learn is being worked with some effect against him). It is this: *we do not say Bradlaugh ought to sit;* but simply that his right or non-right to sit should be determined by law — by a dispassionate Court of Law, instead of by a House of Commons of which the majority have, in dealing with this question, exhibited a degree of unfavourable excitement rare even in the struggles of party — struggles from which the question of pure law ought to be kept immeasurably remote.

The question of Disestablishment in England assumes a sudden prominence in some letters called forth by the election of 1885. The defeat of the Liberal Government in the June of that year had been followed by Mr. Gladstone's resignation, and in August Lord Salisbury dissolved Parliament. The Liberals were greatly divided upon several questions of importance, and the management of 'Mr. Gladstone's umbrella' — the phrase was invented by Lord Rosebery in the course of the contest — became a matter of extreme nicety. The party had, above all things, to be kept united — at all events till after the election. The

familiar expedient of placing all burning controversies in the background could not be employed when Mr. Chamberlain was on the war-path and Lord Hartington equally frank in the exposition of his political views. All that Mr. Gladstone could do was to say as little as possible, and to be careful that what he did say committed him to nothing that could give additional prominence to the impending schism among his supporters. While things were in this state, some references to Disestablishment found their way into certain Liberal addresses. With the policy of the next Liberal Government actually in the making this was inevitable, and in itself there was nothing in it to add to Mr. Gladstone's anxieties. Mr. Chamberlain was at one with him in regarding Disestablishment, equally with the House of Lords, as questions 'lying in the remoter distance.'* The Opposition were naturally not disposed to allow the matter to remain where the two Liberal leaders had placed it. Some — among whom were Lord Selborne and Mr. Bosworth Smith — really believed that the controversy had reached a crisis; others, with more reason, thought that it might be converted into a serviceable election cry. By many Mr. Bosworth Smith was regarded as the saviour of the Church of England. He had called upon Mr. Gladstone to declare himself on a question which would have been more fitly discussed in a debating society, and in this way had probably helped to make some Liberals think that Mr. Gladstone had suddenly determined to disestablish another Church. Had they cast their minds backwards they might have remembered that in every political party certain questions must be left open, and that Disestablish-

* Letter to Lord Granville, given by Lord Morley — Life, ii. p. 348.

ment had, at least, as good a claim to be so treated as Catholic Emancipation had in the earlier Cabinets of the century.

92. *To the Bishop of Winchester (Browne).*

December 2, 1883.

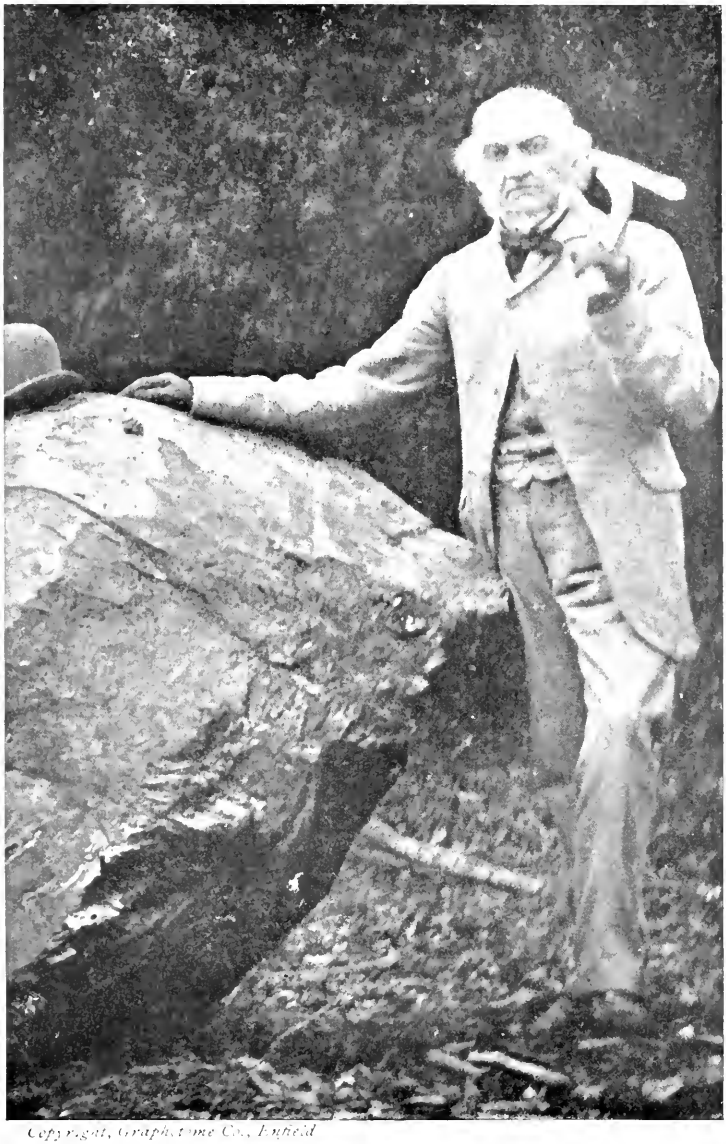
When your sermon arrived a day or two back, I told my private secretary we might dispense with the ordinary formal thanks. But I have read it to-day, and I must now send thanks more than formal. It seems to me to put into a practical and pastoral form the matter of a learned and careful dissertation. And this upon a subject so liable to what I will call wilful interpretations that in general the very name of it frightens me away.

It has, I think, much cleared my ideas, and I thank your lordship very much for such assistance, especially in regard to your exposition of 'he hath letteth.' I understand this to be, in your view, the strong hand of law, embodied as well as represented in the Roman Empire, on and after which was modelled the Roman State. And this State, not allowing free opinion, repressed licence as well as liberty, and prevented the profession and extension of atheism in its now multitudinous forms.

I have no doubt we have among us an idolatry of 'Church and State'; and the idolaters, or some of them, would not scruple to say that what is barbarously termed voluntaryism, which is making progress, though slow progress, in the world, was Antichrist. Yet I suppose it to be incredible that Apostles who were teaching Christianity as (in this sense) a private opinion, against or in fear of the State, could have *meant* to describe as Antichrist a full and free permission by the State to teach.

I suppose also that if communism or any of its kindred belong to Antichrist they belong to it consequentially; and that substantially, actually, and directly, it may mean the denial of God and setting up laws and rules of action self-chosen, and other than God.

It is not, I think, over forty-five years since Manning was the first to point out to me that the Church was



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MR. GLADSTONE, 1886.

passing back into the condition which it held before Constantine.

It all shows as a vast, overpowering, and bewildering Drama; but not without a key to its plan and meaning.

93. *To Lord Hartington.*

COOMBE WARREN,
March 21, 1884.

. . . There are two matters of *fact* which may be noted. This [Bishops in the House of Lords] is one of a knot of political questions in which the innovating or reforming party have seemed to lose ground during the last forty-five or fifty years. The question of Short Parliaments and of abolishing capital punishment are other examples. When I began Parliamentary life, the motion against the Bishops was an annual one. For a long time it has only been made once in five or ten years.

A second fact is that the attendance of Bishops in the House of Lords, except upon Church and semi-Church questions, has immensely fallen off, and the political function is, properly upon the whole, sacrificed to diocesan duty. This, of course, cuts both ways; but it is *not*, I think, true that the Peerage as now worked interferes with Episcopal efficiency.

Looking at the case broadly, this proposal really cuts into the two great questions — (*a*) of National or Established Church, (*b*) of the constitution of the House of Lords.

Does the House think it wise to open either of these questions? As to the first, how are Bishops to be controlled and called to account for diocesan dealings? And is this last shadow of representation for the clergy, who are shut out from the House of Commons, to be swept away without any other legislation? As to the second, has not the hereditary principle strain enough laid on it already, and is it not a serious matter to cut out of the House of Lords a body of nearly thirty Peers, who are now (it may be said) habitually chosen by the Crown for their personal distinctions? But I find my time up. By hook or by crook I shall, of course, appear on Monday if possible in any way.

94. *To the Rev. Dr. Hutton.*

July 28, 1885.

. . . The basis of my own position in relation to the Established Church of Scotland remains precisely that which was laid down by Lord Hartington, I think, about seven years ago. It is a Scotch question, and ought to be decided by the people of Scotland — *i.e.*, Parliament ought to accept their sense. To lay down beforehand the mode in which that sense ought to be declared might be mischievous in excluding other modes, which might be as authentic as the one specified, and yet might be shut out by the specification. Clearly it ought not (as I think) to be required by anticipation that an Election should be held upon the question.

95. *To Sir W. Farquhar, Bart.*

HAWARDEN,
September 27, 1885.

It is pleasant to see your hand, though you write on a subject which we do not regard quite from the same point of view. Certainly the question of Establishment is a question of principle, but the principle as I think is this: we are, if we have to act at all, to act as is most for the glory of God and the good of man. And the sum of the principle ought, of course, to be all the stronger when the subject is large and of very great moment.

Beyond this I do not much like to enter upon argument in a matter with the practical bearings of which I think myself to have scarcely more to do than if I were already dead. I could not pass by the subject in my address, particularly because I am a Scotch member; and as in Scotland nearly one-third of the people (as I estimate) are outside the Establishment, and the established clergy would have resented my silence as much as the others, I had no choice. I endeavoured so to frame what I had to say as to recognize the existence of a great controversy, which on the one hand I desired in no way to precipitate, while on the other hand I also endeavoured to allay

fears which I referred to in respectful language, but which I think to be somewhat servile and superstitious.

Your argument is of a different character, and is not founded upon fear; but I do not think we robbed God in taking away property from the Irish Church, and, as far as this point is concerned, the two cases are parallel, though happily there are many points of difference.

The controversy is real beyond the Tweed, and is rising in Wales; in England it is, and may long continue, little more than what is termed academic.

Very different is that great controversy of belief which seems to me to be the one really absorbing subject.

If you would come here, or if we had other opportunity, I should be most ready, at your desire, to enter on a subject which, I fear, causes you anxieties that I would gladly, if I could, diminish. It is to me a source of concern that in some cases this subject draws off anxiety from others which better deserve it. . . .

96. *To Dr. Döllinger.*

HAWARDEN CASTLE,
CHESTER,
October 18, 1885.

MY DEAR DR. DÖLLINGER,

I read yesterday Dr. Liddon's letter in the *Times*, and I should like to explain to you our position in its practical bearings.

The question of Disestablishment is remote generally, not so remote locally. In Scotland the Established Church is in a minority, and the question there will have to be settled on its own ground if a large majority of Scotch members should be in favour of disestablishing. In Wales the Church (which 200 years ago had Wales for a stronghold) is in a small minority, and all or nearly all Welsh members will be for Disestablishment; but there the Church is historically and organically one with the Church of England, and this makes what may be a great difference. In *England* there is no chance of a real majority for Disestablish-

ment, and even if there were the thing could not be done, I think, for a good while. You will see how difficult this state of things, wanting a common thread, makes it to offer an exposition of any kind.

I turn to another subject. Sir R. Morier was here on Thursday, and he pointed out to me that if you would write an *Apologia pro Vitâ Tuâ* it would be a service to Christendom. In this I cannot but strongly agree. True, you are not under the same call, for Newman's movement was in truth a piece of individualism, whereas you were standing on the Catholic tradition, and there, while keeping the peace, were violently assaulted. But though there is a difference as to necessity pressing upon you, this does not in any way diminish the advantage which might induce you. I am quite certain it would fill many a heart with joy if they were to learn that you had set about this work. . . .

97. *To R. Bosworth Smith.*

HAWARDEN CASTLE,
CHESTER,
October 31, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you for several more than courteous references to myself in your letters to the *Times*, which I have read with interest.

You state in the first of them that this is the crisis of the question whether the Church of England shall be disestablished, and you call upon me to declare my views upon that crisis.

I entirely differ from your opinion that the crisis has arrived, and I consider that in discussing this crisis which has not arrived, and is not likely to arrive, I should commit a gross error by drawing off public attention, so far as in me lies, from those matters which are likely to employ the ensuing Parliament, to other matters not less important in themselves, but for which the public mind is in no way prepared.

We have before us a group of great political and social questions on which the Liberal party are agreed, and prepared to act. There are other questions, lying wholly beyond these, lying in what you observe that

I have called the dim and distant future, on which the members of the party are not only not prepared to act, but are not agreed as to the side which they should take respectively.

It is at least an intelligible manœuvre for the Tories, fearful of the approaching verdict of the country, to aim at thrusting aside the matured subjects on which they have now to confront an united party, and forcing forward other subjects on which differences prevail; so that judgment may be given not on what is before the country, but on what is not, and so that the Liberal force may not be united but divided.

Accordingly, it is not by the Liberals, or even by the Radical portion of the Liberals, that the great subject of English Disestablishment is at this moment forced forward. It is forced forward by the Tories, to whose obvious motive I have referred, and I regret to find from your letters that you think their manœuvre may in certain cases have some promise of success.

I trust these cases will be few, because I am certain they will be unfortunate. The more our opponents succeed in raising premature alarm, in attracting the votes of Churchmen, in withdrawing from Liberal councils all moderating influences, and in forcing so far as they can the article of Disestablishment into the Liberal creed, the earlier in its time, and the worse in its form, will be the crisis you desire to avert.

Whether the Tories will greatly lament the acceleration of that crisis, provided the fear of it shall have strengthened them as a party in the meantime, I do not feel sure; but I cannot consent to put a bandage on my eyes, and take part in playing their game.

For my own part I have embraced no new opinion. I have neither shared in nor assented to any attack upon the Church. But I have never been in the habit of blowing the trumpet for battles in which I could take no part, and I cannot now agree to darken the controversy in which we are engaged, and hazard its issue, by perplexing the public mind with topics which are perfectly unreal with respect to the true political and social crisis of this election, and with which I have an entire assurance that, if hereafter they become practical, it will be for others, and not for me, to deal. . . .

98. *To Dr. Rainy.*

November 3, 1885.

I have read your letter with deep interest, and with the attention it so well deserves.

But I must observe upon it, that while it most naturally, and perhaps necessarily, takes a Scottish view of the question of Disestablishment, and deals only with influences operating on that side of the Border, yet the question of Parliamentary action is open to many other influences, which might gravely affect, or indeed reverse, the result.

Every day I am pressed, from quarters quite unsuspected, with alarms, lest for want of strong declarations from me on, that is to say *for*, the English Church, many Liberal seats should be lost.

I have always thought that in Scotland the course which equity dictates is also the one most favourable to the Disestablished Churches — that is, to treat the question as Scottish, and effectually to sever it from the case of England.

On this principle of severance I have acted during the present autumn, and shall continue so to act.

But the only practical mode of severance is leaving Scottish Disestablishment to the Scottish people.

Now, were I, or others in like position, to press Disestablishment on the electoral bodies, might it not be said that this *is not* leaving it to the Scottish people?

And most certainly the effect in England, where the Church is much stronger, would be disastrous.

The truth is that the one case is the inverse of the other. In Scotland, Disestablishment is, I believe, pressed largely as a test by the Liberals. In England Establishment is keenly pressed as a test by the Tories, and the request is coolly made that no Liberal shall vote for a candidate favourable to Disestablishment.

This we entirely resist, but the resistance appears to be incompatible with a forward movement in Scotland.

This note will serve, as I hope, to explain in some degree my present position. . . .

99. *To Lord Selborne.*

DALMENY PARK,
EDINBURGH,
November 19, 1885.

MY DEAR SELBORNE,

I thank you for your explanation, but I do not see in what material respect I have misinterpreted you. I admit that you allow of exceptions, but I think that you lay down a general rule (in the Grey declaration I do not recollect any exceptions). As an hypothetical voter, you put the Church against party, and so putting it you would be slow to recognize the claim of a Disestablisher to your vote. This I understand as meaning that (unless in some exceptional case) you would refuse it.

As far as I know, the attempt to use the Church as a 'test question' *in England* has been entirely from the side of the Tories and the Church. In Scotland I have done my best to stop it, with great pain, natural enough, to the Disestablishers.

Doubtless the time may come when the choice will have to be made between the Church and the party, and when many will answer it as you do.

Ever sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

100. *To the Rev. Sir G. Prevost, Bart.*

HAWARDEN,
April 24, 1886.

. . . On the controversy of Disestablishment my prayer is that I may never have to say a word. No man was ever more saturated with contention, no man ever longed more eagerly for rest, but it is not for me to say when, or whether, it will or ought to be given me.

Meantime is it not for us all to build up more and more a Church of England which can 'laugh to scorn' all her foes? be they in, or be they outside, her own bosom. And what a building work we have seen in our day — enough, surely, to breathe faith into the most faithless! . . .

101. *To A. Taylor Innes.*

HAWARDEN,
November 12, 1887.

. . . I think my answer to you must have been: 'No, I do not wish it [Church Union] unconditionally.'

I incline to think the union of the three Presbyterian bodies now divided in Scotland would, under given circumstances, after a time probably be brought about.

I should consider such an union highly honourable to Presbyterianism and to Scotland, and also advantageous to Christian belief.

The great movement of 1843 was advantageous to Christianity at large, and the light of it flashed all through Christendom.

I was then and I am now a Denominationalist — rather a strict one, perhaps. I fervently desire all unions which can be effected without compromise of principle of conscience, and none other.

I would not wish to address a *heartier* audience than the young men of the Congregational College at Nottingham, and on no point did they give me a warmer response than on what I said for denominationalism. . . .

102. *To the Moderator of the Free Kirk Assembly.*

LONDON,
May 18, 1893.

. . . The original disruption (for this and not secession is, I think, the just appellation) in 1843, with the circumstances of the preceding decade, are still fresh in my recollection, and have at all times been regarded by me with lively and sympathetic interest.

I am not personally associated with the Presbyterian Churches, but I conceive it to be historically true that the distinguished leaders of the Free Church movement, some of whom I have had the honour to call my friends, were, in the course they followed half a century ago, the genuine representatives of the spirit of the Scottish Reformation.

It is yet more important, and is, I think, wholly

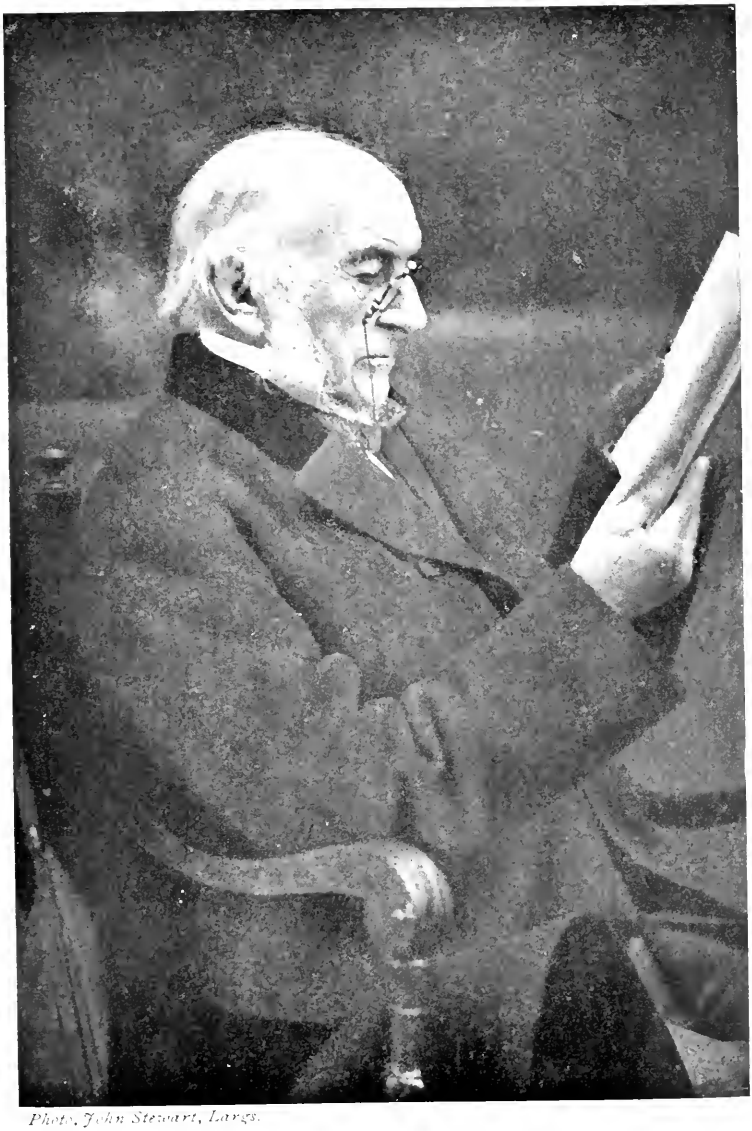


Photo. John Stewart, Largs.

MR. GLADSTONE, 1889.

beyond dispute, that the procession of April 19, when it set out from the Assembly Hall, and when its members gave up their temporal goods and expectations for the sake of conscience, exhibited a noble and heart-stirring spectacle, of which the glory belongs in the first instance to themselves, and forms a precious inheritance for the Free Church, but which was entitled to excite, and did excite, the cordial, and even enthusiastic, admiration of Christendom. It was, indeed, justly felt that mankind, and especially Christian mankind, were the better for such an example.

There were other remarkable features of the movement which well deserve commemoration, but which are almost wholly eclipsed by its moral brightness. Truly notable was the statesmanship with which the whole controversy was conducted. And then came the extraordinary financial skill which presided over the new arrangements. I have always understood that this was mainly the skill of Dr. Chalmers. If this be so, it is to me a matter of special interest; for about the years 1833–36 I had the honour of some personal intercourse with that remarkable man, which afforded me some particular opportunities of appreciating his absolute indifference, and I think almost contempt, for matters of pecuniary interest in which he was individually concerned.

I trust it may please God that the high qualities which marked the inception of the Free Church may perpetually abound within its borders.

103. *To Rev. Stephen Gladstone.*

HAWARDEN,
October 23, 1894.

. . . I do not see how the Welsh difficulties touch the English question. One is (1) the Church of the small minority, (2) of the rich, (3) condemned by the whole (virtually) of the representatives of the people. The other of the rather large majority — supported by a decided majority of the representatives of the people — and is the only religious body that has hope or chance of dealing with the masses.

CHAPTER VI

ECCLESIASTICAL PATRONAGE AND UNIVERSITY REFORM

1869–1885

THE letters relating to the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage are very numerous, but only a few can be given here. Many are merely requests for information about possible presentees; many, especially of those written to Dean Wellesley, contain reasons for not appointing men whose names have been suggested. Those I have printed necessarily furnish but a very imperfect idea of the pains which Mr. Gladstone took to make right choices. From the first he was specially anxious about cathedral appointments. He went out of his way in 1863 to suggest Mozley or Church to Palmerston to fill Stanley's Chair of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford; and later, when he had nothing in his own gift as Prime Minister, he sent to the Lord Chancellor a list of men whom he thought exceptionally deserving of preferment on the score of learning or intellectual power. In all the higher appointments, Dean Wellesley was his most trusted counsellor. The four letters relating to his death (Letter 115 and three following) show the strength and constancy of Mr. Gladstone's affection for him, and one of them puts on record the fact that in 1869, when Archbishop Tait's grave illness seemed to make the selection of a successor imminent, the Primacy was unavailingly pressed on him.

The letter to Bishop Wilberforce in 1862 (Letter 104) is a good illustration of the kind of importance which Mr. Gladstone assigned to political considerations in making ecclesiastical appointments. It mattered little, he thought, to what party a man belonged. The one point of consequence was his readiness to contribute to the settlement of the many outstanding questions arising out of the relations between Church and State. His complaint against Wilberforce was that he had given no help in this direction. This omission was made good in 1869, when he is coupled with Magee as being, unlike the other Bishops, disposed to co-operate with the Government, 'although under protest,' in the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. As regards Church parties, Mr. Gladstone laid down a clear rule for himself, though his adherence to it was not always so plain to his critics. High, Low, and Broad Churchmen all had their claims recognized, the only favouritism shown being that High Churchmen were given posts where the work was hardest. The case which excited most opposition at the time was the choice of Temple to be Bishop of Exeter. It is not clear what it was that determined Mr. Gladstone's action in the first instance. In at least one other case he deprecates making appointments 'which would be received as defiances of great masses of opinion,' and in 1862 Temple's eminently belonged to this type. His great episcopate in London was still in the future, and Mr. Gladstone's high opinion of him seems to have chiefly rested on a single volume of sermons. Of all but one of the remonstrances which poured in, Mr. Gladstone had no great difficulty in disposing. They had uniformly been founded on an alleged 'community of action' among the seven writers of 'Essays and Reviews,' and until Bishop Selwyn

called his attention to it (Letter 108), Mr. Gladstone does not seem to have known that six years before Bishop Thirlwall had subjected Temple's own contribution to that ironical treatment of which he was so conspicuous a master. He allowed, indeed, that it had been 'no doubt written with a view to edification,' but he added that language 'more directly suggestive of the most perplexing doubts could hardly have been employed.' Temple, he thought, had opened 'the broadest room for an assault on the foundations of historical Christianity, without setting up any defence against it.' To-day we can all recognize the gain to the Church which followed from Mr. Gladstone's inability or unwillingness to go back upon an appointment which had become public; but at the time, the discovery that a critic ordinarily so wise and just as Thirlwall thought so ill of the essay must have been embarrassing. Mr. Gladstone at first found consolation in dwelling on Thirlwall's 'pugnacity' — an epithet which, in its ordinary sense, is not happily applied. In a very short time, however, the violence of the opposition supplied him with a better reason for disregarding it. The true condemnation of the outcry was that passed on it by Church: 'We have not so many great names on the religious side that we can afford to see a man like Pusey — who is a man, after all, to rank with religious leaders of a high mark in all ages — casting away all the lessons of a lifetime, and countenancing the worst violence of a zealot like ——.'*

Church's own advancement gave Mr. Gladstone some trouble, though from a different cause. He had offered him a canonry at Worcester in 1869; but Church had defended Gladstone's Disestablishment policy in the

* 'Life and Letters of Dean Church,' p. 182.

previous year, and he 'found it hard to bear the idea of being held up as an example of the lucky High Churchman, who managed just at the right moment to pronounce in favour of what two-thirds of his brethren consider an antichurch policy in Ireland.'* Later in the same year a canonry at Chester fell vacant, and Church was again the Prime Minister's nominee. But the Queen 'had an old wish and plea for Kingsley,' and the Prime Minister yielded. But in 1871 a greater opportunity presented itself. Mansel's death threw the appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's upon Mr. Gladstone, and this at what he rightly saw to be 'a crisis in the life of the cathedral as to fabric and services.' A letter to the Dean of Chichester (Letter 113) shows how much there was to be kept in view in filling up the vacancy; and when, after Hook's refusal to leave Chichester, Church had unwillingly accepted the post, and was still under the conviction that he had made a great mistake in exchanging the peaceful life of a country clergyman 'for that tangle and whirlpool of ecclesiastical politics in which so few people see their way, or are strong enough to meet temptations which are subtler, and keener, and of a worse order than those of politics,' he himself defined what was required as 'that St. Paul's should waken up from its long slumber, and show what use it is of, and how it can justify its existence as the great central church of London.'† What St. Paul's had been like in its sleep had been well described by Kingsley some twenty years earlier: 'The afternoon service was proceeding. The organ droned sadly in its iron cage to a few musical amateurs; some nursery-maids and foreign

* 'Life and Letters of Dean Church,' p. 180.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 202, 203.

sailors stared about within the spiked felon's dock which shut off the body of the cathedral, and tried in vain to hear what was going on inside the choir. As a wise author — a Protestant, too — has lately said, "the scanty service rattled in the vast building like a dried kernel too small for the shell." The place breathed imbecility, and unreality, and sleepy life-in-death, while the whole nineteenth century went roaring on its way outside.'* The resurrection, indeed, had begun, for Liddon, Gregory, and Lightfoot were already in the Chapter; but even the best staff must depend for the perfection of its efficiency on the commanding officer, and the responsibility of every change, watched, as it was sure to be, by some unfriendly eyes, was bound to fall on the Dean. How wisely Mr. Gladstone had chosen the bearer of the burden the history of the next eighteen years was to show.

The Dean is not, however, the only figure connected with St. Paul's that plays its part in these letters. There was at one time an impression that Liddon had been passed over by Mr. Gladstone. So far is this from being true that he had been marked out for a canonry at St. Paul's some time before there was a stall to be disposed of. Melville's death had been assumed on the evidence, seemingly conclusive, of a funeral anthem which had been sung, and a Dead March which had been played, in St. Paul's on a certain Sunday. At the next vacancy, however, Liddon was appointed, and from that time Mr. Gladstone watched his career as a preacher with growing interest. The offer of a bishopric was, it is true, delayed, and this in spite of arguments put forward by Church and Acton. In the distribution of patronage Mr.

*'Yeast,' chap. xvii.

Gladstone had ordinarily a real preference for the 'moderate' clergy. He never forgot that his appointments were made as the representative of the Sovereign, and he felt that the divided state of the Church of England made the discharge of this part of the Sovereign's duty specially difficult. In reference to another appointment, made some years earlier, he wrote: 'I look upon the honour of the Crown as a most sacred trust, and nothing will ever be done by me to place it in apparent connection with resistance to the law on matters of ritual. Though I disapprove the law and detest the persecutions, I have never given sanction to the resistance, and *if I had*, I never would knowingly use the power of the Crown in that sense.' It was hardly possible for the writer of this letter not to remember that in 1871 Liddon, as one of 'the two senior Canons of St. Paul's,' had published a letter to the Bishop declaring their inability to recognize in the judgment of the Judicial Committee in the Purchas case any sufficient reason for departing from their existing practice of taking the eastward position 'at and after the Nicene Creed.' In the end, however, any scruples he may have had on this ground were laid to rest, mainly, we may suppose, by his conviction that Liddon was the greatest personal power on behalf of belief 'in a day when it was assailed in its life and root.' A message was sent to him through the Dean of St. Paul's to inquire whether he would take a bishopric. Liddon's reply was that he 'earnestly hoped to be spared the great anxiety of answering such a question.' Possibly, had the offer been made in the ordinary form, the answer would have been different, as Liddon himself writes: 'While I should have had great and sore difficulties in answering *any* specific

proposal, I could not but answer the general question in the negative. To have done otherwise would have been to be false to the whole Tractarian (*i.e.*, the Patristic and Catholic) traditions on the subject. What would St. Ambrose have said to a willingness to accept a bishopric *in the abstract?*'* It is possible, too, that if the 'specific proposal' had referred to Exeter, as Liddon's own friends desired, or to London, as Acton wished and advised, he might have been tempted, in the one case by his early associations with Devonshire, in the other by the opportunities of influencing the future policy and direction of the English Church which belong to that great position. At all events, he assigned the want of such opportunities as a reason for refusing the bishopric of St. Albans when it was offered him by Lord Salisbury.

104. *To the Bishop of Oxford* (*Wilberforce*).

DOWNING STREET,
October 2, 1862.

MY DEAR BISHOP OF OXFORD,

In the letter to Lord Palmerston, which I mentioned to you, I used these words towards the close:

'Though I have said much, I am far from having said all about him. I have said quite enough to enable you to judge whether there is or is not sufficient cause for entertaining the question.'

I used these words, because it was but fair to consider what I should myself wish Lord Palmerston to do upon receiving such a letter as I wrote to him. It would not be simply and at once to comply with it. I think he ought to take into view a part of the case which I designedly refrained from entering upon. I do not know whether he will get so far into it as to deal with this part of it. I earnestly desire that he may, and I abstained of set purpose from saying a word

*Johnston, 'Life and Letters of H. P. Liddon,' p. 314.

which might be used as a reason for closing the door.

Let me explain what part of the case I mean. Part of the special work of this age ought to be to clear the relations between Church and State. It is needless for me to point out to you — it would rather be for you to point out to me — the multitude of questions, each of which presents a separate knot as yet untied, and in respect to each of which it is much to be desired that some progress should be made towards removing difficulties the nature of which is, not to remain as they are, but, until they are removed, to accumulate continually. But just to illustrate my meaning: there is the Church Rate; there is National Education; there is the Law of Marriage and Divorce; there is Clergy Relief (however dubiously so called); there is the Court of Appeal; there are Oaths and Declarations of Roman Catholics and Dissenters; there was, and in some sense still is, the admission of Jews and others to the Legislature; there is Clergy Discipline — and a long list might, perhaps, be added.

I think the State has a right to expect from the Church that its Episcopal Rulers — at least, that the leading and governing spirits among them — shall contribute liberally, and even sometimes boldly, to the solution of these questions. The only manner in which they can be solved is by the approximation of leaders at the hazard (upon occasion) of their reputation with their followers.

You have opposed many changes which you thought injurious; and as regards many of those you have opposed I certainly am in no condition to find fault with you. But I think I should be puzzled were Lord Palmerston to say to me, 'I will not dwell on the question which of the changes asked for he has opposed, but I will desire you to tell me of which of these problems he has, as a leader of the clergy publicly, and at his own risk, promoted the solution.'

Now, you may be able to furnish me with the materials of a reply, for the satisfaction of my own mind as well as in case of need — which God send — for that of Lord Palmerston's. I seem to observe that the character you have got with politicians among whom I live is that of a most able Prelate, getting all

you can for the Church, asking more, giving nothing. Now, in my view there are certain limits of principle, beyond which you cannot go. But the State, when it is strong and masterful, cares nothing as a State about those limits. It is partly in order to save them from transgression at the time of danger that I want concessions of what can be conceded in the hour of comparative and apparent safety. I know of certain things which you have, as I believe, been ready to concede. But the question put to me, if any were put, would be, Has he not in his place in Parliament, and with his great power there and elsewhere, been in all (ecclesiastical) things obstructive? What help has he given us? Which part of his enormous labours has he spent in bringing the mind of the clergy, even with difficulty and with risk, to anticipate the time in this or that, and to make, while they are still of some value, the sacrifices which it requires?

If I seem to arraign you, you will understand why it is. And if you ask me to point out a case in which you simply resisted and assailed, where we might have hoped for at least a more qualified course, I will point for the sake of example to the measures of the present year respecting National Education. . . .

105. *To the Rev. J. B. Mozley, D.D.*

HAWARDEN,
January 17, 1869.

When I had had time to receive the Queen's approval of your appointment, I sent you intimation of it, and I now think you will like to see the enclosed letter from the Dean of Windsor, which please return. . . .

Among the Canons of our cathedrals, even and perhaps especially since 1840, there are but few who have contributed, or are likely to contribute, much to the theological store of the Church of England in this day of her pressing need. I rejoice that my first act in this province of my duty has been to promote the addition to their number, who, as to both promise and performance, is sufficient sensibly to raise the average. . . .

106. *To the Rev. George Moberley, D.D.*

August 8, 1869.

Your letter gave me very sincere pleasure.

I am now *functus officio*, having given the formal direction to put in train the proceedings necessary to give effect to your appointment. The Archbishop of Canterbury received the mention of it from me with cordial approbation. I do not know how far you have personal acquaintance with the circumstances of the diocese; but from a variety of circumstances I have knowledge of it enough to lead me respectfully to tender the suggestion that you should make inquiry into it with reference to one special and peculiar point, viz., this: The sentiment of respect and affection towards Bishop Hamilton is overpowering, and at this time in particular it will probably avail to prevent any indication of an adverse feeling. But I have no doubt whatever that our dear friend's last Charge, from its circumstances and the strange announcement which introduced it rather than its substance, created a strong reaction (indeed, I look upon it as a main proximate cause of his death), and that the 'Low Churchmen' of the diocese, especially in Dorsetshire, are in a jealous and suspicious attitude, and will require the wise and gentle handling which you will so well know how to apply. . . .

107. *To the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.*

10, Downing Street, Whitehall,
October 9, 1869.

My dear Dr. Pusey,

It is true that at all times, and especially during my political connection with Oxford, you have judged my conduct with the utmost liberality and kindness. This makes me more anxious than, on grounds of old recollection, I should otherwise be, that, if you find it necessary to make a solemn protestation against an important act of mine, there should at least be no doubt at all about the matters of fact on which it purports to rest. Your matter of fact is this: that Dr. Temple was editor of 'Essays and Reviews.' Is this so? It

is my duty to use every exertion in my power to inform myself about persons recommended to me for the office of a Bishop. I have not neglected this in the case of Dr. Temple; and finally, as you know, it is hard to be certain of a negative in a proposition of fact presented for the first time. But your statement is wholly new to me. I had always understood that Mr. Jowett was the editor of that book, and his essay is by much the longest, besides that it is possessed of what may be called the editor's place, at the end.

I have communicated with many about Dr. Temple, who ought to have the *best* information. I have not disguised in any quarter my regret for his having published the essay in objectionable company, but have said it did not seem to me that this act was such as ought to bar his preferment. Never has it been hinted to me that he has done more.

The prefatory note to that volume expressly divides the responsibility, except as to the editor himself.

This question of fact is very important: and I hope you will go to the bottom of it. If I have acted in ignorance, I regret it deeply, but it has not been a guilty ignorance. As yet I hope I have not so acted.

I may add that a person whom I love and revere wrote to me some time ago protesting against Dr. Temple's appointment to Bath and Wells. In reply I asked, What has he done to disable him? The answer was that he had *written* an essay in that volume.

Dr. Temple is known and certified to be a man of deep personal piety, great ability, great administrative powers, and marked habits of conciliation in dealing with men.

I have read his printed sermons (and one sent to me in MS.). The *opinions* contained in them are not after my type; but my type ought not to be the measure of Episcopal appointments. They are not such opinions as I should venture to proscribe; I doubt even whether they are such as you would. I cannot therefore, and do not, shelter myself under any plea that I am not at present free, nor under that of representation of the 'three great sections.' For though this representative character ought, I think, to be regarded, the regard ought not to be exclusive, and

no one should be appointed to the Episcopal body whose loyalty either to the Church or the principle of doctrine can be questioned, or whose admission to it would impair that corporate unity which, though it does not shut out all differences, is so necessary for the well-being of the Church. Indeed, I much regret the extent to which during the last twenty years that unity has been impaired, and I heartily desire that my agency in respect to the Episcopal body may tend, not to widen breaches, but to close them.

Believe me, dear Dr. Pusey,
Your attached friend,
W. E. G.

108. *To the Bishop of Lichfield* (*Selwyn*).

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
November 17, 1869.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am thankful for your frank expression of opinion, which I always look upon as the greatest kindness. On some of the papers contained in the volume termed 'Essays and Reviews' I look with a strong aversion, but Dr. Temple's responsibility prior to the publication was confined to his own essay. The question whether he ought to have disclaimed or denounced any part of the volume afterwards is a difficult one, and if it was a duty, it was a duty in regard to which a generous man might well go wrong. As regards his own essay, I read it at the time of publication, and thought it of little value, but did not perceive that it was mischievous.

It has, I think, received a general acquittal, as appears even from the terms usually employed by assailants of the volume. Several eminent Bishops were aware beforehand of my views of Dr. Temple as a person qualified for the episcopate, and had ample opportunity of signifying their disapproval, which they did not do. On the contrary, some of them hastened to express their satisfaction. If I ever knew, I had forgotten the words you quote from the Bishop of St. David's. They surprise and stagger me. Had they been present to mind, I should have thought they made it my duty, first, to reperuse the essay, and secondly, perhaps, to take

special counsel upon it. I do not like to trouble you amidst your many labours, or I would ask for the reference, as I am going to Hawarden on Friday, where I think I have all Bishop Thirlwall's charges.

Liberty and faith are now both in danger. I am deeply anxious to add nothing to the perils of either.

I sincerely trust you have made a complete recovery, and that abundant strength may be granted you for your arduous labours.

Ever, my dear Bishop,
Your affectionate friend,
W. E. G.

109. *To the Lord Chancellor (Hatherley).*

January 3, 1870.

. . . I have another word to say on quite different grounds with regard to cathedral preferments. You urged upon me the case of Dr. Hook: and there are few things I desire more than to offer him a Deanery (since he is over-old for the Bench), less out of proportion to his immense merits. But I wish to lay before you a list of distinguished men — authors, divines, scholars, teachers, preachers — of some one of whom I hope you might think upon occasion when cathedral preferment, or anything parochial which approximates to it, falls into your hand:

Dr. Barry, Principal of King's College.
Dr. Vaughan, Master of Temple.
Dr. Scott, Master of Balliol.
Dr. Irons, of Brompton.
Dr. Hannah, of Trinity College, Glenalmond.
Dr. Hessey, Merchant Taylors'.
Dr. Kynaston, St. Paul's.
Mr. King, Cuddesdon College.
Mr. Curtis, Lichfield College.
Dr. Lowe, Hurstpierpoint.
Mr. Liddon.
Professor Rawlinson.
Mr. Derwent Coleridge, late of St. Mark's.
Mr. Elwin, late (too Liberal) editor of *Quarterly Review*.
Mr. Perowne, who wrote on the Psalms.

Also men among the parochial clergy with somewhat special claims:

Dr. Miller, of Greenwich.
Rev. D. Moore, of Paddington.
Mr. Fremantle, of Claydon.
Mr. Woodford, of Leeds.
Mr. Seymour ——.
Mr. Tarver, Broadstairs, late Tutor to Prince of Wales.

Pray understand I do not wish to transfer the weight of these men to your shoulders; but only to give them another chance. I think the first list generally so strong that it could not be matched by such another from the whole mass of non-dignified clergymen of the Church of England. . . .

110. *To the Archbishop of York (Thomson).*

HAWARDEN,
January 7, 1870.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,

I have now received, though indirectly, an intimation that the See of St. Asaph will very soon be vacant.

. . . There is, however, a preliminary question of the most important character to be considered. For more than a century and a half the Welsh Episcopate has been, as a spiritual power exercising direct influence, unknown to the Welsh people. During that period, and especially during the last sixty years, the masses have become detached from the Church. Welsh Dissent has a history wholly distinct from, and posterior to, that of Puritanism. It has been built up into a system of extraordinary strength and compactness by the use of the instrument which the Church, or the 'Powers that be' by their influence on the Church, had cast away — I mean the instrument of preaching. In our time attempts have been made to mitigate the evil, and several Bishops have been appointed who have, greatly to their credit, made themselves Welsh scholars. Scandals such as Confirmation in a foreign tongue have thus far been obviated. But all I hear leads me to believe

that by this kind of employment or attainment of the Welsh tongue we cannot hope to recover ground, and that this can only be looked for, humanly speaking, through the same free, familiar, and let me add powerful, use of the Welsh tongue, which is, I am told, common among the Dissenting ministers of Wales.

This question, which was religious, has now become national. For whatever be the cause, there can be no doubt that the position of the Church Establishment is weak, and that it has become a very special duty to consider how it can be strengthened.

So far as my own share in this matter is concerned, I shall use my endeavours to obtain the best and weightiest advice: and I need not say that any further communication from your Grace will have my most respectful attention. . . .

111. *To the Bishop of Llandaff.*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
January 30, 1870.

Continued reflection tends to confirm me in the belief that it is highly desirable, on the occasion of the St. Asaph vacancy, to show to the Welsh race proper, to those who pass their lives and form their minds in a Welsh atmosphere, that the way to the episcopate is not barred against them, and also to make some experiment of the effect of a direct pastoral action by a man of that description on the mind of the Welsh people.

Something, therefore, I think may be foregone in point of learning and general culture if a man can be found who adds to a deep religious fervour and practice and power in Welsh preaching good sense, force of character, and a liberal and genial mind. . . .

112. *To M. A. Bruce.*

February 18, 1870.

. . . If you read in the papers some morning that I have been carried to Bedlam, and that a strait waistcoat is considered necessary, please to remember it will be entirely owing to the vacancy in the See of Asaph. . .

113. *To the Dean of Chichester (Hook).*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
August 2, 1871.

MY DEAR DEAN OF CHICHESTER,

I admit, and more than admit, for I feel, the deeply touching nature of your plea. On reading the latter part of your letter, at first I thought I had no alternative but to acquiesce. But the motives which I know are ever paramount with you seem to restrain me, and to make it my duty, in order to do justice to my proposal, to lay before you the *peculiar* circumstances which have led me to hope that you would on this occasion overcome your reluctance to receive one of those marks of honour which are nevertheless in the case of a man like you great benefits, fruitful benefits to the Church. I place my overture, however, altogether on *special* grounds.

The Canons of St. Paul's are (thank God) all men of eminence. For various reasons, however, I cannot well expect to fill the Deanery with one of them: certainly it would not be the *best* arrangement. Yet it is most important to appoint a man of weight and influence, who will naturally assume, or rather retain, that influence as Dean.

At the same time he must be strongly sympathetic and congenial. I declare to you that I know no man who could be appointed, and would fulfil these conditions as you would.

But, secondly, St. Paul's is in the crisis of its fate. The Chapter have great conceptions, and great works in hand, with perfect unity among themselves. I think it may be said there is hardly such a Chapter in England.

There is certainly none with such great, progressive, and unfulfilled undertakings, as to both the fabric and the services of their Church. I again say I know of no one who would help them, as you can and would, for their great purposes. I do not expand these remarks into a statement — you will appreciate their force — my object is not to worry, but only to suggest.

However, I know quite well that what I suggest is a sacrifice. I will send this note through the Chan-

cellor, so that if it goes it may go with his sanction. And now, in appealing to your very highest motives, I ask what you think she who has preceded you to her reward would wish? Forgive me for intruding into a sanctuary from which I at once withdraw my foot.

Your answer, whatever it may be, will be conclusive. If an affirmative by telegraph, it will give me much joy.

114. *To the Rev. R. W. Church.*

August 16, 1871.

MY DEAR MR. CHURCH,

I have now to make a third proposal to you, which I hope you will entertain with favour. It is that you should accept the Deanery of St. Paul's. That great church has an admirable Chapter, and this is likewise an interesting chapter in its history, not only (as I am informed) with reference to the pecuniary arrangement between the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Chapter, but to the fabric and the services. I have been, therefore, most desirous that the new Dean should be not only a person whose general merit and fitness would at once be recognized, but one who might with advantage be placed at the head of the present Chapter, and who would be likely to maintain and promote both its harmony and its vigour. For these reasons of a special character, as well as on other grounds, I have sought and obtained permission to offer you this appointment. Permission to press it upon you I have given myself.

115. *To Lord Granville.*

HAWARDEN,
September 24, 1882.

. . . I have had a very heavy blow in learning the death of the Dean of Windsor [Wellesley].

My belief is that he has been cognizant of every Crown appointment in the Church for nearly a quarter of a century, and that the whole of his influence has been exercised, with a deep insight and a large heart, for the best interests of the Crown and the Church. If their character during this period has been in the

main more satisfactory to the general mind of the country than at some former periods, it has been in no small degree owing to him.

It has been my duty to recommend, I think, for fully forty of the higher appointments, including twelve which were Episcopal; I rejoice to say that every one of them has had his approval. But I do not scruple to own that he has been in no small degree a help and guide to me; and as to the Queen, whose heart I am sure is at this moment bleeding, I do not believe she can possibly at this moment fill his place as a friendly adviser either in ecclesiastical or in other matters. . . .

116. *To Canon Anson.*

HAWARDEN,
September 19, 1882.

I thank you for the very interesting account you have given me of the illness of our dear friend [Dean Wellesley]. Not a word of it had reached me before. I had letters from him when he was at Westgate, but no ill report.

It is a great blow, a blow so great that I know not how to describe it; his loss to me is irreparable. With few even of my colleagues have I taken as much personal counsel as with him during the last fourteen years; and never have I taken it with any man in greater harmony, or more to my advantage.

He was a man as remarkable as he was unpretending, pure as gold, true as steel. I reckoned his life the most precious in the Church of England, and I had, especially this year, looked forward confidently, perhaps audaciously, to its prolongation. But we have nothing to lament on his account; he has passed to his rest and his reward.

With renewed thanks for your great and welcome kindness,

I remain,
Most faithfully yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

I cannot but regret his not being buried at Windsor, with which he is so closely and so variously associated.

117. *To the Duchess of Wellington.*

HAWARDEN,
September 24, 1882.

. . . I wish also to place upon record what it may be matter of interest that his family should know, while he was a man very likely to conceal it.

He might, if he had chosen, have been on his way to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Ten or eleven years ago, when the present Primate was not expected to recover, the question of the succession was considered, and I had Her Majesty's consent to the idea I have now mentioned. But, governed, I think, by his great modesty, he at once refused.

Would God that Windsor could have such another Dean!

118. *To the Hon. Mrs. Wellesley.*

LONDON,
November 12, 1882.

I have remained silent, at least to you, on a subject which for no day has been absent from my thoughts, because I felt that I could add nothing to your consolations, and could take away nothing from your grief, under your great calamity. But the time has perhaps come when I may record my sense of a loss of which even a small share is so large. The recollections of nearly sixty years are upon my mind, and through all that period I have felt more and more the force and value of your husband's simple and noble character. No less have I entertained an ever-growing sense of his great sagacity and the singularly true and just balance of his mind. We owe much indeed to you both for your constantly renewed kindness, but I have another debt to acknowledge in the invaluable assistance which he afforded me in the discharge of one among the most important and most delicate of my duties. This void never can be filled, and it helps me in some degree to feel what must be the void to you.

Certainly he was happy in the enjoyment of love and honour from all who knew him; yet these were few in comparison with those whom he so wisely and so warmly served without their knowing it; and the

love and honour paid him, great as they were, could not be as great as he deserved. His memory is blessed. May his rest be deep and sweet, and may the memory and example of him ever help you in your onward pilgrimage!

119. *To the Bishop of Winchester* (*Browne*).

HAWARDEN,
December 19, 1882.

The qualities that distinguish you are so universally admitted that there can be no arrogance in my referring to them, and, on the present occasion of the vacancy at Canterbury, they would unquestionably have led to a request that your lordship would accept the succession to that great see had the lamented death of Archbishop Tait occurred six or eight years earlier.

It may seem strange that I, who in my own person exhibit so conspicuously the anomaly of a disparate conjunction between years and duties, should be thus forward in interpreting the circumstances of another case, certainly more mitigated in many respects, yet differing from my own case in one vital point, the newness of the duties of the English, or rather Anglican or British, Primacy to a Diocesan Bishop, however able and experienced, and the newness of mental attitude and action which they would require.

Among the materials of judgment in such an instance it seems right to reckon precedents for what they are worth, and I cannot find that from the time of Archbishop Sheldon anyone has assumed the Primacy at so great an age as seventy. Juxon, the predecessor of Sheldon, was much older; but his case was altogether peculiar.

I cannot say how pleasant it would have been to me personally, but for the barrier I have named, to mark my respect and affection for your lordship by making to you such a proposal. What is more important is, that I am directly authorized by H.M. to state that this has been the single impediment to her conferring the honour, and imposing the burden, upon you of such an offer.

In conclusion let me express the fervent hope that, exempted from new and yet more trying cares, you may long live for the honour and welfare of the Church in the discharge of your present and sufficiently arduous labours.

120. *To Lord Selborne.*

HAWARDEN CASTLE,
CHESTER,
January 6, 1884.

. . . There is one [qualification] which I peculiarly look for, and as to which I have not had the means of being informed. I call it the spirit of government — the spirit of tolerance and just and kindly allowance, a spirit which I think the two Bishops of —— and —— possess. I name them because they are not at all of my colour, or perhaps yours, in opinion. I dread being responsible for any appointment which will either undermine or rend the Church. . . .

121. *To the Dean of St. Paul's (Church).*

HAWARDEN,
January 24, 1885.

I thank you very much for all the pains you have taken, and I should gladly have my hope confirmed that you took no detriment by your kind visit to Downing Street.

The answer of Dr. Liddon disposed, I think, of the question, in such a case as his. I have submitted the name of Dr. King, with the two others which I mentioned to you.

Dr. Liddon's negative may be for the present only: and I think it a *fact* in our Church history that his name has been entertained, in this matter, with the sanction of the Primate.

Is there any likelihood that, if Dr. King's Professorship be vacated, he would like to take it? To offer him the Deanery of Gloucester would be something like a slight.

The letters on University reform may be thought to have only an incidental connection with religion, but this was not Mr. Gladstone's view of the subject. Not Pusey himself was more anxious to maintain, for Oxford at all events, her original connection with the Church of England. Where the two differed was in their reading of what was possible for men who had this object at heart. In 1850 Mr. Gladstone still thought that Oxford might be kept out of the hands of a Royal Commission. He denied that any adequate cause had been shown for such an inquiry as Lord John Russell had proposed, and protested 'in the most emphatic terms against this unprecedented exercise by the Crown of a novel and undefined prerogative.' In 1854, however, Mr. Gladstone was in office, and responsibility had brought with it a clearer sense of the limitations amid which a modern Minister has to move. The Report of Lord John Russell's Commission had been presented, and in the hands of a friendly Government it might, he thought, be turned into a golden opportunity of reforming the Universities from within. Pusey was quite ready to undertake the task, but only on one condition: theology must hold its old place in the scheme of Oxford education. Could he have had his way, this would have been Mr. Gladstone's own wish. There is a passage in Pusey's 'Collegiate and Professorial Teaching and Discipline' in which he deals with the charge that he looked upon academical questions 'in a theological aspect,' which better than anything I know expresses Mr. Gladstone's own view of the place of religion in education. 'God alone,' says Pusey, '*is* in Himself, and is the Cause and Upholder of everything to which He has given being. Every faculty

of the mind is some reflection of His; every truth has its being from Him; every law of Nature has the impress of His hand; everything beautiful has caught its light from His eternal beauty; every principle of goodness has its foundation in His attributes. . . . History, without God, is a chaos without design, or end, or aim; political economy, without God, would be a selfish teaching for the acquisition of wealth; physics, without God, would be but a dull inquiry into certain meaningless phenomena; ethics, without God, would be a varying rule, without principle, or substance, or centre, or regulating hand; metaphysics, without God, would make man his own temporary god, to be resolved, after his brief hour here, into the nothingness out of which he proceeded.' There was no divergence of opinion between the two men upon any one of these principles. If they had been founding a new University, they could have worked heartily together in giving them form and substance. But the question that had to be answered was one in which the conception of an ideal University had little place. It was what should be done with the existing Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Whatever they might be in origin and history, they were in fact national institutions, and the exclusively Anglican character with which Pusey wished to reinvest them — it was impossible, with any regard to fact, to speak of retaining that character — was not one which the majority of English people wished to see reproduced. A critic of Mr. Gladstone's part in the successive stages of University reform will rather wonder that he held out so long than that he yielded so soon. In theory, indeed, it was possible to argue that Anglican Universities should be coextensive with the Anglican

Church. So long as Dissenters were excluded from Holy Orders and from Ecclesiastical benefices, where was the inconsistency in excluding them from degrees and from fellowships? But between the two there was the very substantial distinction that Dissenters did not desire admission to the temporalities of the Church, while they did desire admission to the temporalities of the Universities. A national University had an attraction for them which a national Church had not. In the one case they were anxious to level up; in the other they wished rather to level down. The end of the controversy was in sight from the beginning, but, to judge from a letter to Mr. Baldwin Brown in 1865 (Letter 127), Mr. Gladstone was almost as unwilling as Pusey to accept the inevitable consequences. He would not admit that there was any parallel between the work of education and the work of government. The one was religious in ways in which the other was not. The University had jurisdiction in heresy; the State had not. The agitation of religious questions, which was a bearable evil in the State, would be far worse in the Universities. Mr. Gladstone's deep-seated conservatism lingered longest with him where Oxford was concerned, and its hold on him was aided by his power of disguising from himself the changes that were already in progress in the place on which his affection and his hopes were so persistently fixed. Under no conceivable system can a University be kept immune from the religious controversies which are dividing thinking men and women outside. There was but one real alternative to the gradual secularization of Oxford — the distribution of a portion of the colleges among various religious bodies. This was Liddon's plan. It had the merits of recognizing facts,

and of making them the basis of whatever rearrangements might be necessary in the way of reform. It is difficult, however, to understand how Liddon could possibly have expected any good result from such an expedient. To give it even a chance of success intending undergraduates or their parents must have been left to make their unfettered choice amongst the various colleges, and it is not likely that in a matter affecting them in so many ways their choice would have been determined solely by theological motives.

122. *To the Rev. J. B. Mozley.*

DOWNING STREET,
February 10, 1853.

MY DEAR MR. MOZLEY,

It appears to me as though the dilemma which you present in your letter to an antagonist were not a formidable one for such a person as you suppose to be in conflict with you. Either, you say, the fellowship is a sinecure *de jure*, or it is wasted *de facto*. Now, I should say I am not over-careful to inquire whether the application of fellowships in aid of tutorial stipends which are to be paid by Oxford undergraduates is the best possible in itself, or the nearest imaginable to the will of the Founder. All that I say is, first, that it would be a great *approach* to the Founder's will that they should be so applied, rather than held, as now, by the non-resident Fellows generally; secondly, that such an application of them is not likely to be unsatisfactory to Parliament or the public; thirdly, that it may be brought yet nearer to the Founder's intention by facilitating the entry of poorer classes of undergraduates.

There are three descriptions of use to which fellowships may be put, and which, as it appears to me, do not fall under the imputation of sinecure:

1. To support resident students.
2. To support resident teachers.
3. As rewards of merit.

But then it seems absurd to give a fellowship for life as a reward of the merits in the præterite tense of men at 21, 22, 23, who are commonly elected: and speaking as a spectator, I should like to see fellowships made terminable, except in the cases where they were held by residents for tuition or for study — with which two last classes the discharge of college offices would naturally harmonize. I am convinced that nothing can give the University a secure position without a proscription of sinecure in terms not less large than these; and it also seems to me that the adoption of such a system would be not only a step, but a stride towards the fulfilment of the intentions of Founders.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

123. *To the Rev. F. Meyrick.*

DOWNING STREET,
April 27, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR,

On the one hand it is my sincere desire that my own opinions and conclusions, such as they are, in matters affecting the welfare of the University, should be completely at the command of every one of my constituents who may be anxious to know them; while on the other hand I should feel the greatest reluctance to obtrude them upon anyone, or even to tender them to anybody acting in or for the University, inasmuch as such a tender must involve more or less of an apparent assumption of authority, which is the very last thing in my thoughts or wishes.

There is a movement in the House of Commons and in the public mind outside the University which might take a direction adverse to its best interests; and I have considered to the best of my power whether it is possible to give such a direction to that movement as not only to neutralize its dangers, but to make its force available for real good.

It seems, I must confess, to me, that the recognition of the Professors as an integral part, so to speak, of the teaching and governing body is most important, probably even vital, to any such settlement of the Oxford question as shall secure the peace of the University against formidable assaults from without.

My own opinion is that the exclusively collegiate system which now rules in the University might be modified with great advantage to the vigour and efficiency of the colleges themselves, and that this modification cannot be brought about unless with the adoption of measures which shall give the Professors as such a substantive existence and a sensible weight in the academic sphere.

I think that, if as much as is necessary to fulfil these terms be *now* withheld, in all probability the ground might be kept for a few years; but the question would be found infinitely more difficult to deal with, when the decisive time had arrived, than it would if it is now opened and closed by a fair arrangement.

What I have said is not only consistent with, but even flows from, a belief in the inestimable importance of the domestic system of the University, and an earnest desire to see the colleges not only maintain but strengthen their position in everything but the one point of its exclusive character in reference to a professional system and an effective University organization. . . .

124. *To the Rev. C. Marriott.*

DOWNING STREET,
April 12, 1854.

MY DEAR MR. MARRIOTT,

I wish you to have distinctly before your eyes a result which may possibly happen to a portion of the Oxford Bill in consequence of what is going forward.

The Government have made a serious and earnest effort to prevent the immoderate cutting down of the number of fellowships, and to strengthen the collegiate element in conjunction with studies which would be chiefly theological — God knows, much needed — by the provisions of the Oxford Bill relating to the tenure of fellowships.

But of those who may be presumed to have the same objects in view, a considerable part either join with their wit and their logic in decrying the present provisions of the Bill on that subject, without proposing to substitute others for them, or else in their general hostility to the Bill include this part of it also.

Of those who regard the college powers with jealousy, it cannot be expected that they should do otherwise than object to the student Fellows; indeed, I think it has been highly liberal in some of them not to push their objections to extremes.

Now, the Government will do what they reasonably can to prevent, as a general rule, permanent non-resident Fellows, and as many others [are] doing what they can to prevent, except in case of actual tuition and office, permanent resident Fellows, I apprehend the tendency of the compounded forces may be to eliminate permanence except for a few, and greatly to cut down numbers.

A highly Conservative member and Fellow of a college in Oxford has just written me a very smart and sharp letter in which he argues boldly for the permanent non-residence of Fellows employed as clergymen, which of course would entail much the same for laymen. Have these gentlemen considered the bearing of the arguments for permanent non-residence of Fellows on the question of celibacy? I should be very sorry to have to argue for the celibacy of Fellows from the same brief which bound me to plead for their permanent non-residence, especially if, as might probably be the case, it also bound me to insist a good deal upon the sanctity of Founders' wills. . . .

125. *To the Rev. A. W. Haddan.*

DOWNING STREET,
June 28, 1854.

MY DEAR MR. HADDAN,

. . . The vote of last Thursday night on Mr. Heywood's first clause took everyone by surprise. It was one among the consequences, many of them yet to come, which may in a certain degree be ascribed to the remarkable facts disclosed in the recent volume of the religious census. Not only the numerical amount, but the composition of the majority, made it eminently significant, especially when it is considered how violent an act it was to force such a clause into a Bill which the University had the right to consider as intended for a purpose quite distinct.

This vote, however, made it a duty to reconsider

our position with reference to the interests of the University, and on Monday, when we learned, just before the House met, that Mr. Heywood meant to confine himself to the Bachelor's degree, we thought it obvious that the question turned very much upon this further question, whether it would carry qualification to be elected for Fellowships.

Upon looking into this matter, we found that, so far as we could learn, the declaration contained in the Act of Uniformity, Section 9 (13 and 14 Car. II., ch. 4), is still in force as to that part of it which relates to conformity to the Church.

We found some gentlemen who had been Fellows of colleges in Oxford who could not remember having taken it, and who knew nothing of its being in use, but Mr. R. Phillimore learned from Lord R. Cecil that he had himself taken it.

We thought it better to acquiesce in Heywood's motion upon this view of the law — which he himself announced in his speech — than to divide against it, with the prospect, most probably, of being defeated, but even if we won, of leaving the question still open to prolonged and angry agitation.

I do not think Heywood's clause is in theory a perfect settlement, but it is one of those incomplete arrangements which seem to suit the practical habits of this country, and which, by taking the edge off a matter of complaint, are often found virtually to dispose of it for a length of time.

As regards the integrity of the teaching and governing power in Oxford, I entirely agree with you. I hardly knew what concession should not be made, rather than to impair the hold of the Church over that power.

126. *To the Rev. C. Marriott.*

FALCONHURST, KENT,
July 12, 1854.

MY DEAR MR. MARRIOTT,

I have read Mr. Keble's pamphlet with much interest. You know, I think, the grounds on which I have proceeded with regard to the Dissenters' clauses: and I will here only say I think there are three facts to which Mr. Keble gives less than their due weight in

considering the question what ground is tenable for Oxford in the face of the State, and what is not. The first is the belief now (since the census) commonly entertained respecting the relative numbers of Church and Dissenters. The second is the difficulty imported into the argument from religious unity, by the grievous state of things in the Church as [regards] differences of faith and the organs for dealing with them. The third and most important is that, although he and a few more may be ready to 'retire from Oxford to liberate a holier city,' they are as one in a hundred or a thousand. At every turn it meets a man in my position that nothing is resigned, everything is *wrung;* the enlightened persons who are disposed to traffic wisely are a small minority; by the time there is readiness to give for an equivalent there is power to take without one. It is a sad and weary but an overtrue tale. . . .

127. *To the Rev. Baldwin Brown.*

HAWARDEN, CHESTER,
July 29, 1865.

MY DEAR MR. BROWN,

. . . It would give me great pleasure to talk fully with you on the subject of the important proposition you advance with respect to the Universities; viz., as I understand it, that their governing bodies should be treated like the Government of the country, which admits varieties of religious opinion, and yet does its special duty by the Church.

I will not say that the differences are conclusive against you, but they are, I think, obvious and grave.

The University (and not the colleges alone) aims at training youth in religion, and that a particular religion. Government, in the nineteenth century, recognizes no such object with reference to a people. Again, the subject-matter of the work of Government is not religious in the same sense and degree as is that of education. What, again, is to become of the jurisdiction of the University in heresy? There is none such in the State. Again, in the State power does not culminate in individuals, except the Sovereign (and the Sovereign is bound to a particular communion): but the University is full of *Heads,* ruling over bodies.

Are all these headships to be open? Each Head of a college in his turn may become Vice-Chancellor. What part is a Roman Catholic Vice-Chancellor, for instance, to take with reference to the religious worship and teaching practised by the University? Again, differences of religious opinion in the State tend, as we see, to the continual agitation of questions respecting its relation to religion and religious bodies: a bearable evil, but an evil still. And would this evil be equally bearable in Oxford, where such controversies would so much (as in their now limited range they have already done) disturb and unsettle the faith of the young men?

These are a sample of the questions that arise, and I must say they have not yet been met. Except, indeed, by admissions which depart from the apparent spirit of the late Bill, and which involve the principle of tests: for instance, that the Hebdomadal Council shall still remain closed.

Again, as to the colleges. Setting aside all questions of nationality as attaching to the Church, a considerable portion of these are purely Anglican foundations. On what principle are they to be opened, which would not touch other private foundations? And yet there is no distinct admission that they are to remain closed.

In a word, I must say the whole controversy is carried on aggressively, as if to disturb and not to settle. Abstract principles, urged without stint or mercy, provoke the counter-assertion of abstract principles in return. The effect, in my opinion, of persistence in this course will, and must be, long adjournment of practical benefit. There is not power to carry Mr. Goschen's *Speech* either in the Cabinet, the Parliament, or the country.

Yet the change in the balance of parties effected by the elections will cast upon the Liberal majority a serious responsibility if it fail to make progress in the settlement of questions hitherto agitated with little fruit.

I remain, dear Mr. Brown,

Very faithfully yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

I would rather see Oxford level with the ground than its religion regulated in the manner which would please Bishop Colenso.

128. *To the Solicitor-General (Coleridge).*

December 4, 1870.

I gathered from my two friends on Thursday that they had little expectation of support from the Cambridge University Liberals for their new proposition. If you have already had communication with Salisbury on the subject of your Bill, could [you] not as from yourself discuss the matter with him in its present phase. In 1854 I was most anxious to cut off non-resident Fellows, but could not get one human being in the University to support me. I think the proposal will be a skilful counter-stroke. For me individually it would be beyond anything odious — I am almost tempted to say it would be impossible — after my long connection with Oxford, to go into a new controversy on the basis of what will be taken and alleged to be an absolute secularization of the colleges; as well as a revisal of what was deliberately considered and sanctioned in the Parliamentary legislation of '54 and '56. I incline to think that that work is work for others, not for me. I think also that the proceeding is much too abrupt and violent as regards the House of Lords, which cannot be said yet to have had even one perfectly fair opportunity of considering the measure of last year. I am, with you, not *certain* that the measure would be inadmissible with the rider you think Salisbury will attack (and if he attacks he will carry it), but should wish to consider this further. My confidence in Salisbury's honour is such that I should not be in the least afraid of discussing the matter with him personally, if any good should seem likely to come of it. But I am certain the Cabinet will be most reluctant to open a new controversy on the subject. I shall read your enclosure with much interest.

129. *To Sir Walter James, Bart.*

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall,
October 11, 1880.

My dear James,

I have now had by me for nearly three months your note respecting the Oxford Fellowships and the

study of theology; always intending to answer it, but deterred, since my illness, by feeling incompetent to deal with it according to the great importance and urgency of the subject.

If I now write, it is not because I can do any justice to it in the midst of other weighty cares, but because time presses.

I understand, from your report of Mr. Bernard's conversation, that he is not prepared to question the present state of arrangements, under which 'colleges are simply told to give their Fellowships to proficients in those studies which are part of the University course, or are encouraged by the University.'

Under this method, as its accompaniment, and I fear its result, while studies generally are flourishing in the University, theology languishes. I fear that it more than languishes, that it is in a state most discreditably backward.

On what principle does the method rest? Apparently on this: that the proportion of time and thought given to theology in the studies of undergraduates is, and ought to be, the measure of the proportion which may properly be given to it in the studies for Fellowships and for subsequent pursuits.

This principle appears to me to be radically false. The studies of the undergraduate are preparatory and general. After the degree professional preparation has to be made. Men are usually reading for Fellowships, I presume, between twenty-two and twenty-four. The nature of the examination determines the nature of the studies. The Fellowship is the all-powerful inducement for the men who, in the first place, supply the bone and sinew of the University, and who in the second form her teaching staff. As I understand (I hope I am wrong), no Fellowships are given to theology as a separate study, and theology does not enter into the general examinations. Is not this simply to say that the weight and power of the endowments of Oxford is used, directly and distinctly, to draw the flower of her young men away from theological studies at the period of their lives which is highly plastic, the period when the profession is properly and usually chosen, the period which, more than any

other, is required to be spent in preparation for Holy Orders by those who intend to seek them?

Under these circumstances, is it any wonder that a smaller proportion than heretofore of the able young men of the University become candidates for Orders? Is it necessary to travel very far in search of names, when we find at our very door this one reason, at any rate, that every young man, candidate for a Fellowship, who in the years following his degree gives time to theology, is fined for so doing? He applies it to a study which will avail him nothing towards his object, while his competitors give the same hours to those branches of knowledge which enter into the examinations.

It will not do to say that theology ought not to be studied under the sway of secular motives. Such language would, I think, be justly called a little sanctimonious. Sweep away endowments if you like. I am full of doubt as to the advantages of enormous wealth in Universities and colleges; but if endowments are to be the prize of examinations, let the different studies proper to the University, whether professional or general, have fair play in those examinations.

It will indeed be an astonishing result of 'reform,' if, in an University whose endowments have principally been given to promote the study of theology, the upshot of our best efforts is to throw those endowments into the other scale, and so make theology kick the beam; and this too, under the guidance of Acts of Parliament, which (I think) point out as the rule of right procedure 'the main designs of the Founders.'

I enter into no detail, make no choice between the allocation of particular Fellowships, and the introduction of theology, perhaps exceedingly desirable, into the examinations generally. What seems to me alike deplorable and unjustifiable is its exclusion.

This unnatural exclusion has another evil effect: that of producing an undue and unnatural predominance of the lay element in the teaching body of the University, and especially in the teaching bodies of the colleges.

I take it to be quite indisputable that those bodies ought to be maintained at the highest possible moral level. Can there be any question that the moral level of such bodies is raised by the presence of a considerable

and vigorous clerical element? The common rooms of Oxford were not at a very high level a hundred years ago: but does anyone doubt that, if they had been filled mainly or exclusively with laymen, their level would have been lower still?

I have not said a word in this letter on the subject of clerical Fellowships. Not *knowing* what the Commission have been about, I may be mistaken in supposing, or deeming it possible, that they may have been looking to this method, mainly or exclusively, for maintaining at least a meagre supply of clergy in the teaching bodies of the colleges.

The old system of clerical Fellowships has gone entirely out of sight. We have not arrived as yet at their total extinction, but my experience in the House of Commons has shown me how near we are to it. I go farther. With the strong sense that I entertain of the dignity and value of theological study (the broadest and the deepest of all the fields of knowledge), and of the duty of promoting it under the Acts of Parliament, and of the importance of a large clerical element in the teaching body, still, I do not see my way to maintaining any of these by the system of appropriating a Fellowship in each college to persons in, or about to be in, Holy Orders. If the clerical Fellow were inferior to his brother Fellows in mental force and attainments, would he not be in a painful — nay, a thoroughly false — position? If he is to be their equal or superior, would it not be better that he should come in by virtue of his power or knowledge, and not by virtue of a restriction unconnected with either?

It is true the clerical Fellow might be a man superior to them all, yet one who had applied himself almost exclusively, since his degree, to sacred studies. But why should not such men come in through the medium of theological Fellowships, to which, one or more in each college, I certainly am urging no objection?

One objection probably would be urged from some quarters deserving of high respect: this, namely, that under such a system theology would be separated from personal vocation and belief. My answer to this objection would be that, admitting a mischief, and taking it at the highest, I cannot say whether it would be as great as the direct and stringent operation, under

the system of clerical Fellowships, of secular inducement to take Holy Orders. As to the spirit in which theology would be studied, I believe that it would, as a general rule, be a spirit conformable to the dignity of its nature. That it must be disconnected from religious profession I admit. That it must be dealt with as knowledge, and not as test [I admit]. That, if this were so, the system would not operate with mathematical precision as a means of introducing Anglican clergymen into the teaching body, I also admit; but probably it would so operate as a general rule, while the great body of students at Oxford continue to belong to the Church of England. Longer than this it would not so operate, and it ought not.

There would be difficulties in working such a system by the college examiners, but none except such as intelligence and impartiality would overcome. There may also be real defects in the system, but they seem to me small compared with the great and glaring evils which we see already in operation, and which, I fear, are likely to grow fast upon us.

I have written this letter hastily, and it is much more crude and meagre (not brief) than it would have been had I written it twenty years back, but you will understand my motive, and take it as an excuse.

Believe me, my dear James,

Affectionately yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

October 19.

P.S. — I have not noticed in this letter either the theological school or the richly endowed theological faculty, as they are not directly connected with the aim of this letter.

I am glad to learn that in certain colleges theology forms some part of the matter of examination for Fellowships. I should be happy to learn that these colleges were numerous, and the place of theology in the examinations an important one. W. E. G.

CHAPTER VII

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

1840–1854

THE beginning of Mr. Gladstone's connection with the Oxford Movement dates from the renewal of a college acquaintanceship with James Hope. For some forgotten reason Mr. Gladstone went to visit him at Chelsea Hospital. 'I found him,' he tells Hope's daughter, Mrs. Maxwell Scott, 'among folios and books of grave appearance. It must have been about the year 1836. He opened a conversation on the controversies which were then agitated in the Church of England, and which had Oxford for their centre. I do not think I had paid them much attention; but I was an ardent student of Dante, and likewise of St. Augustine; both of them had acted powerfully on my mind; and this was in truth the best preparation I had for anything like mental communion with a person of his elevation. He then told me that he had been seriously studying the controversy, and that in his opinion the Oxford authors were right. He spoke not only with seriousness, but with solemnity, as if this was for him a great epoch — not merely the adoption of a speculative opinion, but the reception of a profound and powerful religious impulse. . . . It appeared to me as if at this period, in some very special manner, his attention had been seized, his intellect exercised and enlarged, in a new

field, and as if the idea of the Church of Christ had then once for all dawned upon him as the power which, under whatever form, was from thenceforward to be the central object of his affections, in subordination only to Christ Himself, and as His continuing representative.'* A friendship begun in these circumstances would in any case have had a share in determining the course of Mr. Gladstone's religious history. Much more was this the case when the friend was one of the very few, 'some four or five only, who were marked off from the comparative crowd even of the estimable and remarkable by the peculiarity and privilege of their type' — one of whom Mr. Gladstone could write: 'I always felt and knew my own position beside him to be one of mental as well as moral inferiority.'

Yet there is not much to show in what way Hope's influence acted upon his friend. In the first important controversy in which they were both concerned they were for a time in opposite camps. Six of the letters which follow, and many more which I have not been able to print, relate to the ill-starred project of the Jerusalem Bishopric. Of the origin of this scheme Mr. Gladstone gives an enlightening account in his letter to Mrs. Maxwell Scott. About 1841 'Baron Bunsen became the representative of Prussia at the British Court. I remember that your father used to strike me by his suspicions and apprehensions of particular persons, and Bunsen, if I recollect right, was among them. That distinguished person felt an interest in England: he was of a pious and enthusiastic mind — a mind of almost preternatural activity, vivacity, and rapidity — a bright imagination,

* This letter is printed in Ormsby's 'Life of J. R. Hope-Scott.'

and a wide, rather than a deep, range of knowledge. He was in the strongest sympathy, both personal and ecclesiastical, with the then reigning King of Prussia, who visited England in the autumn, I think, of 1841. Sir Robert Peel, however loyal to the *entente* with France, had a strong desire for close relations of friendship with Germany, and the marriage of the Queen, then recent, told in the same sense. All these circumstances paved the way for the singular project of the Anglican Bishopric of Jerusalem, which I believe to have been the child of Bunsen's fertile and energetic brain, and which received at that particular juncture a welcome due, I think, to special circumstances, such as those which I have enumerated. Wide as was the range of Bunsen's subsequent changes, he at this time represented the opinions of the Evangelical German Church, with the strong leanings of an *amateur* towards the Episcopate as a form of government, not as the vehicle of the continuous, corporate, and visible life of the Christian Church. He had, beyond all men I ever knew, the faculty of persuading himself that he had reconciled opposites; and this persuasion he entertained with such fervour that it became contagious.' Pusey and Hope did not wholly escape this influence any more than Gladstone, though their emancipation came a good deal sooner. But if the pietism of Frederick William IV. and Bunsen's fertility of imagination explain the origin of the scheme, how are we to account for the welcome it received from Archbishop Howley and Bishop Blomfield? Mr. Gladstone supplies an answer to this question: 'The unwise proceedings of great and ardent Churchmen' had gradually brought about 'an opinion on the part of the ruling authorities of the English Church that some effort should be made

to counteract the supposed excesses of the party, and to confront the tendencies, or supposed tendencies, now first disclosed, towards the Church of Rome, by presenting to the public mind a telling idea of catholicity under some other form.' They found this other form in the Prussian Evangelical Church, and the Jerusalem bishopric provided a field in which to labour for the desired union. Had this remained a purely State affair, in the creation of which the Church had no share, Newman and Hope would have been much more at their ease; but the royal and ministerial personages soon withdrew, and left the work to be done by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. Mr. Gladstone was always willing to take the most favourable view of episcopal undertakings, and in the proposed bishopric he saw, as he at first thought, an undertaking which would bring fresh life and energy to the Eastern Churches. The details he was content to leave to the Bishops officially associated with the scheme. Had he been aware of Newman's feeling, he might have thought it safer to remain altogether outside it; but a letter to Bishop Blomfield (Letter 133) suggests that he was quite ignorant of this. At all events, he cannot have read the article in the *British Critic* for the previous July, in which Newman had described the proposed bishopric as proving that, instead of recollecting that there are Christian Churches in the East, 'we content ourselves with erecting a Protestant church at Jerusalem, or with helping the Jews to rebuild their Temple there, or with becoming the august protectors of Nestorians, Monophysites, and all the heretics we can hear of, or with forming a league with the Mussulman against Greeks and Romans together.' Nor does Mr. Gladstone seem to have been

any better acquainted with the views of his most intimate friend. In the same month of July James Hope had been alarmed by a report that Bunsen was negotiating the establishment, by the joint action of the Prussian and English Crowns, of a Protestant Protectorate in the East. For the moment he was reassured by Pusey, who thought that the King of Prussia was in heart an Episcopalian, and might be made one in form by association with England in placing the scattered Protestant congregations of Palestine under the rule of a Bishop. Within a month, however, Hope was again disturbed — this time by the news that the Queen's Advocate had been instructed to prepare a Foreign Bishoprics Bill at twenty-four hours' notice. The measure thus hastily framed was introduced in the Lords by the Archbishop on the last day of August. Hope at first tried to suggest amendments, and on this proving impossible he drew a new Bill. This provided that no Bishop should be appointed under the Act except with the consent of a majority of the English Episcopate. When Hope took this proposal to Lambeth he found no one to share his fears. The Archbishop was quite willing to call the Church of England a Protestant Church, and even to extend the protection of the newly-made Bishop to Socinian congregations, in the event of their wishing to come under it. All he wanted was an Act of Parliament which would enable him to consecrate Mr. Alexander. An interview with Bunsen revealed the true mind of the Prussian promoters of the scheme. Bunsen 'disparaged the primitive Church, maintained that any father of a family might consecrate the Eucharist,' and described the proposed bishopric as the first step towards the formation of a new body, destined to absorb or take

the place of the Eastern Churches, orthodox or heretical. Hope was at once converted from indifference to active opposition, and his first act in his new character was to dissuade his friend from becoming a trustee of the fund.

Mr. Gladstone was not prepared to follow Hope's advice until he had done everything in his power to render Bunsen's plan harmless. In the first instance he thought that this end might be attained by a provision that the particulars of the plan should be submitted for approval or correction to an episcopal meeting to be held later on at Lambeth. Bishop Blomfield's frankness made short work of any hopes founded on this proposal. It was very proper that there should be a meeting of the Bishops, and that the details of the scheme should be communicated to them when brought together; but to ask for the sanction of the Bishops was out of the question — for what if the sanction should be refused? The meeting would give the disapproving Bishops an opportunity of making an ineffectual protest, but this was all that could be granted them. In the end Mr. Gladstone regretfully declined the trusteeship, though he still refused to take Hope's view of what had happened. The Church of England had not been 'saved through great and portentous crises from its foes and from its friends to fall beneath a momentary freak.' But with a 'momentary freak' Mr. Gladstone was at no time disposed to associate himself.

The consequences of the scheme on which so much labour was wasted are sufficiently described in a single sentence of Newman's: 'I never heard of any good or harm it has ever done, except what it has done for me.' 'For me,' he might have said, 'and for one

other.' Newman's secession Mr. Gladstone regarded as inflicting an irreparable injury on the Church of England, but Hope's secession was a personal loss as well. 'I have a conviction,' he tells Mrs. Maxwell Scott, 'that it [the Jerusalem Bishopric] cut away the ground on which your father had hitherto most firmly and undoubtingly stood. Assuredly from 1841 or 1842 onwards his most fond, most faithful, most ideal love progressively decayed, and doubt nestled and gnawed in his soul. . . . My affection for him during those later years before his change was, I may almost say, intense; and there was hardly anything, I think, which he could have asked me to do, and which I would not have done. But as I saw more and more through the dim light what was to happen, it became more and more like the affection which is felt for one departed.'

130. *To J. R. Hope.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
February 13, 1840.

. . . I hope the opinion you reported to me is not founded on any notion that I am *addictus jurare in verba* even of the eminent and admirable men at Oxford whom it pains us to hear reviled, and to whom the Church has so much reason to be grateful. I have, indeed, endeavoured feebly in public to defend them from injustice. I am not careful to repudiate imputations, from quarters not entitled to respect, of identity in opinion with them: one must always be content to be in part misunderstood, and I would infinitely rather be misunderstood to go along with them in all things, than to be indifferent or lukewarm respecting certain great principles which they have been so splendidly instrumental in bringing out into due prominence. But to you I have no scruple in saying that I regret some things taught and done almost as much as I

Photo, W. Bell Jones, Hawarden.

INTERIOR OF HAWARDEN CHURCH.

Lectern, and Mr. Gladstone's seat in chancel (indicated by a cross).

rejoice in others, over and above the general conviction that true Church principle utterly rejects the notion of party or combination standing between the individual and the Church, and binds men, inwardly at least, to disclaim every such spurious association, even though, for fear of creating more misapprehension than they remove, they may think fit sometimes to tolerate the imputation.

Personal kindnesses indeed, many and great, I have received from Dr. Pusey: but these, as he would contend, are not to be paid off in compromises of principle.

You would do me a great favour if you would give me at any time your own condemnatory judgment, where you think that I have written in a manner at variance with the law of love, and likewise if, supposing you find that I am held bound to that kind of specific consideration which party union of whatever kind properly entails, you would endeavour to remove the misapprehension on which such an idea would rest.

You may think me, and I may perhaps be, unduly and egotistically sensitive in this matter; but my feeling is, that circumstances have within the last few years not only caused the writers at Oxford to be regarded as heads and members of a party, but in some slight degree to give countenance (whether involuntarily or of purpose) to this opinion; and I am most anxious to say to one who will not misapprehend me, if there be such a party I am no member of it, not only for the reason that I cannot allege concurrence in its distinctive opinions, but also because the whole basis of party seems to me to be uprooted and abolished by the first principles of catholicity in religion. . . .

Always your very sincere and obliged friend,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

131. *To Lord Lyttelton.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
March 18, 1841.

. . . This No. 90 of Tracts for the Times, which I read by desire of Sir R. Inglis, is like a repetition of the publication of Froude's remains, and Newman

has again burned his fingers. The most serious feature in the tract to my mind is that, doubtless with very honest intentions, and with his mind turned for the moment entirely towards those inclined to defection, and therefore occupying *their* point of view exclusively, he has in writing it placed himself quite outside the Church of England in point of spirit and sympathy. As far as regards the proposition for which he intended mainly to argue, I believe not only that he is right, but that it is an ABC truth, almost a truism, of the history of the reign of Elizabeth: namely, that the authoritative documents of the Church of England were not meant to bind *all* men to every opinion of their authors, and particularly that they intended to deal as gently with prepossessions thought to look towards Rome as the necessity of securing a certain amount of reformation would allow.

Certainly, also, the terms in which Newman characterizes the present state of the Church of England in his introduction are calculated to give both pain and alarm; and the whole aspect of the tract is like the assumption of a new position. In his letter to Jelf he seems to have awakened out of a trance, and to re-occupy at least in great part his old one. Upon the whole, the outbreak and its cause are much to be lamented; still, both the progressive and the harmonizing power of Catholic principles is such that I trust and believe irritation will again subside without any material diminution of the rate of their progress. I should be very sorry to see matters go to such a point as to compel all friends of those principles to take any step for formally casting off men to whom, after all, they are under very deep obligations.

There is no doubt of the traditional sentiment to which Newman alludes in his letter to Jelf, nor, as I think, of its low and exclusive character. It is wholly the offspring and representative of a bad period, and were it to be imposed on our individual consciences, it would be a yoke perfectly intolerable. . . .

W. E. GLADSTONE.

132. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

13, Carlton House Terrace,
April 22, 1841.

My dear Manning,

. . . Everything, of course, but conscience should be surrendered for peace. On the other hand, I am afraid our people generally are not impressed yet with the *duty* of seeking unity, nor do they comprehend that genuine elasticity in the principles of Catholic Communion which permits, and which alone safely permits, a large toleration in matters not of faith. I am afraid we are too much disposed to regard the question, 'Shall I hold communion with one who believes in Purgatory?' as identical with the question, 'Can I believe in Purgatory?' Besides which, how can honest Protestant prejudices ever be overcome, while the political action of nearly the entire Roman body among us is of so fearful a character?

But now supposing you could allay and disarm all unreasoning prepossessions of hostility on our side; suppose you could bring men's minds to the consideration of the question with full knowledge that the object in view was to be, not identity of entire religious systems, but capacity of Catholic communion, and the realization, therefore, on both sides of its essential conditions — does not one come upon a most awful difficulty in the too solid distinction between the mere dogma in its most naked form, and the practical system which, as we know, does (according to Newman's expressions) go so far to substitute another Gospel for the true one?

I have, as I have ventured to tell you, my own private apprehensions of Oxford opinions, particularly as regards the doctrine of justification. I believe it might be a blessing to our theology if the word could be forgotten altogether, for I do not know what idea it conveys to any mind that is not carried by one of the two terms pardon and sanctification. I cannot tell in Newman's book what the thing really is for which he is arguing: I dread beyond measure, I confess to you, the doctrine of human *desert*, come it in what form it may, and a sermon in his fifth volume staggers me exceedingly. I dread the working out of, not his

notions, for I do not understand them, but his propositions — the time when they shall have become popular, practical, familiar among us. A sentence in the Homily makes to me almost the *αω* of the question: that which describes that love and other graces must be present in the person justified, although, and notwithstanding this, they are shut out from the office of justifying, in its strict and technical sense. My crude idea of justifying faith is naked perception of the Redeemer; that medium through which by the necessities of our rational nature we become receivers of any kind of impression; having in it nothing whatever of what may be strictly called a causal character, so that metaphysically that by which we receive our consciousness of the law of pardon is not a grace intrinsically, though it be joined with, and the result of, graces. Further, I cannot conceive any other, however Protestant, theory, which does not resolve itself into justification by works; a strong instinct, as it seems to me, saves these schools from the logical consequences of their doctrine. I do not, however, know how I have got into this labyrinth, and have dared to promulgate these undigested notions upon a subject which nothing short of a treatise could handle with effect. Forgive all irrelevancies, and do not suppose I mean to dogmatize.

Affectionately yours,

W. E. G.

133. *To the Bishop of London* (*Blomfield*).

WHITEHALL,
October 28, 1841.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

I have this morning received an application from Mr. Grane, of No. 23, Bedford Row, requesting that my name may be inserted as one of the trustees in the deed of trust of the contemplated bishopric at Jerusalem, in conformity, as he mentions, with the wish of the Archbishops and your own, and with the concurrence of the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews. In addition to the reluctance which I feel to decline acceding to any call made upon me under such authority, I am fearful that, if I were to reply to Mr. Grane's letter in the negative, my refusal

would be interpreted as indicating sentiments, with regard to the principle of the proposed arrangements, which I do not really entertain. At the same time a sense of the great and increasing pressure of the duties of my office, and of my own obligation to devote myself to them, had made me almost come — indeed, I may say I had come — to a positive resolution not to engage myself afresh in any voluntary charge, unconnected with the public service. I have even withdrawn from some such charges in which I had been placed previously to my acceptance of office. To write ingenuously, I must also say that I was recently favoured by my excellent friend, the Chevalier Bunsen, with a perusal of his secret instructions, which had been read to and deposited with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and with your lordship, as expressing the whole mind of the King of Prussia on the subject; and this perusal, without weakening my sentiments of profound, and I will venture to add affectionate, respect towards that admirable monarch, yet raised a scruple in my mind to this extent, that I felt that his view could hardly, without qualification, be adopted as the basis and model of the whole design, however highly it entitles him to our admiration. The points in which it particularly struck me that there was either something to retrench, or to supply in the secret instructions, were: that of the position to be assumed with reference to the other locally organized communions generally, the character seemingly ascribed to the simple appellation of 'Protestant' (I mean as being of a more positive description than experience shows it in this country to be), and the proposed retention of two extended doctrinal symbols (the articles and the confession of Augsburg) among the clergy of the same Bishop. As far, however, as this branch of the subject is concerned, all I should desire is to be apprised that the arrangements will be made according to the discretion and judgment of the Prelates who are officially connected with the formation of the bishopric. As far as regards the difficulties to which I first referred, I think it would be more entirely consistent with my public duties if I were not requested to become a member of this trust — *i.e.*, if Mr. Grane's letter were withdrawn; while at the same time, considering the origin of the

request, and the probability that the duties will be merely *pro formâ* (if I am right in assuming this to be the case), or little more, I should not feel justified in refusing to comply.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

134. *To Chevalier Bunsen.*

WHITEHALL,
November 3, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have perused your striking papers as well as your letter with such attention as I am capable at this time of paying to the vast subjects which they lay open. I had no idea of the range of the operations which you contemplate; and I feel that to form any judgment upon them worthy of the name would require an amount both of examination and of reflection altogether beyond my means to give. Indeed, the scheme must be on your own part the result of the thoughts of years, and I should do it grievous injustice by discussing it with the passing notice of a few hours. At the same time, if I were to understand its design to be to found a new Church in the East, to be a centre of union and harmony first to all reformed Churches and denominations whose members may be willing to conform to its laws, providing such of them as are national with full scope for the retention and development of their several national peculiarities; and, secondly, to the ancient local Churches: I do not feel that the Church of England is adequate, or even entitled, to bear her part in such a work. It seems to assume either the absorption of the local Churches, or the permanent charge of a great spiritual work alongside of them.

Now I, in my crude manner, had contemplated the bishopric proposed to be erected at Jerusalem, as intended simply —

1. To provide for the scattered members of our own communion, and

2. Co-ordinately with the first, for members of any other communion not already provided for, and who might be able to unite upon sound conditions for the purpose.

3. As also intended to pursue a *missionary* work among the Jews, and the Druses, and wherever the ancient and enslaved local Churches are incapacitated from discharging their function.

4. And to be an organ of friendly communication with those ancient Churches, and of good offices to them.

But I had not contemplated at all either —

1. The absorption of the ancient local Churches, or (much less)

2. The undertaking to evangelize the East by a machinery distinct from theirs.

We do not attempt to interfere with the work of the Roman Churches in the countries which they occupy, nor form any establishments there except for the care of our own people. I do not see how we can be justified in adopting any other principle in the East, *a fortiori*, except in allowing the addition of such missionary works as I have named, but which must, I apprehend, be regarded as provisional, and as undertaken by us on account of the slavery of the local Church or Churches, and during that slavery.

At least I know not how to occupy any other ground until we have *ascertained* that there is no local Church in any of the countries to which the scheme refers, historically entitled to be regarded as commissioned of God for the spiritual charge of that country. This, I apprehend, *we* have not hitherto ascertained.

But I feel that I am writing almost at a venture upon a subject which absolutely requires great precision, and I should only offend thus far in the freedom of correspondence with one whom I so much respect and love as yourself. And I am thus far true to the text with which I set out: that I have made these remarks for the purpose of indicating to you, however rudely and partially, the state of my own mind — *not* as implying censure upon your plans, which I feel that I have not, and I lament to say in my present circumstances I cannot, adequately consider.

But now with reference to a matter which has sprung up since I saw you — the request that I should become a trustee of the Bishopric Fund, and my hesitation (stated to the Bishop of London) to comply with that request. I had seen nothing in the proposal

to found a bishopric at Jerusalem, understood in the sense which I have above indicated under four heads, which prevented my indulging a sentiment of deep interest in its welfare, or which would have made me suspend my accession to the request to become a trustee; although I of course felt that the benefits to be anticipated are such as cannot humanly speaking be realized, nor the attendant risks avoided, without great tact and circumspection, as well as great faith and charity, on the part of the intended Bishop. But I stated to you in your carriage — perhaps precipitately, but frankly — that the arrangement with respect to the two Confessions sounded ill to my ear. I afterwards wrote to you that I feared it would either involve the reality, or at least produce many of the evils by presenting the appearance, of disunion. Both these views were crude and partial — but further reflection has led me onwards to a sentiment more narrow and more definite — strengthening, I regret to say, my objection to that part of the proposed arrangements. Although, on the other hand, I rejoice to say, not connecting it with what I understand to be their principle, not referring it (in your own language) either to the 'internal organization' or to the 'external action' of the proposed Church, its relation to these would require a separate consideration, and I do not at this moment feel able to measure the degree of its importance. But my difficulty is this, and I think you will appreciate its force — though it touches me simply as a member of the Church of England, and with respect to her internal discipline and function of self-movement, for which I know you would zealously contend. The Archbishop of Canterbury's intended Suffragan at Jerusalem is to ordain to the sacred ministry persons who have signed the Augsburg Confession, and who thereby, and by no signature to any other formal document, have ascertained to him their orthodoxy, the establishment of which, we agree, requires formal subscription of some kind.

The connection thus established between the Archbishop and the Church of England in his person on the one part, and the Augsburg Confession on the other part, is rendered yet closer by the effect of the amendment which I was the means of introducing

into the Bill when in the House of Commons. Upon the whole it constitutes, in my view, a virtual and substantial adoption by the English Church of *a new Confession* — whether worse or better than her own, you will agree, makes nothing to the point: the point is this, how can such an adoption legitimately take place except by a formal act of the Church? How can that formal act of the Church take place by the individual decision of one or two, even her most exalted prelates? I have looked at this difficulty again and again, and cannot see my way out of it, nor get rid of the impression that in doing any act to connect my Mother Church with any Confession other than her own I am assuming her office.

Undoubtedly this objection would be met by the arrangement which I am delighted to find you, as well as Abeken, would greatly have preferred: viz., the requiring subscription only to the three creeds, and trusting the rest to the Bishop.

I entirely concur in your view of the positions to be occupied by our respective nationalities — that they should be *equal:* and individually I can easily reply to the question you put. If a Bishop Suffragan to Canterbury can ordain upon the Augsburg Confession, then clearly he can ordain without the Thirty-nine Articles (as to a national equivalent for them, I know not whence we can derive his obligation to look for or to recognize any such substitution); and if he can properly be allowed to surrender his own national Confession as a condition of Orders, then surely he can also with propriety be empowered to dispense with any and every national Confession, and to fall back upon the ancient Catholic symbols.

Believe me it is a cause of grief, and nothing less, to me, thus at the moment of the apparent consummation of your benevolent and pious labours to interpose doubts and questions which beset my own individual conscience. I have submitted to the Bishop of London what appeared to stand between me and a lawful conscientious assent to the design, such as I had understood it to be, and I can but hope for the best.

I should, however, suppose it will be requisite, from the extent and complication of the subject, that something in the nature of a formal constitution, not as to

details and internal administration, but as to foundation outlines, of the proposed Establishment should be drawn: I would even presume to add that I should suppose this constitution ought to have the sanction of the Episcopal College. Perhaps this, or the first part of it, may have been done already. I very much regret to hear you have not been well.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

P.S. — Since writing my letter I have an answer from the Bishop of London, who states to me that the new Bishop will not be legally empowered to ordain anyone, English or German, without subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles.

He also states that the question, whether the additional subscription to be required of Germans should be taken by the Bishop or in some other manner, is one which may be determined hereafter. To my apprehension, if the Bishop exacts that subscription, my difficulty remains in force. If he do not — and indeed whether he do or do not — I think the principle of the equality of our respective nationalities is compromised in the arrangement, as the Bishop describes it.

Would not also the German Bishop at Bethlehem be required to exact under our law, from his candidates for Orders, of whatever nation, the same subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles?

135. *To J. R. Hope.*

WHITEHALL,
November 6, 1841.

MY DEAR HOPE,

I have to ask it of you as a particular favour that you will come and see me to-morrow morning, if convenient, to breakfast at a quarter-past nine — or as soon thereafter as you can reconcile it with your other engagements.

Amidst public business quite sufficient for a man of my compass, I have during the whole of this week perforce been carrying on with the Bishop of London, and with Bunsen, a correspondence on and an inqui-

sition into the Jerusalem design, until I almost reel and stagger under it. To have the advantage of your clear and cool counsel will be such a comfort to me, that I am sure you will not grudge it.

As the matter stands at present it is arranged —

1. That all the present plans and instructions are to be regarded as provisional, and that the whole are to be submitted for approval or correction some time hence to an Episcopal meeting at Lambeth.

2. That no person will be receivable from the Orthodox Greek Church into the proposed college at Jerusalem without the consent (if in Holy Orders) or acquiescence (if a layman) of his ecclesiastical superiors.

3. The Thirty-nine Articles are to be assented to by all candidates for Orders, of whatever nation; Germans, in order to show that they are able to officiate in their own country, are to bring proof that they have subscribed the Augsburg Confession.

4. The dependence of the Bishop at Jerusalem upon the See of Canterbury is to terminate either upon the full reunion of the English and Orthodox Greek Churches, or upon the establishment of an acknowledged Hebrew nation and Church upon the spot.

I beg your attention especially to the first and fourth of these regulations.

I have been making my way into the structure of the scheme piecemeal, and have had much anxiety, of which I am bound to say the chief part has, I think, been caused by the shame and sense of total incapacity to analyze and pronounce upon a matter of this nature.

Bunsen has just left the formal document, or Articles, in my hands, and I asked his permission to *consult* you. In the meantime I am invited to attend the consecration at Lambeth to-morrow, and my mind at present inclines to the opinion that I ought to go.

As to the question of trusteeship, that I felt it best to reserve until the blessed rest of to-morrow.

I ought not to close without adding, that I am amazed at the kindness and condescension of the parties with whom, directly and indirectly, I have been engaged, and I am most anxious to go along with them, but my vision is too feeble to be trusted.

Your attached friend,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

136. *To Chevalier Bunsen.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
November 8, 1841.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I now return you the Articles, which, as I understand from you, indicate the provisional basis of the new bishopric in Jerusalem: and I give you an answer founded upon them, which I hope will, by bringing matters to a speedy issue, relieve you from any further toil in the pursuit of so worthless an object as the annexation of my name to a design already supported by so much higher and worthier approvals.

The article with respect to an Episcopal meeting at Lambeth seems to me to remove all reasonable cause of exception on the head of the competency of the organ of assent.

The article relating to the present conduct to be observed towards the Greek Church, founded on the admission that she exercises the legitimate ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the place, appears to me in its spirit fully to recognize the claims which, upon that supposition, she is entitled to advance.

The arrangement respecting the Augsburg Confession does not, when taken in connection with the provision first above mentioned, present (in my view) any insuperable obstruction.

I understand the article with respect to the suffraganship to Canterbury to import that it is provisional, and that it will naturally terminate —

1. So far as regards the care of strangers, when the Orthodox Church of the place escapes from oppression, and when the English Church is again in communion with it.

2. So far as regards persons native or to be naturalized, whether Jews, or Druses, or (to borrow your expression) other Gentiles, when they have grown into an established and sufficiently organized Christian Society; and it would of course be for such a Church to endeavour to arrange its own reunion with the previous existing local Church, whose jurisdiction we acknowledge, when set free.

Under these suppositions I see no reason to alter

the impressions made upon my mind by your original statement, that the intended bishopric might greatly promote the welfare of the Kingdom of our Lord by the care of the dispersed strangers of our nations in communion with it, by friendly offices to the Eastern Societies, and particularly in a special sense to that which you recognize as the Orthodox Greek Church, by the superintendence of the missionary establishments, and by gathering those who are now outcasts, Jew or Gentile, into the Church.

But both a part of what I heard yesterday in the discourse of Dr. McAll, and a conversation after the consecration with Lord Ashley, have made me feel that I have not been wholly without warrant in taxing you so severely to explain to me in some detail the nature and objects of this interesting design.

If it be true, as was (I thought) asserted by the former, that the Greek Church is idolatrous, and that therefore, were she willing, we could not hold communion with her, in the first place we ought to be apprised of this by a solemn ecclesiastical judgment, and in the second, your article, regulating the conduct to be observed towards her, ought surely to undergo material — nay, essential — change. It is in that case a duty to proselytize, and a sin to refrain.

Nor do I understand that the Greek Patriarch is incapable of holding the jurisdiction of St. James for the reason that his see was of a different nation, and was not founded until the fifth century, especially while the Archbishops of Canterbury inherit the jurisdiction of the early British Bishops, their see having been founded by a stranger in the sixth century, and continued among, not the British, but the Anglo-Saxons.

Again, I gathered from Lord Ashley's conversation that in his view a part of the purpose of the new bishopric is by the exhibition of a reformed faith and worship to draw the members of the Eastern Churches to adopt its amended institutions. So far so good; but further that it was indifferent in point of principle whether these amendments should take effect through the reform of the existing communion, or by attracting its members away from their own communion into that of the new Bishop. And so much, apparently, does this

idea dwell in his mind, that upon my stating that I did not conceive the Church of England or her members had any vocation or title thus to aim at drawing off in any manner those whom God has committed to other shepherds, he said, that was an objection to the whole design, and that it surprised him that I should, holding such an opinion, even be present at the consecration.

I have alluded explicitly to these things because I am convinced that much depends upon the right or wrong original conception of a design like this, and that it will be vitiated in its essence, and perplexed with strife, and stricken with sterility from its infancy, if it should tamper with the principles of Christian unity either by the attempt, direct or indirect, to invite men to leave a pre-existing orthodox local Church, or by the claim to found a permanently separate and independent communion. If I had reason to suppose that either of these things were to be done, it would be dishonest in me to accept the trusteeship, as the first clear indication either of the one or of the other would be to me a signal at once to withdraw from it.

I have endeavoured in this letter to cut short your charitable labour towards me by a more decided effort to make my sentiments, crude and valueless as I know them to be, at least intelligible. If they be found irreconcilable with *the real authoritative definitions of the scheme*, even this is better than to delude you with a hollow assent — support so feeble can have no worth but in its entire honesty. *If on the contrary they correspond* with the fundamental constructive ideas of the bishopric, then I must not be deterred from becoming a party to the plan upon the call of my superiors in the Church, through fear of being misapprehended in any quarter, or because other individuals may have formed a different and inaccurate conception of its intent.

The question is therefore, I hope, clearly before you, and I leave it to you once more to communicate, if you think fit, with the Bishop of London, as I understand from you that when you last conversed with him he was somewhat at a loss to know upon what points my mind required to be reassured or

informed. If he considers, upon the terms of this letter, that I have justly apprehended the scheme, then I consent without further scruple to become a trustee; but I could only do so with the most distinct assurance to that effect. And I heartily wish in conclusion that neither you nor the Bishop may ever again be doomed to bestow so much labour upon so small an object. But you will feel with me that a part of what passed yesterday has rather tended to unmake the ground which the day before appeared secure.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

137. *To J. R. Hope.*

CAMBRIDGE,
November 25, 1841.

MY DEAR HOPE,

On Tuesday, the day after I got here, having procured an introduction to Dr. Mill, I conversed with him at great length on the subject of the Jerusalem Bishopric, partly in order to satisfy my own mind whether I had acted right in the recent circumstances, but chiefly for the more important purpose of examining what had best be done with a view to the future. And having obtained his sense of the matter, and waited some time to communicate further with him for the chance of any modification, I now by arrangement with him write to you.

If the Episcopal meeting and consideration of this question is to be worthy of its nature, preparation, it would seem, must be made for it by a thorough examination of the whole subject, through the medium of competent theologians. It is not to be expected that each Bishop for himself, or any one for the whole, will spontaneously, amidst cares already superabundant, discharge so weighty a task. This was your own view. Dr. Mill is ready to enter into such examination, upon a call from the proper quarter; he would like it to be under the special conduct of some Bishop, say Bangor, and would look, I think, for the co-operation of Palmer, and perhaps others. He at first thought that I, as pledged to be a trustee, might properly press upon the Archbishop the instituting some such thorough investigation, but he agrees with

me that this had better be avoided. It was obvious to us both that the natural origin of such a proposition *auprès* the Archbishop, would be the request of some Bishop desiring to be fully informed on the merits, as well as authoritatively apprised of the matter at issue before approaching the discussion. He suggested my moving some Bishop to make such a request, but I had a feeling that this procedure on my part would *perhaps* not be (after so much of *direct* communication) perfectly ingenuous. But we thought that as you had *originally* entertained the idea, and have not been directly in contact with the Archbishop and Bishop, nothing could be more natural than for you to carry it out accordingly by prompting your Bishop, so soon as you may find it advisable, to call for something of the kind. By such a method I think a proper train may be laid; without it, or something like it, I cannot see my way. Discussion founded upon partial or false information, coloured with prejudices, conducted without concert and without responsibility, may do more harm than good. And the plan is not really before the world, nor the materials, on which alone a judgment can be formed, as yet *publici juris*. Great part, for instance, of what I told Dr. Mill was new to him. It is a formal and elaborate inquiry, and nothing else, as it seems to me, that when reported would put the body of Bishops in a condition to exercise a really deliberative judgment.

Dr. Mill views the subject with great apprehension, but I do not think he goes your length as to the *recognitions* involved in what has been done. He struck me very much, above all, as a man who has got a *solid footing*. Yonge, I remember, at Eton asked a stupid plodding boy what demon had prompted him to do Greek verses: I will only go so near as to say, who put Pusey's letter about the Poetry Professorship in the newspapers? Surely they had much better get a letter from the Pope in favour of Williams (if he will write one) by way of advancing his claim. I imagine the opposition to him to be unjust, but I cannot conceive a measure so calculated, in the present state of men's minds to strengthen it, as a volunteered public advocacy from Pusey, or any advocacy understood to be such.

God help this labouring Church, and send us no more of such disastrous years. Tract 90, Few Words, the line taken in the *British Critic*, the Winchester and Chester Charges, the Riley correspondence, the Jerusalem Bishopric, Sibthorp's sad defection, and Oxford at deadly strife with herself upon the question whether a connection with the Tracts is or is not a disqualification for holding a Poetry Professorship! Hitherto the sacred principle of communion had bound us all together, and had even gathered strength amidst the agitation and conflict of private opinions, but these shocks sadly strain the vessel. Would that we could have some solemn and continued humiliation for the evil, be it where it may that has caused them!

There seems to be in progress here much that is of a pleasing and consoling character. I never expected to see the day when Cambridge should have pretensions, even for a moment, to a juster equilibrium than Oxford.

Believe me always,
Your attached friend,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

P.S. — I wrote this last night, and have this morning received your most impressive letter. I trust that it does not leave room for practical difference between us. I look for a genuine theological investigation, to subject the plan to a fair and searching test, and although it is quite true that you are wholly free and uncommitted, I know you are not the man on that account to refuse to put your hand to the oar.

The language of the Declaration which you quote, and which I had not seen, is very objectionable. I am considering whether to write to the Bishop of London upon it. . . .

138. *To the Bishop of London (Blomfield).*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
November 30, 1841.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

. . . Your lordship's letter opens a new and serious subject. I did certainly believe, from what Bunsen said to and showed me, that it would be open to

the Episcopal meeting to consider all questions relating to the position and jurisdiction of the Bishop in Jerusalem. I have no means of verifying my recollection of the article on the subject, but it left a very different impression on my mind from the sense of the words cited in your letter.

My own feeling as to the necessity of further investigation in this matter has gained strength every day. I have looked, for example, into the Augsburg Confession, and I find (of course giving my own crude ideas only for the little they are worth) that (Article V.) it anathematizes those who deny that it is a sin to entertain a doubt of personal pardon and acceptance. Is this anathema the doctrine of the Church of England, or can she enter into relations with the Confession which contains it, or are there explanations applicable to so strangely sounding a proposition of which I know nothing? These and such questions I ask myself, and in the absence of any definite theological examination of this question, or at least of any knowledge on my part of the results of such examination, I am unable to answer. I had hoped undoubtingly that the scheme would be put into form before the public, or at all events before competent persons, and fully believed and still believe that it would be practicable, without foregoing any of your lordship's objects, so to adjust its particulars as to carry along with it the concurrent sense of the Church. Now the feeling I have described would not have led me to postpone for one moment attaching my signature to the deed, but it made me lean much upon the idea that time and means would be given for full and searching consideration, and that the plan in its final form would go forth under the real sanction as to all its particulars of the collective body of Bishops. I regret beyond expression to find that I have misinterpreted it in this most material respect, and that there are parts of it, other than the single decision to establish a Bishop of the United Church in Jerusalem, to which the discretion of the Episcopal meeting will not extend. Under these circumstances, brought to an option which I feel to be deplorable, I have sent back the deed to Mr. Grane without my signature, referring him to your lordship's directions: with pain greater than I can

describe, but on which to dwell would degrade the subject.

I am deeply indebted by the kindness with which you permit me to recede: and I should not be ashamed of having given weight in what I have done and hesitated to do to the mere desire not to displease either the Archbishop of Canterbury or your lordship. But I have had also higher and deeper motives. Though not accustomed to take gloomy views of Church matters, I am too well assured that there are now formidable elements at work. Unless for many years past I have entirely mistaken the signs of the Archbishop's mind and that of your lordship, in reference to our internal variances, it has been your care by tenderness and patience and a genuine and generous moderation to compose the minds of men, and to hold them together until a fuller knowledge of their own substantive immovable basis of concord, and a more dispassionate view of the nature of their differences, might bring them into perfect sympathy together, and thus effectually consolidate the Church. Believing you ready to go all lengths in furtherance of your high-minded policy, I have presumed greatly in this correspondence. As regards personal indulgence, I have reason to be, and am, deeply grateful. But as respects the circumstances of this plan and their probable effects upon the state of mind in the Church, I am as deeply apprehensive. I do not speak merely of morbid feelings, but of the most solid and stable judgments. The first I consider to be those under which, without examination, men condemn the scheme merely because it bears an aspect of approximation to foreign Protestants. Among the latter, however, I find a strong impression that the design requires the utmost care in its conduct, and that the way, if practicable, is full of pitfalls.

It is right that, responding to your frankness and confidence, I should indicate to your lordship by what description of recent circumstances it is that I am reminded from day to day of the necessity of an authoritative and distinct declaration of the nature of the scheme, such as will rid it of apparent ambiguities, and, fixing its ecclesiastical character before the world, place the facts beyond dispute.

For example, in the Advertisement soliciting subscriptions — which I apprehend is the only declaration of which the British public have been put in possession — it is stated that the Bishop goes to the East as a representative of the Reformed Church. I ask myself, Can he represent, as Bishop, a Church with which he is not in communion? What is meant by the Reformed Church? If the United Church of England and Ireland, would it not have been so expressed? If the generality of Protestants, or even the Lutherans alone with us, then, since we are divided as to communion, does the being of a Church depend only upon a common profession of certain doctrines, and what are they? Or if not, upon what does it depend, and how is the definition applicable to the phrase in question?

Next, I think the same Advertisement speaks of the Bishop's entering into relations of amity with the ancient Churches of the East — but I see no distinction taken between orthodox and heretical, or between legitimate and intrusive. Are the public, then, to suppose that he is to recognize an equality of rights and functions among these classes of communions? Or may it be authoritatively declared that no such distinctions of class exist in any of the Churches of the East? I put these, not as interrogatories to your lordship, but as a description of what takes place in my own mind, making me feel the necessity of some means of giving an unequivocal and authorized reply.

Again, I have seen in the newspapers an article from the *Allgemeine Zeitung* declaring that the Church of England by this transaction proclaims her constitution to be a matter of secondary importance, and unites the ecclesiastical system of Germany with her own. Notwithstanding the traces which that article bears, I do not attach much weight to it: but I have read with pain and shame, in the *Times* of the 24th, a proclamation *by the King of Prussia* (which I fervently trust has never been under the eye of that excellent man), in which, without a hint of any alteration, of adoption into the communion and jurisdiction of a Bishop of the Church of England and Ireland, or of assent to the Thirty-nine Articles, it is declared with much more that it is 'the German *Evangelical Church*'

for which the plan provides. These gross misrepresentations do not affect my mind — I am ready in my humble sphere to run the risk of them; but the public have not seen the Articles, do not know that they are misrepresentations at all, and are left to receive them as uncontradicted statements whose authenticity they have every reason to presume. To *me* the consolation was that I had read such and such conditions, embodied in the form of Articles, which I knew dispelled these imaginary notions — that the Lutherans of Germany must come under the jurisdiction and into the communion of a Bishop of this Church, and must be ordained upon subscription to its Confession, and not to their own — but in the meantime I know that true and noble minds are writhing in the pain — ay, the agony — which necessarily attends their ignorance upon a subject so deeply, so intensely interesting to the heart of every Churchman. I have laboured earnestly, as in duty bound, to quiet the apprehensions of some who have applied to me on the subject, because I knew that many of their misgivings were unfounded, and as to others because I believe that the wisdom of the Archbishops and of your lordship would take care, before the final ratification of the constitution of the bishopric, to have the whole matter thoroughly worked out in its true merits by such as have leisure and competency for so great a subject; so that whether as to the relations with Lutherans and other Protestant bodies, or as to those with the Greek and other Eastern Communions, no room should remain for a suspicion that there had not been the most minute attention to the principles of the orthodox faith and of Catholic unity.

As it is, taking the actual subject in its connection with concomitant circumstances, I deeply fear that men, alarmed at the secrecy which is observed, wrought by doubt and solicitude into mental fever, and misled by the vague, meagre, and even false, statements which may go or may have gone into circulation, will read the plan each according to his own prejudice and passion, and will commit themselves to such degrees and even possibly such kinds of dissent from the proceedings of its authors and its promoters as will give a greater shock to the inward unity of this Church,

and a better founded theme of exultation to her Roman assailants, than the one has ever yet sustained, or the other realized.

Most anxious again to be counted hereafter among the inferior supporters of the plan, I have thus endeavoured to give a view of some difficulties attending it which seem to me to deserve notice: at the risk, I know, of at length exhausting your lordship's hitherto unwearied and condescending patience towards me, and without the power of withdrawing my mind from the distraction of alien avocations, but in the earnest hope and prayer that all real and rightful obstacles may be removed, and all false apprehensions dissipated, and that the final form of this design may be such as shall most conduce to the glory of the Redeemer in His body visible on earth. . . .

It is probable that Mr. Gladstone might sooner have seen the incurable faults of this disastrous project had he not been greatly interested in the contest for the Poetry Professorship at Oxford. As yet the leaders of the Movement had hardly realized the magnitude of the task before them. They seem to have thought that the Church only needed to have her true character and mission made plain to answer at once to the implied appeal. Such opposition as they might meet with would be due rather to ignorance than to deliberate purpose. They were ready, therefore, to seize every opportunity for fighting that presented itself. Each fresh battle would only make their purpose and method better known, and publicity would mean growth. In the autumn of 1841 such an occasion arrived. Keble's tenure of the Professorship of Poetry came to an end. Poets were not too abundant in the University, and no one had so good a claim to the office as Isaac Williams. But Williams was the author of the Tract on 'Reserve in Communicating Religious

Knowledge,' the least understood and the most disliked of the whole series until the publication of No. 90. A rival candidate was at once found in Mr. Garbett, the avowed ground of the challenge being that the return of Williams would be 'represented as a decision of Convocation in favour of his party,' and so inflict discredit on the University. From that moment poetry was forgotten, and the election became a strictly theological conflict. Here and there electors might promise their support to Williams because they liked his verses, or thought that a Professor of Poetry should be himself a poet, but as a rule the voters cared only for his religious views. Mr. Gladstone saw this more plainly than his friends at Oxford, and he at once set himself to prepare a circular which should impress Williams's supporters with a sense of the risk they were incurring. To allow the election to run out to its natural close was to force the University into a theological contest at a time when the members had neither the knowledge nor the calmness which could lift the combatants above the atmosphere of party. The side with which, on the whole, he sympathized, and to which his vote, if he was forced to give one, was promised, was, he thought, courting defeat, and defeat would involve the indescribable calamity of making Oxford appear to condemn Catholic principles. This disaster could only be averted by the withdrawal of both candidates in favour of some third party. The letters which follow show how passionately Mr. Gladstone urged the adoption of this course on both committees. Neither side took his action very kindly. The reason which led Mr. Gladstone to deprecate a contest made Garbett's thoroughgoing supporters desire one all the more. The object of the circular to the two com-

mittees might be carefully veiled in Mr. Gladstone's letters, but no one doubted that what he desired was to save the University from supporting the Heads of Houses against the writers of the Tracts. Even Newman and Pusey, who could hardly hope to win in the contest, were unwilling to abandon it, and the more so as the promises for Williams came in faster. In the end both sides consented to compare their several prospects, and as Williams's committee could only show 623 promises, against the 921 of Garbett's committee, they withdrew their man.

The situation created by Tract 90 was of far greater importance than the fight between Williams and Garbett, but it attracted much less attention from Mr. Gladstone. I have printed (Letter 131) the only letter which contains any reference to this, the most critical incident in the Movement up to that time. The excitement which the Tract created had no foundation in reason. The claim set out in it was the familiar one that documents, the rejection of which may have highly penal consequences, must be strictly construed. The language of the Tract was very much the language of judges interpreting an Act of Parliament. The argument from history pointed to the same conclusion. It showed that the Articles were intended to mean what they say — that and no more. It might have been thought that this doctrine would be altogether to Mr. Gladstone's mind. He was a great master of words, and accustomed to use them with a careful regard to their exact signification. Lord Morley speaks of the exasperation which this characteristic caused in his foes. 'His adversary, as he strode confidently along the smooth grass, suddenly found himself treading on a serpent; he had overlooked a condition, a proviso, a

word of hypothesis or contingency, that sprang from its ambush and brought his triumph to naught on the spot.' What in Mr. Gladstone's case was due to his being a purist as regards the consistency of statesmen was prompted in Newman's case by a sudden and urgent necessity — the necessity of preventing secessions to Rome. Nobody could be more anxious to prevent them than Mr. Gladstone himself, and if he had realized how much hung upon the acceptance of a strict and historical, as opposed to a loose and popular, reading of the Articles, he would have been an eager defender of the obnoxious Tract. Even as it was, he fully accepted Newman's canon of interpretation. That the Articles were meant to keep as many Roman Catholics as possible within the Reformed Church seemed to him 'an ABC truth, almost a truism, of the history of the reign of Elizabeth.' But in the Tract itself he saw nothing but an unnecessary exercise of an ingenuity which would have been quite in place on a proper occasion. This must be attributed to his imperfect acquaintance with what was actually going on at Oxford. He did recognize that in the explanatory letter which he addressed to Jelf, Newman had put himself right with the public; but that this letter only made the meaning of the Tract clearer, and was in no sense a retractation or qualification of it, seems to have escaped him.

What is stranger still is his apparent indifference to the proceedings of the Hebdomadal Board. It was natural that the Heads of Houses should be disturbed by the reasoning of the Tract. They had signed the Articles themselves, and had presented them for signature to generations of undergraduates, Bachelors, and Masters of Arts, in the comfortable belief that they

formed an impregnable defence against the whole body of Roman doctrine as popularly understood. It was now pointed out to them that the Articles were not at all what they supposed them to be. What they condemned was not purgatory, or invocation of saints, or the Eucharistic sacrifice, but certain teaching concerning these things which had been common in the unreformed Church about the time when the Articles were framed. No reasonable person could have been either surprised or aggrieved if the Heads had insisted upon an expert investigation of this new and startling theory. But they did nothing of the kind. They did not so much as ask whether any grounds could plausibly be urged in defence of the position taken up in the Tract. They met on March 15— the Tract having made its appearance just a fortnight earlier — and put forth a resolution declaring 'that modes of interpretation such as are suggested in the same Tract, evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors which they are designed to counteract, defeat the 'object and are inconsistent with the due observance of the statutes of the University.' In any circumstances such a censure as this would have been a strange disregard of justice. It became a conspicuous disregard of justice when, at the moment the resolution was made public, its authors had notice that Newman's defence was already in the printer's hands. (It was, in fact, published some twelve hours later.) How was it that in 1841 these things had no effect on Mr. Gladstone, when in 1843 proceedings not more flagrant excited his fiercest indignation?

I do not know that any complete answer can be given to this question. There are two reasons,

however, which go some way to explain the difference. One is that even Mr. Gladstone's power of work had its limits. He was now Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and he says himself that his assumption of office was 'followed by hard, steady, honest work' — words that in Mr. Gladstone's mouth, and applied to himself, mean a great deal. It was at this period that Sir James Graham said of him that 'Gladstone could do in four hours what it took any other man sixteen to do, and he worked sixteen hours a day.' At that time, too, the work at the Board of Trade was specially heavy and specially important, and he had taken it up against his own wish, and without, as he thought, any special aptitude. 'This place,' he writes in his diary, 'is very distasteful to me, and, what is of more importance, I fear I may hereafter demonstrate the unfitness I have to-day only stated.' In the end this distasteful task was the foundation of his success as a financier, but at starting it can have left him little time for theological controversy.

The second reason is of greater force. It arises directly from the special conditions in which the Movement had its origin. There are two passages in Church's 'Oxford Movement' which should never be left unquoted by anyone who is dealing with the religious history of England in the nineteenth century. They describe, as they are described nowhere else, the two most distinctive features of the Movement — its intensely local character and, during its initial period, its intensely personal character. 'The scene of this new Movement was as like as it could be in our modern world to a Greek πόλις, or an Italian self-centred city of the Middle Ages. Oxford stood by itself in its meadows by the rivers . . . living a life of its own

unlike that of any other spot in England, with its privileged powers and exemptions from the general law, with its special mode of government and police, its usages and tastes and traditions and even costume, which the rest of England looked at from the outside, much interested and much puzzled, or knew only by transient visits. And Oxford was as proud and jealous of its own ways as Athens or Florence, and, like them, it had its quaint fashions of polity; its democratic convocation and its oligarchy; its social ranks; its discipline, severe in theory and usually lax in fact; its self-governed bodies and corporations within itself; its faculties and colleges, like the guilds and "arts" of Florence; its internal rivalries and discords; its "sets" and factions. . . . These conditions affected the character of the Movement and of the conflicts which it caused. . . . Oxford was a place where everyone knew his neighbour and measured him, and was more or less friendly or repellent; where the customs of life brought men together every day and all day in converse or discussion; and where every fresh statement or every new step furnished endless material for speculation or debate in common rooms or in the afternoon walk. And for this reason, too, feelings were apt to be more keen and intense and personal than in the larger scenes of life. . . . Men struck blows and loved and hated in those days in Oxford as they hardly did on the wider stage of London politics or general religious controversy.' * The second passage is the description of Newman's methods of influence. While he was 'the man who attracted confidence and kindled enthusiasm, whose voice was continually in men's ears, and whose

* Church, 'The Oxford Movement,' pp. 139–141.

private conversation and life was something ever new in its sympathy and charm,' and 'so created in those about him not mere admiration, but passionate friendship or unreserved discipleship . . . he did not try to draw men to him; he was no proselytizer; he shrank with fear and repugnance from the character — it was an invasion of the privileges of the heart. But if men came to him, he was accessible; he allowed his friends to bring their friends to him, and met them more than halfway. He was impatient of mere idle worldliness, of conceit and impertinence, of men who gave themselves airs; he was very impatient of pompous and solemn emptiness. But he was very patient with those whom he believed to sympathize with what was nearest his heart. . . . Courteous, affable, easy as he was, he was a keen trier of character; he gauged, and men felt that he gauged, their motives, their reality and soundness of purpose; he let them see, if they at all came into his intimacy, that, if *they* were not, he, at any rate, was in the deepest earnest. And at an early period, in a memorable sermon, the vivid impression of which still haunts the recollection of some who heard it, he gave warning to his friends, and to those whom his influence touched, that no child's play lay before them; that they were making, it might be without knowing it, the "ventures of faith." But feeling that he had much to say, and that a University was the place for the circulation and discussion of ideas, he let himself be seen and known and felt, both publicly and in private. His conversation ranged widely, marked by its peculiar stamp — entire ease, unstudied perfection of apt and clear-cut words, unexpected glimpses of a sure and piercing judgment.' * Besides his character

* Church, 'The Oxford Movement,' pp. 161, 162.

and personality, Newman wielded a special instrument of extraordinary power. 'None but those who remember them can adequately estimate the effect of Mr. Newman's four o'clock sermons at St. Mary's. . . . Without those sermons the Movement might never have gone on, certainly never would have been what it was. . . . Plain, direct, unornamented, clothed in English that was only pure and lucid, free from any faults of taste, strong in their flexibility and perfect command both of language and thought, they were the expression of a piercing and large insight into character and conscience and motives, of a sympathy at once most tender and most stern with the tempted and the wavering, of an absolute and burning faith in God and His counsels, in His love, in His judgments, in the awful glory of His generosity and His magnificence. They made men think of the things which the preacher spoke of, and not of the sermon or the preacher.' *

In this strenuous and passionate life Mr. Gladstone had no part. Even his friendship with Hope does not seem to have led him to read the early 'Tracts for the Times,' with their brief, direct, stimulating appeals to the consciences of Churchmen. His knowledge of the Movement hardly began till it had passed its first triumphant stage and entered upon a period of reverses and, what was worse, of doubt and hesitation. Down to the autumn of 1839 the rapidity of its progress had been extraordinary. Sixty thousand copies of the Tracts had been sold in one year — a really marvellous number considering the subjects they dealt with and the limitations under which the distribution of books was carried on in those days. The testimony of opponents was no less conclusive. They were every-

* Church, 'The Oxford Movement,' p. 113.

where lamenting the extent to which the new doctrines had spread, and the speed with which the ground had been covered. Newman, writing five-and-twenty years later, spoke of the spring of 1839 as the time when his 'position in the Anglican Church was at its height,' when he 'had supreme confidence' in his controversial *status*, and 'a great and still growing success in recommending it to others.' Yet in the letters belonging to this period—1833–1839—I have found only two references to what was passing at Oxford. In January, 1839, Mr. Gladstone tells James Hope that the connection between his newly-published book ('The State in its Relations with the Church') and the doctrines in vogue at Oxford would make it more difficult and more important for it to make way, and adds: 'I wish I could believe that none of the obstacles in the way of those doctrines arose from causes ascribable to their propounders; but it would have been too much to hope that all the right should have been on one side.' He recognizes, indeed, that 'under whatever disadvantages, and in spite of whatever opposition, the root is striking deep and far and wide'; he trusts that 'the men of Oxford will yet be instrumental in realizing immense advantage to religion'; and he ends by a prediction which has been in part fulfilled: 'I am entirely convinced that in substance the movement termed Evangelical and that falsely termed Popish are parts of one great and beneficent design of God, and that in their substance they will harmonize and co-operate.' But in the letter to Hope (Letter 130)—the first printed in this chapter—we find him chiefly anxious to assert the 'incompatibility of true Church principle' with any notion of 'party or combination.' This repudiation of party recurs from time to time in the correspondence, notably

in a letter written in 1865 and printed by Lord Morley.* Probably Mr. Gladstone's dislike to political parties would have been equally strong had not his Parliamentary and official experience convinced him that action, if it is to be useful, implies concert, and that concert, if it is to go beyond a single occasion, involves the subordination of lesser ends to greater.

I may even go farther, and say that in one, and that a very real, sense Mr. Gladstone was never a Tractarian. His knowledge of Newman and Keble did not amount to intimacy, and Froude — next to Newman the inspiring genius of the Movement — was no more than a name to him. Even when he was most in sympathy with the Oxford leaders it was rather as an ally than as a comrade. He had come to accept many of the principles, to labour for many of the objects, they had made their own; but even when he had arrived at the same goal, he had reached it by a different road. Now and again he would rush into the strife, and then there was no more formidable champion; but more often he stood aside as an interested, but only in part sympathetic, observer. We have his own testimony to this conclusion. In an undated fragment he writes: 'Although I had known Dr. Pusey before and during my residence at Christ Church, in the days when it was the fashion to suspect him of rationalism, and although also, beginning with the Arians, I read several of Dr. Newman's works on their first appearance, I was not under any important theological influence, at any time, from the authors of the Tracts. The Prayer-Book, and then Palmer, led me forward.' Again, in another fragment, dated December 7, 1893, he writes:

* Morley's Life, ii, p. 586.

'In the year 1841 or 1842, under a variety of combined influences, my mind had attained a certain fixity of state in a new development. I had been gradually carried away from the moorings of an education, Evangelical in the party sense, to what I believe history would warrant me in calling a Catholic position, in the acceptance of the visible historical Church and the commission it received from our Saviour to take charge, in a visible form, of His work upon earth. I do not mean here to touch upon the varied stages of this long journey; and I shall only at present say that the Oxford Tracts had little to do with it: nothing to do with it at all, I should be inclined to say, except in so far as it was partly, and very considerably, due to them that Catholicism, so to speak, was in the air, and was exercising an influence on the religious frame of men without their knowing it; just as I have very long suspected, perhaps I ought to say believed, that Seneca, Aurelius, and Epictetus were largely influenced in the tone of their works by Christianity in the air, to which they probably would have denied, and did not indeed know, that they were in any way indebted. Let me say, however, that I am now speaking all through not of spiritual life, a very interior subject, but of convictions and opinions in theology, a much lower and less inward matter: not that I am ignorant how these things are connected, but I am not entitled to assume that in my case the connection was a vital one. However, the points of the 'Movement,' as it is called, and very deservedly, have been for the most part brought before my mind and a good deal considered from time to time.'

But if this is a fair account of Mr. Gladstone's relation to the Oxford Movement, how are we to explain the place he assigns to Hope's influence and example? For Hope's very real share in the formation of his friend's theological character we must look, I think, to Mr. Gladstone's strong and abiding sense of the importance of dogma. Hope's hand is to be traced in the firm grasp of Sacramental doctrine

which characterized him throughout his life. Of his zeal in defence of Baptism we had abundant evidence in reference to the Gorham case. Of his zeal in reference to the Eucharist, examples will be found in the letter to Lord Aberdeen (Letter 184) and the whole series of those addressed to the Scottish Bishops (Letters 193–208). But Hope had evidently no part in Mr. Gladstone's criticism of Tract 90. It is impossible to imagine him regretting the possibility of having formally to cast off 'men to whom, after all, they are under very deep obligations,' or describing the Tract and the publication of Froude's 'Remains' as two instances in which Newman has 'burned his fingers.' Nor again could Hope have been consulted before writing the strange letter to Manning (Letter 148) in which Newman is described as standing, in the general view, *a disgraced man*.'

139. *To E. Badeley.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
November 30, 1841.

MY DEAR SIR,

In reply to your request that I should support Mr. Williams as a candidate for the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford, I have to say that, if I am correct in the supposition that Mr. Williams is opposed on the ground of his theological opinions, I am prepared to promise him my vote in the event of a contest — not because I am ready to pledge myself to their truth, but because I cannot admit that, unless they should be condemned by the Church, they constitute a proper ground of exclusion from public office in the University.

At the same time, having learned from you that a proposal has been made by Mr. Garbett to the effect that both parties should withdraw in favour of Mr. Claughton, I must state to you, as a member of Mr. Williams's committee, my deep solicitude that that offer may be accepted.

I cannot use terms strong enough to convey my impression of the amount of public calamity to the Church that would be involved in such a spectacle as that of the University of Oxford divided against herself upon matters of theology vitally affecting our ecclesiastical system.

This amount of calamity would in my opinion be so great, whichever candidate should succeed, that I can hardly inquire as to the comparative degrees of evil involved in each alternative.

I have assumed that the struggle would be almost exclusively theological. First, because I am persuaded, and I believe the members of Convocation generally are persuaded, that but for his religious opinions Mr. Williams would not have been opposed. Secondly, and more especially, because I am convinced that the spontaneous public advocacy of Dr. Pusey has almost irretrievably stamped the question with that character. I know Dr. Pusey writes with a diametrically opposite purpose, but the fact of his writing at all tells (especially upon the excitable temper of the moment) much more effectually one way than his expressions, however sincere, and his reasoning, however incontrovertible, the other. Nothing but important theological considerations can (I conceive) render his voluntary appearance in public as the champion of Mr. Williams consistent either with his unambitious character or with his position as a member of a body in the University not immediately concerned in the question at issue.

Nor do I feel it unjust to Mr. Williams to cherish the earnest hope that he will accept the proposal tendered: first because there is no sacrifice except that of principle that ought not to be made, particularly in such a case, for peace, and no abandonment of principle is involved in such acceptance, not only because Mr. Claughton's character as a clergyman is unimpeached, which I apprehend to be as true of Mr. Garbett, but because he has earned poetical distinctions in the University, and because he was also, as I understand, thought of as a fit person for the Chair of Poetry at a period before Mr. Williams had appeared in the field; secondly, because I think the formidable evil now before us is owing in a considerable degree

to the association established in the public mind, irritable as it now is, by the letter of Dr. Pusey, by whose proceedings the prospects of Mr. Williams must necessarily be liable to be affected.

And as I think the impending contest would, whatever be its issue, be deplorable beyond expression, so I cannot but anticipate great advantage [to the University] of which Mr. Williams is so distinguished and affectionate a son from showing before all men that even at a period when religious excitements have reached among us an unwonted height, from which I trust that they are soon destined to subside, we are notwithstanding at no loss to find persons in whom all our minds, including alike the most sensitive and the most stable and sagacious, may combine to repose confidence.

If, however, this most unhappy strife should not be extinguished, then I hope, as a slight mitigation of the mischief, that someone academically or officially connected with Mr. Williams will make good to the world the proposition, which I fear never can be made good in connection with the *name* of Dr. Pusey, that the supporters of Mr. Williams are properly contending in this struggle, not for the ascendancy of his private opinions on religion, but against their oblique condemnation in a form incompatible alike with order and with justice.

Entertaining these sentiments with the utmost strength and earnestness, I do not feel myself warranted in any way to go beyond my station as a private member of Convocation, but I have no other feeling of reserve affecting them.

I remain, etc.,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

140. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

WHITEHALL,
December 22, 1841.

MY DEAR MANNING,

It is a sad and a hard necessity to be separated even for a moment and at any single step from faithful-hearted men, from men that neither court responsibility without a call, nor shrink from it in the hour of real

need. Such will be my feeling if to-morrow, when we send out the circular, your name is not affixed to it. I well know your wise and salutary views of the delicacy with which our Church policy ought to be adjusted to the times. With a few of such men in the most prominent stations, it had not come to this. What, however, must guide us is, not the inquiry whether you are, and are eminently fitted to be, a pacificator among all to whom you are personally known, but whether faction would seek and gain to itself advantage by making you an object of attack and of misrepresentation.

S. Wilberforce declines to sign, but does not disapprove. Lord Eldon wishes to sign, but Garbett's committee here do not seem over-willing to let him, and say they must refer to Oxford! . . .

141. *To J. R. Hope.*

WHITEHALL,
January 3, 1842.

Our address is gone in to-day with 244 signatures of non-resident members of Convocation. Among them are five of the seven Suffragans of York and Canterbury who are members of Convocation: that is to say, the Bishops of Oxford, Exeter, Ripon, Salisbury, Sodor and Man.

When I told you about a week ago that I thought it probable you would receive the address subscribed by a majority of the qualified Bishops, you replied that in your opinion an address so signed would be considered by Williams's committee as an ecclesiastical 'command to lay down their arms,' and would as such be obeyed.

I earnestly hope you will forthwith endeavour to move your committee to act upon that opinion. I have no doubt all the Bishops who have signed would feel their own position and authority somewhat compromised if the contest should continue. In particular I have reason to know that this would be the case with one who has earned great honour for his wisdom in the Church, and whose position is the most proximate to the fray — the Bishop of Oxford. . . .

142. *To the Editor of the Times.*

[This letter was sent to the *Times*, and its insertion declined by the Editor in a note dated February —, and giving his reasons, which will be found among my letters of that date. — W. E. G., June 5, 1842.]

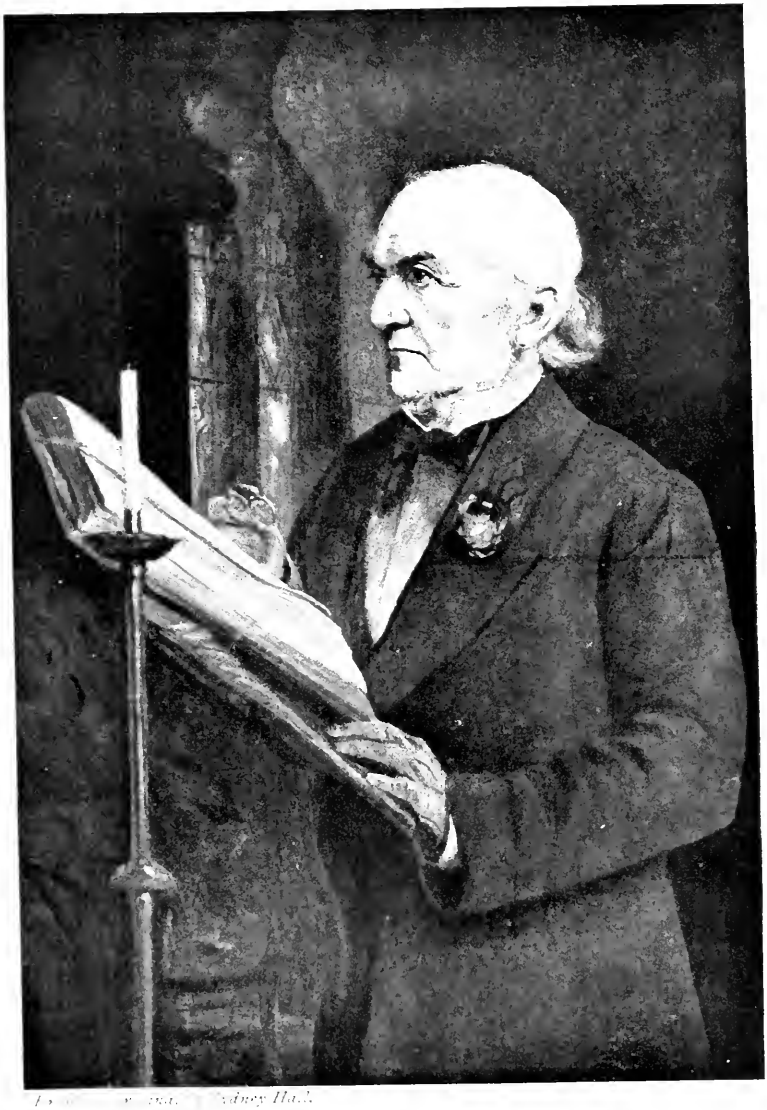
LONDON,
January 31, 1842.

SIR,

I perceive it asserted in the *Standard* of Saturday, the 29th, on the authority of a correspondent who, though anonymous, commands the credence of the Editor, that 'a meeting of the Bishops will shortly take place in London, for the purpose of considering the present state of the Church, in reference to the doctrines lately put forth in some of the "Tracts for the *Times*."'

It is not my purpose to inquire what degree of credit ought to be attached to this intimation, nor whether such a meeting is on other grounds probable or improbable. Thus much is certain: that the supposition is before the public; and none will contend that it is one to be contemplated by any faithful member of the English Church without the deepest feelings of interest and anxiety. Whether or not it form a fitting subject for remark, it is also certain that comments have been freely made on it: and I am anxious to endeavour to obviate some precipitate assumptions which have arisen in connection with it, and which appear to me likely both to cause needless alarm to one class, and to end in disappointment to another.

It seems to be imagined that any collective movement on the part of the Bishops must necessarily be hostile to what the world calls Puseyism; including thereby, as I apprehend, together with a certain portion of private opinion, indifferent, questionable, or (if you please) erroneous in its nature, those great Catholic principles which distinguish our Church from many other Protestant bodies: such, for instance, as the doctrine of grace in Baptism, of the real sacramental Presence in the Eucharist, of absolution, of universal or Catholic consent, of the Apostolical foundation of the Episcopate, and of its being the source of lawful Church power and of a valid ministry.



From a recent photograph by Sidney Hall.

MR. GLADSTONE READING THE LESSONS IN HAWARDEN CHURCH.

I apprehend that no Episcopal sentence will be acceptable to the professors of ultra-Protestantism, which shall leave principles like these unscathed. But these doctrines, which are notoriously included in the vulgar outcry against Puseyism, are as notoriously found in the language of our formularies, and it is not for a moment to be supposed that any one of them will be either disavowed or disparaged, either directly or by implication, in any measure which our Bishops may think fit to take with reference to our present circumstances.

If, however, there be some who think that the Bishops may properly allow a licence of falling short of the requisitions of the Church, provided only they prohibit going in any point beyond them, let us look to the actual signs and indications which our prelates have given of their dispositions with respect to these great Catholic truths. It is not well, on general grounds and ordinary occasions, to scrutinize minutely the proceedings and opinions of our ecclesiastical governors, but it is, as they will be the first to perceive, a necessary result of the appeals which are made to them to expel a large portion of the members of the Church from office, or even from communion.

It might be almost sufficient on this head to ask whether there be one, or at the utmost more than one, Bishop of this Church who has impugned any one of the doctrines which have been enumerated above?

But further. The *second edition* of Mr. Palmer's important work on the Church, wherein all these doctrines are most explicitly maintained, has been dedicated to our venerated Primate, the Archbishop of Canterbury. You will observe that this dedication took place after the nature of the work had been freely sifted, and had become well known to the public by the promulgation and exhaustion of the first edition, and by attacks made upon it in some quarters. The recent sermons of Dr. Hook, which likewise unequivocally state these doctrines, are inscribed to the Archbishop of York. The chaplains of the former prelate, and of the Bishop of London, who are charged with the examination of candidates for Orders, are persons who could not fail to fall within the newspaper definitions of Puseyism. And what does all

this tend to prove? Not that our leading prelates can with justice be called by that perverted name, but that persons ignorant of the history, spirit, and constitution of the Church are too apt to denounce under that title her unequivocal and holy teaching.

But it is supposed that a great number of our Bishops have condemned something, which certain persons imagine to be Puseyism.

I believe that the Bishops of Exeter, Oxford, Ripon, Gloucester and Bristol, Llandaff, Durham, Chester, Winchester, and Lichfield, have taken public notice, with more or less of censure, of the teaching of certain writers at Oxford, of whom Dr. Pusey is one of the most prominent. But of these Bishops the five first have actually applauded the Oxford writers for their zeal concerning the discipline and ordinances of the Church, and the doctrines which relate to her Catholic constitution, while at least three of the four last, as I have stated, have not contravened any of those doctrines.

Sir, this is a matter indeed of the gravest consideration, and we may rest assured that, if our prelates be convened for its discussion, the result of their deliberations will present an aspect far different from the rancour, the precipitancy, the intolerance, and the ignorance, with which it has been too often handled. The learning and sobriety of the character of the Primate, the moderation and experience of the Archbishop of York, the manly and vigorous discernment of the Bishop of London, the practical acquaintance which the whole Bench must have with the state and course of feeling among the clergy and the more educated classes of this country, and their consequent means of estimating the immense results for evil which any rash or severe measure could not fail to produce — these are powerful guarantees, independent of the positive evidence which I have given of adhesion to Catholic principles, that the specific character of the Church will under all circumstances be carefully preserved.

Excesses no doubt may be rebuked, and sanguine temperaments chastened into a more sober tone. There are dangerous logomachies among us; and such as, if persons unskilled in Divine lore engage in

them, may bring into hazard the foundations of the faith. Might not this peril be obviated by the authority of the Episcopate? Why should we not be solemnly admonished that the right division, the appropriate distribution of the Word of Truth, does not mean, and shall not be made to mean, the reservation from the general view of the life-giving doctrine of the Cross? Why should we not be secured against all such applications of the term 'justification' as will leave it to be concluded, or even to be ever so remotely presumed, that the merits of the Redeemer are not the one absolute exclusive ground whereby our evil works are pardoned, and our good works rendered, though not deserving, yet rewardable? Why should not the zeal of a clergy at length awakening to its high vocation be reminded that the deeds of our fathers, in the critical periods of the Reformation, are to be judged not only with candour and with justice, but with a reverential and a filial spirit, as well as with gratitude to God, and to them as His instruments, on account of the tremendous evils from which by His grace they effected our deliverance? Even these rude suggestions, perhaps valueless in themselves, I think may suffice to show that much may be done prudently, and without condemnation of what has [been] written by men of weight, piety, and learning, to reassure the public mind, and to correct actual or obviate possible excess.

But that pride of individual judgment which in these times is the main feeder of the spirit of religious persecution will demand much more than this from an Episcopal Convention. Let us look onward, then, into another region of possible topics of animadversion. Will the Bishops, whom we assume to have met in conclave, be moved to censure such pastors as may have taught too emphatically or with undue prominence the doctrine of sacerdotal power, or such as have wounded the spirit of charity and of piety by denying the Christian privileges of devout brethren not within the pale of our Apostolic ministry? I doubt their compliance. Not because such things might not warrantably, and, if the error in question stood alone, usefully, be done. But it is impossible that such censure should be one-sided. The Bishops of the

Catholic Church in England will never say: 'You, Dr. Arnold, may teach that "all professing Christians of whatever sect are members of the Church of Christ,"* and that *our* present terms of communion ought to be altered for the admission of Arians,† and that the Apostles did not intend Episcopacy to be binding in all times and places,‡ and that "nothing can be more different, *in all essential points*, than our Episcopacy and that of the primitive Church": §You, Mr. Baptist Noel, may destroy the foundations of Church order by proclaiming the validity and parity of sectarian ministration. These and such other small matters are beneath our notice, and there is no excess that may not be tolerated, provided your propositions tend in the direction of negation, and go to lighten the burden of belief. But to appreciate too highly the commission you have received from your Lord, to forget accuracy of distinction in your endeavours to warn your flocks from going astray out of His fold, to colour too warmly your pictures of the power of His Gospel and His ordinances therein established — these errors must be visited with public rebuke, even though the censure pierce through their sides into those of neighbouring truths. The palsy of a century has lain upon the Church, and it elicited no unusual efforts from the physician, the Socinian taint came and went without attracting our collective care, administrative abuse and corruption ran riot within our borders, generated Dissenters by the million, and all but consumed the doctrine whose living energy would have rebuked and shamed it: but the exuberance of zeal is worse than the languor of decay, than the lethargy of worldliness, than the pestilence of heresy, and calls for sharper handling.' Some ears are itching for language such as this from the Anglican Episcopate, but they are mere dreamers who can seriously expect to hear it.

Or will they be tempted to deal with that delicate inquiry, the principle of interpretation which ought on Christian grounds to be applied to the formularies of a local Church? It opens a wide field on every side: and the trying of one question will lead infallibly

* 'Postscript to Principles of Church Reform,' p. 26, note.
† *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 37. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 17. § *Ibid.*, p. 57.

to the trying of others which the movers of the first did not intend, and had good reason for not wishing to try. If they touch the matter, they will, it may be safely predicted, recommend by practice as well as precept its treatment in strict good faith: but I venture to doubt whether they will disavow the general methods followed by Dr. Pusey in his letter to Dr. Jelf on Tract No. 90; and I am certain they will not insult the Elizabethan reformers by propounding that those sagacious men meant and wished to square the consciences of all Englishmen throughout all time according to the measure of every opinion in the whole circle of theology which they might for themselves privately, and perhaps dubiously, entertain.

And now, sir, let us briefly consider in what mental attitude the supposed objects of a coming Episcopal censure may be conceived to await the issue. Will they defend themselves? Will they submit? Will they secede? I speak now of all those in the Church of England who are ready to spend and to be spent even to the uttermost for the maintenance of her Catholic character: and for a moment and *for argument's sake alone* I assume that they are to be censured.

I venture then, in answer to the first question, to predict that, come what may, they will seek for no weapons in their own defence, but will be contented with the shelter of our established formularies and ordinances. If they be condemned for teaching that the priesthood have an absolving power, they will point not only to the Visitation Service, which exemplifies, but to the Ordinal likewise and especially, which conveys it. If for cherishing the belief of a sacramental presence in the Eucharist they will point to the prayer preceding that of Consecration, where it is besought — but I hold my hand: the subject-matter of the passage may easily be viewed by those who feel an anxiety respecting it, and it is not of a nature to be properly exposed to the eye of mere curiosity. Nor is it necessary, for the argument, to go farther into detail upon these very solemn subjects. Suffice it to say that the ideas of sacramental efficacy, of ministerial power, of the Catholic constitution of the Church, of the oneness and permanence of her faith, will be found inseparably blended, and will stand or fall together.

In our formularies they stand: and no sentence against the Oxford writers on these grounds could do more than lay up the seeds of fresh controversy and perpetually reviving irritation, unless it were followed up by an alteration of the Prayer-Book, the Articles, and the Canons — an alteration, let me add, not only of a few more marked passages, but of a spirit pervading, though in somewhat varying degrees, the whole of them. It is in these that Catholic principles substantially have their home: and it is only by operations upon them of an extensive nature that those principles can be effectually and permanently dislodged. According to the saying of Knox, 'Destroy the nests, and the rooks will fly away.'

But surely, sir, friends need not fear, and enemies must not hope, that less than this will alienate the children of the Church, or drive them from their Mother's breast. No bitterness of calumnious taunt; no imputation of sordid motives, albeit hard to bear; no smarting under chastisement, whether deserved or undeserved; no condemnation, however unjust or extreme, which should only smite persons while it spared truths, can tempt Catholic Churchmen to desert the Church. These evils they would ascribe to their own sins, to the misapprehensions of their brethren, and would strive by faith and prayer, the Christian's alchemy, to convert them into blessings.

I speak here not at random, but with experience on my side. We have passed through a period of stormy agitation, and the Church is racked with inward throes. Yet up to this moment, of these Oxford writers, and of those whom they may fairly be presumed to have influenced, not one — no, by God's grace, not one — so far as the public is aware, has abandoned the Church. Neither their own excesses nor those of other men have detached them from this, the mainstay of their duty. I know that two clergymen have lapsed into Romanism: and happily they have given their sentiments to the public. Those who read the Tracts of Mr. Wackerbarth will hardly think it a profitable inquiry to examine into the history of his perversion. And the 'answer' of Mr. Sibthorp shows that the Oxford writings, if they have affected his course at all, have actually, by his own testimony, retarded and

obstructed his change; while it suggests a sigh of painful regret that a spirit so affectionate and devout could not be retained within the bosom of the Catholic Church in England. Only, then, at the time when with her own hand she destroys and effaces from her brow her own character of catholicity, yet legible there, will the purpose of expulsion be attained. And then, indeed, it will be accomplished effectually and once for all. That which previously no efforts could secure, thereafter no obstacles will prevent, no hesitation will delay. And why is this?

It is one of the conspicuous benefits of Catholic principle, that as it teaches men they are knit together by the sacred bond of communion in the body of the Saviour, and not by the unsure coincidence of the operations of their own weak judgments upon high and sacred truth, it can no longer remain a question of private inclination or choice founded thereon, whether to adhere to a given form of religion or to leave it. If such body be bound within that sacred bond — that is, if it be Catholic — it is a duty to remain in it; if the silver cord be broken, it is a duty to depart. It is their business to be, not where they will, or where they like, or where they choose, but where they have the assured promise of the Spirit. But when the character of Catholicity is erased, the Church leaves them, and not they the Church. They do not leave the Church, but follow it: and that which they leave is the usurping counterfeit which occupies its place and apes its functions.

Upon that word, that one word Catholic, they have concentrated their single hope and desire, their entire and undivided affections. Not because it is in opposition to the spirit of our reformed religion: on the contrary, they harmonize together. Not because it is in substitution for the originally and intrinsically higher, but now neutralized, if not profaned, designation of Christian, but because, ennobled and consecrated in the struggles of sixteen hundred years, it has become inseparably associated with the idea of the everlasting Gospel as a permanent and substantive revelation from God, and is the only epithet which can now be said to constitute a fit and a full exponent of that idea. It alone is the fence which infidelity has

never overleapt, the weapon it has never dared to handle. Without its bulwark lie the varying and uncertain forms of human waywardness; within it is the City of God. Catholic believers in England may, indeed, and should, rejoice that they are permitted to combine with this higher attribute the earthly but ever-glorious traditions of the history of their country: that the hands of their fathers have watered the deathless tree, under which they find repose. Never may that blessed marriage be dissolved! But if the ill-omened hour should come when the spiritual life of this Church shall be found and declared too faint to animate a Catholic system in its august dimensions, then, although the struggle go to dividing bone from marrow, and to the rending asunder flesh from spirit, their duty is not to be denied; their decision is made for rather than by them before the emergency, and their path clear when it arrives.

All this, sir, I suggest as matter for the reflection of persons who think, or act as if they thought, that the waters which they are stirring from their depths can be calmed as well as roused at will, and who have not really given their minds to the careful comprehension of a subject so vast and so profound, commensurate only with the heart and the capacities of man, and the gracious purposes of God towards him. I have utterly repudiated, I again repudiate, the applicability of such speculation upon contingencies as this to the consultations of a body composed as is that of our venerated Bishops, but there is a disposition to produce a pressure from without for the purpose of acting upon their proceedings. I wish and pray that no man may add his weight, however seemingly insignificant, to that pressure without having well and deeply pondered on the responsibility for results which he cannot fail to incur, when he thus takes *pro tanto* out of the hands of those appointed to the service the oversight of the flock of Christ.

I have the honour to subscribe myself, sir,

Your obedient servant,

Ἀγαπή.

143. *The Editor of the 'Times'* (*Delane*) *to Mr. Gladstone.*

PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE,
January 31, 1842.

The Editor of the *Times* presents his compliments to Mr. Gladstone, and regrets his inability to give insertion to the enclosed letter in its present form.

He is especially anxious to abstain from entering into anything like a discussion upon controverted points of theology, but would be happy to lay before the public a simple statement of the obstacles which lie in the way of any satisfactory results from the proposed synod of Bishops. It might be worth while, perhaps, to inquire whether the Bishops would not have to agree upon many points themselves before undertaking to settle the differences existing among the clergy, and whether this could be done effectually in any other way than by revising, and probably reconstructing, the phraseology of the Thirty-nine Articles.

144. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

FASQUE,
September 15, 1843.

MY DEAR MANNING,

I received here yesterday Garbett's letter to the Vice-Chancellor, which you also probably have read. It appears to me probable that it will be answered by someone on behalf of those who signed the address it is intended to impugn, and very desirable that it should be done by someone who will do it well, who will appreciate the many elements of good in it, who will reciprocate the spirit in which Garbett approaches the controversy (I confess he appears to me by far the first and best of those who have touched it on that side) and who will not fail at the same time [to note] the many and important points of vantage-ground which it gives, as I think, to those who signed the address, and against the proceeding of the Vice-Chancellor.

I should be glad also to see this question mooted, What are the limits of the demand which the V.C. makes on members of Convocation? Are we inhibited

from expressing, by a *private* representation to him — for at that stage his objection was taken — *any* objection to any construction which he may put upon any statute? It appears to me that the question is of great importance with respect to the liberties of Convocation in general.

But I must say that, considering who and what Pusey is in all things, I rejoice that some stand has been made in his defence.

Again, Garbett apparently has the fallacy of confounding authority the most limited and ministerial and non-ecclesiastical, with authority which is the opposite in all these points — but I want to incite, not to instruct you. . . .

145. *To the Rev. W. Palmer.*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
October 16, 1843.

MY DEAR SIR,

I owe you my best thanks for so kindly and promptly making me acquainted with the publication of your narrative relating to the 'Tracts for the Times,' and the course of the movement connected with them. You have had a most difficult task to perform in entering a firm intelligible protest against the character which some have given to that movement, and yet avoiding what might either give pain to individuals, or, which is even far more important, prejudice the great principles you hold so dear. In these times and circumstances men are compelled to form their opinions even upon matters where they deeply feel their incompetency: and with this excuse, and under the influence of the lively and deep concern which I feel in the whole range of your subject, I must return you my grateful acknowledgments for another important service, which, as it seems to me, you have done to the Church by this publication. It impresses me with the sentiment that you have brought to the arduous undertaking every qualification which it required, and that you have exerted them with great felicity and success. May the blessing of God attend the circulation of this work!

W. E. GLADSTONE.

146. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

WHITEHALL,
October 24, 1843.

MY DEAR MANNING,

I read Newman's letter with a heavy heart. Of yours I need only say that it did all which could be done to alleviate the painful impressions which the former had left behind. I had heard before of his difficulties and his failures in keeping some of his followers from lapse into Romanism. How can one wonder at either when his own foundations are apparently so undermined? . . .

I am persuaded that this powerful man has suffered and is suffering much in the healthful tone of his judgment from exclusiveness of mental habit, and from affections partly wounded through cruelty, partly overwrought into morbid action from gloating as it were continually and immediately upon the most absorbing and exciting subjects. The Newman of 1843 is not the Newman of 1842, nor is he of 1842 the same with him of 1841: and how different, how far drifted down, are any of these from the Newman of the 'Romanism and Popular Protestantism' — of whom I confess, and of the Tracts so far as I knew them, it always appeared to me that they were even too jealous of the suspicion of Romanism, too free in the epithets of protest and censure which were to be taken as guarantees against any accusation of the probability of their fall.

It is frightful too, I confess, to me to reflect upon the fact that such a man as Newman is — for is it not so? — wavering in his allegiance, upon any ground so impalpable as what he terms the general repudiation of the view contained in Tract 90? I am firmly persuaded there never was an uproar, and there never were censures, which were more ascribable to the manner and language of a publication as contrasted with its substance. Has he never found consolation in the fact that Pusey restated (as I believe) the points *he* had meant to make, and that his friend's development of the same subject never has been censured at all? And I must confess that I think many of those whose charges have conveyed adverse sentences against this

Tract have written with great indistinctness both of thought and language: I do not mean such as the Bishop of Chester, but those to whom Newman would give more weight. And I do believe that, if that question of the liberty of the individual to interpret the articles in a Catholic sense were thoroughly discussed and bolted to the bran between Newman himself and an acute and also truth-loving respondent, they would find it hard to differ. Further, although it be a bold thing to say of so acute a thinker, I greatly doubt if Newman himself could throw into propositions this 'general repudiation' in which is summed up the revulsive force that now operates upon his mind.

I confess that his uneasiness at the time of the Jerusalem adventure appeared to me much more intelligible. But as you truly say, so far is the English Church, the subjective English Church, from showing herself by a series of progressive acts to be 'intrinsically and radically alien from Catholic principles,' that the progression is all the other way, and one is amazed to see how Divine Providence extorts from the mouth of the antagonist himself in one way or another witness and homage to the truth.

This progression, which is still undeniable and decisive, was, it must be remembered, pretty *uniform*, until the time, perhaps commencing with the publication of Froude's 'Remains,' when such rude shocks were, mercilessly and causelessly as I think, communicated to the mind of the country, by the new style of teaching with respect to Rome and the Reformation, in direct contravention of all that had been theretofore inculcated.

Newman certainly has it in his power to contribute much to the religious disorganization of the country. That he (or any other man *a fortiori*) has the power, by quitting the Church of England upon such grounds as the 'general repudiation' which he assumes, to contribute *sensibly* to its reorganization after the Roman model, I firmly disbelieve. That he does not see the English Church in her members to be growing more Catholic from year to year I am astonished. Yet can he be aware how much more plain and undeniable the sway of Catholic principles has become in the Church

of England, since the time *when he entertained no doubt about it?* Can he have measured the drifting movement of his own mind, seen what the most vulgar observer, the most cursory reader, cannot fail to see? Is he under the delusion that he is fixed, and that others are moving away from truth? when in fact all have been moving in the same direction, but he faster than others, and I fear somewhat past his mark.

When I look at the words of his note, when I reflect that it is his pen which has traced the characters — 'difficulties in defending her claims to be a branch of the Catholic Church' — when I recollect in what terms, with what force of arguments, for how many years of steadily ripening conviction, he has heretofore vindicated her titles — and review what *she* has been doing all the time while he has been making his transit to his present position — I do feel, not doubt as to her, but an utter shock to all confidence in the teaching of any man whose breath is in his nostrils. O that our feet may be set upon a rock and our goings ordered, and our vision made clear this way and that, for indeed I feel that there was truth in prognostications which I for one lightly regarded, and that storm and peril *have* arisen from the quarter where we looked for the guides to the haven of peace.

I need not say how I should long to hear any less gloomy intelligence.

Ever affectionately yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

147. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

WHITEHALL,
October 28, 1843.

. . . Alas! alas! for your letter and enclosures of this morning! My first thought is, 'I stagger to and fro, like a drunken man, and am at my wit's end.' But even out of the enormity of the mischief arises some gleam of consolation. For between four and five years he has had this fatal conviction: he has waited probably in the hope of its being changed; perhaps he may still wait, and God's inexhaustible mercy may overflow upon him and us.

It is impossible for me at the end of a long day and near the post time really to enter upon this subject, and, indeed, I am so bewildered and overthrown that I am otherwise wholly unfit. But I will address myself *briefly* to points which appear to me to *press*.

I cannot make his letter hang together. The licence to you at the end looks like saying, 'I cannot bring myself to reveal this; do you reveal it for me.' But surely this is contradicted by his aspiration that God 'may keep him still from hasty acts or resolves with a doubtful conscience.' This could have no meaning — would be worse than nonsense — if the interpretation of the concluding passage which I have suggested were adopted.

I cling to the hope that what he terms his conviction is not a conclusion finally seated in his mind, but one which he sees advancing upon him without the means of resistance or escape.

This is sad enough — more than enough: but something of this kind is absolutely required to make his conduct (I must speak succinctly) *honest*.

I am strongly of opinion, and I venture to press it upon you, that you ought not to rest contented with the bare negation in your P.S.: but to write to him again — he cannot be surprised at afterthoughts following upon such a letter — to tell him as you tell me that you cannot put his letter consistently together, that *much* more would be requisite in order to enable you to come at his real meaning — not to say at any such view of the chain of what precedes, as you could in justice to him adopt, that you believe he never could intend you to make any use, save the most confidential, of that letter, that if he could for one moment be out of himself and read it as another man does, he would see it in a moment. The description of his proceedings in 1841, of his letter to the Bishop of Oxford, of his 'committing himself again,' is, *as it stands there*, frightful: forgive me if I say it, more like the expressions of some Faust gambling for his soul, than the records of the inner life of a great Christian teacher. Therefore you cannot take this letter as it stands to be his. Reflect upon the constructions which that passage would bear in the mind of the Church and country! It would lead men to say, 'He whom we have lost is not the

man we thought'; it certainly would damage and disparage his authority and character in the manner which one perhaps should desire as to a confirmed enemy of truth, but which, with respect to him, it would be most wicked to do otherwise than deeply lament.

I do not know whether out of these confused chaotic elements you can make the groundwork of a further note, or whether you will think it right; but I feel that there are such *imperative* reasons upon the face of his letter, reasons relative to himself and his own good name, for your keeping it secret, that I am very loath your refusal to divulge should stand without any reason. Next, I have the hope that he does not desire or contemplate abandonment of the Church. And, lastly, I would to God you could throw in *one word* glancing at the fatal results to all Catholic progression in the Church, which *his* fall (I must call it such) would produce — results which I may seriously illustrate by the effects that the horrors of the French Revolution produced in a most violent reaction against democratic principles in England. But even this, though a great historic truth, seems cold for the matter we are now dealing with. . . .

148. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
October 30, 1843.

MY DEAR MANNING,

My letter of Saturday so entirely avoided all reference to your personal feelings that it would require all your charity not to pronounce it unfeeling. It was want of time, however, alone which prevented my going beyond the first and most pressing object — namely, the consideration of what was, in my view, to be done. On *that* part of the subject I have still to say that my impressions, though without more opportunity of testing them I cannot regard them as final, are still and strongly to the effect that upon the promulgation of those two letters to the world Newman stands in the general view *a disgraced man*, and all men, all principles, with which he has had to do, disparaged in proportion to the proximity of their connection. And,

further, I am persuaded that, were he not spellbound and entranced, he could not fail to see the gross moral incoherence of the parts of his two statements: and that were I upon the terms which would warrant it, I should feel it my duty, at a time when, as now, *summa res agitur*, to tell him so — after having, however, tried my own views by reference to some other mind, for instance to your own.

But surely it will be said that his 'committing himself again' was simply a deliberate protestation of what he knew to be untrue.

I have no doubt of his having proceeded honestly, no doubt that he can show it; but I say that those two letters are quite enough to condemn a man in whom one has no πίστις ἠθική: much more then one whom a great majority of the community regard with prejudice and deep suspicion.

Upon the supposition that the fatal work is consummated in his mind, and is to take outward effect, then I do feel inclined to fall back on an old proposition of mine which you, perhaps properly, rejected, and which I freely abandoned, as beyond the occasion: that is to say, something in the nature of an united protest on the part of those whom the public voice has associated with Newman, declaring together with their adherence to Catholic principles their loyalty to the actual English Church and their firm resistance to the actual system and claims of Rome. I think, for instance, that if you, Pusey, and Palmer, could agree upon the terms of such a document, such a concord would draw the signatures of all who have been before the world in this matter, with the exception of those who, as there is reason to suppose, go Newman's length or something like it, and whom I take to be very few.

After the manner in which hitherto nearly all have hung together, and some have borne so much for fear of disparaging Catholic principles themselves by disowning the first of their prominent and effective advocates, I do think the Reformed Church of England has a right to expect, even from those whose language (like yours) has afforded no ground of complaint, something fresh, positive, emphatic, and adapted to the greatest crisis and the sharpest that the Church has known since the Reformation — for such I do, for one,

feel would be the crisis of the apostasy of a man whose intellectual stature is among the very first of his age, and who has indisputably headed the most powerful movement and the nearest to the seat of life that the Church has known, at least for two centuries.

I have read since I last wrote Garbett's review of Pusey's sermon, and the Bishop of Ossory's Charge (not the appendix). The former disappoints me sadly. It is, I think, declamatory and pedantic in form; complimentary to the person, grossly unjust to the matter; and in its substance self-stultified: for he ends by quoting from Jewel with approbation a passage asserting the very thing which the whole affair is written to disprove.

The latter deals, as it seems to me, the heaviest blow that ever has been aimed at the Tractarian theology. For not only does it select with great judgment all its weakest points, beginning with the Tracts on Reserve, and with one or two exceptions avoiding any impeachment of great Catholic principles, but it is very well written, and though it affords very little of what is *positive*, yet there is much more of an ecclesiastical spirit in it than in the worst English Charges. Especially he seems to make two points: first, that there has been throughout more or less of a low, disheartening tone in the defence of the English Church, which powerfully predisposes to desertion: secondly, some sort of reserve looking like intentional deception.

I had got as far as the Bishop of Ossory before post time: and I have now your letter of yesterday. I am glad of the reserve which I made in stating my own impressions at the commencement of this letter, for your point — the necessity of taking care not to goad Newman to a mad act — is most important. It is impossible to form any conclusive judgment upon these papers. *They* will bear the construction of dishonesty, of mental disease, or of great crudity and incompleteness. They do not at all show to what stage of maturity for action that which he declares to be a conviction has actually arrived. But upon this the proper mode of treatment depends. At least and clearly, the refusal you have given is right. I think you go along with me to the point that it is desirable he should know there are (at least) these two reasons for

refusing: first, that you cannot in justice to him act upon the statements he has supplied: secondly, that even if you were to take them as an adequate and authentic expression of his mind, you could not be the man to inflict upon the prospects of Catholicity in the English Church the heaviest and deadliest blow which, humanly speaking, they can receive. But I see with you that infinite care and delicacy must be used in order to gain the advantage of telling this without incurring the risk of commensurate or preponderating evil. The whole aspect of his statements is so *inharmonious* in its tone, so dark in its moral colour upon the surface, and so uncertain, I should say, in what it really indicates, that you have the greatest need of Divine light and guidance in what you decide. May they be abundantly vouchsafed to you! . . .

149. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

WHITEHALL,
November 22, 1843.

I read both your letter and its enclosures with attention, and I now return that from Pusey. Although beautiful in its tone and telling many truths, it is, I think, clearly one-sided. And no vigorous effort to stop defection by aiming at its cause must be expected from him because he has so strong a sense of the dangers, real dangers I admit, which attend that work that in his view they taint the work itself.

I think that in his remarks upon our own present Bishops, which seem more unfavourable than the case requires, he does not quite act upon the rules of which he claims the full scope for the Church of Rome.

There would be no advantage, I think, in my writing to him. I have through your kindness what he has to say, and it would be impertinent in me to advise him.

Some consolation may be drawn from his letter, in so far as that, knowing Newman intimately, he does not think that the portentous expressions of the letters have a necessary or immediate bearing upon certain steps of outward conduct. . . .

150. *Dr. Pusey to Archdeacon Manning.*

(Inclosed in preceding letter.)

Sunday before Advent, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

If I can say no more, you will at least be glad to hear that, having had some long conversations with O. [Oakeley] in which he was led to speak of himself, I really find him in a very calm frame of mind, unwilling to act upon his own responsibility, feeling the painful condition of our Church, and of people in her, and wishing to go on calmly in his own duties, abstaining from anything which may add to our confusion. As an instance of this temper, I may say *to you*, that he declined editing the B. C. [*British Critic*] when pressed by some friends; he thought M.'s resignation of it seemed to have brought it to a natural close, and that it was following the guidance of God's providence, to allow it to expire.

Perhaps I said in my last letter, that it is not the natural effect of any principles, but the actual state of things, our disorganization, the tolerance of heresy, the conduct of our Bishops, which unsettles men's minds. Blow comes after blow, and it may seem a slight one by which the tree at last falls. The Charges of our Bishops have been, on a whole, a miserable exhibition. Not one probably knew fully what he was speaking of. What a state of things, when the *British Magazine* made some such statement as, that heresy might be preached in most of our pulpits without rebuke! I suppose the majority of our clergy, and all the Low Church, would scarcely think there was anything amiss in any heresy except Arianism and Novatianism. A person might be a Monophysite or Nestorian or Apollinarian, and it would not be of any moment. I should fear even the Archbishop did not appreciate the evil, and the Bishop of Jerusalem is sent to act it out. One person, a very Christian, self-denying, bountiful Churchman, was nearly carried off to Rome the other day by that strange scene in your cathedral, as though a person were to do penance for having remained in the Church in which God had placed him, until he found another. Literally, had he

been an infidel (as so many are in Italy) and a profligate, he would have been received with open arms. These are the things which shake men. The individual was calmed by O., where another who has been blaming the B. C. failed. He would have been a loss.

I do not write this to complain, but to say that, while there are these sad things, one must not be surprised or impatient if people are unsettled. They who are so must have patience, and we with them.

My anxiety about you, my dear friend, arises from your own words. You speak of a 'violent revulsion,' etc. Now this is so contrary to what is intended to be our state of mind, calmly building on one's self and others, that there must be peril.

You speak of my being thought to have 'drifted from my position.' I have tried more than anyone to clear myself and others; I have done and said nothing new since my letter to the Archbishop in which I spoke warmly about our Church. Since I am misunderstood more than ever, it comes to me almost as a hint to do nothing, but to bear it. It is doubtless God's will that some should be misunderstood; may it not be best for me? I seem to see reason why it may, because I have (thinking it for the Church's good) been too anxious to clear myself and others, to influence, win all.

However, I send you a dedication which I thought of for the series of Anglicanized French books I spoke of. Tell me what you think of it.

Ever yours very affectionately,

E. B. P.

151. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

HAWARDEN,
Sunday, December 31, 1843.

MY DEAR MANNING,

I return the interesting and kind but painful letter which you forwarded for my perusal. It shows that a most formidable contingency is in the distance, more or less remote. It may be indefinitely near, or indefinitely far. Can the degree of remoteness be

affected by anything in your power, under God, to do or to forbear?

From the second of the three letters, taken alone, it would be a legitimate inference that any particular act or decision, and Bishop's Charges this way or that, would have no influence upon his mind. But from the first letter — from the note in his new volume where he declares that the Church of England has lately, by the mouth of her rulers, been taking the Protestant side, evidently a *preparation*, conscious or not — and from his conduct — the reverse is clearly the case. It is manifestly in the power of Bishops and others, though the degree may be uncertain, to impel or retard his fatal course: and it should be deeply pondered whether by a discreet use of your knowledge any beneficial exercise of this power might be brought about.

Looking at the Bishop's Charges *as a whole*, it seems to me that through timidity they have overshot their mark in the Protestant sense: and that if there be no fresh sores opened, the Charges of the next year or two will be much above those of the last. This will be so far well.

Are there, however, any Bishops — I think there must be many — who believe that the event we know to be possible would be, to the Church, an inexpressible calamity? These are the men whom to contemplate in any practical measure.

By one word he gives *you* an excellent ground of approach: the word 'contented.' Starting from that word, may you not, though with a light touch, avow that you are (1) not contented but obliged — perhaps it might be dangerous to add (2) not contented but thankful? Such writing might be a parable to him.

Is he aware of the immense consequences that may hang upon his movements? His letters do not show it. If he is not, either now or at some future time he ought to have his eyes opened.

What is wanted is that cords of silk should one by one be thrown over him to bind him to the Church. Every manifestation of sympathy and confidence in him, as a man, must have some small effect. I am even tempted myself (for he made an opening by kindly sending me his sermons) to ask him to converse with me at some time on a passage in which he speaks of

the present temper of statesmen with regard to the Church. What say you to this?

Whatever you do may God prosper your counsels! . . .

152. *Rev. J. H. Newman to Archdeacon Manning.*

(Inclosed in preceding letter.)

LITTLEMORE,
December 24, 1843.

MY DEAR MANNING,

How can I thank you enough for your most kind letter received last night? and what can have led you to entertain the thought that I could ever be crossed by the idea which you consider may have been suggested to me by the name of Orpah? Really, unless it were so very sad a matter, I should smile; the thought is as far from me as the antipodes. Rather, I am the person who to myself always seem, and reasonably, the criminal; I cannot afford to have hard thoughts which can more plausibly be exercised against myself.

And yet, to speak of myself, how could I have done otherwise than I have done, or better? I own indeed to great presumption and recklessness in my mode of writing on ecclesiastical subjects on various occasions: yet still I have honestly trusted our Church and wished to defend her, as she wishes to be defended. I was not surely wrong in defending her on that basis on which our divines have ever built, and on which alone they can pretend to build. And how could I foresee that, when I examined that basis, I should feel it to require a system different from hers, and that the Fathers to which she led me would lead me from her? I do not then see that I have been to blame; yet it would be strange if I had the heart to blame others who are honest in maintaining what I am abandoning.

It is no pleasure to me to differ from friends, no comfort to be estranged from them, no satisfaction or boast to have said things which I must unsay. Surely, I will remain where I am, as long as I can. I think it right to do so; if my misgivings are from above, I shall be carried on in spite of my resistance. I cannot regret in time to come having struggled to remain

where I found myself placed. And, believe me, the circumstance of such men as yourself being contented to remain is the strongest argument in favour of my own remaining. It is my constant prayer that if others are right I may be drawn back — that nothing may part us.

Thank you for your Charge and for the passage you point out. I was pleased to see the coincidence between us.

I am, my dear Manning,
Ever yours affectionately,
JOHN H. NEWMAN.

I have been unable to send this till now (December 27).

In 1844 Mr. Gladstone's attitude towards the Movement underwent a marked change. That the University authorities should be disturbed by what was going on in Oxford was natural enough. If he did not share their alarm it was not because he thought there was no ground for it, but because, in his opinion, the real ground was not that which the Heads of Houses had chosen. If this had been his only reason for disagreeing with them, it might never have become public. But silence became impossible to him when they passed from mistakes in judgment to injustice in act. The Heads of Houses were afraid of the Tractarian leaders, and they made the common mistake of timid men. They seized the weapons nearest their hands, without stopping to consider what might be the result of using them. In three separate instances they strained the special laws of the University in order to punish individual members of the obnoxious party. Mr. R. G. Macmullen was a Fellow of Corpus, and as such was statutably bound to proceed to the degree of B.D. by a certain date. Before doing this he had to

send in two essays upon theses chosen by the Regius Professor of Divinity, and ordinarily regarded as purely formal exercises on stock subjects. On this occasion, however, the Professor was Hampden, and Macmullen was a disciple of Newman. The opportunity was too good to be passed over. Hampden called upon Macmullen to defend two propositions so framed as to involve a condemnation of certain Tractarian positions, and on his taking the other side claimed the right of vetoing the degree. When the legality of this claim was challenged, and the Heads tried to give the Professor the disputed power by decree of Convocation, the statute was rejected by 341 to 21. Thereupon the Vice-Chancellor helped Hampden out of the difficulty by taking the veto upon himself. In the end, however, Macmullen got his degree, and all that the University authorities gained by their intervention was the discredit of vainly trying to inflict a money penalty on the holders of unpopular opinions. Their next attack was directed against a more important person. On a Sunday in May, 1843, Dr. Pusey preached before the University, and two days later he was 'delated' to the Vice-Chancellor for heresy. In this case the authorities kept within the statute, and the preacher was condemned by a court consisting of the Vice-Chancellor and six other Doctors of Divinity, one of them being the prosecutor himself. Pusey was refused a hearing, was not given the name of his accuser, and in vain asked for particulars of the charges on which he was condemned. None of these things was necessary to make the sentence of suspension from preaching operative, and this was all that this remarkable court, and still more remarkable procedure, were wanted to do.

This was more than enough to change Mr. Gladstone

from a critic into what the world took for a partisan. The authors of the Tracts were being treated with conspicuous injustice. The powers of discipline vested in the academical authorities were being abused. The statutes of the University were being misinterpreted in order to find occasion of offence against men whom he revered for their piety even when he disliked their methods. His opinion of the Macmullen affair will be found in a letter to Hope (Letter 153). What he thought of Pusey's suspension may be inferred from the appearance of his name at the head of the list of commoners who signed an address presented to the Vice-Chancellor by certain non-resident members of the University. The signatories did but deprecate a construction of the statute which 'subjects a person to penalties without affording him the means of explanation or defence,' and point out that the condemnation of a sermon as unsound loses all its value when the points in which its unsoundness consists are not distinctly stated. Measured as this language was, it seemed to the Vice-Chancellor to be 'deserving of the strongest censure.' None of the statements in the address admitted of challenge, but the act of making them was described as an 'unbecoming and unstatutable attempt to overawe the Resident Governor of the University in the execution of his office,' and those who signed or promoted it were warned that their act 'had a direct tendency to foment, if not create, divisions in the University, to disturb its peace, and interfere with its orderly government.' The effect of this tremendous indictment on the criminals included in it is described in a letter from J. B. Mozley to Church. 'You never saw such a document for unbridled folly. Gladstone, Judge

Coleridge and all are put together, and the whole set put down as boys; and the Vice-Chancellor acts as if he were the Vice-Chancellor of the universe. Badeley* is amazingly on the *qui vive* about it, enjoying it more than I can describe. Gladstone is excessively indignant; Hook rages. The latter has dedicated a new work of his to Pusey. I question whether he has not written it on purpose to dedicate it.'

After such a preparation as this Mr. Gladstone was not likely to allow the next move of the Hebdomadal Board in the same direction to pass unnoticed. The occasion of this step was the appearance of 'The Ideal of a Christian Church considered in Comparison with Existing Practice.' The writer, W. G. Ward, held a special place among Newman's later disciples. His devotion to his leader was intense, but it was a devotion which left room for complete independence of thought and action. Ward was 'the most amusing, the most tolerant man in Oxford; he had round him perpetually some of the cleverest and brightest scholars and thinkers of the place, and where he was there was debate, cross-questioning, pushing inferences, starting alarming problems, beating out ideas, trying the stuff and metal of mental capacity.'† The attraction which Rome had begun to exert on Newman acted much more rapidly upon Ward. In Rome he saw the supernatural side of religion given its rightful place, the doctrine of justification presented with the necessary safeguards of moral discipline, and the standard of sanctity raised to heroic heights. To keep Ward and those who felt with him in the Church of England

*Badeley had been counsel for Bishop Philpotts in the Gorham case, and was at this time the chief legal adviser of the Tractarian leaders. He was afterwards one of the second group of seceders.

†Church, 'The Oxford Movement,' p. 298.

was the end for which Tract 90 had been chiefly written. But though Ward accepted the principle on which Newman's interpretation of the Articles rested, he applied it in a different spirit and at first with different results. Newman had said that the Articles, when proper allowance has been made for the date and circumstances of their authorship, were, 'through God's good providence, to say the least, not un-Catholic.' Ward thought worse of them, and when challenged to say in what sense he had signed them, only answered that he believed them at least as much as Evangelicals or Latitudinarians believed them. The distinctions drawn in the Tract between the Rome of to-day and the Rome of some past day, or between the teaching which was in vogue before the Council of Trent and that expressly sanctioned by the Council, did not appeal to him. Indeed, in the remarkable volume in which his Oxford controversies culminated, 'Roman authorities became more and more the measure and rule of what is Catholic.'*

'The Ideal of a Christian Church' came out in the summer of 1844, and by the end of the October term the Heads of Houses had determined to submit three proposals to Convocation. The first was that Ward's book should be condemned, and if the Heads had limited themselves to this step they would not have encountered any serious opposition. It would have been an irregular way of censuring errors which, if dealt with at all, should have been dealt with by the ecclesiastical authorities; but, considering the startling character of Ward's contention, it is probable that this objection would not have been seriously put forward. But the Heads did not intend to stop here. They

* Church, 'The Oxford Movement,' p. 306.

further proposed that Ward should be deprived of the degrees of B.A. and M.A., as though his heresies somehow cancelled the examinations which had gained him the first, or the lapse of time which had brought him the second. He was not to be expelled from the University, but he was again to become an undergraduate. When they had determined what should be done with Ward, they next sought to make a repetition of his offence impossible. For this purpose they devised a new test. Under the existing statutes the Vice-Chancellor could call on any suspected member of the University to subscribe the Articles over again. It was now proposed to give this repeated subscription a new force by adding to it a declaration that the subscriber took the Articles in the sense in which he believed them to have been originally put forth and to be now imposed by the University. Apparently the Heads did not think it possible that Newman could have written Tract 90 in good faith, since the one aim of his argument was to show that the sense in which the writer took the Articles was the sense in which they were first agreed upon. Mr. Gladstone at once seized upon this flaw. 'The recurrence to the sense of first promulgation,' he wrote to Samuel Wilberforce, 'is no guarantee against Wardism, because it is part of Ward's theory that he is acting wholly within the theory of the promulgators.' But this was not his only objection to the proposed test. 'The sense of first promulgation,' he goes on, 'is a matter only to be known by much historical study; and, so far as I can get at it, I am disposed to believe it was a sense very liberal towards the Church of Rome. This appears to me to stand on the face of the Articles much more than any other sense. But whether

this be so or not, I do not think you should call on men to affirm virtually propositions of history, unless they are known either by study or notoriety. And in this case few could have adequately studied, and I am not aware that any sense (*quoad* these points) is notorious.' When it came to conjecturing what is meant by the present sense of the University, he found 'much greater difficulty still. I think there is no University sense sufficiently definite to be made the subject of a test. But even if that position be waived, where is this definite sense to be found? And is it fixed, or does it vary from year to year?' And in another letter he speaks of 'the false position in which the University and the Church will be placed, if in these judicial proceedings it be found that men may tamper with the Articles in relation to the Holy Trinity and the offices of our Lord and retain their degrees, while a man who sins on the particular points of issue between Rome and the Church of England is to be deprived of his.'

The Tractarians were not the only party in the University who disliked the proposed statute. Old-fashioned High Churchmen saw in it a Low Church triumph, while the rising group of University Liberals, destined soon to revolutionize Oxford under the very eyes of the Heads, had no wish to add to a collection of tests which they thought too large already. Stanley worked hard on Ward's behalf, and even wrote the peroration of his defence for him, and in this, as in so many later conflicts, he had Jowett for an ally. Tait, who approved of the other measures proposed by the Board, and even welcomed the prospect that Ward, being by the Act of Convocation replaced *in statu pupillari*, might be 'sent down' like any other undergraduate, saw no need of 'narrowing the limits of the

Church of England because some amongst us wish to make them too wide.' The Heads saw their error in time, and the new statute was withdrawn just three weeks before the day on which it was to have been proposed. Their next effort was better devised, and but for a happy accident it might have succeeded. If the University could not be induced to censure Newman's principle of interpretation, it might still be induced to censure Newman himself. 'The mischief-makers,' says Church, 'were at work, flitting about the official lodgings at Wadham and Oriel. Could not something be done, even at this late hour, to make up for the loss of the test? Could not something be done to disgrace a greater name than Mr. Ward's? Could not the opportunity which was coming of rousing the feeling of the University against the disciple be turned to account to drag forth his supposed master from his retirement and impunity, and brand the author of No. 90 with the public stigma, no longer this time of a Hebdomadal censure, but of a University condemnation? The temptation was irresistible to a number of disappointed partisans — kindly, generous, good-natured men in private life, but implacable in their fierce fanaticism.' * Between 400 and 500 members of Convocation signed a requisition asking the Board to submit to the approaching Convocation a 'formal censure of the principles inculcated in No. 90 of the "Tracts for the Times," and a solemn repudiation of the modes of interpreting the Thirty-nine Articles therein suggested.' On February 4 this suggestion — we may fairly say this welcome suggestion — was acted upon, and the notice of the proposed censure given. The voting on the three proposals was fixed for

* Church, 'The Oxford Movement,' p. 328.

February 13. When the day arrived, the 'Ideal' was condemned by 777 votes to 38, and Ward was deprived of his degree by 569 votes to 511. These latter figures suggest that the third proposal, dissociated as it was from Ward's name, and uniting against it both Tractarians and Liberals, might have been defeated; but the opposition thought it wiser to run no risks, and, in London as well as in Oxford, it was felt that the occasion was one for the veto of the Proctors.* They saw their duty in the same light, and when the third question was put, 'Guillemarde's' (the senior Proctor) '*Nobis Procuratoribus non placet* was heard like a trumpet above the confusion in the theatre.' The veto only held good for the short remainder of the Proctors' year of office, but the Heads made no attempt to revive the decree. Mr. Gladstone voted in the minority in both divisions, and had done all that he could to secure the defeat of the censure, when further efforts were rendered unnecessary by the action of Guillemarde and Church. 'Of the scene in the theatre he says: "The forms are venerable, the sight imposing; the act is fearful. To pass on Tract 90 — after the publication of the Tract had been suspended and the author had submitted himself to his Bishop — a censure which its authors had not ventured to submit to Convocation four years earlier, is to treat Mr. Newman worse than a dog. The proposal really makes me mistrust my judgment, as I suppose one should always do when any proposal seeming to present an aspect of incredible wickedness is advanced. . . . The proceedings now meditated at Oxford . . . pass mere argument, and appear like the fruits of a judgment of God."'

* The two Proctors, as the official representatives of the Masters of Arts, had the right, during their year of office, of vetoing a proposal in Convocation.

153. *To J. R. Hope.*

WHITEHALL,
Ascension Day, May 16, 1844.

It seems to me very important to consider whether a connected detailed account of the proceedings in the case of Mr. Macmullen ought not to be published for the information of the Church at large, and of members of the University of Oxford in particular. Especially now, when the case has been put partially before the world by the publication of his excellent exercises.

I do not know whether this moment is the proper one: or whether there may be reasons wholly out of my sight which ought to prevail against the measure I suggest; but it seems to me there are strong grounds for it—I do not say conclusive grounds, but strong ones.

I can hardly conceive that any body of sane men, whether they be called by the name of Heads or any other name, intend that it is to be made a condition of communion or of Orders in the Church of England that the affirmative of Dr. Hampden's proposition on the subject of the Eucharist should be held.

But the course to be taken in and by the University with regard to the subject is of vital moment in its bearing upon the question, whether a policy of stern compression and repression is to be pursued on one hand, in conjunction with a policy of licence and laxity on the other. . . .

154. *To the Rev. W. Palmer.**

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
May 19, 1844.

MY DEAR MR. PALMER,

I have postponed replying to your note on account of my interest in the subject and of my in-

*I print this letter as an example of Mr. Gladstone's faculty of giving shrewd advice on subjects of which he had no personal knowledge. When the *British Critic* came to an end, the section of High Churchmen who had most disliked the line it had latterly taken were anxious to start a successor. Mr. Gladstone's sympathies were strongly with the venture, and he had an extraordinary admiration for Palmer, the editor. But he saw plainly the obstacles which made the success of such a journal almost impossible, and the failure of the *English Review* showed that he had not exaggerated them.

ability to give time and thought for the purpose of answering it as I ought; but I must now at all events put an end to the appearance of neglect, though I may run on the other hand into temerity. First let me say that I have recently read a remarkable romance entitled 'Ellen Middleton,' upon which, if I can turn my Whitsun holidays to account for the purpose, I intend to write something to be submitted to your judgment for the next number. The proposal may startle you: but pray suspend your judgment on it. With respect to the Review generally, I have watched the whole proceedings from the first with intense interest, on account of their intimate and vital connection with the welfare of the Church: and let me say that interest has been enhanced on account of your own connection with the work, both because of the signal services you have for many years been rendering to the Church, and of the generous and disinterested spirit in which you have given yourself to, and in some degree staked yourself upon, the execution of a task which involves such immense difficulties. The knot of the problem appears to me to lie here: Can any work be a substitute for the *British Critic* and preclude its revival, by so far occupying its ground, which is to be carried on in strict and close connection with high ecclesiastical authorities—which will say only what they could say, which will confess only what they could confess, expose only what they could expose, recommend only what they could recommend? I am not now doubting whether a periodical which shall accurately represent such authorities is of itself a valuable work, but whether you can fulfil all the conditions under which your labour was undertaken, among which was a sort of reproduction of the *British Critic, minus* the Romanizing element. Now it is from no distrust or disaffection, as I hope, that I have thus spoken of authorities; but on the contrary from a sentiment that their character is precious, and the maintenance of their position a matter of inestimable moment to us all, and from a fear lest they should be shipwrecked if they ostensibly associate themselves with that tone of thinking and writing which the necessities of the Church require. It may sound a paradoxical proposition, to pass by authority for the sake of saving it

from irreverence. But we live in a state of things when the masses are so possessed, not only with prejudice, but with self-opinion, that they will not allow their appointed teachers to instruct them in the truth, while their own principles prevent their silencing those who meet them upon a level, and who propound what they have to tell as private and therefore independent persons. When I consider the character, the talents, the services, of the Bishop of London, and review the offertory controversy in this diocese, I am driven to the conclusion that the whole power of the episcopate would be put in peril if our spiritual fathers were to speak with the unrestrained and apostolic freedom of our relaxed state as to doctrine, discipline, and life, which is needed in order to restore their tone: because men in power cannot speak of these things without either acting as they speak or undermining the very foundations of their own seats. But those who by their declarations endanger only themselves may hazard more, and in such a posture of affairs often may effect more. Now the doubt in my mind is whether your Review will not be found to lie under the same restraints as those whose countenance it merits and enjoys, whether you will not, in spite of your own wishes, be compelled to adopt much of a negative and repressive tone, whether you can have the breadth of course open to you which is necessary in order to conduct your operations with the fullest effect, and if it be so, whether views ever so just and candid, and the abundant possession of personal gifts, will enable you and your coadjutors to effect the specific purpose of filling the void created by the withdrawal of the *British Critic*. I hope you will be of opinion that in expressing to you thus frankly and strongly, though perhaps presumptuously, the apprehensions which force themselves upon me with respect to difficulties lying, whether nearer or farther off, along your path, I have described them as belonging to the nature of the task itself, and have at all events said nothing otherwise than conformable to the strong sentiments of respect and gratitude with which both as a member of the Church and on personal grounds I claim the privilege of regarding you. Pray believe also that I do not enter generally and indiscriminately

into such discussions, but I thought it my duty to reserve nothing from you. What I have said will receive, I know, at least as much consideration as it deserves, I have no specific suggestion ready to found upon it. But before I close I will instance some of the subjects which I have had in view while writing this letter: in Scotland, the Dunbar and Drummond controversy, and the relation of the Church Missionary Society to it: the question of the Scottish Communion Office: among ourselves, the life of Nicholas Ferrar, and what hangs upon it: the proceedings of the churchwardens of Ware, and what belongs to them: the performances of Mr. Noel and Mr. MacNeile with regard to the rival kirks: cathedral services as they are and should be: and that most important question, the degree of latitude of thought and action in respect both to private opinions and to other Churches, which properly belongs to us as members of the Church of England, and which draws the line between liberty and disloyalty — this, of all the most delicate, is perhaps also the most pressing, I mean as a means of composing the members of the Church, and of consolidating their action.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

155. *Mr. Lockhart to Mr. Murray.*

December 2, 1844.

MY DEAR MURRAY,

I dare say both you, and still more Mr. Gladstone, have been thinking me very negligent in not communicating sooner on the subject of the article on Ward. Of course it was necessary for me to *study*, not only the article (which I could not do till it was in type) and the book, which I had but hastily read on its first appearance, and finally the Articles and Canons of the Church themselves — very seriously — before I could venture to submit my suggestions as to a paper so distinguished by every literary merit, and evincing such profound thought on most momentous topics.

I have now endeavoured to do all this under a very painful sense of my own inadequacy for such a task; and I am extremely concerned to say that in my

opinion the *Quarterly Review* could not adopt what I fear may have been a very principal part in Mr.Gladstone's own view of the article on Mr. Ward.

The question whether a man of his opinions, holding his position in the Church and the University, ought to withdraw from the Church of England is one for his own *conscience*.

The question whether such a man, so placed as an instructor of youth, ought or ought not to be expelled or censured, is a question for the authorities of the Church and the University. I cannot think the *Quarterly Review* could enter into the discussion of this question without laying itself open — as a journal conducted almost entirely by laymen — to a sort of censure which it would be very unwise for us to provoke. If Mr. Gladstone were willing to let the opening paragraphs be modified somewhat, and the concluding disquisition on Mr. Ward's position be omitted, I am sure his article would be, not only a prodigious ornament to the Review, but productive of vast good to the Church and the public mind. In this case I should still have not a few alterations in phraseology to suggest in the *review part;* but I am so much afraid that what I must in conscience omit is what the writer would not consent to my omitting, that until you shall have found an opportunity of submitting my general notion, and ascertaining in what light Mr. G. regards it, it would be idle and presumptuous in me to go into minor details.

Sincerely yours,
J. LOCKHART.

156. *To J. Murray, Esq.*

CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
December 3, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR,

In answer to your note, and with reference to Mr. Lockhart's enclosed in it, I should be glad to ascertain the reality and substance of the points upon which he thinks that we should differ. With respect (1) to his amendments in detail, I should be glad to see a *specimen* of them, from which it is probable that I could easily form my own judgment. With respect

(2) to his proposition to omit entirely the closing portion of the Review, it is not my object to determine the question whether *Mr. Ward* should remain, or should be allowed to remain, in the Church of England. What I wish is this: (1) To establish the position that no man ought to be driven out by invective and general imputation, or otherwise than by judicial process; (2) to show by argument that no man is entitled to say that approbation of the measures taken at the Reformation is imposed by the Church of England as a *term of communion;* (3) to point out the necessity which will arise in the case of judicial proceedings against excess in one direction, for the enforcement of the law in other directions. My object is practical, and I do not enter into general argument. I should be sorry if Mr. Lockhart parted with me on the particular ground that my paper, when closely examined, revealed tendencies which were not obvious upon the face of it: my purpose was to insinuate nothing, but to state boldly and broadly all I meant. I am much honoured and obliged by the kind manner in which he has spoken of it. It would be a material convenience to me to be favoured with an early answer.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

P.S. — I will readily call on Mr. Lockhart if he thinks it convenient.

157. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

WHITEHALL,
December 3, 1844.

MY DEAR MANNING,

Here is a curious note from Lockhart throwing me over. I am, however, one of those soldiers who do not know when they are beat: and I have written an answer to say that I do not wish to pronounce upon *Mr. Ward's* position: but seek three things, to show —

1. That the process of mobbing people out by invective and private interpretations is bad.

2. That the Church of England does not make assent to the proceedings of the Reformation a term of Communion.

3. That before even judicial proceedings in one sense, due consideration should be had what judicial proceedings in another sense consistency may entail, if that game be begun.

I may have to act before I can hear from you: the pinch is this, that I fear there is no other medium for me worth having. I cannot stand the *Foreign and Colonial Quarterly* any longer: my own writings are leaden enough, but the platina of that Review would sink even cork.

There is no reason for submitting to all degrees of mutilation: but, as at present minded, I shall be compliant in details if he will let me retain the argument (2), and certainly not otherwise. . . .

Pray weigh Lockhart's words well. The problem is, What residuum is sufficient to make it right to go on? and something depends on this, whether I should have the right *subsequently to publish entire* in a separate form. Might I offer Lockhart free scope on those terms?

158. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

WHITEHALL,
December 6, 1844.

MY DEAR MANNING,

. . . I saw Lockhart yesterday, and likewise I have performed upon the paper that most irksome labour of modifying and in particular places rewriting. The basis of our concordat is that my argument is to be confined to the case of simple communion, and that I am to let alone the questions connected with the special obligations of subscription.

In some respects he has improved the article by his remarks, which in general were very acute. In others I am conscious that it has lost: still, I think that on the whole it will carry quite as much pith as the readers of the *Quarterly* will bear, and though it does not represent my entire mind upon the subject, yet neither does it misrepresent it: and I retain at least the seed of everything I had said or could say. . . .

Lockhart had consulted no one; this I have set him at liberty to do.

The main difficulty now is the length. He will not

consent to part with any of the discussion on conscience, and I cannot tell where else to prune materially.

He is much struck with the talent of Ward's book. . . .

I have shown my corrected proofs to Northcote, whose judgment I think acute and sound, and he approves.

159. *To the Rev. W. G. Ward.*

HAWARDEN,
December 23, 1844.

MY DEAR WARD,

I write to give you the earliest intimation that I am the author of an article on your recent work in the *Quarterly Review*, of which I have desired that a copy might be forwarded to you herewith. If it does not carry in itself evidence of the pain, and of the general motives, with which it was written, no private professions, I am well aware, can supply such a want, and on that account I wholly abstain from them. My practice, you will naturally observe, is but little in accordance with my doctrine on the dangers of anonymous authorship. I am certainly still alive to their formidable character, and I have striven in this instance to neutralize them so far as may be by the intention throughout of not being anonymous — at all events to you. I must add one other explanation. My remarks were written and tendered before I had any knowledge of the proceedings at Oxford. Although I have travelled along a path *wholly* different, yet I can see that they would at least have materially varied the position of the case in my view, if it had been to me a *res integra* when they came within my knowledge. The only step I have taken since learning them, in reference to the article, has been to arrange for the insertion of words to make as clear as possible that I do not venture into that region in which they lie.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

160. *To the Rev. F. Oakeley.*

WINDSOR CASTLE,
January 10, 1845.

MY DEAR MR. OAKELEY,

I thank you very much for your note. I have only this fault to find with it, that it seems to me as if

you had not said all you felt, or had not said it as strongly as you felt it; and if you would so far allow me to occupy the position of a friend, as to speak to me on this, or any occasion of censure, without the smallest reserve or worldly regard of any kind, I should be so much the more a gainer, and should also have a pleasure in it, because such freedom would be properly interpreted as a sign of confidence.

I grant freely that my article does not present anything that can be called a faithful picture of the book as a whole, and does not render justice to those parts of it which relate to matters hardly controvertible among members of the Church. The question in my own mind, a question often pondered, has been whether the particular task I have executed was one which upon its own merits required to be fulfilled. To the entire work I think it would take two or three times its own bulk to do real and full justice. Now can any reader allege that the review does not distinctly declare its own incompleteness?

What then is the task to which I refer? My attack has been made, at least has been meant to be made, mainly upon the *modus operandi*. I think you will find that little is said upon the views themselves, as distinguishable and separable from it: excepting only the part which treats of the philosophy.

I must say deliberately, my approach to the book was made under favourable, and anxiously favourable, prepossessions. A perusal of it as careful and laborious as I am capable of giving to any work left upon my mind the deep impression, that as a whole, on account of its manner taken apart from its matter, it bore the character of a railing accusation. Deeply anxious that (I do not say *its* matter, for that seems to me now impossible, but) matter such as it contains should be dispassionately viewed and weighed, I thought it exposed to the most fatal prejudice from the association in which it there stands, and looked upon the work as the most powerful provocative that had yet been administered to what I may call the anti-Catholic reaction. Do not, however, let me seek your favour by seeming to say I agreed with its matter; but of course I agreed with very much of it, and I thought it of the deepest importance, and rightly or wrongly I believed,

and still believe, that towards the English Church in general the book is disqualified for doing its proper work by its tone of language and mode of argument, and especially of conclusion upon subjects that lie near the hearts of many among us. To assert that disqualification strongly, and to fix it upon the manner, avowedly setting aside in a very great degree the matter, I thought to be the way in which, under the circumstances such as I found them, the prejudice already done, and continually increasing as comments multiplied, to the high and sacred interests involved, would be probably restricted to its minimum.

I know well how unwholesome was the task and how dangerous to myself, how unnatural was the association between *me* and the office of censure — there does not live a man who has more need to undergo or who can less afford to undertake it. I feel as an executioner may feel when he has discharged his office (not at all, however, meaning to compare mine with his in point of efficacy), I could with all my soul wish the work had been done by anyone rather than by me. But I waited long — I saw more and more mischief every day, no one came forward to direct clamour and discontent to what seemed to me to be their proper objects. I therefore wrote deliberately; and deliberately convinced myself that it would be vain to endeavour to turn the useful parts of the book to account by direct exposition of them, that the best way of serving them was to fasten reproof upon what was distinct from them, and that so to fasten it was a good *per se*.

You advert to 'compensation' — and as I am writing privately I may mention something that took place between Mr. Lockhart and myself. Among other things, as it happened, he proposed that the article should end with the discussion respecting conscience. My reply was, 'All that portion is, I think, fit to be said — and even, rather than not at all, to be said alone — but not to be said alone by me.' The concluding part, such as it is, appeared to me the best kind of compensation.

I hope this will not appear to be a controversial letter; you will observe that it *admits* your chief propositions, and combats none. It endeavours to explain a state

of mind and a view which I am not well able to put on paper: but which you will, I know, understand as far as it is at all intelligible. In conversation perhaps I could make it less obscure. Ward has kindly invited me to that sort of communication; now I have brought myself by effort to write what I am yet aware it would be intolerably indecent *in me* to speak face to face. This I feel strongly: setting aside faults of detail, and looking to the article as a whole, I have no plea of haste or incaution to advance; I never did an act with more clear and entire consciousness or more precise intention; my error, if it has been one, has been grievous, and no less gross than cruel.

Pardon the constant use of the first person: and believe me that the motive of this long letter has been in the main, not a personal one, but a conviction that under circumstances such as have occurred the path of duty lies in a freedom of communication and of expression which would otherwise be not only needless but impertinent.

I remain always,
Most sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

161. *To the Rev. J. H. Newman.*

WHITEHALL,
January 17, 1845.

MY DEAR MR. NEWMAN,

I have learned through a note of Dr. Pusey's to Manning, that the article in the *Quarterly Review* upon Ward's book written by me should not in your judgment have been produced at a moment like this, when so much influence and so much passion are arrayed against him.

Will you on this subject kindly take into view the following particulars, they refer to the question of time only. I have already explained to Mr. Oakeley under what strong convictions I undertook a comment upon his book which I knew conveyed nothing like an adequate representation of it. Suffice it here to say, it was deliberately done, and you will, I am sure, feel that the publication of a work couched in such terms placed in a position of difficulty those persons who

are firm believers in the catholicity of the English Church.

But with regard to time, I executed my task before I had the least knowledge that public measures against Ward were in contemplation, and I was committed when the probability of them was made known to me.

Notwithstanding this, however, I have no doubt a request from me for the withdrawal of the article would even at that hour have been granted. I felt that much might be said in favour of such a course, but the main question with me was whether in my conscientious belief, taking into account the inflamed state of the minds of men, it would practically tend to increase or to diminish his prospect of fair-play.

Although I never should have touched the subject at all if I had known what was projected at Oxford, yet at the point at which matters had arrived I concluded upon the whole that any effect which that article might have would not lead men to vote for his degradation or for pronouncing him guilty of bad faith.

I am far from saying that my view of its probable result would have been the same if the proposal had been confined to a censure of the *passages*, or even to any penal measure strictly proportioned to such a censure.

I cannot say my opinion was formed without hesitation, because it is plain that with some minds there is no power of discrimination at such seasons; all that is said in disapproval is heaped together, and assumed to justify punishment, while the kind of sentence and its measure are not considered.

So far, however, as I have any means of judging by public comments, my opinion is confirmed. In the *Chronicle* of January 4, the article (which is ascribed to Sewell) is treated as an effort to ward off the measures threatened at Oxford. In the *Morning Herald* of January 2 it was declared to be so tame and apologetic as to induce a belief that the reviewer sympathized with many of the opinions advanced in the book. A writer in the *Times* of to-day states it roughly as an argument to show that Romanism may be held by members of our Church. I have seen no comments in the contradictive[?] sense, and I *hope* there is nothing in the article which implies a disposition to impugn

Ward's *good faith*, whatever my convictions may be of the utterly ruinous consequences of such a mode and tone of treating such questions.

I have said all this, because to have joined wilfully in the hue and cry which is now abroad, to have delivered any other than very definite sentiments in the way of objection, would have been unworthy of any antagonist alive to what decency requires, and with my convictions would have been dishonest to the last degree.

On the other hand, I perceive that my having ventured thus far into the controversy enhances my obligation with regard to those later stages of it which we are now approaching. The Test, I have no doubt, is *abandoned;* the authority on which I write this is that of Archdeacon S. Wilberforce, who has been in communication with the Vice-Chancellor. Perhaps he had better not be named at present. This retrenchment of the proposal is certainly unfavourable to Ward's having justice done him.

By writing this apologetic letter I have freely opened myself to your censure. If I were entitled to do so, I should ask for it, I am not; yet if you should at any time give it, I hope you will not have to complain of its reception.

Your letter of November 18 has been upon my mind every day since I received it, but I have not dared to touch the deeply interesting topics which it opened.

I remain, my dear Mr. Newman,

Very sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

162. *To the Provost of Oriel.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
February 6, 1845.

DEAR SIR,

The kindness which you evinced upon a former occasion induces me to address you upon the subject of an announcement which I have just seen in the paper of to-day, to the effect that, *on this day week*, the members of the Convocation of Oxford will be called upon to condemn the modes of interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles suggested in the ninetieth 'Tract

for the Times,' as evading rather than explaining their sense, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of Roman Catholic errors.

Although the recollection of your courtesy directs me to yourself, it is on public grounds, and in your public character as a member of the Board of Heads, that I address you; and my object is most earnestly to request of you that, as one of the members of the Convocation on whom you are about to call for an important and solemn decision, I may be allowed further time for the consideration of the subject-matter, and for communication with those who may be best qualified to inform and advise me respecting it.

It would be most presumptuous in me to make this request as a matter of personal favour, or under any supposition that my wishes are entitled to the smallest weight. I make the request simply as a member of Convocation—not on grounds of favour, but of justice; and I plead in support of it no mere wish of my own, but first the demands (forgive me for using a strong expression under circumstances which pass all ordinary experience) of public decency; and, secondly, the precedent set by the Board of Heads itself, which most considerately promulgated its intentions with respect to the work of Mr. Ward with a notice of nearly two months.

I have not communicated with anyone upon the announcement, and I write merely of my own motion. Yesterday I received an indirect intimation that such a proposition might be made *on the 13th*, and rejected it as incredible. Nor do I now in any manner believe that, after remonstrance has been offered, the members of Convocation scattered all over the country will be required, by a notice printed in London on February 6, to appear at Oxford on the 13th for such a decision as that to which we are now invited.

Without the least hesitation, I submit to you that the appeal I now make to you as a member of the Board of Heads is one which, according to the practice of the deliberative assembly with which I am most conversant, the House of Commons, would not for a moment be resisted. I am certain that no majority would think of forcing a decisive vote there, upon a matter of corresponding moment, at a week's notice:

although it is the duty of all the members of the body to be upon the spot, and to forgo every other engagement for their legislative employment, and although it is in their power to move amendments upon the propositions submitted to them.

I do not make reference to that body upon technical grounds, but because I believe it is generally admitted that the forms and usages of Parliament are little more than a mature expression of the principles of justice in their application to the proceedings of deliberative bodies — having it for their object to secure freedom and reflection, and well fitted to attain that object.

But if it be true that members of Convocation have no power to move any amendment, but only to say aye or no upon a single issue, then the difficulty in which they are thus placed, complicating as it does the reasons for the one or the other alternative, appears to me very much to strengthen the claim that a reasonable time may be allowed for consideration and for conference with friends.

In the present instance I confess my urgency is enhanced by the fact that there seem to me to be the strongest reasons against the form of the proposition which the Hebdomadal Board is about to submit to Convocation. Although I am very ill-fitted for the task, yet I believe it to be in my own power to present such grounds for this opinion as would appear to you to have some substance. Now, if it appears to me *bona fide* that there are fatal objections to the adoption of a proposition of such a form by a body acting judicially, and if I am precluded, as seems to be the impression, from proposing publicly in Convocation to alter the form, is it too much to ask that I may have some little time allowed for submitting to you privately my objections to it; and if I may not do either the one or the other of these two things, would it not become a mockery to refer this matter to me as one of the judges who are to pronounce the final sentence of the University?

I have not stopped to ask myself whether the request I now formally make to you, as a member of the Board of Heads, is favourable or otherwise to what I understand to be the substance of your proposition: feeling certain that it is for the interest of all parties, and essen-

tial to the honour of the University which we all so deeply love, that certain primary principles shall not be violated; and the allowance of fair time for the consideration of a question now suddenly revived — which has slumbered for years — must be in the ultimate interest of truth and justice. In the specific objections I propose to offer to you, I shall have occasion to refer to the Tract: of it, therefore, I say nothing, nor of other writings of Mr. Newman's in reference to the Church of Rome: but (and I here introduce these remarks because they have some bearing upon the question of time) I freely avow my hope that, if the University enters upon the consideration of a particular and limited portion of his works, they will not exclude from view the great mass of his teaching. I cannot forget what the standard of life was in Oxford at the time when I was myself a resident, nor conceal from myself that he, by his Parochial Sermons and otherwise, has had no small share in its elevation to what it is now believed to be: I ask to be allowed to think by myself, and with others, what acknowledgments may be due to him for his great work against Romanism, when I am called to guard against the consequences of other works supposed to be in its favour. I am sure that in the common secular world, swayed as it is too often by gross motives, and perplexed by intrigue, we never could proceed to punish great errors of a public servant, and at the same time pass over his great services: and I pray God the University may be preserved from the like deep ingratitude.

In some parts of this letter I fear I may have said too much; in others I have made no reference to important considerations justly and closely related to the subject: as to the omissions, it is already too long; as to the faults of commission, in part I must trust to your indulgence, in part I will plead the pressure of time, which does not admit of postponement.

I remain, dear sir,

Yours faithfully and obliged,

W. E. G.

163. *To the Provost of Oriel.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
February 7, 1845.

DEAR SIR,

Even during the short time which has elapsed since I wrote my last letter, I have felt, upon reflection, the practical disadvantage of the haste in which I was compelled to despatch it: being as I am one of those for whom it is next to impossible to cast aside other duties in order to give undivided attention to this one, and with regard to whom, accordingly, one week is by no means even what it seems.

It now occurs to me that in what I said of Mr. Newman I presented what offers itself to my own mind most forcibly, but did not rightly guard against being supposed to cast imputations on others whose academical station I am bound to revere. In me it would indeed be the blackest ingratitude to brand by a public sentence those propositions of his in which I should venture to differ from him, without recording my sense of my own debt, and what seems to me the debt of the Church and the University, to him as a Christian teacher; and I appear to myself herein to be fortified by the course of those Bishops in general who, while they have censured him, have also recorded their sense of his services. But I am anxious to disown any intention of judging the conduct of others.

I ought also to have explained why I ventured to address to you a letter, by which I mean in substance to convey an appeal as strong as I am competent to make, in the capacity of a private member of Convocation, to the Hebdomadal Board. It was because I could not take upon myself (at least, unless I learn it to be absolutely necessary) so much as to address the Board collectively. On the other hand, I think you will have perceived, without assurance from me, that I deemed it the most respectful mode of proceeding, and that most befitting my age and academical station, to come before a prominent member of the Board, and thus before the Board itself, at once, even under the first impulses which were prompted by the case, rather than to concert any plan with others, or even com-

Photo. W. Bell Jones, Hawarden.

HAWARDEN CASTLE FROM THE OLD CASTLE.

municate with them, or do anythng that might have the aspect of combination.

With so much by way of preface, I pass to the subject which I named my intention to open in a further letter, and in regard to which I freely avow that nothing but the absolute necessity entailed by the shortness of the interval now before us would have induced me to attempt the rude execution of a task which even with time, and with freedom from the pressure of other duties, I should be most incompetent to perform in a tolerable manner.

I have, however, reperused as well as I could Tract 90, to which I had not looked since the time immediately succeeding its publication. And I find myself beset with the greatest difficulties in applying the terms of the proposition of the Board to the various matters it contains.

I respectfully ask, and I anticipate with confidence, your assent to the principle that it is of the highest importance that judicial decisions in matters of theology should state with precision what they are intended to affect — that we ought to know how much we are to condemn, and what is to be exempt from condemnation.

I presume to draw a broad distinction between the degree of precision justly required even in the Charge of a Bishop, which is an hortatory address, and that demanded by a formal vote such as the vote now before me, and a still broader one between the degree of precision requisite in a declaration of the Board of Heads, who are presumed to be charged immediately with the regulation of the course of actual teaching in the University, and who can complete, correct, and modify their acts from time to time, and that which ought to characterize a vote of Convocation, where the same act is initiatory and final.

If my memory serves me right, for I have not yet been able to make the reference, the proposition now submitted to Convocation bears a substantial resemblance to the original declaration of the Board with regard to Tract 90; but without making any inquiry into its fitness for the purpose for which it may have been thus originally used, I submit that no argument arises from thence in favour of its adaptation to the

present purpose, and that no disparagement to the former necessarily follows from questioning the latter.

The preamble to the proposal points out that certain 'modes of interpretation' were suggested by Tract 90, 'by which subscription to the said articles might be reconciled' with the adoption of Roman Catholic errors.

By 'modes of interpretation' I am led to understand rules or principles of interpretation, if I follow the apparent meaning of the words, but I have considerable difficulty in discovering what rules or principles of interpretation, except *one* to which I shall presently refer, and which, as being only one, does not satisfy the plural form of the phrase, are suggested in the Tract.

When I find it urged that our Articles were not written against the Tridentine decrees, because they preceded those decrees, I find here, not in any rational sense a mode of interpretation, but an inference from a certain assertion of fact, good or bad according as the assertion is true or false, but in neither case amounting to anything more.

If, again, it be said that senses short of the prevalent Romish doctrine will fulfil the strict meaning of the decrees, and will supply an adequate object for the Censures of the Articles without assuming that they touch the decrees themselves, this sentiment may suggest a general view of the Canons of the Council of Trent, but it is wholly negative as regards the Articles, and is therefore nothing like a mode of interpretation of them.

I find it, however, stated in p. 80 of the Tract (first edition), that it is our duty 'to take our reformed Confessions in the most Catholic sense they will admit.' This is plainly a mode of interpretation; the author of the Tract, lower down in the same page, calls it so, and describes it as concurrent with the mode directed by the Ratification.

Is it intended to condemn this mode of interpretation?

I conceive no formulary 'admits' any sense, except such as lies fairly and justly within the compass of the meaning of its language. This point is important, and if I am wrong in it, I should be glad to have the error pointed out. But if I am right, I entertain the strongest confidence that neither the Board of Heads

nor the University of Oxford will impugn the principle that, in cases where the language of the Articles, or of any formularies whatsoever, is capable in itself of several interpretations, such language is to be construed according to the analogy of the faith, and therefore in the most unequivocally and truly Catholic sense which it will admit.

I can well understand the danger of a licentious interpretation by each man for himself of the term 'Catholic sense,' and I am in no way arguing against the necessity of safeguards upon it. But the mischiefs which result from any misconstruction of the terms of a principle (such as the substitution of private notions for the Catholic sense) are, I apprehend, quite distinct from objections to the principle itself.

I will further observe that in the haste of the present moment I have only referred to the Bishop of Exeter's Charge as the most methodical of the various publications I remember to have seen on the subject of Tract 90. In that Charge, p. 34, I find the mode or principle of interpretation I am now discussing distinctly laid down, and sustained by reference to the Canon of 1571: for the Bishop says the Canon tells us that the sense the Articles were 'designed to bear is the Catholic sense': and 'that the Articles are to be understood in the Catholic sense.' This declaration, of course, is not to be censured?

It is true the Bishop goes on to assert that the application of the principle in Tract 90 is utterly vicious, and renders this Catholic sense equivalent merely to private opinion. If the Bishop means that this is done by any rule or mode formally adopted in the Tract, I do not find it, and should be glad to have it pointed out and some opportunity for considering it. If he means that the writer virtually nullifies his principle by the faultiness of his particular applications, then I am brought to open a further part of my subject; and I very respectfully submit that there is great danger in the use of ambiguous words, which may, in themselves, though the Hebdomadal Board could not intend it, be construed to condemn a principle sound, and even, I suppose, perhaps fundamental, and [to] ask whether it would not be better, and even absolutely obligatory, in a judicial act, to designate

the particular interpretations which it is meant to condemn.

The Tract presents to me a great variety of interpretations upon points many of which are most subtle and difficult. To judge them even according to the limited measure of my faculties between this time and Thursday is impossible, but that is not my present subject. Describing them generally, they appear to me to be, some satisfactory, some questionable, some erroneous. By the general words which the Board propose to us, I have absolutely no means of determining whether I am condemning all three classes alike or not; and if not, whether I am condemning the sound and sparing the erroneous, or condemning the erroneous and sparing the sound: or whether I am, as seems fit, reserving my judgment upon the questionable, or condemning or absolving these also before I have had the opportunity of making up my mind upon them.

It appears to me, I confess, that the interpretation in future times of the proposal of the Board will be attended with the utmost difficulty, not only to all sensitive but to all honest consciences: and can be easy to none except those who are of deliberate purpose resolved to use general and ambiguous words in order thereafter to fix the meaning at their discretion. Supposing I vote for the proposition: though the words lend me no help, and tend rather to an opposite sense, yet the reason of the case perhaps is so overwhelming as to determine — rather, I confess, against the words — that I do not by the vote condemn *all* the particular propositions of Tract 90. But if I by my vote mean to condemn propositions A, B, C, and to spare D, E, F: and one half of those who so vote agree with me, and if, on the other hand, the remaining half mean to spare the former and condemn the latter, what is — I do not say the moral force, but — the real legitimate purport of the vote at the last?

I observe, indeed, it is stated in the Proposal that the modes of interpretation which are to be condemned are those by which subscription may be reconciled with 'Roman Catholic errors': but I confess it appears to me as if, to speak technically, this were only equating one unknown quantity to another. If the inter-

pretations to be condemned were pointed out, there would be some guide to the errors intended. If the errors to be avoided were pointed out, there would be some guide to the interpretations intended. But as neither the one nor the other are pointed out, the entire construction appears to me to be arbitrary, and therefore a matter not only of probable, but of certain licence and abuse, and both in the highest degree.

I hope you will not think these to be technical objections. To my mind they involve matters of the greatest practical moment. For instance, Mr. Newman has suggested an interpretation of Article XIX. by which it not only may be reconciled with, but directly utters the doctrine of, a perpetual visible Catholic Church. Now, it is too well known that there are some professing members of our communion in whose belief this doctrine is distinctly a 'Roman Catholic error.' As to the intention of the Board of Heads, of course I know they did not mean to condemn it, but what is there to prevent one of those to whom I have just adverted from maintaining that the doctrine in question is condemned by the Proposal, what is there to enable one, anxious to resist such a person in argument, to confute him?

Is it not certain that this doctrine would be absolutely turned adrift by the Proposal, that the University would hereby wilfully utter an uncertain sound upon it? and is it not calamitous in the highest degree to adopt a vote the form of which can entail such results?

It is impossible for me, within the compass that my time or your patience can allow, adequately to illustrate the difficulties I have tried to state, in their application to the several parts of the Tract. But that, according to my means, I may show you how serious and substantial they are to my own mind, I will advert to another point yet more formidable.

The writer of the Tract, in his third section, has expounded Article XIII., 'Of Works before Justification,' upon the principle that works may be done in faith, by grace, before justification, like the works of Cornelius, which works 'dispose men to receive the grace of justification,' and, indeed, 'are the first fruits of the grace of justification, going before it, and

intended to lead on to it and to be perfected in it, as twilight leads to day' (p. 16).

Now, I apprehend there are many professing members of our Church who will condemn this exposition, not merely in particular expressions, but in its substance, as reconciling subscription to Article XIII. with a 'Roman Catholic error.'

I most solemnly declare I have not the smallest power to judge whether, according to an equitable construction of the words of the Proposal, this exposition would or would not be condemned by it.

I submit at the same time that the matter involved is of high, and even vital, importance: and that for me to affirm the Proposal, in the state of ignorance as to its meaning I have described, would amount to a most gross profanation, for which I must justly dread the Divine vengeance.

I therefore most earnestly pray to be informed as to its meaning, before I am asked to consider of the propriety of giving such a vote.

For no other reason than that I may not seem to affect reserve, I will give my own view of the interpretation in question, only premising that I hold it with submission to the judgment of the Church, and am ready to be better instructed. The interpretation seems to me to be attended, as a verbal exposition, with no inconsiderable difficulties, arising mainly out of the title of the Article, but they do not seem even as verbal impediments insuperable, and they also appear incomparably less than the objection to any hypothesis which would teach that Cornelius made no growth in grace through his pious works, done in faith and by grace, before his justification in Baptism.

I have given these two examples, which I think may be sufficient for my purpose. The upshot of all is that I find but one general principle, and that one which I presume the Hebdomadal Board to hold and not to condemn, and many particular interpretations of the most various merits, yet almost all of great importance; so that the one thing which seems undeniable is that to confound together matters of such immense moment, but of such different character, would be an abuse of the judicial office, and would certainly tend to the most painful and ruinous results.

Upon the expediency of the proceeding considered at large I do not presume to enter, nor give any opinion whatsoever: my object is to submit to the candour of the Board and its sense of justice the most urgent and pointed of those considerations which, in the surprise of the moment, crowd upon my mind in connection with the discharge of the office to which they have suddenly called me.

With many apologies, I remain, dear sir,

Faithfully yours,

W. E. G.

164. *To the Provost of Oriel.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
February 12, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,

I had not time yesterday to thank you for the intimation conveyed in your note respecting the negative of the Proctors.

You were quite right in supposing that it would appear to me to remove any occasion for printing my letters or any part of them at the present moment.

If the Proposal should be renewed in the same form, I may be compelled again to trouble you on the subject.

I remain, etc.,

W. E. G.

165. *To the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
February 17, 1845.

MY DEAR DR. PUSEY,

I concur with my whole heart and soul in the desire for repose: and I fully believe that the gift of an interval of reflection is the gift which would be of all gifts the most precious to us all, which would restore the faculty of deliberation now almost lost in storms, and would afford the best hope both of the development of the soundest elements that are in motion amongst us, and of the mitigation or absorption of those which are more dangerous.

Then, as to my addressing the Archbishop, I have no right or reason to suppose that any representation

from me would come to him with any special advantage. Still, it is impossible not to see from his late Pastoral, and still more from his Charge of last autumn, that no one more fervently ensues peace than our Primate: and if it were your desire that I should write to His Grace, I should readily do so, as my addressing him would be simply in the way of information, and would not be with the view of drawing him into communication with myself.

My opinion continues to be that the subject of the ninetieth Tract will most probably not be revived: but I by no means state this as a reason for doing nothing of the kind you indicate.

However, it occurs to me that the Archbishop's first thought might naturally be that the hope of peace must depend on the pacific intentions and desires, not of one side or body only, but of all: and that if you, on behalf of the assailed, take the initiative, it would be very fair to ask you what guarantees, or at all events what reasonable expectations, you can hold out that *they* will keep the peace. The signs of the last few days do not altogether give such a promise. For instance, even in his defensive speech, admirable as its tone was in all personal and in some other respects, Mr. Ward chose to carry his theology to a point beyond any which he had theretofore reached, and to propound an Ultramontane definition of Roman doctrine — viz., whatever is approved by the Pope.

It is true indeed, as I conceive, that Mr. Ward represents an individual, not a class, and it is difficult to make others responsible for his proceedings. But Mr. Oakeley is a man who appears generally desirous to manage his opinions, extreme as they are, with gentleness and consideration for the peace of the Church. Yet he has just published, as I perceive with great pain, a challenge to the academical authorities, founded on the votes against Mr. Ward, with respect to which I will only say that I cannot conceive how it *could* be in place *until* the validity of those votes should have been established either by the sentence of an appellate tribunal, or by a legal certainty that these proceedings of the Convocation cannot be brought under review elsewhere.

It is on this account that I have replied to you, in-

stead of acting at once on your suggestion to ask what security you think there is, or can be procured, for the same temperate and pacific course on the part of those who have been the objects of the late measures (I do not include Mr. Newman), as you (with me) desire to insure on the part of those who have been their promoters.

From want of time, I will not now further advert to the other parts of your letter than to say I feel most deeply the force of your argument respecting Mr. Newman's services as a Christian teacher, and that I endeavoured to urge it as well as I could in a correspondence before the late votes with Dr. Hawkins, and through him with the Hebdomadal Board.

I remain always, my dear Dr. Pusey,

Your attached and obliged

W. E. G.

It is not easy to realize what a reverse on the narrow stage of the Oxford Convocation then meant. Oxford had been placed by the fact of Newman's presence in the very forefront of a great theological conflict. The fortunes of the Tractarian party in England seemed wholly to depend upon their success or failure in the University arena. Had Newman remained in the Church of England this would only have been true in appearance. Whatever expedients the Heads might have resorted to within their own jurisdiction, they would have been powerless outside it. Every word that fell from the Tractarian leader would have been caught up by a growing body of disciples in every part of England. The University pulpit might have been closed against him, but no University authority could have prevented the Vicar of St. Mary's from preaching at the parish service in his own Church. As things turned out, the Heads were soon to gain all that they desired without taking any further trouble. 'The thirteenth of February, 1845,' says Church, 'was a

crisis in the history of many lives. From that moment the decision of a number of good and able men, who had once promised to be among the most valuable servants of the English Church, became clear. . . . In the bitter, and in many cases agonizing, struggle which they had gone through as to their duty to God and their conscience, a sign seemed now to be given them which they could not mistake. They were invited, on one side, to come; they were told sternly and scornfully, on the other, to go. . . . Yet there was a pause. It was no secret what was coming; but men lingered. Then, through the autumn and the next year, friends whose names and forms were familiar in Oxford one by one disappeared, and were lost to it. Fellowships, livings, curacies, intended careers, were given up. Mr. Ward went. Mr. Capes, who had long followed Mr. Ward's line, and had spent his private means to build a church near Bridgewater, went also. Mr. Oakeley resigned Margaret Chapel and went. Mr. Ambrose St. John, Mr. Coffin, Mr. Dalgairns, Mr. Faber, Mr. T. Meyrick, Mr. Albany Christie, Mr. R. Simpson of Oriel, were received in various places and various ways, and in the next year Mr. J. S. Northcote, Mr. J. B. Morris, Mr. G. Ryder, Mr. David Lewis.' I quote these names, now for the most part forgotten, because the list brings home more than any general statement could do the sense of solitude and desolation that these successive departures created in those they left behind. But all might have gone and no great change been wrought if Newman had not gone with them. Without him they would have been merely a section of his followers who had been charmed by Ward's paradoxes and led captive by his logic. The main body would have remained with their leader,

and the gaps left by the seceders would soon have been filled. Even as it was, the material for such a reconstruction was there in abundance, and in Pusey it found a commander who was in the end able to give it new confidence. But for some time the movement seemed to have come utterly to an end. Only a few strong spirits were able to see any trace of light in the sky which only six years before had seemed so full of promise.

This very natural depression did not extend to Mr. Gladstone. Throughout his long career he never questioned the power of the Church of England to recover all that she had lost, and, even when the will to use that power seemed lacking, he had an extraordinary faculty of seeing grounds for hope which were almost invisible to less sanguine minds. To-day we can all recognize how well founded his confidence was. But in 1845 it seemed hardly possible that the dry bones should live, or that the Movement should again become a thing that moves. The most striking feature in Mr. Gladstone's attitude at this time was the absence of any attempt to paint the ecclesiastical prospect in any brighter colours than those it actually wore. 'There are,' he tells Manning in 1846, 'two systems in the Church of England which are vitally opposed, and which, if equally developed, could not subsist together in the same sphere.' Everything depended on the relative progress of the two rivals. In order to make it a duty to remain in a Church so constituted it was not necessary that the Catholic system should have an immediate victory. It was enough that it should go on fighting, that the good principle should make, on the whole, a continuous advance. There had been a time when Newman had

felt this, but he had allowed himself to be discouraged by the opposition of the authorities, and by the intrusion of a doubt which Mr. Gladstone would never tolerate. He could make allowance for any amount of dissatisfaction with the actual condition of the English Church, provided that it did not extend to her original claim. The arguments by which he sought to retain Hope and Manning never touched on this second aspect of the controversy. He treated their doubts as though they related only to the comparative attractiveness of the two Churches, and the amount of work for God that it was possible to do in either. That it should seem to any man that what he had to determine for himself was whether the Church of England was a Church at all — whether, in order to be a Church in the Catholic sense, it was not essential to be in communion with Rome — never rose with Mr. Gladstone to the dignity of an arguable point. This inability had one great advantage: it sustained his conviction that the Church of England, by devious paths and with many reverses, would work her way to an ultimate victory. But it had its disadvantages also. It was fatal to his influence over his two chief friends when the eventful decision had to be made. It stood in the way of his forming any adequate or consistent estimate of Newman. It was a permanent element of weakness in his handling of the Roman controversy. And it led him at one time to distrust Pusey, because he steadily refused to take up an anti-Roman attitude which could only have multiplied secessions.

Yet there came a moment, in 1851, when even his confidence wavered. The Gorham Judgment, he thought, had degraded an article of the Creed into, at best, a pious opinion, and it had done this by means of

a purely civil tribunal. Yet the Church seemed more and more disposed to accept both these facts without any effectual resistance. 'Before saying whether anyone will leave the Church of England,' he writes to his brother John, in January, 1851, 'I should have to ask myself whether the Church of England will leave *him*. I cannot say for one that her position has been a fixed, or her movement an upward, one during the year 1850. On the contrary, I believe it to have been one of the most calamitous [years] in our history.' Even in writing to dissuade Manning from becoming a Roman Catholic, he says: 'My feelings toward the Church of England are no longer and cannot be a *constant quantity*, until I am brought to know whether these clouds, passing between her and my eye, are in herself or not.' Even at this stage, however, though he could see the shortcomings of the Church of England as clearly as Manning, the predominant feeling, 'and that which always emerges out of the chaos of thought which a time of confusion begets,' was that 'no resolution involving a great and sharp change of position can be right at such a time. . . . The materials of judgment are, as it were, decomposed and in a transition state. The Divine chemistry will before long bring them out into palpable forms.' He himself has more than enough work ready to his hand. But for this his course would be 'to set to work upon the holy task of clearing, opening and establishing the positive truth in the Church of England,' and in this way lay 'firm foundations for future union in Christendom.' For the moment, instead of taking part in this task, 'Lord John Russell, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Co., are manufacturing [converts to Rome] at a marvellous rate.' 'I went abroad' — he tells Bishop Wilberforce,

in a letter written from Naples — 'with gloomy anticipations, but they fell short (as I fear) of what was to come. The English Episcopate, which had no collective voice to defend an article of the Nicene Creed, has since found one in order to invoke the secular arm against Papal aggression, and in order to carry to a standard something beyond that of the Reformation its protest against Romish additions, at the very moment when it was tacitly waiving the obligation to teach in the Church of England all the articles of the Faith.'

In an earlier chapter I referred to the contrast between Mr. Gladstone's excitement while the controversy was in progress and the calmness with which he regarded it in retrospect. Undoubtedly this contrast does present a difficulty to anyone who seeks to harmonize the several stages of his ecclesiastical progress. The change from his early view of the Judgment to that which he came to take later is a real change. His opinion of the Judgment itself never varied. What did vary was his opinion of the duties it imposed upon Churchmen. But it was not only upon Mr. Gladstone's mind that new conclusions were forcing themselves about this time. The change in him was part of a similar change in the High Church party generally. Within the first twenty years of its history the Movement had passed through two crises. The occasion of the first was the Papal claims. Newman and Ward asked themselves in the end but one question: Was communion with the See of Peter an indispensable note of the Catholic Church? The seceders of 1845 had gradually come to believe that it was, and when this was admitted, their duty at once became plain. The second crisis had at starting little or no connection with the Papal claims. The Catholicity of the Eng-

lish Church was now held to rest on her acceptance of the whole body of Catholic dogma. The Gorham Judgment gave the lie to this theory. It denied the efficacy of a Sacrament, and left the Nicene Creed shorn of an article. If the nation had not, almost at the same time, gone mad over the Papal aggression, no question outside the four corners of this judgment need have been raised, and the High Church party, not weakened by further secessions, might conceivably have been strong enough to obtain from the Episcopate an unmistakable restatement of baptismal doctrine, and from Parliament the reference of cases involving dogma to a spiritual court. But the process which Mr. Gladstone described as the manufacture of converts to Rome brought the Papal claims again to the front, and in the end the reasons which led Manning and Hope to Rome were identical with those that had led Newman and Ward there six years earlier. How far did the occasion of these fresh secessions affect the position of those who remained? In one way it affected it very seriously. They had satisfied themselves that the Pope had no historical title to their allegiance, but until now they had believed that the great Christian dogmas were the common possession of Rome and England. Could they believe this any longer? Could they treat as of no moment the fact that one of these dogmas had been declared by a State Court to be no more than a pious opinion in the State Church? As I read the situation the answer they gave to these questions was something of this sort. What they were really embarked on was nothing less than a counter-Reformation. They had to take up the work where Laud had left it, and to carry it on in a wiser and wider temper. It was not to be

expected that this tremendous undertaking should at once be successful. The Evangelicals had a historical position in the Church of England. Their conviction that the Prayer-Book, properly interpreted, taught Protestant doctrine was just as genuine as the conviction of their opponents that it taught Catholic doctrine. Time must be allowed for the Catholic side of the Church to show of what it was capable. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump, but it does not leaven it all at once. This, at all events, was Mr. Gladstone's view. He was quite alive to the greatness of the reverse which the Gorham Judgment had inflicted on the Catholic system. But the significance of that reverse could not be measured until there had been time to ascertain how far the Catholic system had been permanently affected by it. He had already come to see that 'a Church takes a great deal of killing.' He was now to find that a Church takes a great deal of reviving. He had no patience with men who accepted a single defeat as decisive of the result of a war.

166. *To the Bishop of London.*

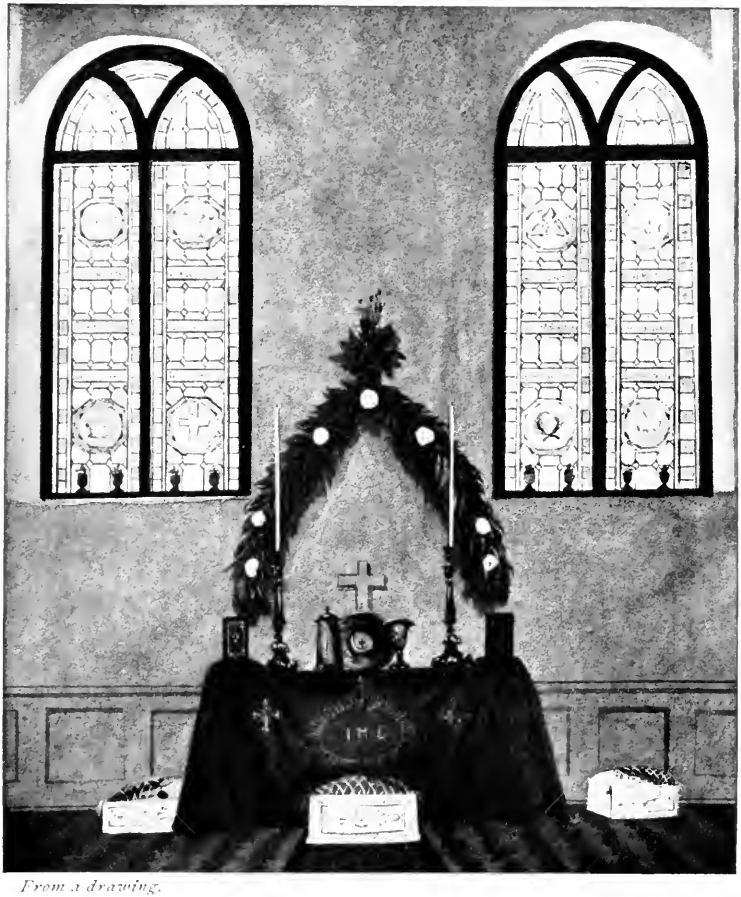
13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
February 24, 1845.

MY DEAR LORD BISHOP,

I have been made aware of an address which either has been or is about to be presented to your lordship by persons who attend with more or less frequency the services at Margaret Chapel.

There is a part of that address which relates to the exercise of Mr. Oakeley's influence in arresting persons from joining the Roman Communion, and I do not think myself competent from information to speak to that portion of the case. On that account I have not subscribed my name.

In the other parts of the address I cordially concur,



From a drawing.

MARGARET CHAPEL IN 1845.

having been three or four times a communicant at Margaret Chapel. I am an attendant frequently on Sunday evenings, and sometimes, though I regret to say not commonly, on weekdays. I have been drawn thither by motives wholly unconnected with the sentiment which has brought Mr. Oakeley under your lordship's notice, and which I deeply deplore. But I have found there what (whether by my own fault or not) I do not find elsewhere, and speaking for myself, I can scarcely exaggerate the debt which seems to me to be due to Mr. Oakeley as a restorer of the inward life and spirit of Divine worship among us. And I am well assured that the same sentiment prevails with many whose names will probably not come before your lordship on this occasion.

Mr. Oakeley's personal character, and the tone which has been imparted to the administration of Divine ordinances in the chapel, and the hold he has established by these means upon the respect, gratitude, and attachment, of many persons not agreeing in his views of Roman doctrine, appear to me to form a subject so real and important in itself, that it ought to be placed separately and clearly before your lordship as one at least among the elements of the case.

I remain, my dear Lord Bishop, with much respect and very sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

167. *To J. R. Hope.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
Thursday Night, May 15, 1845.

MY DEAR HOPE,

In 1838 you lent me that generous and powerful aid in the preparation of my book for the press to which I owe it that the defects and faults of the work fell short of absolutely disqualifying it for its purpose. From that time I began to form not only high but definite anticipations of the services which you would render to the Church in the deep and searching processes through which she has had and yet has to pass. These anticipations, however, did not rest only on my own wishes, or on the hopes which benefits already

received might have led me to form. In the commencement of 1840, in the very room where we talked to-night, you voluntarily, and somewhat solemnly, tendered to me the assurance that you would at all times be ready to co-operate with me in furtherance of the welfare of the Church, and you placed no limit upon the extent of such co-operation. I had no title to expect, and had not expected, a promise so heart-stirring, but I set upon it a value scarcely to be described, and it ever after entered as an element of the first importance into all my views of the future course of public affairs in their bearing upon religion.

The prospects of a great crisis in the destinies of the Church as it is related to the State, which were then remote, are now in much closer view, and we seem to see even the remaining steps one by one which are to bring us into immediate contact with it.

In the midst of the most painful oppression of heart, under a deep conviction that the civil power is moving itself farther and farther from God, and, in a word, beneath a pressure of anxieties, not personal, so heavy as to reduce to perfect insignificance the anxieties connected with the personal question whether I and any who may think similarly shall make utter shipwreck even of what is commonly termed public character in the effort, I am fastened down to the conviction that it is the duty of us who are in public affairs to remain where we are, and not effectually to separate ourselves from a general course which we believe to be one tending to evil, for the sake of the Church of God, and of the great opportunities, the gigantic opportunities of good or evil to the Church, which the course of events seems (humanly speaking) certain to open up.

If the time shall ever come (which I look upon as extremely uncertain, but I think if it comes at all it will be before the lapse of many years) when I am called upon to use any of those opportunities, it would be my duty to look to you for aid under the promise to which I have referred, unless in the meantime you shall as deliberately withdraw that promise as you first made it. I will not describe at length how your withdrawal of it would increase that sense of desolation which, as matters now stand, often approaches to being

intolerable, I only speak of it as a matter of fact, and I am anxious you should know that I look to it as one of the very weightiest kind, under a title which you have given me.

You would, of course, cancel it upon the conviction that it involved sin on your part, with anything less than that conviction I do not expect that you will cancel it; and I am on the contrary persuaded that you will struggle against pain, depression, disgust, and even against doubt touching the very root of our position, for the fulfilment of any actual *duties* which the post you actually occupy in the Church of God, taken in connection with your faculties and attainments, may assign to you.

I have no obligation, and no title apart from obligation, to say more on that subject. It is with a weaker claim upon your attention that I venture to say a few words in relation to such doubts.

They may conceivably arise in any given case either from the view of the actual state and tendency of a Church, or from a conviction that there has been a separation of it from the body of our Lord — as the title of a man to salvation would be called in question either by his living in flagrant sin, or by the discovery of his never having been baptized, or of his having been excommunicated.

I can hardly think that any man of sober judgment can, certainly I have heard of none who does (I do not say doubt, but) realize and affirm his doubts in regard to the Church of England, upon the footing of her present state, including in her state her tendencies. For instance, to take some particular subjects that are among the sorest, if we speak of rarity of devotion, no year elapses without the establishment of new daily services in this city — two, that I know of, at this *end* of it, within the last six months. If we speak of ascetic institutions, one has opened this very month within two miles of us: and you probably know of an effort among young men living in the world to commence something of life by rule under mutual engagement, but if you do not, and if you will let me, I will take care that you are duly informed respecting it. If we speak of the want of heroic self-devotion, I do seriously declare that most of those who have recently gone out

to our colonial bishoprics have gone, as it seems to me, in the frame and spirit of Apostles, and have left all for their Lord's sake in as true and as high a sense as the Church has ever known.

I put it to you, however, that the state of the Church, which you know much better than I do, not only is not a disproof to any mind in sobriety of her character as a Church, but that it makes a very forcible and authoritative appeal to all who are in her pale and under her allegiance to be zealous and enthusiastic on her behalf — an appeal which, to tell you the truth, I believe you own and obey, even if your language at a particular moment is to a contrary effect.

You have given me lessons that I have taken thankfully: believe I do it in payment of a debt, if I tell you that your mind and intellect, to which I look up with reverence under a consciousness of immense inferiority, are much under the dominion, whether it be known or not known to yourself, of an agency lower than their own, more blind, more variable, more difficult to call inwardly to account and make to answer for itself: the agency, I mean, of painful and disheartening impressions — impressions which have an unhappy and powerful tendency to realize the very worst of what they picture. Of this fact I have repeatedly noted the signs in you.

Turning to the other ground upon which we might assume the responsibility of releasing ourselves from the service of the Church, namely, the supposition of a separation, I am at the greatest loss to answer the following queries, every one of which (and probably more, but I write on the moment) I should be forced to put even if I believed that every material step taken at the Reformation was a wrong one.

1. So far as the declarations of the English Church against *doctrines* received elsewhere are concerned, how can they destroy her being as a Church until they have been formally condemned, and contumaciously adhered to by her notwithstanding that condemnation.

2. So far as the rejection of the Pope's 'jurisdiction' is concerned, is it seriously to be held that no societies are of the body of Christ unless they be under that jurisdiction? Are we at once to cut off from that

body *one half* of the whole Christian world? Can we deliberately look (say) the Russian Church in the face and apply this anathema against it? Can we attain our point without going yet farther? What was the condition of those British bishops and their Churches whom St. Augustine found in England — who had existed for centuries there, who had never been in communion with the Pope, and who were not all brought into communion with him (to say nothing upon the degree and kind of his jurisdiction at that time) for *six hundred years* after St. Augustine's arrival? Is the proposition anything less than monstrous that those Bishops and Churches were cut off from the Redeemer, and that individuals in them were at liberty to quit them, to disown their authority, or to refuse to them any other than a cold and passive obedience?

3. But if not, how is it possible that the rejection of Papal jurisdiction, even if for argument's sake it were granted to be evil, and wholly evil, and the cause and root of other evils, could be such an evil as to cut off this Church from her Head?

4. None can say that the Church of England has excommunicated and anathematized the Pope and the Church of Rome. The Russian Church has done this — and acts upon it by re-baptizing. Does it not seem that (though *possibly* we might escape sentence on the ground of separation, while she came under it) it is inconceivable that it should smite us if it leaves her scatheless?

I will not pursue these questions farther: and, indeed, they are objectionable to me, on the ground that they seem to make admissions which even for argument's sake I am loath to make.

Having made these demands upon you, let me say a few words on the state of my own mind and views of the Church of Rome.

I can conceive scarcely any nobler vocation than that of one of the sentinels of the Church of England on the side looking towards the Church of Rome: whose duty it is to maintain defence there, but to maintain it in love. It seems to me one of the greatest of human achievements to do all that faithfulness requires in indicating and declaring the dangers of

the Roman system, and yet to do all that justice as well as Christian love and the tender recollection of our Lord's departing prayer no less imperatively demand in eschewing whatever might be a new obstacle to reunion, and in honouring the exalted spirits which that Church has formed, and the glorious deeds she has done.

Of all men I should be the most impotent for such a work though powerfully attracted towards it: for I am paralyzed by the conflict between the fear of bringing a railing accusation against the work of the Holy Ghost in her on the one part, and the sense of most frightful evils on the other, most intimately associated with her actual system, and to all appearance cherished in deadly embrace by herself, with the further sense that a blindness to these evils, a total misconception not merely of their amount, but of their relation to her system, seems, as God's latest and sharpest judgment against us for our sins, to have overshadowed some among our holiest minds. I see in the Church of Rome the very best and the very worst of all the Churches of Christ. It is no new discovery; if it were it would not be my sentiment. It is clearly and strongly pronounced as to substance in Dante, that prodigy of human kind. I will not go to any other great names but one. No man has more concisely stated at least a great part, and a vital one, of the case than Newman in that sentence (1841) where he declares that the actual system of the Church of Rome goes far to substitute the Blessed Virgin, the Saints, and Purgatory, for the Trinity and Heaven and Hell. Of this he has never stated his retractation. There comes in this peculiarity. I firmly believe that the rulers of the Church of England would put down the heresy and latitudinarianism that range within her, if they could. But, on the other hand, it seems from history and living experience that authority is resolutely set on the side of those equally awful evils which have a freer scope within the Roman Church.

I can well conceive a far more perfect system than that of the English Church as it is on paper — but even from that I am infinitely distant. And yet, if a man may rely upon inward and spiritual facts, of which we

may have at least as sure knowledge as of sensible objects, I say with immovable conviction, we have in the Church of England, even amongst her mutilated institutions, large and free access to our Lord and a communion with Him sufficient to form in ourselves, as I have plainly seen it form in others, all the lineaments of His Divine Image, and how *can* things be right if, while we drink the blessed life-giving stream, we disown the channel that brings it, and suffer our hearts to wander and our hands to be slack?

It may be that this fatal sentiment, which touches one and another as God permits, shall continue to spread, that our best hopes of realizing a Catholic system for ourselves and our children in this mourning Church shall one by one be smitten down; that the elements of life will be withdrawn from us (as God has heretofore suffered other and greater Churches of less sinful men to be destroyed) by degrees, and more and more space cleared for the ravages of the heretical principle that abides among us; and that as Rome has fearfully ripened the harvest of unbelief in the lands of her unchecked dominion, so she may prepare it here also by exhausting the Church of England of her life and power. Up to this time these accursed mischiefs can scarcely be said to have begun. Those who have gone are to be deplored, indeed, on many grounds, but they were not the men who have led and formed the inmost mind of the Church of England in the generation passing by, nor the men that were to form it in the generation that is coming on. It will no longer be wholly thus, if God shall permit the calamity of Newman's abandonment of the Church to descend upon us. If that comes, which I do not yet regard as certain, what extent of evil will follow is an awful secret of the future: I fear the worst from the Anticatholic reaction, fortified by such evidence as the history of the period from 1833 will have placed in its hands. But be that as it may, it will indeed be an appalling result if the fairest hopes that these three hundred years have yielded, not only for religion in England, but for the ultimate reunion of Christendom, shall finally be blighted by the agency of the very man who was the principal instrument employed in calling them into existence, and of those who call him

their spiritual father. Nor will it be less mysterious and wonderful if the Church of Rome, which at this moment quakes in every country where it is dominant, in which the French Revolution ripened, and of which the actual Spain is a result, shall display among us a power for evil which she cannot evoke for good, and shall destroy us while she is engaged in a struggle of life and death, but not a triumphant struggle, with unbelief abroad. It is true our sphere is small, our strength is but weakness, our hopes are only in the bud, and yet they are such that it is no presumption, I think, to declare it proved by experience that they are beyond the reach of fatal harm from every *other* quarter.

I should have been glad to have got your advice on some points connected with the Maynooth question on Monday next, but I will not introduce here any demand upon your kindness; the claims of this letter on your attention, be they great or small — and you are their only judge — rest upon wholly different grounds.

God bless and guide you and prosper the work of your hands.

Ever your affectionate friend,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

168. *To Sir Robert Peel.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
June 21, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR ROBERT PEEL,

You will perhaps feel some surprise at hearing from me when out of office upon a matter connected with the internal state of the Church, which while I held office I never noticed to you. I shall, however, introduce what I have to say in no other way than by assuring you that it will rest upon ground which I believe to be common to you with myself, and that I only ask for it as much of your consideration as you may think it deserves without any reply.

I have noticed, probably like most others, that of the moderate number of high preferments in the Church which have been at your disposal since you assumed the Government, a Bishopric and two

Deaneries have been bestowed upon Heads of Houses in Oxford. The only application I make of the circumstance is this: it establishes a connection between the general spirit of the Board of Heads and the views and wishes of the Queen's Government, it raises the presumption that the future proceedings of the former may be influenced — I do not mean in any manner except one of perfect honour and integrity — by the latter.

The Board of Heads has shown that it has a sufficiently formal and decisive opinion upon that well-known movement in the Church, which passes by so many names, an opinion adverse to it, as a whole, taking persons and principles together, though not to every principle or every person who is in any degree associated with it. I am by no means complaining of this hostility: but I lament, and even complain, that (in my view) this Board of Heads has acted very defectively and imperiously *in its own sense*. It is only according to that sense that I wish to argue the question here.

It is easy to see that the circumstances of the times thus viewed have called for some penal and repressive measures; and those who approve of their end will not too severely judge the wisdom of the particular forms they may have assumed. At the same time I cannot but point out the flagrant impolicy of what has been done. In February last (after the proposal and withdrawal of the too-celebrated Test) a proposal was made on the case of Mr. Ward, upon which nearly four hundred members of Convocation appeared to the world as being in favour of his outrageous doctrines and offensive language. I do not beg the question that this minority was right: but when it is recollected that they could only say aye or no, and that the question on which they voted was chosen for them by the Board of Heads, I cannot but think that the Board of Heads, in so choosing the form of the issue, took a course for which the Pope ought to feel grateful to them. But what is the effect on the young men? The first duty of the Board of Heads is *to them:* and surely they have an especial duty at this time to divert them, if possible, from the Church of Rome. But the students cheered Mr. Ward on the

way home from the Convocation which degraded him — and it appears this was not the excitement of the moment; he was cheered again at the Commemoration. I understand that, of all the names which were received on that Saturnalian occasion with applause, that of Dr. Pusey elicited the greatest enthusiasm.

Independently, however, of these particular symptoms, my belief is that generally the Board of Heads as a body attracts no share of respect from the undergraduates, and exercises no influence, unless it be one of repulsion over their sentiments and tendencies. This, it is manifest, is very serious if true.

So far, then, as consequences are concerned, I say that circumstances exhibit a relation fundamentally unsatisfactory in the University of Oxford between the governing body and the students. But the complexion of the students, especially as it agrees with that of the Resident Masters, foreshows the future Board of Heads. The Board of ten, fifteen, or twenty years hence will represent those who are now the junior members of the University. Their tone, too, is decided. My fear is that, if matters continue to go as they have gone for the last few years, it may be not altogether of a safe complexion; at least, I am convinced that the recent policy must tend, and has tended, most powerfully to alienate the minds of the youth of Oxford from the actual Church of England, and that it will promote, not only secessions to the Church of Rome, but more extensively the temper from which such secessions proceed.

But I have not yet stated the main reason upon which I found these opinions. What has been done seems to me, for the most part, faulty enough: but I look *much more* to what has not been done — to the almost entire absence of any efforts to raise the religious tone of the University, to remove its scandals, to enlarge (in particular) its theological studies, to increase its means of meeting the wants of the country, to resist by works of solid learning the renewed and (in our present ill-trained state) really formidable controversial attacks of the Church of Rome.

Here are five great heads of positive duty. Under one of them — that is, the enlargement of theological study — something has been attempted by the Board

of Heads: but I fear it is little. I understand that the voluntary examinations in theology are neglected, and that it is doubtful whether on the whole progress has been made since the time of Bishop Lloyd and of Dr. Buxton. Under the other four heads I fear it must be said, during all these years of heat and danger, absolutely or almost absolutely nothing has been done. To begin with the last. The cares of the Board of Heads as Heads are not severe. No work worth mention, so far as I have ever heard, has been produced by any of them for the purposes of defence against the Romish controversialists. Several Oxford men, indeed, have lately written works with this specific view. One of them, Mr. Tyler, you have preferred. Another, Mr. Palmer, has received no appointment of any sort in the Church. But none of them are either members of the Board of Heads or acting in any concert with it. Now the need is great, for it is notorious that the theologians of the Church of Rome have of late years materially varied the form of their arguments, and the old works of English divinity are for that reason, among others, not completely suited to the times.

Next with regard to the removal of scandals. The luxury of Oxford is such as to attract much remark and to constitute a real scandal. Not merely in the very rich, but the general standard of expense is injuriously high. I am sorry to add that I believe it has even risen since my own time. It is too plain how this must operate in discouraging the increase so much required of candidates for Holy Orders. The powers of the Heads with regard to expense are very great, both legally and by the way of example. I am afraid there has been an absence not only of progress but of effort.

Next with regard to increasing means of meeting the wants of the country. The supply of clergy is falling short of the demand: and on this ground laymen are beginning to be employed to discharge offices less suitable for them. Not because there is want of zeal and faith in the country, or any indisposition to enter Holy Orders; multitudes are sighing for it, but the barrier of the heavy expenses of an University education intervenes. To meet this tremendous evil, which,

as I have said, growing luxury must tend to aggravate, nothing is done. The Provost of Worcester lately devised an excellent scheme for the erection of a separate building in which an hundred additional members of his college might be received, each living in a single room, and altogether on a more frugal scale than that which is usual. This would have been of immense consequence: because it could have placed *frugality with independence* on a firm footing in the University, instead of leaving it to the struggles of unassisted will against the general practice, and indeed, in many cases, against a positive necessity for considerable expenditure. The plan also had the great recommendation that it united (I believe) persons of all shades of sentiment who are attached to the Church, from Lord Ashley to Dr. Pusey. But it has been defeated, as I understand, from the fear of the Fellows of Worcester that their college would lose caste in the University if such a scheme were executed. There is, I think, almost an unanimous agreement in the Church upon the necessity of supplying an easier access to Holy Orders for persons of smaller means than the average of the present clergy: and the rate of new stipends now commonly established points to this result. Yet it seems that there is a rigid law established in the opinion of the older members of the University, which is to make it regardless in this respect of our increasing population and of our clamorous wants. Now, the plan to which I refer was sanctioned or projected by the Provost, and it failed through the Fellows. I am far from blaming any member of the Board of Heads for its having been suffered to fall to the ground, on account of difficulties apprehended from the University at large, without an effort to supply its place (or, indeed, for any other part of the evils at which I have glanced); but I point to them as indicative of the general system, which is one highly penal and coercive against the supporters of certain opinions, but utterly neutral, negative, and barren, as regards the general development of the strength and life of the University.

As to the religious tone of the body, it is perfectly true that it rises: but it really seems to rise from breath against a superincumbent pressure. Supposing

it possible to show a perfect vindication of the sentence against Dr. Pusey, it remains too clear what must be the *religious effect* of such a sentence against a man of his high and apostolic standard of living, so long as it continues to be the general impression that no such standard is reached or recommended among those, highly respectable as they are, who have prompted, pronounced, or sustained the condemnation. This is a serious matter: the love of worldly goods has been almost for centuries the bane and scandal of the Church of England, there is at this moment a better hope of its correction than perhaps at any former time. Everyone has his share of influence upon it, but you, it is plain, have a large one.

I am not a judge in these matters, and if I were, there is no individual whom I should feel authorized to censure: my object is to convey a general view of a state of things in which the executive of the University seems to have fallen out of its natural position, and for this I may have said enough. Only a conviction that the matter is true and important and related to your proceedings would have led me to tax your time for the perusal of this letter: but it may have been right, if I should have done no more than to present to your mind, in connection with the exercise of your power, the questions, first, whether the relations of the ruling body in the University of Oxford to those whom it rules are or are not essentially unsatisfactory and inadequate to the demands of this critical period of her history, especially though not exclusively with reference to the defence of the Church against her dangers on the side of the Roman Catholic religion: and next how any improvement in them can be prompted or encouraged.

169. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

LONDON,
August 1, 1845.

MY DEAR MANNING,

. . . I have read and return Pusey's note. That one should entertain love for the Church of Rome in respect of her virtues and her glories is of course right and obligatory; but one is equally bound under

the circumstances of the English Church in direct antagonism with Rome to keep clearly in view their very fearful opposites. I do not recollect that in your Charge (which, however, is gone to the binders) you have made any dissertation upon the latter, if you had, some compensating exhibition of the former might have been desiderated. But I am afraid one-sidedness as to the Church of Rome is becoming an article of religion with Dr. Pusey. I can well understand the personal advantage of keeping clear of the whole function of censure as such, but if parties come forward as teachers of others, and in that capacity they profess, however laudable, their sentiments of affection towards the Church of Rome, it seems to me that they are absolutely bound to take into their calculation the effect of what they write upon the minds of others, and to adjust it so as to produce a true *general* effect. This I find in you, but not in Dr. Pusey's later writings. . . .

Believe me ever,
Affectionately yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

170. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

BADEN-BADEN,
October 20, 1845.

. . . Is there to be any firm and intelligible declaration from Pusey? I read the *first* Wingfield letter of his before leaving England — from a subsequent one I have seen an extract on the subject of the peculiar Roman doctrines — which was *not*, I think, of a kind to do good at a time when men want to be rallied. I at one time thought of enclosing to you for your use or not, according to your judgment, a letter to him expressing a very strong hope that it was his intention, upon the occasion of Newman's secession, to make some declaration of such a kind as will settle and compose men's minds, or at least tend that way, with a view to the future. No such effect as this is produced by showing that after infinite question one can just make out a case for remaining in the Church of England. Surely we must not always and only dwell upon

negatives, but a little revive in people's minds the idea of the Apostolical authority that is over us, and the obligations it entails. I wish Pusey were to spend some time here — I think he would be the better in his public tone for it. I do not want any worldly wisdom distinct from the wisdom of the Gospel, but I do desire and pray that the trumpet shall not give an uncertain sound, inasmuch as men are certainly called upon to prepare themselves for the battle. It is possible that you may be at work on this subject with him. If you are, pray say as much of this to him in my name as you like, or as little, or none at all.

It may appear strange, but I have almost a feeling of disappointment at not seeing more secessions with Newman, because it looks as if they were *to follow*. Now, as we are undergoing an amputation, we must desire it should be done at once; the feverish excitement attending the prolongation of the process is far worse, because it has the effect of destroying confidence within the Church, and of disqualifying so many for the active and resolute performance of duty. However, I suppose and hope that Newman's book will bring all this to a head, and that persons are waiting for that in order to declare themselves. It is sad and bitter, but a sweep now, and after that some repose, is, in the choice of evils, that which we should seek from the mercy of God.

Then the conviction always returns upon me that, as the Church of England, being a reality, is not dependent upon this or that individual, the immediate duty is, when one secedes, simply to think of the supplying his place, as a rear-rank man steps forward when his front-rank man falls in battle. And what does England and its Church want? Certainly nothing of all that the ordinary powers and appliances of human nature can supply: nothing but the development of spiritual gifts, and of the Divine life within us. Have we men ready to devote themselves in mind and body and in all they have to the work of God? If not, it is all over with us — but if so, then every question that remains is subsidiary, and every difficulty surmountable.

I wished to have written to you upon some other points, but my thoughts are too crude. Only I have a strong impression that Puseyism (the name must be

used after that so much idiosyncrasy, so many elements which are not simply and truly those of the Church, have been mixed in it) has not up to this time been able to accomplish more than a very small fraction indeed of its work as an evangelizing power. Where is the secret of the power of preaching? Who has got that? Why have we, in the matter of the rubrics, been putting the cart before the horse? Who can *restore* spiritual life by ceremonial? I have seen churches where the clergyman has not the smallest idea of reverence in himself and his own manner, though every accessory is provided with accuracy and with liberal love. Now, if I must choose *between* the two, give me a reverent clergyman, whose voice, countenance, manner, movement, tell me incessantly of the presence of God, and I will give you all the rest. In every (material) church we have this one central element in our power: no churchwardens can make that into a complaint, it may be had without bowing or crossing, though it might be better with them. How little of it do we really possess! The truth is, English hardness is yet upon us, we have not enough yet been bruised and chastened. When by holiness we have learned the fulness of love, shall not the glory of God appear? . . .

171. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

13, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
Sunday, March 8, 1846.

MY DEAR MANNING,

Your account of Keble is comforting. I am sorry to say I hear that both R. Williams and Serjeant Bellasis are in a very uncertain state, but I cannot say I know it. Toovey the bookseller, it seems, has been smitten. We should pray first, I suppose, that no more may go, and next, 'That which thou doest, do quickly.' The Church of England cannot acquire a clear self-consciousness till this dismal series is at an end. It *is* a dismal series, we are unhappy in losing them, but the evil they do is greatest in itself. I hope you will not hurry your proceedings about Newman's book: for its remoter

consequences are more serious, surely, than those which are immediate.

I have read as yet only the preface to Dr. Pusey's sermon, and I confess myself much shocked at his allusion in a note to 'Mr. Newman's valuable sermon' — not that the words express an untruth, but, the whole circumstances considered, they appear to me little less than an outrage upon decency. His cannot be the mind which is to afford the mould to form future minds for the government of the fortunes of the Church of England; his personal character is a great light for all, but his character and proceedings as a member of the body suggest much matter for regret. I see I have written foolishly, as if it were to be supposed that an individual is to give form to the future mind of the Church among us. I did not mean it; what has happened to Newman ought at least to rid us of that delusion. . . .

172. *To the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.*

BRIGHTON,
Easter Day, April 12, 1846.

MY DEAR DR. PUSEY,

I received your letter yesterday before leaving town, and I hope you will not think I am abusing this holy day in proceeding to answer it. I have not so much choice of time as I could wish.

First of all with regard to the bishopric at Jerusalem. I agree with you in thinking that its continuance bodes us little good and more evil. I can conceive it possible that such a bishopric might have been established without doing violence to any principle, and with much hope of good. But it must have been weighed and adjusted, in order to realize that character, in a very different manner from the manner of this present unhappy and ill-omened project, which appears to me to tend in no degree towards improving Lutheranism, but to weaken us both in the definiteness of our ecclesiastical profession, and in the yet more vital principle of adherence to substantive dogma. Still, I am afraid that any attempt to get rid of the bishopric itself, proceeding from those who have eschewed it since its foundation, would rivet it, if not in the affec-

tions, in the prejudices and antipathies of many. While on the other hand, from the sickliness of the plant, I cherish the hope that at some time, if the spirit of party be not stimulated in its favour, it will either die or, which might be more desirable, be so altered as to render it safe instead of slippery in the very important respects in which objection is now taken to it.*

But with respect to the pending appointment, I would by no means propose to carry the rule of letting alone so far as to standing passively by while a person who has professed heretical principles is put into it — if indeed, which I am loath to believe, it can be intended to permit such an outrage. After reading Bunsen's late book (the 'Kirche der Zukunft'), I am prepared to be surprised at nothing from him: and I know very little of Mr. Gobat or his work: but it appears to me that, if he has spoken as it is reported to me by H. Wilberforce, his said speeches should be laid before the Archbishop as a regular charge against him.

If the question be, Who are the fit parties to interpose? I should say that class of men who very chivalrously committed themselves by publishing in favour of the plan, particularly Hook, Palmer, and Allies. . . .

173. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

FASQUE, FETTERCAIRN,
August 31, 1846.

. . . There is another passage in your letter that makes me write: 'I have a fear amounting to a belief that the Church of England must split asunder.' Now, I will not dwell on my own strong conviction the other way, though nothing can be more firm in my mind than the opposite idea that the Church of England has not been marked off this way and that way for naught, that she will live through her struggles, and that she has a *great* Providential destiny before her. I will say little in the way of argument. But recollect that for a century and a half (a much longer period than any for which the Puritanical, or individual, and

* Under Bishop Blyth this hope has happily been realized.

the Catholic principles have been in conflict *within* the Church of England) Jansenists and anti-Jansenists dwelt and propagated themselves within the Church of Rome, with the unity of wolf and lamb. Their differences were not absorbed by the force of the Church, they were in full vigour when the French Revolution burst upon them both, and when the breach between the nation and the Church was so wide that the separation between them became insignificant, and the subsequent hostility of State and Church caused ultimately the fusion together of the two sections. But I will more rely upon reminding you that your present impressions are entirely at variance with those of six or seven months ago. I begin now to think that on a matter of magnitude I cannot differ from you; so I have the most immediate interest in your opinion, as I have a presentiment of its proving to be mine, too, if it be indeed yours — hence this intolerance on my part. . . .

174. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

FASQUE,
December 7, 1846.

MY DEAR MANNING,

. . . In regard to the theological conflict in the Church of England, I surely have no difference of opinion from you, whether or not the quantity of misgiving in your mind and in mine may or may not be exactly the same. I will, however, turn off into a new course of expression. It seems to me that there are two systems in the Church of England, which are vitally opposed, and which if equally developed could not subsist together in the same sphere. Were the Puritanical doctrines the basis of our Episcopal and collegiate teaching generally, or (short of generally, yet) extensively and habitually, the Church of England must either split or become heretical. But we have these two things, (1) Episcopal Chairs, (2) Colleges, and also we have (3) a Theology. Whatever straightness or ambiguity or other imperfection may attach to these, or any of them, the basis of them upon the whole is plainly antipuritanical, and what we should call Catholic; and the Puritanical or anticatholic ideas

among us are generally the ideas of individuals scarcely having a succession, but reproduced here and there, not small in their aggregate, but characteristically distinguished from the other system in this, that not these, but their opposite, lie at the *root* of our known divinity, of our Episcopal teaching, and of our colleges or normal schools of theology. Now, it seems to me that, if ever the doctrine of the 'Protestant declaration' should make good its ground among us in such a sense as that any man can colourably say, this is the authoritative system of the English Church, *then* we are at our crisis, and must either separate or sink. But the conflict may go on as now, and with a progressive advance of the good principle against the bad one. This, it is indisputable, has been on the whole the course of things during our lifetimes, and to judge from present signs it is the will of God that it should so continue.

The juxtaposition of Jansenism with the antagonist power in the Roman Church offers an analogy to the conflict among us; but a more true analogy I think may be found by taking on their side, as with ourselves, first the life of the Church, and then the disease which gnaws and corrodes it. With them this is the superstition and idolatry which I must say abide among them as Puritanism abides among us, and with at the least as much of countenance from authority. I take (*pace* Ward) the Psalter of Bonaventura to witness, or my friend whom I heard at Naples: and of whose sermon Dr. Döllinger said to me, that on that side of the Alps he would have been suspended for it. Now, of course, this is a mere *abbozzo*, which perhaps you may translate botch, but at least I hope to profit, in the course of time, by your thoughts upon it: it must in some form be familiar to your mind.

In October we visited Hope at his place (rented from his brother), Rankeillour in Fife: and he has lately been here — he is going to build houses at St. Andrews in conjunction with my father. His mind, I think, is quiet, and I look upon him as practically fixed, *rebus sic stantibus*. This is a great mercy; what there is still to pray for is that his ancient interest in the fortunes of the Church may be fully rekindled, and his knowledge and ability applied to the task of

working out and improving her system according to its best capacities. . . .

175. *To the Rev. W. Maskell.*

6, Carlton Gardens,
April 9, 1850.

My dear Mr. Maskell,

. . . Fully believing that the death of the Church of England is among the alternative issues of the Gorham case, I yet also believe that all Christendom and all its history have rarely afforded a nobler opportunity of doing battle for the Faith in the Church than that now offered to English Churchmen. That opportunity has a price far beyond any with which the days of her prosperity, in any period, can have been adorned. I suppose that there are those who, bred among us, have brought themselves simply to believe that union with the Pope is necessary for the salvation of their souls. To me it is open, and it is my duty in my own sphere to deplore what I must call their profound delusion, and the immediate consequence of that delusion, which is to cut them off with all their faith and zeal from pursuing the work of God on behalf of this noble English people. If there is a fact that stands out to me clearer than the sun, it is that that work cannot be done by the Church of Rome as she is. What it might be were she, in Laud's words, other than she is, I know not. I am not proud of isolation, but deplore it, and look upon the reunion of Churches and the measures belonging to it, such as works like the 'Considerations' of Bishop Forbes, as among the greatest and noblest works of Christian love.

You will think that you have emboldened me almost to insolence. I assure you I am deeply sensible of your forbearance, and know how severely I have tried it. . . .

176. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

Fasque,
September 8, 1850.

My dear Manning,

. . . I know not indeed how far your thoughts are tentative, how far they are entire expressions of

your mind; but while each letter is in itself a polished whole, and would defy greater skill than mine to undo, taken as a series they are not fixed, nor consistent, nor consecutive. Your last, especially, passes quite beyond my power to follow. I am wholly unable to conceive how the theory of the Church and its unity that is now before you can stand application to the times of schism in the Roman Church itself when both parties had the intention of union with the Chair of St. Peter, but were in fact divided, and one of them therefore is smitten by your doctrine, though both are recognized as Catholic by the Roman Church. The Branch Church theory is hers, only she makes a more limited application of it. To my eye the reasoning of your letter seems so far from your former self, to say no more, that it leaves me in doubt and perplexity as to its real purport, and extorts from me by force the question whether your intellect is for the moment in the class of those of which the extreme power and facility, and their satisfaction, unconscious often yet a great reality, in their own vivid play, become snares to the possessor and seduce him from fixity by the smoothness and ease they show in movement. But if you are deceived you will need some other and worthier one to undeceive you. I am suspicious and afraid of the disposition you state, to follow in the path of relatives whose sanctity you venerate; for surely, though personal sanctity may give us every comfort respecting the person so blessed, it does not make such person a guide for others in the changes they may make, and to view them so is unsafe and unsound in principle. . . .

Only one consideration led me to write as I did — the consideration, namely, of one point in the discipline life has given me, and one only, that can ever be of use to you. My life has, I know and feel, had this tendency, to lay a heavy weight upon the movement of the understanding when solicited to depart from the main practical principles by which it has been anchored, and to make the movements of all such processes exceeding slow. I mean the common discipline of my life — that which has come upon my understanding only, and affects only *its* habits, and which comes in through common acts, apart from disturbing causes

such as those that join themselves to all questions deeply piercing into our moral being.

Lagging behind you as, whenever I read your letters, I always feel myself to do, on this occasion for the first time it occurred to me, not because of the apparent interval between you and me, but between you and your former yet recent self, Can it be that, the shock of these awful times having driven him upon the problems that oppress other men, his trenchant intellect has found for him too sharp and short a way through them?

The vice I meant to suggest was strictly and wholly in *that* region, and what it was I hope I have now made clearer. I am anxious to purge the offence away, not from your mind, for I am certain it did not arrive there, but as it is in itself.

At any time in the *next* week after Monday you would find me in town — perhaps you would take a bed at our house. If so, a few hours' notice will amply suffice. Hope is here, and I have felt the privilege of talking with him, but only to lament the more that my departure to-morrow cuts me off from the means of talking through, instead of merely upon, the great subject. I look forward anxiously to seeing you, but with a similar anticipation. Weeks at least of continuous exercise seem necessary, besides everything else of a higher nature that is more necessary, to give the least hope of a conscious grasp either of the true idea or of the right course, nor do I believe that events are yet ripe for more than to give light a little beyond the actual point at which we stand. But to the questions, first, Can peace be permanently kept with the now dominant system in the Church of England, secondly, will that system be cured by remedies such as any of its Bishops may devise, *and* such as the State will permit to be administered? I fail to find any answer but in the negative. . . .

177. *To Archdeacon Manning.*

5, CHIATAMONE, NAPLES,
January 26, 1851.

MY DEAR MANNING,

. . . Without description from you, I can too well comprehend what you have suffered in parting

from Lavington, especially when it is considered, not only what a mass of palpable interests clustered around your connection with it, but that it likewise was the type of a system in which your whole being has long been wrapped, and out of which it is now torn. Such griefs ought to be sacred to all men; of course they must be sacred to me, even did they not touch me sharply with a reflected sorrow. You can do nothing that does not reach me, considering how long you have been a large part both of my actual life and of my hopes and reckonings. Should you do the act which I pray God with my whole soul you may not, it will not break, however it may impair or strain, the bonds between us. I should then earnestly pray, and not only to obey the prompting of my own heart, but to conform to a solemn conviction of duty, that you might not be as others who have gone before you, but might carry with you a larger heart and mind, able to raise and keep you above that slavery to a system, that exaggeration of its forms, that disposition to rivet every shackle tighter and to stretch every breach wider, which makes me mournfully feel that the men who have gone from the Church of England after being reared in and by her are far more keen, and I must add far more cruel, adversaries to her than were the mass of those whom they joined. In this I read their error, as well as in many other things. But I often wish I saw you leaning less upon subjective tokens, and I must beware of doing what might seem to resemble it.

I have written thus far as if I thought you were going to follow them. It is, however, only because I am in doubt, and because I am too well aware that it is one of the possibilities before you. It is not, I assure you, because I think you have sprung to your conclusion. Even you yourself probably do not know at this moment, certainly have not known heretofore, how many and what elements of your accruing resolutions were at different stages of ripeness within you; much less could I. For my own part, my feelings towards the Church of England are no longer and cannot be a *constant quantity*, until I am brought to know whether these clouds, passing between her and my eye, are in herself or not. But the predominant feeling of my mind at this time, and that which always

emerges out of the chaos of thought which a time of confusion begets, is that no resolution involving a great and sharp change of position can be right at such a time — can be right, I mean, in the full and proper sense, as known to be right, as not only the right thing, but done for the right reason; otherwise the man might be right who put into a lottery of religions. The materials of judgment are as it were decomposed, and in a transition state. The Divine Chemistry will before long bring them out into palpable forms. In my own case there is work ready to my hand, and much more than enough for its weakness: a great mercy and comfort. But I think I know what my course would be were there not. It would be to set to work upon the holy task of clearing, opening, and establishing, positive truth in the Church of England, which is an office doubly blessed inasmuch as it is both the business of truth and the laying of firm foundations for future union in Christendom. During the last twelve months I have in letters to you said strong things, and things that startled and still startle myself, upon what may come. Some things I have learned in Italy that I did not know before, one in particular. The temporal power of the Pope, that great, wonderful, and ancient creation, is *gone;* the problem has been worked out, the ground is mined, the train is laid, a foreign force, in its nature transitory, alone stays the hand of those who would complete the process by applying the match. This *seems*, rather than is, a digression. When that event comes, it will bring about a great shifting of parts, much super- and much subter-position. God grant it may be for good. I desire it because I see plainly that justice requires it, and God is the God of justice. Not out of malice to the Popedom: for I cannot at this moment dare to answer with a confident affirmative the question, a very solemn one: 'Ten, twenty, fifty years hence, will there be any other body in Western Christendom witnessing for fixed dogmatic truth? With all my soul I wish it well (though perhaps not wholly what the Consistory might think agreed with the meaning of the term); it would be to me a joyous day in which I should see it really doing well. . . .

Ever your affectionate friend,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

178. *To the Hon. and Rev. G. Wellesley.*

HAWARDEN,
November 2, 1853.

MY DEAR WELLESLEY,

I am concerned to say that the report you have heard is substantially true. The Council of King's College voted on Thursday last by a majority that the statements contained in Maurice's last essay were of a dangerous character or tendency, and (a broad hint) that his connection with the Theological Chair ought not to continue. This sentence was moved by Lord Howe. The words were founded upon a draft of the Bishop of London's, modified with his approval. I am bound, however, to add that the Bishop was, as I understood him, quite willing to concur in a course at once milder and more regular, but he saw that a majority of the members present were resolved to condemn there and then. One of them said he had not read any of the essays, but he had read the extracts, which were quite enough for him! Certainly there is a blinding power in theological rage, which often induces honest men to act like scoundrels.

I proposed that the Bishop of London should be requested to appoint competent theologians, who should make a full examination into the question whether these statements were or were not agreeable to the Creeds and the Formularies of the Church of England, and should make a report upon them, and that the Bishop should be requested to make this report known to the Council. For this I had many reasons, of which *any one* appeared to me conclusive.

For instance, I think we were absolutely bound to let Maurice know, if he was dismissed, for *what* he was dismissed: and the mere decencies of the case required a definite, not a vague sentence, upon issues formally stated and deliberately joined. But again: I must confess that Maurice's propositions, in my judgment, do not hang together. He tells us that the will of God is for the salvation of all His creatures, all without exception: and that he cannot but believe that will must ultimately prevail. But on the other hand

he teaches eternal (though not everlasting) punishment; and he holds that eternity means fixity, and is represented by a circle, though not by a line; and he says he cannot tell what amount of opposition obstinate wickedness may offer to the will of God, or (as I understand him) with what effect. Out of these contrarieties I should have felt very hopeful that wise and candid men might have managed to educe a *formula concordiæ*, and so to save the scandal and mischief of this unwise, precipitate, and unjust proceeding. Over and above all that I have said, and assuming that Maurice's statements could not be blended, and that we must finally proceed by the crudest of them, I should still say that, before a body invested (though indirectly) with authority proceeded to condemn their author, they ought to have had much clearer and plainer evidence that these statements were beyond the line, up to which, upon this delicate subject, freedom of thought and speculation have heretofore been allowed to range.

Even more painful, if possible, than the immediate decision itself was it to observe the total incompetence of the Council generally to apply judicial principles and rules to a matter of theology. The greater part of them seemed to have no idea whatever of any distinction between matter of faith and matter not of faith, or between the certainty of objective truth and mere private persuasion, or of any fixed standard to which reference could be had in matters of faith for the decision of any dispute. Such men as these find Pope, Creed, Council, and Bible — ay, and conscience, too — all in the last leading article of their religious newspaper.

Sir J. Patteson, Sir B. Brodie, and Mr. Green, were for my proposal: seven I think against it.

To judge from the newspapers, the flame is spreading, as was to be expected. Many men, in consequence of this judgment, will ask themselves many questions — more questions, I suspect, than they will readily find answers to. How strange it is that the very same persons who insist on being allowed legally to deny the blessings and mercies which the bulk of Christians have always believed to be attached to Baptism, should be so fierce (for it is nothing less) against what they think mutilated conceptions of the

Divine Wrath! But this is only a by-point. Upon the whole, if the question has really been raised during the last few years, and is in slow process of solution, whether the Church of England, as by law established, shall cohere or go to pieces, I do not think the proceeding of Thursday last is in favour of the former and happier alternative.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT — *continued*

1854–1894

In the year 1854 a new attack was made on the High Church party, and this time the object was a doctrine on which Mr. Gladstone set special value. The Evangelicals, or some of them, had misread the real lesson of the Gorham case. They treated it not as an advance in the direction of toleration, but as an authoritative adoption of their special theology. In this feeling the case of Ditcher *v.* Denison had its origin. George Denison, the Vicar of East Brent, who had been active in the agitation against the Gorham Judgment, was now Archdeacon of Taunton. In that capacity he preached three sermons on the Eucharist in Wells Cathedral between August, 1853, and May, 1854. Ditcher was the Vicar of the next parish, and after the second sermon he laid a formal complaint before Archbishop Sumner. By him he was referred to the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Bishop Bagot loved peace and liked Tractarians, and he gave an informal judgment to the effect that, though the Archdeacon might be too fond of speculating on the manner of the Eucharistic Presence, and too much inclined to make assent to his private opinions 'the condition of holding faithfully the doctrine of the Real Presence itself,' neither of these characteristics afforded proper matter

for a suit in the ecclesiastical courts. Unfortunately, Bishop Bagot died within a month of pronouncing this virtual acquittal. Thereupon Ditcher made a similar application to his successor, Lord Auckland. He, too, thought a public prosecution inadvisable, and pleaded that Bishop Bagot's action had put an end to the matter. Ditcher now discovered, what he had overlooked in the first instance, that the Bishop of the diocese, being the patron of the living of East Brent, could not judge the orthodoxy of his own presentee. Consequently, this function devolved *pro hac vice* upon the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sumner). In him Ditcher found a sympathetic listener. The charges were at once reduced to form; a commission appointed by the Archbishop reported that they afforded a *primâ facie* case against Denison; and upon Lord Auckland again refusing to send the case to the Court of Arches, the Archbishop, acting under the Church Discipline Act, determined to hear it himself. On July 25, 1855, he sat for this purpose at Bath, with Dr. Lushington as his assessor. On August 12 Dr. Lushington, as the Archbishop's representative, declared certain passages taken from the sermons to be contrary to the teaching of the Church of England, and, on October 21 following, Denison, having refused to make any recantation, was deprived of all his preferments. The chief doctrines condemned were these: 'That the Body and Blood of Christ, being really present after an immaterial and spiritual manner in the consecrated bread and wine, are therein and thereby given to all, and are received by all, who come to the Lord's table. That the act of consecration makes the bread and wine, through the operation of the Holy Ghost, to be Christ's Body and Blood. That worship is due to the real, though invis-

ible and supernatural, presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist under the form of bread and wine.' And that there might be no possible doubt as to the intention of the Court, it declared that the restatement of his meaning made by Denison in compliance with the Archbishop's wish was only a reiteration of what he had said at first, and so furnished no reason why he should not be deprived. As this restatement had been made in the exact words of Bishop Andrewes, it was clear that the Archbishop and Dr. Lushington meant business, and that if Bishop Andrewes had been within their reach, he would have shared the Archdeacon's fate. The crisis thus created was immeasurably more acute than that which had followed upon the Gorham Judgment. The one had made it impossible for High Churchmen to turn Evangelicals out of the Church of England; the other made it possible for Evangelicals to turn out High Churchmen. Keble might well write that if these propositions were declared untenable in the Church of England, 'a far more serious question would arise concerning the reality of our communion with the Universal Church than had ever yet arisen.'*

Mr. Gladstone's controversial methods had not much in common with the 'Protests' and 'Declarations' which were so much in favour at this time. In his opinion the first thing to be done was to see whether Denison had really nothing to hope from the law. Must the Bath judgment stand? If it must, the next step should be to proclaim from pulpit after pulpit the 'true and substantive doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.' It turned out, however, that legal remedies were not yet exhausted. The Archdeacon appealed against the

* Letter to the *Guardian*, November 22, 1854.

sentence of deprivation to the Court of Arches. In the first instance the Dean naturally declined to review a decision pronounced by his own superior. It was held, however, by the Court of Queen's Bench that, as the Archbishop had only been acting as substitute for the Bishop of the Diocese, a judgment pronounced by him in that character would still be open to appeal in the Court of Arches. A second application to that Court disclosed a fatal flaw in the original proceedings. The suit had not been begun within the time required by the Church Discipline Act. The machinery of Establishment had proved, as it not seldom has, a protection against the wrong-headedness of ecclesiastical persons, and Mr. Gladstone was spared the necessity which he had contemplated in his letter to Lord Aberdeen (Letter 184). The controversy was reopened in 1868 in the case of 'Shepherd *v.* Bennett,' and this time the Judicial Committee intervened to render to High Churchmen the same measure which they had rendered to Evangelicals in the Gorham case. Both were permitted to live side by side in the Church as by law established. The Archbishop of Canterbury had condemned Denison, the Dean of the Arches had acquitted Bennett, on identical charges. In Mr. Gladstone's opinion the ecclesiastical authorities had been wrong in the one case and were right in the other, and as in the latter case the Judicial Committee had only intervened for the purpose of rejecting an application to set the ecclesiastical judgment aside, there was nothing in its action to disturb him.

179. *To the Rev. R. I. Wilberforce.*

BROADSTAIRS,
September 2, 1854.

MY DEAR WILBERFORCE,

I will not attempt to describe the feelings with which I have read your note; my endeavouring to give an account of them could but add to your pain, which doubtless is great enough already.

I am appalled at the weight and number of these successive judgments upon us, and the protracted agony of the future which they portend. But I am far from saying they are not deserved by us as a Church and people: as to my own individual share in them, they are, I know, too well earned.

The marked and growing greatness of your name, and the close association between it and the most precious and vital dogmatic truths, give a fearful aggravation to a step which creates a separation between you and authority in the Church of England. How strange is her fate! For what is she reserved? The strongest of her sons do not hold their ground for twelve months together: and she rallies from each old disaster just in time to have force and sensibility enough to feel the new. There is no consolation except that He who permits the Heaven [to] be so thick with clouds is in all His brightness behind them. . . .

W. E. GLADSTONE.

180. *To the Rev. R. I. Wilberforce.*

AUDLEY END,
September 24, 1854.

MY DEAR WILBERFORCE,

. . . It is something much deeper than the Royal Supremacy which is at the root of my anxiety. Under an impulse, as we had hoped, of Almighty God, you have for many years past brought your whole time and strength to bear upon the vital and central truth of Christianity, and have reanimated in many souls a faith which had sunk to the condition of dry bones, and have by the sheer force and merit of your labours

established an association between your own name and the living tradition of the Catholic Faith in the Church of England respecting the Incarnation, which I can only compare, in our smaller sphere, and on our lower level, to what the association was between the name of St. Augustine and the doctrine of original sin, or the name of St. Athanasius and that of the Trinity. I am not, as I trust, a flatterer, and I am not speaking of degree, but of kind, when I venture to affirm so remarkable a parallelism. It is, at any rate, not invented for the occasion; for I have long seen or seemed to see, and said to others, that the care and charge of this great dogma and of its consequences had, in the providence of God, devolved for our day and generation upon you.

You may conceive what the feelings of an individual believer would have been if St. Athanasius had said, "On account of such and such language that I find in such and such Fathers, or on any other account, I find that my doctrine, the true doctrine, is not the doctrine of the existing Church, and I must leave it": or, to draw my analogy closer, if St. Augustine, thinking himself unable to prove the identity of his system from the Greek Fathers, had taken refuge among the Donatists. Of course I do not say that by such a course either of these great champions would have destroyed that true profession of the Faith for which they previously had fought; but I say they would have done more towards destroying it than by any other possible combination they could have devised, and that surely they had far better never have opened their mouths than, after opening them, have brought their course to such an ending.

I do not mean to raise or beg the question whether the Church of Rome is fairly compared to the Donatists: my meaning is to point your view, if I only could, to the fearful position in which, so far as depends on man, you, in a contingency I cannot bring myself to name, will leave those great doctrines with which, as a responsible teacher in the Church of England, you have identified your name.

I know you may say you are acting upon the question of the Supremacy, not upon these great mysteries, and that you still affirm what you have before affirmed

to be the doctrine of the English Church. I answer that for ninety-nine Christians in every hundred the distinction is nugatory, and further, that should you take the disastrous step to which a part of your letter points, I venture, without the smallest doubt, to predict that six months more will not have elapsed before you will, with equal sincerity, unsay what with entire sincerity you have now said. But I really am unequal to writing in answer to your letter, and not less unequal to aggressive speaking. It is not any calculation nor plan that makes me hope to see you. It is partly the instinctive longing for such comfort as lies, even in these miserable cases, in a farewell: it is partly the sentiment towards you of the reverence which your character claims, and of the affection which it wins; it is partly a sense of duty, overcoming a reluctance which is not less real than it is carnal.

There are many things which I should have wished to say on various parts of your letter, but I have said enough, perhaps, to explain to you the purpose and impressions with which I have presumed to write. You will do as you think well: may it *be* well, and ever well, with you.

I remain,
Affectionately yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

181. *To the Bishop of Oxford.*

DOWNING STREET,
November 19, 1854.

MY DEAR BISHOP OF OXFORD,

The Bishop of London has kindly sent me a copy of his recent Charge, which I have read, it is not for me to say with what feelings. It occurs to me, however, that one of the most important passages it contains is entirely ambiguous in its meaning, and I should exceedingly wish to know whether you can inform me in which of two conflicting senses the words are to be taken.

The passage is in p. 48, and runs thus:

'I am thoroughly persuaded that to embrace the notion of any bodily presence of our Lord in the

Eucharist is internally to embrace the doctrine of Transubstantiation.'

Now, as our Lord is 'perfect God, and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting,' the meaning of the term 'presence of our Lord' may (or should) properly be His presence in Godhead and in Manhood, in soul and in flesh; and if such is the meaning, then I suppose the notion condemned under the words 'any bodily presence of our Lord' is that there is a presence of our Lord and of our Lord's body after a bodily manner. This is the first meaning which I suppose the words will bear.

The second meaning would be as follows: The term 'presence of our Lord' may, I suppose, be used of His Divine power without any reference to His Manhood. He may be present simply as He is omnipresent, or He may be present by some special exercise of grace, the less strict and proper being nevertheless usual senses of the phrase. In this case the notion condemned would be the presence of our Lord's body even after a spiritual or sacramental manner.

Which of these two, or what other, is the meaning of the passage?

The importance of the question, and the misconceptions that appear to have gone abroad, may, I hope, excuse it. I should otherwise not put it without difficulty, because, unless I am mistaken, the latter of these two significations would place the passage in direct contradiction with Article XXVIII., which declares not simply that Christ, but that 'The Body of Christ is *given*, *taken*, and eaten, in the Supper, . . . after an heavenly and spiritual manner.' Can you, then, answer me?

Believe me,
Affectionately yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

182. *To the Bishop of Oxford* (*Wilberforce*).

DOWNING STREET,
November 27, 1854.

MY DEAR BISHOP OF OXFORD,

. . . The note of the 24th says: 'What I mean to deny is a *local bodily presence* of our Lord in the Sac-

rament.' This sentence seems to be used by way of summing up the meaning intended to be conveyed.

Taking it, then, in its exact terms, I observe that to deny a bodily presence is one thing, and to deny a local bodily presence is another. For although every material object, so far as we know, stands in a certain relation to space, and is therefore properly called local, yet, as I apprehend neither reason nor revelation have told us what is the precise nature of that vital essence in a human body upon which its known properties hang, no one is entitled to say that it is a form or a portion of matter; and if it is not, then no one is entitled to say that it is local, for nothing that we know, except what is material, stands (so far as we know) in any relation to space at all.

If, therefore, the denial is limited to such a bodily presence as is local, then the bodily presence of our Blessed Lord is admitted, but the corporeal manner of it, which we take to be asserted by the doctrine of Transubstantiation, is denied; and this seems entirely to consist with the Article, which declares that the Body of Christ is *given*, and *taken*, and *eaten*, in the Lord's Supper, after an heavenly and spiritual manner, and with a simple, non-speculative belief in the blessed words of institution.

Presuming these things to be so, I fear it still remains a cause for grief that the Bishop of London's words have been and will be extensively misapprehended.

I remain, my dear Bishop,
Affectionately yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

183. *To the Rev. Joseph Wolff, D.D.*

DOWNING STREET,
January 11, 1855.

DEAR SIR,

I am not sure that Archdeacon Denison would be satisfied to bear the character which your note assigns him of a friend of mine, nor, indeed, has my personal intercourse with him been great; but I have observed the proceedings in his case with the interest which must attach to all judicial proceedings involving

Christian belief — the more indeed, and the more painfully, as those proceedings may seem to deviate from the line of justice.

Your question 'whether the Government will tolerate this persecution' is one which in strictness can only be answered by the Head of the Government. At the same time, I apprehend that the answer must be that the Government have no power to interfere in one sense or in another.

You appear to refer to the case of Mr. Gorham as standing in unseemly contrast with that of Archdeacon Denison. Those two cases taken together appear to show that this is not a matter of chance medley, but an affair of principle belonging to a distinct and intelligible policy, though one confined for the present to the Christian Sacraments, and not, or rather not yet, involving the still higher doctrines of the Divine Nature and Essence, which under God the agonies of the Church through the fourth and fifth centuries have secured. The principle seems, if I gather it aright, to be this: that it need not be strictly cared for whether a man disbelieves what the Church of England has bound him to believe, provided he does not believe what she has not bound him to believe. Or, if this form of statement be objected to, then, in more general terms, that in questions of defect of belief the law should be administered liberally, but in questions of excess of belief it should be administered strictly. This maxim must, of course, rest upon the ulterior proposition that the great danger of Protestantism in the nineteenth century is the danger of believing too much, not the danger of believing too little. This proposition, whether true or false, has at all events the merit of being clear and intelligible.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

184. *To the Earl of Aberdeen.*

HAWARDEN,
August 13, 1856.

MY DEAR LORD ABERDEEN,

I have just seen Sir Robert Phillimore, fresh from Bath: where he tells me Dr. Lushington has declared the intention of the Court to condemn George

Denison, not only as to some secondary expressions or shades of his doctrine, which may be thought to belong to him individually, but likewise as to his profession of those principles which imply belief in the Eucharist as a substantive reality. I use the expression advisedly; for the Eucharist, in the character of a touching spectacle and emblem, requires no *belief*, and admits of none.

The Court has not given judgment, but will do so on October 21.

I write at once, but not in haste, for a contingency of this kind is what I have contemplated as too probable almost ever since the appointment of Archbishop Sumner, and to a great degree in consequence of that appointment.

My mind is quite made up that, if belief in the Eucharist as a reality is proscribed by law in the Church of England, everything that I hold dear in life shall be given and devoted to the oversetting and tearing in pieces such law, whatever consequences, of whatever kind, may follow.

I do not know whether there is even one other person similarly minded, and my intentions in this matter are in all likelihood infinitely insignificant except to myself, and to those whose tender and overflowing kindness may give them an interest in me. Among these you hold a place which leads me to make known to you first the general direction of the course I mean to take upon clear proof that the case *has arisen*, it being, to speak moderately, now probable that it may arise.

185. *To the Hon. Arthur Gordon.*

LIVERPOOL,
October 29, 1856.

MY DEAR ARTHUR,

The Archbishop and his man have, you see, taken the next step, and . . . it must, I think, be admitted that they have done it handsomely. With the single exception that they always consented to *hear* Phillimore — the Primate only hedging by a reservation of his own liberty to go to sleep daily during the hearing — they have upon every point and question

raised, be it what it might, shown that they well understood what Strafford in a darker period called 'thorough.' That which makes the cup of disgust overflow is the recollection that these worthies had an exactly contrary set of canons and principles of law ready for the case of Gorham, which they have now turned inside out with a rapidity and facility which would be admirable if it were not somewhat execrable.

With regard to the question, what is the next thing to be done, I understand, contrary to what I had previously gathered from Phillimore, that the choice now lies between an application for prohibition, and going straight to the Privy Council. The latter of these courses would be attended, though success is presumed to be probable, with very great collateral evils: I cannot doubt that they will ask for prohibition, and I should hope there is little chance of failure in obtaining it upon one of the many points on which it may be argued. Of these, three principal ones are (1) whether the suit had lapsed by time, (2) whether 'advisedly' does not mean 'knowingly,' and (3) whether Article XXIX. had the sanction of the statute of Elizabeth.

I am sorry that a declaration appears on the subject of the doctrine, but I suppose the object was to calm the fearful minds. *When* the validity of the sentence is established upon appeal, or by failure to appeal, then its exact and precise legal effect should be measured: and then, if there is found to be real damage to sound doctrine, will be the time for that small minority who care about it to consider what acts that case demands of them. To me as to you, it appears in argument indisputable that the present proceeding is premature, and I am afraid that it may have the effect of exhibiting an appearance of weakness in numbers even greater than the reality. . . .

The next ecclesiastical question in which Mr. Gladstone took a leading part — the passing of the Divorce Act of 1857 — was so intimately connected with the relations of the State to the Church that it found its natural place in a previous chapter. In a letter to

Bishop Wilberforce (Letter 186) we have the first reference to a controversy which has outlived Mr. Gladstone. For one short period in the session of 1874 he was actively, though unsuccessfully, busy in resisting the joint effort of Archbishop Tait and Mr. Disraeli to 'put down ritualism.' It would be wrong, however, to infer from this circumstance that he had any liking for ritualism. Few things in Mr. Gladstone are more remarkable than the combination of profound belief in Eucharistic doctrine with entire indifference to the ceremonial modes in which belief takes visible shape. He had, it is true, been greatly impressed with the devotional character of the services at Margaret Chapel in the forties, and he speaks occasionally of the great improvement in the conduct of worship which has taken place in all parts of the country. But there is nothing in his letters to show that these changes had any special reference to the manner of celebrating the Eucharist, and a good deal which suggests that he was quite as happy in an old-fashioned church, where the priest wore surplice and hood, and stood at the north end of the altar, as in one in which the honour due to the Sacrament was expressed in distinctive position and vesture. Mr. Gladstone's faith stood in no need of help from outward forms. He had come to his convictions without any such aid, and perhaps he never quite realized that people of less assured belief might be grateful for what he could dispense with. Nor was he without companions in this way of regarding the growth of ritual. The older Tractarians at first looked with some suspicion on the action of their successors. They were not themselves familiar with the details of ceremonial, and they rightly thought them infinitely unimportant by

the side of doctrine. An increased use of coloured stoles seemed but poor evidence of any corresponding growth in belief in the Real Presence or the Eucharistic sacrifice.

Among the High Church clergy this estrangement gradually died out. The churches that were most conspicuous in the matter of ritual became, for the most part, equally conspicuous for Catholic teaching and good work of all kinds, and by 1866 Pusey had come to see that the main practical difference between Tractarians and Ritualists was that the one had taught only through the ear, while the others taught also through the eye. With Mr. Gladstone the same reconciling process went on, but the instrument was rather the hard measure meted out to the Ritualist clergy by the courts. 'My sympathy with the Ritualists,' he tells Sir Robert Phillimore in 1878, 'is founded entirely on the one-sided, shabby, cruel treatment of them.' Occasions for this sympathy were abundantly provided between the years 1866 and 1891. One prosecution or another was in progress throughout that time, with some significant changes indeed in the attitude of the prosecuted clergy, but uniformly ending in their condemnation by courts whose authority they refused to recognize, and to whose decisions they paid no attention. Mr. Gladstone's attitude towards this twenty-four years' conflict is best seen in a letter written to Liddon in 1871 in reference to the judgment in the Purchas case (Letter 188), but the only occasion on which he took any public part in the controversy was in connection with the Public Worship Regulation Bill in 1874.

186. *To the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce).*

HAWARDEN,
December 31, 1865.

MY DEAR BISHOP OF OXFORD,

. . . I do not know the aim of those whom for brevity I will call the ritualists, or the extent of claim they make. Without knowing that, and without knowing what is to be said on the legality of such claim, I do not see how to make any full answer on the case. If they stand on the ground that all which was legal before the Reformation, and was not then prohibited or removed, is legal now, that I presume to be sound in law. Not that this disposes of the question, but it affects the method of treatment.

Again, I do not know the amount of *case* for interference: the things done, the number of churches in which they are done, the amount of objection by the congregations, the amount of menace from those not of the congregations — the degree, in short, of argument for an authoritative or quasi-authoritative interposition in order to keep the Queen's peace.

Of some things I feel no doubt:

1. There should be no restraining or narrowing legislation, unless it is to avert some proximate, weighty, and far-spreading evil.

2. If there is to be legislation, it should not be to forbid anything now lawful, nor to increase Episcopal power, nor to force those who now break the law by defect into a stricter obedience; but to defend the right of the congregation not to have the *status quo* — their own custom and the only one known to them by tradition — broken in upon by the mere will of the clergyman, even though his aim be merely to restore what the law undoubtedly requires, if in the particular place it has fallen into disuse — except in cases of positive scandal and indecency.

3. If, short of legislation, the circumstances call for a fatherly monition, I believe the best way of conveying it would be by a Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, following the precedent of Archbishop Howley's in 1843 or 1844. That letter, if I remember right, did not travel much into particulars. There are grave topics which such a missive might touch. Re-

spect for the law, in spirit as well as in letter. Respect for the right of the congregation to be spared the violence done to their feelings by hasty changes, changes which they do not desire, changes which they, even if mistakenly, misconstrue. Respect for the general sentiment of the Church, and the duty of carefully avoiding scandal. The duty of avoiding, if only on the grounds of charity to a weak conscience, whatever might plausibly at least be taken for gratuitous imitation of the Roman ceremonial. And with the negative suasion, exhortation to the positive maintenance and assertion of the Faith, now so subtly assailed and from so many quarters. And, in dissuading, a line might be kept clear between dissuasion proper and condemnation. I say all this because for twenty-five years it has become more and more clear to me that in given states of things excess neutralizes counter-excess, and that to reduce all things on one side to a true medium, and on the other to allow (even though perforce) all nakedness and all excrescence, is in *fact*, however uprightly intended, the veriest partiality. And there would be few more pitiable spectacles than that of a Church practically renouncing her jealousy for the Faith which it is her great office to maintain, or at least cool and lukewarm in that matter, but straitened and prudish in the adiaphoristic region of external forms.

One word more: I do believe that, for their own sakes, the clergy should be warned (in the sense which the Archbishop describes, and this quite as much with regard to the allowed as to the suspected ritualism), when they say, 'We do these things for edification,' to be quite sure of their ground. I have no prejudices against ritual in itself, far from it. I have always sympathized a good deal with Archbishop Laud, who, I take it, was not seeking to make the nation religious by ritual, but to check and stop the dislodgment of old religious feelings from their accustomed and immemorial homes in the forms of the Church. But bringing back those feelings *by* the forms has always seemed to me a very different thing, and I have even thought the forms should follow the feelings, and not precede them. Judging from the sphere of my own personal experience, I should say this has been far, far too little borne in mind. I dread the authoritative

condemnation of this or that point of ritual. I do not think we know at present by what religious growths and developments the irreligious movement of our time is to be definitively neutralized or resisted. These things seem to me to belong to the future. I would therefore say, leave them open for the future to deal with: do not attempt to foreclose them; but, providing daily for the wants of to-day, enjoin men as earnestly as you will — and there is much need for it — not to take the casket for the jewel, use the gold for the altar which sanctifies the gold, use the sign for the substance of Divine worship, that subtle form of taking the name of God in vain.

But I am beginning to preach myself. However, you will gather all my meaning; and much more. In summing up, I am against attempts, in present circumstances, to define ritual too much by quantity; it is quality, proportion, relation, which seems to me to have the true claim to regard. I do not think you can now define the maximum of legitimate demand: while much of the existing demand, in appearance moderate, may notwithstanding be quite illegitimate. . . .

187. *To the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
December 7, 1868.

. . . I fear that Mr. Bennett, by employing one or more terms which even went beyond the strict Roman definitions, has given a challenge which he has been unable to get rid of by the withdrawal of the obnoxious expression, and that mischief may result. But on the other hand, as far as opinion goes, few, I suppose, could desire to see so able and eminent a clergyman displaced, and no six men of intelligence could be found in the whole Church of England to desire the same thing for you. Your long career gives a guarantee that, whatever may occur, you will take no step without ample time and deliberation, nor, I hope, without the best professional advice.

W. E. G.

188. *To the Rev. H. P. Liddon, D.D.*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
February 26, 1871.

MY DEAR DR. LIDDON,

I believe you are right in supposing that a judgment of the Committee of Privy Council does not become law until it is adopted by the Sovereign in Council. But I am clearly of opinion that, after the Committee, which is a judicial body, has spoken, there is no place whatever for the entrance of executive discretion into the question, and to import it, in a case where on the merits it might be desirable, would be to sacrifice a principle for the sake of convenience.

With regard to the question itself, I cannot deny that in its practical effect the recent judgment may advance us another step in a course too likely to end, not only in disestablishment, but in schism, and that the course and character of the judgments at times has been very unsatisfactory, and has tended to compromise the high reputation of our Judges, and that the composition of the Court is by no means adequate to the nature of the Reformation settlement as between Church and State. I might add that, having read the judgment with care, I am unable to follow especially that part of the arrangement which repudiates the opinion of Dr. Lushington on the rubric of 1662.

Having, however, said all this, let me express the hope that much time (if needful) will be taken, and much self-command exercised, in arriving at an estimate of this judgment. I must own my inability to see how anyone of perfectly cool and balanced mind can see in it an invasion of the integrity of Christian doctrine, or can regard limitation to the surplice in celebrating the Eucharist, or compulsion to stand at the north end of the Holy Table in the act of consecration, as capable of being put higher than a hardship, to be borne, in this world, like many other hardships. In this I think you would agree: and if you do, your holding the opinion is of much more importance than mine.

While the liberty taken away is not such as I should have cared, if a clergyman, to use, I am sorry for the

narrowing brought about by the withdrawal of it; but doubtless it was the duty of the Judges to shut out policy and inclination, and to judge with rigour on the documents and evidence before them, which we must conceive they meant to do.

189. *To the Bishop of Winchester* (*Wilberforce*).

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
March 1, 1871.

MY DEAR BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

I have received your letters on the Purchas judgment, and I return the enclosures. I send also for your perusal a letter which I addressed on the same subject to Dr. Liddon: with his to me. I do not know that I ought to add anything to this. But speaking as friend to friend, I should say, were I in your place, to the aggrieved —

Take time. Take much counsel among yourselves.

Take counsel each with your congregations.

Consider whether you can obtain help in any shape from Convocation.

Consider whether the law affords any new and independent means of raising the question.

W. E. G.

190. *To the Bishop of Bath and Wells* (*Hervey*).

February 25, 1872.

. . . It seems as though all religious and anti-religious powers were preparing for some veritable Armageddon; hence a tendency in my mind (to the existence of which, in yours, parts of your share in the correspondence bear unequivocal testimony) to regret any proscriptions unless they are founded on principles of great breadth and depth. I will give two illustrations of the practical bearing of this tendency. I lament the absurd decree of the Judicial Committee which orders that two unlighted candles shall signify Christ to be the Light of the World; but Whately has somewhere acutely remarked that a grate without fire by association suggests, not heat, but the absence

of it. And I must own that, in these days of formidable assaults on the whole principle and basis of prayer, I do not believe that, if all prayer for the dead be proscribed, prayer for the living can with consistency of thought be said. All these matters I put by in my mind, and try to ponder in hope of another day. . . .

191. *To the Bishop of Bath and Wells (Hervey).*

March 12, 1872.

. . . I entirely sympathize with your objections to that arbitrary temper which, I fear, on this and on many occasions has been a snare to Archdeacon Denison and to other clergymen. Only one other thing will I say, and it is more historical than theological. Can it be truly held that Purgatory sprang out of prayers for the dead? (I mean Purgatory as commonly understood.) I grant that it lies next door to them. So does licence to liberty. So does all error to all truth. You will answer, Out of what, then, did it spring? I reply, Out of what is succinctly termed Priestcraft. It was a part of a great conspiracy against the freedom of the laity: part of the development in the Roman Church which Newman has lauded, without seeming to observe that it was not, like the works of Nature, equable, but all on one side, on the side of clerical predominance and power. In support of my interpretation of history on this interesting point, I will offer three remarks. 1. Prayers for the dead are strictly primitive; the Romish Purgatory came many centuries after. 2. In those parts of the Latin Church where the principle of mental freedom is strongest, the purgatorial doctrine is weakest in proportion. 3. In the Eastern Church, where prayer for the dead has always been practised, there is no Romish Purgatory (as there is little or no Priestcraft). All this opens up very interesting considerations. Another feeling I have, and have held strongly for many years, that the Church of England cannot be coercively governed in the region of doctrine, but will have to trust to several means. Of course this as a general statement may be liable to exceptions; but on the whole I think

the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the attempts to move it, have up to this time done very much more of mischief than of good. . . .

192. *To the Queen.*

January 22, 1874.

Mr. Gladstone takes the earliest opportunity at his command of submitting, together with his humble duty, the reply which Your Majesty will justly expect to the general observations contained in Your Majesty's gracious letter of the 20th. Those observations had reference to the present excesses of Ritualism in the Church of England, and they bore practically upon the two subjects, first of legislation, secondly of patronage. With regard to the first of these, namely, legislation, Mr. Gladstone can venture upon assuring Your Majesty that proposals of this kind, proceeding from the Archbishop of Canterbury, will be entertained with the utmost respect by Your Majesty's advisers. On three or four separate occasions, the Archbishop, supported by the body of the Episcopate, and, as Mr. Gladstone believes, of the Church at large, has recommended to the Government legislative measures for the benefit of the Church, and on every one of these occasions, if his memory serves him rightly, His Grace's proposals have been accepted by the Government, and Bills have been carried through both Houses without any deviation from the basis which he had recommended. Mr. Gladstone, however, must in candour add that it has only been by extreme care, and by very great effort, that this result has been attained, so far as he has been practically conversant with the case — that is to say, in the House of Commons. In truth it is just possible, and no more, to carry Bills upon which the authorities of the Church are united, and when they are also sustained by the great body of the reasonable and enlightened men within the Church, clerical and lay. Even this is much, for practically it had hardly been attempted for 150 years or more preceding our own time. But Mr. Gladstone is entirely convinced that this union of sentiment among reasonable men in the Church is a

condition absolutely necessary to the success of such attempts at legislation; and that, if the violent internal controversies, which so greatly strain the framework of the Church when carried on within, were transferred to the floors of the two Houses, the probable, indeed the almost certain, end would be the total banishment of the subject from the Parliamentary arena by the disestablishment of the Church itself. Mr. Gladstone is aware that by authorities of great weight this, or some other positive rupture, is expected as the consequence of the existing uneasiness and strife. As one of these authorities he may mention the Bishop of Rochester, in a recent Charge, and Your Majesty appears to cite, in the same sense, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Gladstone feels no surprise at these alarms, and is not himself wholly free from them. More than thirty years ago he was very greatly under their influence. Now, with advancing years, not usually more sanguine, he is even more deeply struck with the tenacious vitality of the Church of England (which Dr. Döllinger, in a masterly survey, declares to be the most powerful National Church in Christendom) than with its serious dangers, and its unquestionably great and grievous scandals; and he is inclined to believe that wisdom and gentleness (much in the spirit of a recent declaration of the Bishop of Exeter), steady respect for the laws and spirit of the Church, and the careful choice of the best men for offices of influence and power, may under Providence both avert a crisis and lead to the gradual mitigation of the evils which abound. He does not, however, by any means exclude from view legislative remedies of an appropriate kind for specific mischiefs. Your Majesty will then perceive that Mr. Gladstone by no means undervalues the question of the Patronage of the Crown, to which he now turns. And first he humbly offers his thanks for the very mild and circumspect terms of the allusion to himself. It is indeed true, not only that he is supposed by some 'to have rather a leaning to High Church views,' but that he is from time to time denounced in some quarters as a Ritualist, as a Papist, and also as a Rationalist. He hears in silence the ascription to him of these or any other names, for he has perfect confidence in the general

good sense of his countrymen, but he never has at any time assumed for himself, or admitted rightly to belong to him, any party designation whatever in religion, inasmuch as the voluntary assumption of such designations would compromise (in his opinion) what he cherishes as the first of earthly blessings, his mental freedom. But he is certain that Your Majesty does him the justice to believe that he has not at any time regulated his recommendations to Your Majesty, in matters of Ecclesiastical Patronage, by so poor and unworthy a standard as his own impressions or belief in religion. He has endeavoured from first to last to make merit the passport to the Royal favour; and among all the various elements and kinds of merit, he has never forgotten, or will forget, or knowingly pass by, that of loyal fidelity to the laws and institutions of the Church of England, such as the people of England know it, and love it, and such as the Reformation of the Church and its after-history have made it. There are, he does not doubt, a considerable number of persons among the clergy (whose case alone is now under view) having a bad title either legal or moral to the position which they hold. Your Majesty refers with perfect justice to the excesses of those whose doings have brought them most into the public eye. There are others in respect to whom the mischief, less apparent, is more subtle. There is not a doubt that a certain number of clergymen not only deny the authority of the Holy Scriptures and of the Church whose ministers they are, but disbelieve the Deity of our Saviour, His Incarnation, and His Resurrection. Mr. Gladstone reserves his judgment as to the wisdom of searching out all these classes of persons, to expel them from their places, but he holds them all to be altogether beyond the limits from within which alone it is his duty to recommend to Your Majesty with a view to ecclesiastical preferment. Amidst the pain and apprehension caused by these extremes, which engender and exasperate one another, he has often to remind himself, and he even presumes to remind Your Majesty, by way of consolation, of that which he believes to be as indisputable as it is creditable. For centuries past there has not been a time of so much practical and hearty work, so much earnest preaching,

so much instruction and consolation given, so much affectionate care for the poor and for the young. These are great and solid comforts, with enduring consequences, although they undoubtedly ought not to produce an indifference to present evils and to the means of effecting their mitigation. Mr. Gladstone concludes with expressing his fear lest the length of this letter should cause Your Majesty to repent having drawn it forth by the freedom and kindness of the letter of the 20th.

In his Life of Archbishop Tait, the present Archbishop of Canterbury begins the chapter on the Public Worship Regulation Act with a question put by 'a distinguished American Churchman who visited England in 1878.' 'How,' the traveller asked, 'does it happen that the wisest and most respected of your Bishops is the author of the most unpopular, ridiculous and unworkable of modern Acts of Parliament?' The answer is that the Bill in its latest form was the work of more than one mind, and framed with more than one object. From the point of view in which it came eventually to be regarded, it fully merited its American critic's censure, since it wholly ignored the objection felt by many Churchmen to the practical substitution of civil for ecclesiastical courts in trials of doctrine or ritual. But in the form in which it first came from Archbishop Tait's hands its procedure was purely ecclesiastical. Complaints as to ritual were to be referred by the Bishop to a Diocesan Council, which was to advise him whether to take further proceedings. In the event of his being so advised, he was left free to make what order he thought necessary. Against this order the clergyman affected by it might appeal to the Archbishop, with whom it would lie to determine whether the Bishop's order should be

enforced or annulled. Looking back at this proposal, we can see that it would have settled nothing. Bishop and Archbishop would alike have acted on the theory that the ceremonial directions in the Prayer-Book admit of but one interpretation, and that to this both parties must conform. That the existence of the Church of England as an establishment depends on the recognition of two uses is only partially admitted now; in 1874 it was scarcely dreamed of. What Mr. Gladstone's Government would have thought of the scheme cannot be determined, for within a month of the Bishops making up their minds to introduce a Bill of this type he had ceased to be Prime Minister. The provisions of the Bill became known before its introduction, and after Pusey's letters to the *Times* in March, all hope of its gaining the support of High Churchmen was gone. Still the Archbishop persevered, and on April 20 he presented the Bill. His speech was admirably adapted to gain its object, had not the object itself been beyond hope of attainment. The advanced High Churchmen saw in the Bill a proposal to submit the counter-Reformation they had in view to the will of an almost certainly hostile Episcopate. The moderate High Churchmen showed, as they have often shown since, that they distrusted their ability to maintain their own position if they allowed the men who went beyond them to be separately beaten. 'Deserted or opposed by those on whose support they had perhaps too confidently counted, the Bishops were unable to hold their own against a series of amendments proposed by Lord Shaftesbury. These amendments made the Bill very much what it eventually became. In its original form it had given almost absolute power to every Diocesan

Bishop, provided that his decision was confirmed by the Archbishop. As now amended, it gave this same power to a single lay judge, whose decisions were not to be subject to revision except by the Judicial Committee. The eventual success of these amendments was assured, for they had been drafted by the Conservative Chancellor (Lord Cairns), and so might count on being supported by the Conservative Government. Still, though the Archbishop could not have defeated the amendments, he might have withdrawn the Bill into which they had been introduced. Had he taken this course, he might have prevented the alienation of the High Church clergy from the Episcopate which the Public Worship Regulation Act did so much to foster. At the time, however, he seems to have been greatly impressed by the mischiefs likely to follow upon the still more stringent measure which, under the influence of their Chancellor, the Conservative Government might be expected to bring forward. Bad as Shaftesbury's amendments might be, they were better — at least, so Tait thought — than the Bill which Lord Cairns would introduce if he were left in sole possession of the field. Accordingly, though he spoke against Lord Shaftesbury's clauses, he voted for them, and, thus amended, the Bill went down to the Commons.

There it met with much favour — so much, indeed, that Mr. Disraeli, who had been sitting on the fence for some time, promptly descended on the winning side. Mr. Gladstone made one unsuccessful attempt to give a wholly different turn to the proposed measure. He gave notice of six resolutions (they will be found in the appendix) which, as he thought, offered 'a more safe and wise basis of legislation' than either the

original or the altered form of the Bill. Never, perhaps, was an excited assembly asked to consider proposals less suited to its mood. The House of Commons, at all events, knew exactly what it wanted. Services which expressed, in a way which everyone could see and understand, a particular doctrine were being introduced into English churches. The majority of the members, with varying degrees of intelligence, disliked and feared these strange developments, and were determined to put an end to them. Consequently, the one question they were willing to consider was, Will the Public Worship Regulation Bill do this? To men in this temper Mr. Gladstone proposed that the question should be postponed until they were better fitted to answer it. There was much, he argued, to be thought of first. The rubrics were more than two centuries old; they embraced a great number of particulars relating to Divine service; their interpretation was sometimes doubtful, and they were thought to have, perhaps designedly, left many points undecided. The diversities of local custom arising from these causes made it unreasonable to proscribe all varieties of opinion and usage among many thousands of congregations. In view of these objections Mr. Gladstone asked the House to refuse to give any single Bishop greatly increased powers of deciding points hitherto left open, and establishing an inflexible rule of uniformity. He was willing, however, to 'provide more effectual securities against any neglect or departure from strict law which may give evidence of a design to alter, without the consent of the nation, the spirit and substance of the established religion, and to give congregations ample protection against precipitate and arbitrary changes of established custom

by the sole will of the clergyman, and against the wishes locally prevalent.' These resolutions were curiously distasteful to almost every man in the House. What was the use of going into the question how diversities of usage had arisen when the one thing needed was to put an end to them? The only objection the House of Commons had to giving the Bishops power to establish an inflexible rule of uniformity was the doubt whether they would make adequate use of it. Nor did the House share Mr. Gladstone's desire to protect congregations against precipitate and arbitrary changes by the sole will of the clergyman. Such changes were only bad when they were made in the interest of the Ritualists. The ceremonial complained of might have been established for years and be exactly what the congregation desired. This was only an additional reason for sweeping it away. That a congregation had grown accustomed to them and liked them only showed the mischievous effect these usages had had, and the need for suppressing them without further loss of time. The fact was that the House had lost its head, as it had lost it, in 1851, over the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and Mr. Gladstone's efforts to bring it back to sanity were doomed to failure.

The fourth resolution must have puzzled the House at the time, and has probably done the same office for many people since. What did Mr. Gladstone mean by 'a desire to alter, without the consent of the nation, the spirit or substance of the established religion?' I think that he had in view the claim sometimes put forward on behalf of the Church to complete immunity from State interference while retaining the benefits of State Establishment. Establishment is an arrange-

ment to which there are two parties. The Church was given her exclusive position in the country because she possessed a certain character. It is conceivable that she may cease to possess that character, and then Parliament would not merely have the power of disestablishing her, but the right to use that power. Four-and-twenty years earlier Mr. Gladstone had desired 'something better than historical Anglicanism, which essentially depended on conditions that have passed away,' and he was not likely now to begin pretending that these conditions still existed. He had a special dislike for anything that looked like insincerity in the attitude of the Church towards the State, or suggested a desire to retain the advantages of Disestablishment while disregarding its obligations. I do not mean that he included in these obligations the duty of making no changes of which Parliament might disapprove. Doctrine and ritual were matters for the consideration of the Church alone, and if Establishment became an obstacle to making them, it might be the duty of the Church herself to demand separation. It was only in the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage that Mr. Gladstone attached much importance to the maintenance of the *status quo* in the relations of the State to the Church. There he was acting as a Minister of the Crown, and in that character he does seem to have regarded active sympathy with Disestablishment in England as a disqualification for high office in the Church.

When it became plain that his resolutions had no chance of being adopted, he withdrew them, and the Bill was read a second time without a division. In the discussions in committee he took but little part, except in connection with an amendment moved by

Mr. Holt, which would have allowed an appeal to the Archbishop when proceedings under the Act had been stopped by the veto reserved to the Bishop. How strongly Mr. Gladstone felt on this point may be seen in two letters to Mrs. Gladstone (Letters 193, 194). In the end, however, there was no need for any heroic action on his part. The Lords struck out Mr. Holt's clause, and, though Disraeli had assured the Archbishop that this House of Commons would throw out the Bill rather than pass it with so fatal an omission, the Lords' amendment was agreed to. The Public Worship Regulation Act — happier in this respect than the Ecclesiastical Titles Act — remains and may long remain, in the Statute Book; but it can hardly be said to have had any greater efficacy as regards the persons against whom it was directed. Mr. Gladstone's deliberate opinion of the Act is given in a contemporary fragment, and it applies with equal force to the attempts at rubrical revision which of late years have taken the place of the more drastic legislation of 1874:

There are two great and comprehensive questions relating to the Church of England which underlie all the particular questions now so eagerly discussed about the Public Worship Act, the mode of executing its provisions, its possible extension to doctrine, the revision of the Rubrics, the Reform of Convocation.

These two questions are:

1. Whether we are to accelerate or retard the disestablishment of the English Church.

2. Whether viewing it as a religious body, we are to labour to hold it together, or to break it into pieces.

And the second of these includes the first: for the Church of England cannot as an establishment bear any serious or even sensible secession; and, whether knowingly or not, we labour for disestablishment if we labour for disruption.

The changes effected during the present year were probably proposed with the belief that they would be agreeable to a majority, and that this majority, when better contented with its position, would exert itself more harmoniously and more efficaciously to maintain the political establishment of the Church.

But this plausible reasoning was full of flaws; and probably the promoters of the recent Bill were little aware what responsibility they were loading upon themselves. They committed, in the first place, the same great error as was committed by the projectors of the Scottish Church Patronage Bill: they assumed that they had only to do with those who were within the Church and forgot those who were without. They not only forgot that many would concur in their proposals with the purpose of working them for purposes which they disapprove, but satisfied with counting their numbers for the first encounter, they did not ask themselves how they would stand when many of their friends would become opponents, and none of their opponents would become friends. They forgot that in this country and in this age, outside of all sects and ecclesiastical parties, there exists a great floating mass of those who do not so value any of the religious alternatives proposed to them, as to prefer them to a quiet life. They forgot that there is many an ancient fabric not too old or weak to stand, but too old for ambitious and organic repair.

193. *To Mrs. Gladstone.*

21, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
August 4, 1874.

. . . The position of affairs about the Archbishop's Bill is *black*. It is probable that to-day, in the House of Lords, with an incredible cowardice, and I think from an usual trickiness on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the two Archbishops will move either to accept Mr. Holt's amendment, or to patch it in some way perfectly unreal. If they do, the Bishop of Winchester and others will resist, but will be beaten. Under these circumstances, as that amendment cuts at the root of the Episcopal Office, I have requested the Bishop of Winchester to inform the two Archbishops

that, if they carry it, I hold myself altogether discharged from maintaining any longer the Establishment of the Church. This may be in their estimation, and it may be in itself, a matter altogether insignificant. But I felt that equity and honesty required that they should know it. Upon my crippled future it may have a great effect.

The Bishop of Winchester thanked me, and was much delighted. I am not sure that the tricks of the Archbishop of Canterbury may not ensnare him: but he is in intention honest and upright.

Selborne is strongly against the amendment: but his daughter's marriage keeps him away to-day.

Dean Church and Dr. Liddon have been to me. I told them everything freely. I did not, however, tell them what I now mention in *strict secrecy*. The Bishop of Winchester said: 'I will not now bind myself to anything, but my leaning is to say that, if you adopt in consequence of this amendment the doctrine of Disestablishment of the Church, I shall do the same.' Willy and Stephy may be told this, for they can be trusted.

I told the Bishop, however, as well as the Dean and Canon, that I inquired nothing of anyone, that I see my way perfectly, and shall only be applying at short notice the conviction and intention of more than forty years.

But these are big matters, and you will not wonder that they lay upon the mind a load heavy to be borne. The amendment stands to be considered in the Lords to-day, and they may make short work of it. On the other hand, the thing may go over for a day or two. You will not wonder at, but will approve, my saying that until it is settled I can decide nothing. . . .

Remember — though the prospect is still remote — that, if a split in the Church is to come, it may impose upon you and me rather a heavy temporal burden. . . .

194. *To Mrs. Gladstone.*

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
August 5, 1874.

I have had a *mauvais quart d'heure* for the last forty-eight hours or more, but thank God it is over. We

have had a three hours' debate: a fair speech from Gurney: an able but yet frantic tirade from Harcourt, extremely bad in tone and taste, and chiefly aimed at poor me, a speech from Dizzy, politic, and for the most part unobjectionable, and a reply from me to Harcourt, chiefly on the personal parts and the general character of his oration. I have really treated him with forbearance before, but I was obliged to let out a little to-day. Well, but what is much better and more important is that the matter is well over! Holt's amendment is gone — Gurney and Disraeli both recommending acceptance *under the circumstances* of the Lords' amendments. What the prospects of the future may be I know not: they are unfavourable to the prolonged maintenance of the Union of Church and State. We have, however, for the time escaped violation of the fundamental principles of the Church — God be thanked! Eight Bishops, I understand, came up to vote — five of them proposed in my time: the others were, I believe, Bishops Claughton, Selwyn, and Wordsworth. . . .

195. *To Dr. Döllinger.*

PENMAENMAWR,
August 10, 1874.

. . . I will only say that great changes have taken place in the Church of England since I saw you. Death and secession, between them, seem to have removed all our most considerable men: and yet the *body* has grown; and, amidst every kind of scandal, grief, and danger, I think the evidences become stronger and stronger that this singularly constituted and marvellously preserved body has some special work still appointed for it to perform.

196. *To the Earl of Harrowby.*

HAWARDEN CASTLE,
October 1, 1874.

MY DEAR HARROWBY,

I think it very kind of you to have sent me your printed letter, and I feel strongly as an individual the

force of its closing appeal. But that force is far greater as a moral force, than as an argument (if it be so intended) for narrowing by a new law any liberty which the law now permits. The best return I can make is freely to state my own sentiments on a point of common interest to us both.

I think, or rather I am convinced, that the effect *either* of one or two more Ecclesiastical Sessions of Parliament, such as the last, or of any prolonged series of contentious proceedings, under the recent Act, upon subjects of widespread interest, will be to disestablish the Church.

I do not feel the dread of disestablishment which you may probably entertain: but I desire and seek, so long as standing-ground remains, to avert, not to precipitate it.

The opinion I have expressed is probably viewed with incredulity, or even contempt, by those who have ardently promoted the recent Act. I take their thought to be: 'We are the majority, even the large majority, and a taint of disaffection to Protestantism attaches to our opponents; we need not mind the minority, we have only to suppress it.'

There is much that is sure in the premises, and much that is plausible in the conclusion. Nay, it would be sound if there were no other issue except that between the majority and the minority; no alternative way for ridding Parliament and the nation of the dispute. A large part of the majority, wearying of the strife, will, if it continue, join the minority in the acceptance of the alternative, and make it a majority.

I am now, however, not to argue, but to recommend. And my motive is the desire of peace within the Christian pale, while the storm is howling without: as I *hope* it may be my personal boast, when I bid farewell to all these distractions, that I have promoted that peace all my life. What I would recommend is that an endeavour should be made to arrive at an understanding, by conference and correspondence, between the promoters of the Act and those who are to work it on the one side, and those who are, or believe they may be, its objects on the other.

I learned yesterday, through one who communicates with them, that a meeting of Ritualists is shortly to be

held, and I urged that they should be advised to place interests, provisionally at least, in the hands of two or three of the most considerate of their number, and those who would command the greatest confidence.

Like proceedings might be taken, and would not be less necessary if progress is to be made, in other quarters. One great object is to clear the atmosphere; to know whether it is intended to put a stop to Romanizing practices — practices outside the letter and at variance with the spirit of the Prayer-Book — or whether wider designs are entertained.

Such an attempt as I have described may fail, but it will leave a heavy responsibility on those who may be the causes of the failure.

Possibly enough the Convocation, including the Bishops, may recommend to Parliament some plan not in itself unreasonable: but I have no faith, after the course taken during the present year, in the peaceable passing of a Bill for altering the Rubrics, after the prosaic manner in which the Bills for Clerical Subscription, the new Lectionary, and the Shortened Services, were passed. But, in my opinion, he who passes by force (you will understand the phrase) a Bill for altering the Prayer-Book will at once seal the doom of the Church of England 'as an Establishment.' Though, in answering you, I point out what it seems should in the first instance be done, I am very far from putting myself forward as one of the doers: my hands are much too full. I have never in any manner mixed in Ritual movements or disputes, and in the whole of the business I have spoken and acted as an individual only.

Believe me,
Most faithfully yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

197. *To Viscount Halifax.*

HAWARDEN,
October 22, 1874.

MY DEAR HALIFAX,

I have read your kind letter with much interest. I do not think that there would be much difference

between us as to the object which should be aimed at by a Bill like the Archbishop's Bill.

Let me draw an important distinction between the leanings of my own mind individually, and the course I should have taken in deference to competent authority.

Individually I have serious doubts whether the whole of the penal proceedings taken in this country with respect to Church matters, from the day of Dr. Hampden downwards, have not done considerably more harm than good. There is no doubt at all that all the evils, of whatever kind, at which they were aimed exist at this moment among us in a far more aggravated shape than when they began.

Notwithstanding, I should not have declined assent to a measure proposed, as this was, by the heads of the Church to repress practices which I could not defend, if it was likely to attain this end without making more mischief than it stopped.

I can find no fault with you, who on the same lines went farther. But I could not assent to general interference, under the name of the Act of 1662, with customary liberty.

The case of ritualistic novelties is not included in customary liberty. But, then, it is admitted on all hands that there are a great many ritualistic novelties which ought not to be interfered with. The question is, how to separate between a handful of *obstinadoes*, or men with ulterior objects, and the large, vigorous, and increasing body in one shape or other as High Churchmen. Just as in Irish legislation we sought to detach all Irishmen really patriotic from Fenians and rogues.

Now, instead of this, the measure (partly) of the Archbishop's, and still more his mode of introducing and working [it], effectually welded together that handful and that mass; 7,000 of whom among the clergy, says the *Quarterly Review*, in an able (partisan) article, signed on behalf of what they call the Eastward position. In short, the Archbishop, with his clever practices, contrived to alarm men like Dr. Hook as much as men like Mr. Purchas.

My object and desire has ever been, and still is, to keep the Church of England together — both as a Church and as an Establishment. As a Church, I

believe, she is strong enough, by virtue of the Prayer-Book, to hold together under all circumstances; but as an Establishment, in my opinion, she is not strong enough to bear either serious secession or prolonged Parliamentary agitation. She received a shock from the discussions of last year, and I, for one, expect to see a constantly growing apprehension as we approach the session of 1875. Circumspection, patience, and equity, may still avert mischief; but much of all these will be required.

To concurrence between the Church and the Government I attach the highest value. But this it was the pleasure of the Archbishop to break up or dispense with. That having been done, I think it was perhaps better that we should all treat the question as an 'open one.'

There are already too many causes of demoralization operating upon the House of Commons. If it is also to become a debased copy of an ecclesiastical council, all the worst men and worst qualities of the worst men will come to the front and the place will become intolerable.

I freely admit the immense difficulties of the question — the ample space for honourable and conscientious varieties of opinion. You treat my article in a most kindly spirit. It was the prevalence of such a spirit that the article was written to encourage. In other respects it was a very insignificant affair; and I am surprised so much has been said about it. A solution of the problem, undoubtedly, it cannot pretend to offer. . . .

The letters relating to the imprisonment for contempt of court which was an incident in more than one of the ritual prosecutions will disappoint some readers. They will wonder why the controversy which distracted the Church of England for some ten years after the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act should have had so slight an interest for Mr. Gladstone. The explanation in part is that the strife only touched doctrine incidentally. The courts might

forbid the clergy to wear the priest's dress. They did not forbid them to claim the priest's character or to exercise the priest's functions. What Mr. Gladstone had all along thought essential was not menaced; consequently there was nothing in the attack to call forth the energy which he had shown so conspicuously in the Gorham and the Denison cases. It is possible, too, that Mr. Gladstone felt that what was needed could only be done effectually by the men at whom the law was pointed. What made the Public Worship Regulation Act the harmless measure it has become was the determination of certain of the clergy to take the consequences of disobeying it, coupled with the unwillingness of the public to see these consequences in operation. One thing, however, Mr. Gladstone could and did do. He resolutely set himself against all proposals to cut the knot by an immediate resort to deprivation. Though ritualism was not much to his mind, the forcible suppression of it was still less so. The appearance of this provision in a Bill introduced by his own Government is one of the rare instances in which his watchfulness as Prime Minister was at fault.

The letter to Richard Hutton (Letter 204) is chiefly interesting as a striking example of Mr. Gladstone's occasional failures in judging his contemporaries. Hutton's estimate of Newman* has been confirmed by the later course of English, and still more of European, opinion. There is something very characteristic, however, in Mr. Gladstone's description of the place of private judgment in Evangelical theology, in his preference for Palmer over Newman, as having more 'bone and substance' in his controversial work,

*'Cardinal Newman,' by Richard H. Hutton.

and in his insistence on the 'sophistical element' in Tract 90. The letter to Dr. Barrett (Letter 206) is a reassertion of an earlier statement that the doctrine of the Apostolical Succession implies no condemnation of Nonconformists. It only says that the succession is necessary for the purpose of conferring on the clergy certain powers which Nonconformists do not believe to exist, and consequently do not claim for their own ministers. The letter ends with a warning, not less needed to-day than it was fifteen years ago, against beginning the work of reunion 'by greatly widening the gap which parts us now from five-sevenths of the Christian world.'

198. *To Dean Church.*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, S.W.,
March 15, 1875.

MY DEAR MR. DEAN,

If you send me a letter so deeply affecting your own position and the state of the Church, you will, I am sure, forgive my finding fault; and the fault I find is that which, from all I have previously seen of you, I should have expected — namely, an over-delicacy of honour and conscience. I can have no hesitation, however, in saying at once that this is no *blind* delicacy, and that I heartily rejoice in your putting away the idea of resignation.

On the Episcopal Address I feel with the Bishop of Salisbury, but I can understand the difficulties of refusing to sign.

Among the especial reasons for caution and slowness of movement on the part of those menaced, and for seeking much counsel and concert rather than individual action, there seem to me to be these two:

1. That, though the Act was *aimed* in the manner you describe, it remains uncertain, I suppose, in some degree whether it will work according to that aim.

2. That, but for the disturbance and mismanagement which have occurred, the Church of England never in her whole history had, objectively considered, such

precious opportunities as now of working for the welfare of Christendom at large.

So that one hopes the spirit of patience and of discernment may be given in the extraordinary measure for which there is need to all those who will have to bear the brunt of the battle.

Ever sincerely yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

199. *To Sir W. Harcourt.*

HAWARDEN,
December 13, 1881.

. . . I am afraid we are not likely at present to make progress in the case of Mr. Green (as to which I am told by somebody that in August next his benefice *will be* void). In my opinion it would be most objectionable to establish deprivation instead of imprisonment as the punishment for contempt, especially if a penalty of this kind, which would usually mean ruin, is to be applied to the clergy only. But quite apart from this objection [which] others may not share, I do not see that it is for the Government, especially in the present state of its engagements, to charge itself with the settlement of an affair for which it has no responsibility. The Archbishops made the Act, and they should deal with the results. There is a great deal more to say as to the administration of the law, but I doubt not that I have said enough.

200. *To Sir W. Harcourt.*

IWERNE MINSTER,
August 22, 1882.

I return to you Lord Penzance's letter, received from the Lord Chancellor, and I add his own note which testifies to his anxiety. It will be a pity if the application has to be delayed for a fortnight or three weeks after so much time has elapsed, and it is really scandalous that the Church Association should not have applied at the very first moment after the deprivation was certain. I am sorry to say that it does not surprise me. . . .

201. *To the Earl of Selborne.*

March 15, 1883.

I am afraid there has been some misapprehension, as far as I am concerned at any rate, in the reference to your Bill in relation to contempt of court, and my absence from this country may have been the cause of it, at least if, as I suppose may be the case, you have introduced it on the part of the Government.

At the close of last session (summer) I heard with satisfaction of your plan to alter the law of contempt. I understood its scope to be —

1. General,
2. Mitigating.

On referring, however, to the fourth and sixteenth with some later clauses of the Bill, I find —

1. That it touches official and ecclesiastical matters specifically.

2. That it seems seriously to enhance the severity of the law by substituting in Clause 16 deprivation — which in clerical cases often means ruin — for imprisonment. To this substitution, from the first time I heard of it a year or two ago, I have always entertained the very strongest objections, and I do not think anything could induce me to be a party to enacting this or (perhaps) any other aggravation of a law which I regard as necessary within limits, but invidious, if not odious, even within those limits.

Childers came in while I was writing this note, and he tells me he has no recollection of any question in the Cabinet touching propositions of this nature.

I heard you in Cabinet mention your intention to present your Bill, but I had no idea of this part of its contents, which I do not recollect to have seen in the summer.

If your memorandum which you sent to Harcourt, and he to me, in the last days of August, contained these provisions, then I am grievously to blame for having at the time overlooked them. I returned it to Harcourt on August 31.

202. *To A. Macmillan.*

THE DURDANS,
April 11, 1884.

. . . The picture of him [Maurice] as a Christian soul is one of the most touching, searching, and complete, that I have ever seen in print. He is indeed a spiritual splendour, to borrow the phrase of Dante about St. Dominic. His intellectual constitution had long been, and still is, to me a good deal of an enigma. When I remember what is said and thought of him, and by whom, I feel that this must be greatly my own fault.

My main object in writing to you, however, is to say a word for Bishop Blomfield, with regard to that untoward occurrence, the dismissal from King's College. The biographer treats the Bishop as virtually one of the expelling majority; and this on the seemingly reasonable ground that, as it appears, the Bishop was the author of, or a party to, the expelling motion. But he was an impulsive man, too rapid in his mental movements, and a man not ashamed to amend.

I think I can bear testimony, not only that he was satisfied with my amendment, but that he would have been well pleased if it had been carried — in a word, that if he had ever taken the ground of the Radstock-Inglis majority, he had abandoned it. . . .

203. *To Lord Acton.*

HAWARDEN,
September 1, 1890.

MY DEAR ACTON,

. . . I have been asked from many quarters to write about the Cardinal. But I dare not. First, I do not know enough. Secondly, I should be puzzled to use the little knowledge that I have. I was not a friend of his, but only an acquaintance treated with extraordinary kindness, whom it would ill become to note what he thinks defects, while the great powers and qualities have been and will be described far better by others.

Ever since he published his University Sermons in

1843 I have thought him unsafe in philosophy, and no Butlerian, though a warm admirer of Butler. No: it was before 1843, in 1841, when he published Tract 90. The *general* argument of that tract was unquestionable, but he put in sophistical matter without the smallest necessity. What I recollect is about General Councils: where, in treating the declaration that they may err, he virtually says: 'No doubt they may — unless the Holy Ghost prevents them.'

But he was a wonderful man, a holy man, a very refined man, and (to me) a most kindly man. . . .

204. *To R. H. Hutton.*

HAWARDEN CASTLE,
CHESTER,
October 6, 1890.

DEAR MR. HUTTON,

I have read your essay on Newman without any loss of time, and I thank you for the *book* as well as for the *gift*. I do not wish to flatter, and indeed in some points, where the field is of such enormous width, I dissent.

Neither do I wish to presume; but, describing my own impressions, I should say it is an invaluable contribution to the Newman literature which is sure to grow up; it is a most touching specimen of thoroughly disinterested admiration and affection; it is patient, conscientious, searching, delicate, and brilliant.

All this may be summed up in saying it is worthy of its subject — a subject, however, which is, speaking roughly, inexhaustible.

I felt, and said before seeing it, that, with Newman for a theme, you were sure to mount to the very highest exercise of your remarkable critical gift, and I was not deceived. In any question of that kind I should be slow to measure swords with you, and invite my death. Yet I cannot help a little dissenting as to the relative weight of the works produced in the Anglican and the Roman half of his life respectively. My reliance here is on the Arians and the Parochial Sermons. Is it not the fact that these sermons are his largest gift to permanent, indestructible theology? Lockhart, a most acute critic, told me, years and years

before the secession, that 'Newman was the first writer of the age.'

I think the matter on which I venture most distinctly to differ with you is with regard to the storm after Tract 90. I need not say I have a pretty distinct recollection of it. I differ here, not by disputing what you allege, but by supplying an element which you do not include. Tract 90 opened a joint in Newman's armour: it showed that in his wonderful genius there was a distinct flaw — a strong sophistical element. I could in some measure support my opinion on this point by reference to what took place: but it would be too long for a letter.

In what I have said about the relative weight of the two masses of work, I leave the poetry out of view. 'The Dream of Gerontius' is an astonishing flight of genius, incommensurable with anything else.

Those closing verses!

Will you think it the height of ignorant audacity (as you fairly may) if I say that, while Newman has done an incomparable and immeasurable work for the Church of England, he never was an instructed English Churchman. He never placed the English Church upon its historical ground. I doubt if he was even tolerably acquainted with the history of the sixteenth century in England. He was trained (as I was) in the Evangelical School, which is beyond all others — beyond, for example, the English Nonconformists or Scotch Presbyterians — the school of private judgment. By private judgment he excogitated the scheme of doctrine and thought which he taught in his Anglican works. By private judgment he grew sore with the manifold abuses and defects of the English Church; but then, also by private judgment, he measured the corruptions of the Roman, and recoiled from them. It is wonderful, and shows the loyalty of his affection, that, leaving nothing but rags and shreds to hang on by, he remained in the English Church until 1845.

The Romans, I take it, were aware of the want of bone and substance in his controversial theology. This at any rate is clear: they did not look on him, but on Palmer (whose book on the Church they have never answered), as their real antagonist.

Perrone, the official theologian of the Roman See during the Tractarian period, and, I believe, a thoroughly instructed man, wrote in (I think) these words of Palmer: '*Theologorum Oxoniensium facile princeps;* et cum talis sit, utinam noster esset.' This was, of course, a controversial point of view, not a human one. Dr. Döllinger, in consequence of what I had said to him, read Palmer's work so as to *study* it, some ten or fifteen years ago. Published in 1838, it has of course fallen behind the times: when duly brought down to our date, said Dr. D., its republication will be *ein ereigniss für die Christenheit!* I say all this to indicate the gap, the gulf, which lies between Newman's method in theology, and that taught by the historic sense, of which Döllinger was, I apprehend, an absolutely normal example.

There is also, I think, an infinity to be said upon the relation of Newman to Butler. They are, I conceive, the two greatest Theologers (it is old Cudworth's word, and I like it) who have passed through Oxford, and been trained by it, since the Reformation, leaving even Hooker behind them (who, however, did not live till ninety). Rightly or wrongly, I have ever since 1843 believed Newman to be thoroughly unsound as a Butlerian; nor am I at all shaken in this opinion by his almost caricature of Bishop Butler's principle in the curious passage that you quote of the two chances versus three, afterwards tinkered rather than mended by altering two into* While I have thus been making a clean breast as to certain points, all the rest with me is intense and profound admiration alike of the genius and the life. Have we ever had a prose writer as penetrating in his insight, or so absolutely perfect in giving absolute verbal expression to the full measure of his thought. He is

> "Throned beyond mortal thought
> Far in the unapparent."

I will stop laying irreverent hands upon him, and join in blessing his memory.

I cannot wish you to be laid up again at Mrs. Robinson's; but if you were I should try, for my own benefit

* Blank in original.

not yours, to drag you into long conversations about this extraordinary and astonishing product of our dying century.

Believe me, with warm regard,

Sincerely yours,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

I must thrust in my thanks for your account of the function of dogma — I think the best I ever read.

205. *To the Rev. W. A. Whitworth.*

10, DOWNING STREET,
WHITEHALL,
September 3, 1893.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

I have read with great interest much of your very welcome volume on the history of All Saints' Church: and I am truly glad that the work has been produced, for it supplies a needful chapter in the history of the Church of England in the century now expiring.

I was myself little more than an occasional visitant and external observer; nevertheless, the experiences of the old Margaret Chapel are never to be forgotten.

There is one noteworthy point that I do not recollect to have found in the volume: that is to say, the close connection of the chapel with the Evangelical party in the Church.

I think that my first visits to the chapel were in company with an Oxford friend of the very highest promise, Mr. Anstice, Professor of Classics in King's College, cut off by a very early death. He was a deeply religious man, of Low Church sentiments. He took me there when Mr. Dodsworth was the clergyman, and I remember hearing him preach a most able sermon to show that the 'total corruption' of human nature was capable of an orthodox sense. He changed to the Tractarian side: and I had an idea that Mr. Oakeley came there to uphold the old Evangelical character of the congregation: but of this I am not at all certain.

My own visits to Margaret Street were almost wholly on Sunday evenings and occasional week-

THE LAST CELEBRATION OF THE FESTIVAL OF THE EPIPHANY AT MARGARET CHAPEL, APRIL 8, 1850.

days. The congregation was, of all I have ever seen in any country or communion, the most absorbed in devotion.

It must be admitted that many of the best-known went into the Roman Church. Among those who did not were Mr. R. Williams, the banker; Mr. Walker, the engraver; Mr. S. Wood (uncle of Lord Halifax), a man of a singularly elevated spirit; and Mr. George Richmond, R.A., who, I think, of all persons now alive, would have most and best to say about it. I am not, however, quite sure when he began to be connected with it.

The New Version was used, I think, exclusively: and the singing was the heartiest and warmest I ever heard. This continued for some time after the settlement in the present noble church.

I do not recollect ever to have seen in the church any persons belonging to the 'aristocracy,' except Lady G. Fullerton (then Leveson-Gower), and Mr. Ponsonby, afterwards Lord Bessborough. Nor was it visited, I think, by any politician except myself.

I thought you might like to know these few particulars, and I remain, reverend and dear sir,

Faithfully yours,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

206. *To Dr. Barrett (on the Occasion of the Presentation of an Address to Mr. Gladstone when Dr. Barrett was Chairman of the Congregational Union).*

HAWARDEN,
October 18, 1894.

DEAR DR. BARRETT,

. . . To-day I have read your remarkable address: my reading is much in arrear through the state of my vision. With far the largest part of it I am in strong and lively sympathy. It is, I think, faithful, suggestive, considerate, and noble. But I am at odds with you on Apostolical Succession; though it is a subject I would not touch in this cursory manner, except in writing to one who had displayed all the qualities I have enumerated. But I have published my adhesion to this heresy (is, then, the sentence of 'heresy' one which any individual, however high his titles, is au-

thorized to deliver?) about fifty-four years ago; and each of those years has confirmed me in it. But how different are the obverse and reverse sides of the same doctrine! or, again, how different is the same doctrine from different points of view! For you it is negative, privative, damnatory. For me it is simply affirmative, and deprives nobody of anything he claims or desires. Allow me a homely illustration (but I think a true one): A. eats his beef with mustard, B. without. Each prefers his own way. A. may make a fool of himself about this or any other matter, but does his claiming his mustard condemn anybody? The believer in Apostolical Succession thinks that the historical delivery by our Lord to His Apostles, and by them to others, of authority to teach, preach, consecrate, and bless, is a fact proved alike by Scripture and history (I say nothing of Bishops or Presbyters, but I speak only of historical delivery), and is therefore an ordained part of the Christian economy. In what way does this condemn anybody who does not see this historical delivery, except in the sense in which everyone who holds a tenet may be said *ipso facto* to condemn those who do not hold it? The case of those who, from Apostolical Succession, proceed to such inferences as Sir W. Palmer drew in his great book on the Church nearly sixty years back (but he afterwards repented) is not a question of the doctrine, but of ulterior consequences which one may and another may not attach to it. Further, is it not rather a serious difficulty, from *our point of view*, if we are to begin our work of reunion by greatly widening the gap which parts us now from five-sevenths of the Christian world (made up of the Latin Church, which, I admit, casts us off, and of the Greek Church, which, on the contrary, uses us kindly)? . . .

I hope you will think that this letter is of a purely defensive character. I seek to point out difficulties which I hope you will recognize as belonging to our (happy or unhappy) position.

CHAPTER IX

THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH

1858–1862

ALTHOUGH the letters dealing with the affairs of the Episcopal Church of Scotland relate to a period of only four years, and some of them are very long, I have thought it well to give them. Mr. Gladstone always felt a strong interest in Scottish ecclesiastical matters, and in no part of his correspondence are the extent of his theological knowledge, and his jealousy of any hasty interference with the course of theological speculation, more plainly shown. The Oxford Movement had given the Scottish Church the choice between two opposite lines of action. She might identify herself with the spirit of the Catholic revival in England; or she might adopt the policy of the majority of the English Bishops, and set her face resolutely against the Oxford teaching. If she took the former course, she might hope by degrees to attract to herself the ablest of that section of the English clergy which, while it was wholly out of favour with its ecclesiastical superiors, was yet quite unable to follow Newman to Rome. If she took the latter course, she would have to uproot so much of the theology of the Movement as had found its way into Scotland. Considerations of nationality might be held to point in either direction. On the one hand, the Scottish Episcopal Church was happy

in the possession of a National Liturgy — dear to many of her members from its association with a time of irritating disabilities, if not of active persecution, and regarded by many English Churchmen — Mr. Gladstone being one of them — as greatly superior to their own Communion Office. On the other hand, the natural tendency of Conservative Churchmen in Scotland was to lay stress on their identity with the Church of England, and especially with the English Episcopate. The minority which sympathized with the English Tractarians had, however, one advantage over their English allies: they had a Bishop who was in complete agreement with them. The death of Bishop Moir in 1847 had left the See of Brechin vacant. Mr. Gladstone was then visiting his eldest brother at Fasque, and his thoughts at once 'turned upon Mr. Forbes, as a person eminently qualified to succeed him by his possession of all episcopal qualities, by his traditional association with Episcopal Scotland, by the position of his family in the country, and by the high standard of his general accomplishments. I believe,' adds Mr. Gladstone, 'that I suggested his name . . . and if my thus making it known had a share in causing his election, I am very thankful for it.'*

Bishop Forbes was only just thirty when he was consecrated, and he did not deliver his first charge till 1857. The Eucharistic teaching of this charge was in agreement with that put out shortly before by Pusey and Keble — a circumstance which possibly stimulated the opposition which soon showed itself among Scottish Churchmen. This did not come to a head, however,

* Prefatory note to 'Bishop Forbes: A Memoir,' by the Rev. Donald J. Mackey.

till two years later. In October, 1859, the Bishop of Brechin was formally 'presented' before the Episcopal Synod, and in the following March the Bishops unanimously declared the doctrines contained in his charge to be 'unsanctioned by the Articles and formularies of the Church, and, to a certain extent, inconsistent therewith.' The Scottish Bishops were thus committed to a view of the Eucharist substantially identical with that laid down in the Denison case by Archbishop Sumner and Dr. Lushington. It must be supposed that the qualifying words, 'to a certain extent,' deprived the ecclesiastical offence of its sting, for the sentence went no farther than an admonition to be 'more careful for the future.' In another case, indeed, that of Mr. Patrick Cheyne, an Aberdeen incumbent, the preaching of doctrine not easily to be distinguished from that contained in the Bishop of Brechin's charge subjected the offender to harder measure, for Mr. Cheyne was virtually, if not technically, deprived of his cure. Even here, however, severity was tempered by discretion, and Mr. Cheyne was eventually restored to his congregation. Thus, in a way, the controversy came to an end. So far, however, as Mr. Gladstone was concerned, it revived in 1862. In that year the Scottish Liturgy, which had been described by one of the Bishops as the cause of the whole Eucharistic controversy and the misfortunes connected with it, became the object of what Mr. Gladstone characterizes in a letter to Bishop Wilberforce as the 'discreditable and shabby proceedings now going on in Scotland.' These proceedings had in view the 'bartering the Scottish Communion Office for the access to preferment in England.' Mr. Gladstone's condemnation of the proposed abandonment of the Scottish Office was the more frankly

expressed because he held it to involve a radical change in the character of a Communion on which he had spent much thought and money. Had he foreseen what the Scottish Episcopal Church now threatened to become, he would have had no part in the foundation of the college at Glenalmond. 'My time and care,' he tells a correspondent, 'may be of little value to anyone except myself; but while, during the last twenty years, bestowing much of them freely and gladly on the Scottish Episcopal Communion as it was, I confess I had not the least idea of what it was to be.' In the end, however, matters were somehow accommodated. At least, in a letter written some weeks later Mr. Gladstone speaks of his 'deep gratification' that the assault on the Scottish Office 'should in substance have failed,' and notes as 'very remarkable' the fact that the General Synod should have been corrected by the tolerance and wisdom of the diocesan bodies.* There can be no better evidence of the strength of Mr. Gladstone's feelings on the question than a still later letter, in which he tells his friend Dean Ramsay that the 'contraction and limitation of the ritual and dogmatic state-

*I am indebted to a Scottish friend for the following very clear account of what actually happened:

'In 1862 there was an influential effort made within the Scottish Church to exterminate the Scottish Office. It was hoped thus to conciliate those in England who opposed the removal of the remaining legal disabilities under which priests of Scottish ordination lay, on the ground that the Scottish Office constituted a vital difference between the Scottish and English Churches. Until then the Scottish Office had been the Official Liturgy of the Scottish Church, the English Office being the tolerated exception. As a result of the negotiations the former state of things was reversed, the English Office becoming the Official Liturgy and the Scottish Office the tolerated exception. At the same time the existing use of the Scottish Office was distinctly protected, and its extended use made quite possible, though under rigorous restrictions. To those who, like Mr. Gladstone, dreaded the extermination of the Scottish Office, this result probably appeared a very real triumph. To those who look back at it, it may seem only a sorry compromise.'

ments of the Episcopal Church' (which the Dean had been a main agent in recommending) seemed to him 'of enormous importance,' and that he founded this estimate on all he had ever known or learnt of Christian history. In their desire to lower their ritual and doctrinal standards to the level of the average English visitor, the Scottish Bishops let slip an opportunity which, well used, might have had a markedly beneficial influence on the Church which they ruled.

207. *To the Bishop of Argyll (Ewing).*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
May 17, 1858.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR BISHOP,

My first duty is to thank your reverence for your note of the 12th (received to-day), and for the very kind tone of it.

My second is to say that by that note you have laid a very heavy burden upon me. Your reverence's appeal to me for an opinion is so distinct that I have no option, and no power to avoid expressing it. It being thus forced from me, your reverence will, I hope, be pleased to receive it with indulgence. I have then to confess that the proceedings in Scotland — those which, as your reverence says, 'preceded' the lay movement — fill me with pain, and, even more than with pain, with shame. About 'presence without reception' I know nothing. About the motives of the publication of Bishop Forbes I know nothing, and I have never been called to give an opinion on its wisdom.

But never before, in reading the history of the Church, have I known a case in which so deep a question has been carried with such despatch out of the region of that calm discussion which ripens and deepens opinion and lays foundations for dogma, into the region of definition, proscription, and their accompanying passions. I hope and pray that the spirit of

another Bishop Forbes, the illustrious author of the 'Considerations,' may yet compose the storm which your reverence's letter was, I presume, intended to raise, and that the Episcopal Communion of Scotland may still enjoy that honour which has been awarded to it by the Almighty during the late controversies, in a degree so much beyond that given to the Church of England, of keeping her children steadfast and safe amidst the many dangers that surround them, whether they proceed from Rome or from the darker and more deadly source of unbelief.

I remain, with much respect,

Your reverence's faithful and obedient

W. E. GLADSTONE.

208. *To the Bishop of Brechin (Forbes).*

EDINBURGH,
December 14, 1859.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR BISHOP OF BRECHIN,

I have, while here on other business, received by letter from some, and gathered from others, all the information I could obtain respecting the presentment by Mr. Henderson and its probable consequences. Though it is not so absolute and precise as I could wish, I believe I am aware of the material points which are still more or less at issue.

It appears to me that great progress has been made, that the desire for a hostile conclusion to the proceedings has disappeared or is abated — at least in some quarters where it may have been previously entertained; and, on the other hand, I collect that your reverence has made a wise concession, and given a liberal earnest of the wish for peace, in declaring a readiness to express regret that the manner or form of promulgating your sentiments respecting the Eucharist should have led to grave misapprehensions of them, and to disclaim the construction put upon them by the presenter. This would leave me, as a friendly spectator, full of hope for a peaceful issue to a harassing and menacing course of events, and of the conviction that a settlement *ought* to be practicable. Let me once for all apologize for writing on this subject with freedom.

The interest I have long taken in the Scottish Episcopal Communion, and the possibility that a separate point of view may catch aspects of the case less likely to strike those more at hand, will, I hope, excuse me if for a moment, in the anxiety not to lose a possible opening for good, I seem to forget my want of authority to act at all, and the great difference of our respective station in the Church. I must also say that I presume the case is one which does not admit of any *engagement* on the one part or the other. Though this is clear, yet, in a matter so long discussed, persons in authority must in a considerable degree know their own minds; and what I have to say amounts to an opinion, the best that I can form, as to the result that would follow upon a given course of proceedings.

I understand the present position of the case to be substantially as follows. It is agreed —

1. That under certain circumstances your reverence might tender to the Synod an explanatory statement.

2. That it should contain an expression of regret as above, a repudiation or disavowal in succinct and positive terms of the doctrines of Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation, and an assurance that you have not put forward any propositions of your own respecting the Holy Eucharist as dogmas of the Church, but only as either reasonable deductions or allowable opinions, nor have you desired to enforce them as terms of communion, either ministerial or lay. And, further, I understand there is no difficulty about disclaiming the construction put upon them by the Presenter. So far I understand generally the ground is laid, but that there remain for consideration the following points:

1. Shall the two theological terms repudiated be also *defined?*

2. Shall the document contain a declaration that your reverence does not retract any of your propositions?

3. What is to be the effect or consequence of any explanatory paper which your reverence might be advised to put in?

To the two first of those questions I would with firm conviction and the utmost earnestness press upon

your reverence's consideration the propriety of a negative reply. To recite the legal definition of Transubstantiation from the Articles would be nugatory. It is binding on all sides independently of recital. Any definition framed by your reverence, however correct and unexceptionable, would under the circumstances be not only nugatory, but mischievous, for it would inflame the suspicion and jealousy which the wish is to allay.

People would ask, Why define anew a term defined by law already? They would answer*

. Their answer would be untrue, but it would not be proved untrue; and as no good answer could be given, it would stand for true. Hold would also be taken of the particular words your reverence might use, and sinister constructions would be put upon them. The very measure you had adopted from regard to good faith would be read as a sign of bad faith. To multiply doctrinal and abstract statements in circumstances like these is simply to multiply challenges and invitations to attack.

These latter remarks apply in full to a definition of Consubstantiation.

It is true that phrase has not a legal definition, but its meaning seems to be sufficiently ruled by the joint effect of the article on the Lord's Supper and of the language used in the Confession of Augsburg respecting joint exhibition.

No man will have either any right or any plea for extending this repudiation beyond its legitimate scope, while if it be simple and unencumbered there will be far less disposition to render it the subject of cavil.

Yet more clearly do I feel assured that the explanation ought not to refer at all to the subject of retractation, if it is not mentioned for the purpose of being required, neither, surely, in equity nor in good feeling should it be named for the purpose of being denied. The worst that can happen is the imputation of having retracted, but the whole evidence will stand for impartial judgment in the documents themselves. All final judgment is sure to be impartial, and, even in matters where the stake is that of personal character, and not the far higher one of the peace of the Church,

* Blank in original.

all experience seems to teach that steps taken over-anxiously to anticipate attacks are not successful.

I must own I think it quite impossible for the Bishops with honour to accept a paper containing an operation which must really seem a vaunt of non-retraction.

But, on the other side, I see no obligation of honour whatever, unless it be the indirect obligation of true honour, telling in the opposite sense and suggesting that any such assertion would be received.

But, to come to the third and last point, supposing the matter [of the] explanatory or apologetic paper agreed upon, what is to be its *effect?*

And here I take it that the dictates of substantive justice are clear, and that they closely coincide with the suggestions of prudence. To obtain such a paper and then to inflict a fresh punishment would be like making Cranmer sign concessions and then burning him.

The Bishops, doubtless, feel themselves tied to their own pastoral letter. It seems possible that they *may* be advised that in virtue of that letter the matter is a *res judicata*, and can be meddled with no more. May it be so! But even if they are advised to the contrary, and if consequently they feel bound to proceed, still, the existence of that pastoral letter may stand them in good stead. It was what they thought a correct and sufficient exposition of the case. No doubt they still think so.

Supposing your reverence to have done what they think absolutely needful for the peace of the Church, justice to you must preclude their inflicting fresh wounds; while prudence on their own behalf and on behalf of the Church must in the strongest measure dissuade them from a new doctrinal statement on the great subject of the Holy Eucharist, which is the property of all the people of Christ, and not of a handful of His flock in the corner of a single kingdom.

An old Act of Parliament may be incorporated in a new one by a recital of its title.

By a declaration on the part of the Bishops that they have of their own motion sufficiently declared their sentiments in the matter in question in the letter dated so and so, they would —

1. Afford a full answer to Mr. Henderson, who has placed no new *corpus delicti* before them.

2. Maintain their consistency and dignity.

3. Avoid the harshness of any new censure or animadversion.

4. Respect as far as may be a feeling which I apprehend will remain whatever be the legal opinion — that this matter, being a penal one, is in substance already disposed of.

5. Give least occasion for adverse comments from whatever quarters. I am certain that no well-advised civil authority would ever consent to pronounce two separate censures or admonitions in the same question, and I believe all the rules applicable to such a case apply with even an enhanced force to an ecclesiastical tribunal. I say censure or admonition, because at the point where we now stand such only can be in question.

I trust that, from this long statement, your reverence will see the path traced along which it appears to me that, with credit to all, future proceedings might take their course. You will justly ask what warrant can I give for my speculations. I have seen the Bishop of Edinburgh in the presence of Dean Ramsay. I write on my own authority alone; I may have mistaken him. He is a judge, and would not tie his hands, while yet more clearly he could not communicate with his brethren. But he showed me, I may say, and with the utmost kindness, the interior of his mind as it is, and convinced me of the justice of his intentions. I came away with the strongest impression that, on the supposition I have stated, his course would be that which I endeavoured to sketch. If he decided upon it, I apprehend he would follow it with decision and firmness; and alike from the desire I see for peace, from the reasonableness of the adjustment proposed, and from the weight of his impartial authority, though without any other grounds of judgment, I conclude that the Synod would resolve in the same sense.

I will not speak of the pleasure it would give me to see this matter brought to an honourable accommodation. That pleasure I should still enjoy if my effort, such as it is, wholly fail, provided only some happier one succeed. But time flies, parties are distant from

one another, communications partial, and slow suspicions ever wakeful.

I am alarmed at the scandal, [the] ridicule (with just cause), and [the] yet graver mischief of possible schism. I have cast aside all considerations of secondary matters, and have made for the main point. Proverbs are not always good, but if ever there be a case in which 'least said is soonest mended,' it is one in which men's feelings are necessarily susceptible in a degree out of all proportion to the regulating power of knowledge, and in which they think they are, after all, acting on the defensive, as they came second and not first into the field.

I shall not weary you, though I might, with renewed apologies; they are, in truth, to be found in the nature of the case or not at all. I will, however, assure you that, if I am keenly anxious for the restoration of peace, I do not on that account forget my responsibility to your reverence, and I endeavour to move cautiously when unbidden I take more or less into my hands matters relating both to your honour and feeling, both of which I hold dear, and to the exercise of your sacred office.

I remain,
Right reverend and dear Bishop,
With much respect, etc.,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

209. *To the Bishop of Edinburgh (Terrot).*

HAWARDEN, CHESTER,
October 2, 1860.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR BISHOP,

In venturing to address your reverence, as Primus of the Episcopal Communion in Scotland, on a much-contested question which affects its character and interests, I have not failed to ask myself, as you would justly ask of me, by what title I take upon me so great a freedom. My reply can only be that my interest of long standing in the state and fortunes of that Church, and my personal connection with it, long continued though now in abeyance, have had the effect

of forcing on my attention, through the instrumentality of others if not directly, most of the questions which have recently moved it, and among them the questions connected with the disposition of Mr. Cheyne.

I am not about, however, to open that subject itself; neither Mr. Cheyne's doctrine, nor his character, nor the peculiarity of his position in an age of very extended tolerance, are matters on which I feel authorized to address the Head of the Episcopal College in Scotland. Indirectly, if I have been accurately informed, what I have to say bears upon his case, but there is not a word of it which derives any weight it may possess from connection with that case in particular — not a word of it which, if fit to be written now, would not be equally fit to be written, and to be considered, if Mr. Cheyne were in the grave. It relates entirely and exclusively to the *juridical* aspect of the matter as it now stands, and the doctrines at issue might for my purpose be perfectly well represented by algebraic symbols.

Both from the high Christian character and ecclesiastical position of the Bishops, and, let me add, from what during many years I have seen and known of the judicial temper of your reverence's own mind, I am *certain* it is the intention and desire of the College, without any exception, that its proceedings as a Court of Appeal should in every case conform, not indeed — for that is not practicable — to all the technical rules which limit the proceedings of Courts constituted by law, but to the principles which lie at the root of those rules, and which provide, as a matter of the first moment, both for the just rights of persons arraigned before them, and against any encroachment through the medium of forensic proceedings on the liberties of any class of the Queen's subjects, even though not before the Court.

I further assume that the rule of the Episcopal Communion which precludes its clergy from resorting to the aid of the Civil Courts is regarded by the Episcopal College, not only as *not* being a screen behind which the prescriptions of justice may be safely disregarded, but as supplying an additional reason why they should be observed with a peculiar rigour, and why all rules which, at the risk of impairing the penal

action of justice, aim at preventing the possibility of oppression should receive at the hands of the College even a more liberal construction than if their acts were liable to be reviewed in a Civil Court of Justice. I may remark in passing that, *if* Mr. Cheyne is now, by the sentence of deposition, set free to challenge his judges in the Civil Court, then his refraining from taking such a step may be held possibly to improve, certainly not to lessen, his claims as an arraigned person.

After this long preface I will proceed to state the points upon which, if I am rightly advised, it would be well for the dignity of the Episcopal College that it should consider further its own position, as affected by its proceedings in the case of Mr. Cheyne.

First: did the Episcopal College in dealing with that case confine itself, both in letter and in spirit, within the just limits of its province as a Court of Appeal? The material facts, as far as I can collect them, were these:

1. The appellant had in the Diocesan Court been condemned on certain counts of the charge against him, but on one count (which may perhaps be called the leading one) he had been disapproved, indeed, but acquitted.

2. He appealed against the condemnation; his prosecutors did not appeal against the acquittal.

3. In the Court of Appeal, on the 4th of last November, a 'finding' was delivered, which 'finding' did not pronounce upon the appeal itself, but yet contained a judicial condemnation of the doctrines of the appellant, including those which had been acquitted (as above mentioned) in the Diocesan Court.

And here arises the first and a most grave question, whether a Court of Appeal, especially in a criminal matter, can or ought to open a fresh matter on which, it being distinct in the pleadings, no appeal has been made to it?

In a civil case, lying simply between parties, it may be intelligible to hold that an appellant, who refuses to his co-litigant or adversary the benefit awarded him, does so at his own risk, and cannot well complain if the whole matter be revived; at any rate, it may be held that so much is demanded by the very nature of

distributive justice. But in penal justice the case is quite different. No man is to be twice tried for the same offence. There is no opposite party having any rights in the matter; the opposite party is a mere instrument of public justice; in our Ecclesiastical Courts he is, I think, said to 'promote the office of the Judge.' It appears, then, most staggering, to one trying to apply the principles of natural justice to the case, to find that an individual, with whom the proper tribunal has settled its account upon a grave matter by acquitting him, is to be liable again to be put in peril, or in any manner damnified by a Court of Appeal to whom nobody has appealed on that matter, for no other cause than that, disputing the proceedings of the inferior Court on other points, he has made an appeal upon *them*.

But this is a layman's view, and may therefore be juridically worthless. Feeling, however, the pressure of the case, I obtained an accurate statement of it, and submitted it to the high authority of Dr. Phillimore. Dr. Phillimore replies: 'I am not aware of any case in which a Court of Appeal has thought itself competent to pronounce a sentence which is neither an affirmative, nor reversal, nor modification of the Court below. It would seem clear that to do so would be to act, not as an Appellate Court, but as a Court of original jurisdiction.' And with reference to the practice of Courts in England he says: 'I feel no hesitation whatever in saying that no Appellate Court, in a criminal suit for the correction of a Clerk in Holy Orders, would have considered itself justified in finding the accused person guilty upon a point abandoned by the prosecutor, dismissed as such by the Court below, and not made the subject of an appeal to the Superior Court.'

The weight and importance of these considerations, and their bearing upon the credit of the Episcopal College, appeared to me to be such as to make it my duty to submit them to your reverence as the Primus of the College.

It may, however, be said that the 'finding' conveyed no penalty. To which it might, perhaps, as well be replied that the declaration of theological error and of contradiction more or less to the doctrine a man was

sworn to teach, whether penalty or not, is, when coming from an authoritative source, punishment.

But apart from this consideration it will appear that this was no mere abstract condemnation: it was one which entered obviously into the grounds of the final sentence. To show this, I resume the narration of the facts.

4. In the 'finding' it was not stated, but implied, that *rebus sic stantibus* Mr. Cheyne's appeal would be dismissed: and it was stated that time was to be allowed him to 'retract the said teaching': namely, both the teaching which had been condemned in the Diocesan Court and the teaching which had not.

5. On December 2 Mr. Cheyne stated to the Court that he had not retracted, and read a statement to the Court.

6. The Court then pronounced a sentence dismissing the appeal.

It thus appears that the verbal condemnation, which I have previously discussed, became the basis of a demand for the retractation of the whole teaching denounced in the 'finding,' and that non-compliance with this demand was the obvious ground on which the appeal was dismissed.

With a demand of what nature? Of such a nature that, even although Mr. Cheyne had retracted in the most absolute manner all the teaching for which he had been sentenced in the Diocesan Court, he would still have failed to comply with the demand of the Appellate Court; and unless the Court had taken the undignified and irregular step of altering its demand, Mr. Cheyne must still have been condemned. The Diocesan Court condemned him with perfect regularity on certain heads, because he did not retract what he had taught under those heads: the Appellate Court dismissed his appeal, made in regard to the very same heads, for not retracting *both* what he had taught under them, *and also* what he had taught under another count — perhaps the most important of them all, but one certainly not before the Court.

It may be said that Mr. Cheyne did not retract on the heads for which he had been sentenced in the Court below. But that which might set the culprit wrong would not therefore set the Judge right. The fact

remains that a condition of acquittal was tendered to Mr. Cheyne involving the withdrawal of matter for which he had already been acquitted. The Judges have not declared what in their minds constituted the *gravamen* of his offence. But, for all that appears to the contrary, it may have been that they thought little of his propositions on the counts *after* the first, much of his propositions *on* the first: *non constat* that the very matter in which he had been acquitted was not the determining cause of the final confirmation of his sentence; *constat* that the matter acquitted was again propounded to him as part of his offence. How is it possible to reconcile this proceeding, I do not say with the technical rules, but with the substantial principles of criminal justice?

There are yet two other points in the case on which I have to trouble your reverence.

The 'finding' of November 4 declared that 'the teaching complained of in the presentment is erroneous, and more or less in contradiction to, and subversive of, the doctrines of this Church, *as explained in the opinions of the majority of the Court now delivered.*'

I humbly submit that, when an Ecclesiastical Court has to try a person accused of unsound doctrine, it is, according to both principle and usage, the duty of the Court to bring the incriminated matter into direct and not indirect comparison with the standards of the Church. Surely neither clergyman nor layman is canonically bound to teach or speak in conformity with any treatise which a Bishop, or even which the body of Bishops, might compose or adopt by way of commentary on the authorized documents of the Church.

This is no mere formal or verbal objection. Even Courts of Justice require the check of public opinion. And when a Court, pointing with one hand to the Articles or the Liturgy and to particular passages in them, points with the other to propositions taken from the work of A. or B., and pronounces them to be inconsistent with such passages, then an issue is plainly and intelligibly raised: and as there can be no gross abuse of justice, so also the risk of involuntary error is greatly diminished by the closeness of the juxtaposition in which the incriminated matter is placed with authoritative standard.

But if the Court be at liberty to write a treatise at large upon the subject, it is surely requisite that that treatise should be a judgment — a minute examination of the writings inculpated and a close and accurate weighing of each against the relevant authoritative passages. Such a treatise would never lead to a sentence declaring that the teaching of A. or B. is more or less contradictory to this treatise, or (with vague phrase) 'to the doctrines of this Church as explained in' this treatise: but would show distinctly what were the points of opposition, and against what parts of the standards they were opposed. Where the opinions of the person accused are compared, not with the dogmatic definitions of the Church, but with someone else's opinions (however good and however learned that someone may be), the definiteness of the issue is lost, and with that a great part of the security for justice practically disappears.

Proximate to this appears to be another consideration of the highest importance.

I assume that we have no more stringent criticism of binding laws in any body or community whatever than this, that they are injunctions for variance from which the members of it are liable to suffer in their person, goods, or condition. Now, I cannot escape from the conclusion that under the proceedings of last year the 'opinion' originally published by the Bishop of St. Andrews, and adopted subsequently by other Bishops, has been made, so far as the act of a Court can make it, a new test in the Episcopal Communion of Scotland. I know no means of rebutting the clear logic by which this proposition is established. Mr. Cheyne has been punished with a fearfully severe sentence, because his doctrines are incompatible with the formularies of the Church 'as explained in that opinion.' Everyone not yet actually arraigned is bound to eschew what has been lawfully condemned just as much as if he had himself been called in question. Further, if one man has been actually sentenced for contradicting what is sustained by way of explanation of the formularies in that 'opinion,' any other man contradicting any other part of that 'opinion' has equally offended, and is equally liable.

In a report of the proceedings of the Synod of Argyll

and the Isles, I see it stated that the Bishop was asked whether he regarded the said opinion as a canonical test; and the report says the Bishop replied he did not consider it was binding, or meant to be so by the Synod or College of Bishops.

What is to prevent another Bishop from making an answer directly contradictory to this? I fully appreciate the *spirit* of the reply, but I confess that the answer to a directly opposite effect seems to me to be the one agreeable to the proceedings of the Court of Appeal. The question is not what the members of that Court meant, but what they said and what they did; and if they have condemned a clergyman upon the express and distinct ground, not simply that he has contradicted the formularies of the Church, but that he has contradicted them as explained in that opinion, then I say the test is already established — nay, not only established, but applied; not only applied to shut out, but to cast out; and if others are not cast out by it, under parallel circumstances, when they are in turn brought into question, it would seem that there will be one measure of justice for them, and another for Mr. Cheyne. As long as he suffers under the presumed and apparent sequel of the 'finding,' the 'opinion' stands, by the act of the Court, in the position of the highest law of the Episcopal Church.

It may indeed be true that, if I have construed the act of the Court aright in this respect, it is an illegal act. It may be true that if A. presents B. to a church in Scotland, and the Diocesan refuses to institute on the ground that after examining the party he finds his doctrines more or less in contradiction to the 'opinion,' such Diocesan might be compelled, at the patron's suit, to institute notwithstanding. It may be that if the presentee had simply reiterated Mr. Cheyne's propositions, and if the Bishop condemned them in the very terms of the 'finding,' that presentee might still be lodged in the charge, or at least that Bishop put under the action of the Civil Court. But this would not be the mode in which any right-minded person would wish to see the matter settled: and, moreover, what would be the feelings of those spectators who should compare such a case with the case of Mr. Cheyne?

In concluding this long letter, I beg to say that I only learned to-day the date fixed for the meeting of the Bishops in Edinburgh, so that I have not had time either to weigh all its expressions, or to submit it to the revision of Dr. Phillimore or of any other person of high legal authority with whom I have corresponded. For all this I have to pray your reverence's indulgence, but I am unwilling to lose altogether the opportunity of opening the case.

A few words upon Mr. Cheyne himself. I learned from Dean Ramsay in the winter that the Bishops would naturally expect that, if anything were to be done for his relief, he should take the first step. As between Court and party no one can demur to such a proposition. But what I have understood to be the chief difficulty of the case on his side is that the Bishops have made the 'opinion' (as far as in them lies) part of the law of the Church; and on their part that he has presumed to charge them all as involved in heresy. Now, the 'opinion' stands upon the 'finding.' If my argument be sound, that 'finding' cannot be juridically sustained, as a creditable and becoming part of the proceedings of the College (however little I or any one may doubt that it was really meant by the Bishops to give a more favourable position to the appellant), and should *on that account* exclusively be in some manner cancelled or got rid of. But, if it were got rid of, then I presume no friend of Mr. Cheyne's could hesitate to advise him to take steps of such a nature as might probably be found satisfactory to the Episcopal College and the Diocesan.

This was the *incidental* connection, to which I referred at the outset, between the observations I had to offer and the particular case of Mr. Cheyne personally considered.

As to the mode of proceeding which it might be convenient to adopt, I have not ventured on a word, — first, because I think professional knowledge and skill will be the best and only guides when that stage of the question shall have been reached; secondly, because I think the general considerations are most clearly brought into view, and may best be weighed as to their intrinsic importance, when kept apart from the manner in which effect may be given them.

Finally I may state that I have not written this letter in concert with any person or persons in Scotland. I have had no communication with Mr. Cheyne, though a letter of his has been sent to me. My correspondence on the subject, which has resulted in my writing, has been almost wholly with persons of legal authority in England, on whose goodwill as well as intelligence it appeared to me that entire reliance might be placed.

I remain, with great respect, right reverend and dear Bishop,

Your sincere and faithful servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

P.S. — I need hardly say that this letter has not been written with the desire or the expectation of drawing your reverence into a personal correspondence: but simply of aiding the ends of justice.

210. *To the Bishop of Argyll (Ewing).*

DOWNING STREET,
November 5, 1860.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR BISHOP,

Though not without the fear of being led into commission of a greater impropriety, yet I must not omit to acknowledge your kindness both in writing to me about the meeting at London House and in sending me your Charge, which I read immediately.

Avoiding the high ground of theology, and looking to what after all is policy, though ecclesiastical policy, I will say frankly that I can only compare the proposal to abandon the Scottish office for the sake of peace with the parallel proposal now made in perfect good faith by some writers and others south of the Border, to revise and alter the Common Prayer-Book for the sake of peace. Each, I believe (and, as to the English part, nearly all believe), would be the signal of tenfold distraction, if not of violent convulsion, which is perhaps the more probable alternative.

But there is a difference between the two which, I confess, seems to me to be in favour of the English Revisers. Their language is this: By the omission of certain sacramental and sacerdotal doctrines we will widen the platform.

That principle is not avowed in Scotland. Is it entertained? Your reverence stands upon one quite different. You say the duality is the cause of differences. Surely, on the contrary, duality is a means of comprehension. Just as in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, with no dishonest compromise, and no contradiction in principle, [yet] the Prayer-Book was framed to meet the case of the Roman Catholics, and the Articles that of the Protestants. And from that day to this they have done their work.

On the doctrine of Baptism, for example, a party in the English Church is fond of appealing from the Prayer-Book to the Articles. But it would be a strange way of promoting *peace* to give up the respective portions of the one or the other.

My own opinion as to the merits of the two offices is worthless: but I confess it seems to me that intrinsically the value of the Scottish office consists, not in what is termed higher doctrine, but in greater fulness, and especially in the correspondence of its form with the primitive form, and with the general practice of Christian Churches.

The English Reformers seem always to have tried to keep down their alterations of substance to a *minimum*. But they thought it wise to alter the *form* of the Communion Office, not as little, but as much as possible. The consequence is that the form bears little resemblance to primitive usage. This evil they accepted for the sake of avoiding greater evils. But will any man say that in the nineteenth century, and in Scotland! there is such peril of idolatry that what is in substance the historic office of the Scots Episcopal Church must be abandoned for fear of it; and this by a Church which prides itself on following the early Church?

If there ever was a question on which the sincerity of such a profession could be tested, it is the question raised by your reverence. For what we allege to be our desire is to be as much as possible primitive, as little as possible Roman. Now, while the two offices essentially agree, the Scotch office in point of form and development is at once more primitive and less Roman.

I may speak confidently, for I feel that I stand here,

not on the ground of individual opinion, but supported by the strong unanimous and authoritative testimony of the American Church, which so wisely framed her own office on the general basis of that in use in Scotland. The reasons which had led the English Reformers to deviate from antiquity no longer existed: a gentle movement, at once a conviction and an instinct, carried the Americans back towards it.

There are many other reasons which, if this matter ever shall become practical, will perhaps start up with a magnitude and an aspect little anticipated.

Quite apart from theology, and of course without the slightest imputation of motives to persons, I am convinced that the change would be looked upon in England as (to speak plainly) a *sordid* change: and the moral character of the Scottish Episcopal Communion would stand lower here after than before it.

As respects the desired assimilation, it would, I believe, be thought wholly futile. An Englishman cannot become a Frenchman by speaking his English with a French accent: nor would London become Paris by building up its squares, knocking down St. Paul's, and contracting the Thames to the measure of the Seine.

There is a yet tenderer subject. What will those who wish to abolish the national office say to the founders of Trinity College? This question was full in view. Your reverence knows the arrangement that was made, and I think myself entitled to say, as a matter of my own personal knowledge, that unless with the fullest conviction that the whole of the formularies and the whole basis of the Episcopal Communion would be maintained, *that* college certainly would not have been brought into existence.

211. *To the Bishop of Aberdeen* (*Suther*).

DOWNING STREET,
November 19, 1860.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR BISHOP,

Since I came to town I have communicated with Mr. Phillimore on the further papers which have passed in Mr. Cheyne's case: I mean *solely* in that

aspect of it with which alone I have thought it becoming to concern myself — that is to say, as it touches the position and credit of the Court itself, and not as to the relations between the Court and the party whom it has judged.

It is here that the immediate knot of the question appears to lie: mainly in two points, as I ventured to think and set out, one of which is further elucidated by the inclosed memorandum.

I have not mentioned it, nor is the letter I now write known, to any other party: nor was my letter to the Bishop of Edinburgh made known by me to any one except Mr. Phillimore.

He points to a mode of proceeding which I trust would not be thought in principle exceptionable. If, however, I might presume to tender a suggestion, it would be as follows. There are in England three ex-Judges, all of them able and accomplished men, all of them moderate and judicious, all interested in the welfare of the Church, all of them with more or less leisure: I mean Sir John Patteson, Sir John Coleridge, and Sir John Awdry (late Indian Judge and Oxford Commissioner). Now, I am far indeed from thinking that the body of this case should be submitted to these gentlemen: but if there is a doubt entertained in *bona fides* and in a friendly spirit by so eminent a man as Mr. Phillimore, might it not be a wise course to submit all the papers to one, two, or the whole of these three gentlemen, and to ask their judgment on the question whether the Episcopal Court has in any manner so varied from the rules of judicature as to do hurt to the interests of justice, and what, *if* it should be so, might be the best course for them to take?

If, however, there be objection to such a course, then I would respectfully entreat the consideration of the really simple suggestion of Mr. Phillimore himself, which would probably remove the *preliminary* difficulty which Mr. Cheyne appears to plead in bar of his being called on to set himself right with the Court. That being out of the way, all would recognize the propriety of his proceeding to *open* the case, for it would be the real opening of it so far as the merits are concerned, as with them the present discussion has nothing whatever to do.

I must trouble your reverence to be so good as to return the enclosed memorandum, keeping a copy of it if you should think fit. And I have the honour to be, etc.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

I have long had the honour of the friendship of the Bishop of Brechin and his family; but even to him, from motives which I am certain your reverence will appreciate, I have made no communication of my recent correspondence on Scottish Episcopal affairs.

212. *To the Bishop of Brechin (Forbes).*

DOWNING STREET,
March 3, 1862.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR BISHOP,

I cannot but be persuaded your apprehension respecting the intention to *commute* the Scottish Liturgy for the access to English titles must be unfounded.

It is in my opinion, and by no means my *private* opinion only, a scheme which not Bishops alone, but men of the world, would consider inadmissible — nay, even despicable. And as to politicians, I think it would be the duty of all those who are friendly to religious liberty to condemn the revival of the principles of Lord Thurlow, and an attempt to bargain upon points of ritual or doctrine for the removal of a disqualification essentially civil: one evidently not turning upon doctrine or ritual, since it does not affect those who have no doctrine and no ritual at all.

My excellent friend Sir W. Heathcote chanced to call on me as I was looking at your letter. I must not tie him to words, but I am at liberty to say that in the sentiments I expressed to him he warmly concurs.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

213. *To the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.*

DOWNING STREET,
March 27, 1862.

MY DEAR DR. PUSEY,

I am obliged to write in great haste, but what I have to say does not require much time.

I cannot obtain evidence of the fact that the English Bishops demand the abandonment of the Scotch Communion Office. I am told that the Bishop of Lincoln, who is considered to be strongly opposed to it, only considers it should cease to be of 'primary authority.'

But if such a negotiation be in progress as the concession of a civil privilege in return for the surrender of an ecclesiastical and symbolic document, all I can say is that it would seem to me, on the part of those making the surrender, to be a transaction in which neither Bishops, nor Christians, nor men of honour, should have a part.

The proper course would be, if such a thing is intended, to begin by making Esau *Primus*.

W. E. G.

214. *To the Bishop of Moray and Ross (Eden).*

DOWNING STREET,
April 2, 1862.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR BISHOP,

I hear so much of an intention to conclude a bargain, by which the Scottish Communion Office is to be set aside from use in return for, or with a view to obtaining a removal of, the civil disabilities now affecting the Scotch Episcopal clergy in England, that, though I always express my disbelief in any such bargain (whether avowed or virtual), yet I think, after the communications I have had the honour to hold with you, it is safest to say one word on the subject.

Independently of other objections, I should regard any such arrangement as wholly altering the character of the measure, and removing it from the broad and safe ground of religious liberty to one very narrow, wholly unsound, and in principle positively entailing the maintenance of other disqualifications which, in my opinion, ought to be removed.

For I do not suppose that the Episcopal Church of the United States, whose clergy now labour under a like disability, will ever be insulted by a proposal to them that they should conform to our national Prayer-Book in order to obtain the removal of their legal disqualification; and it is scarcely credible that there will be granted to them without condition what is

withheld, except upon conditions, from the Scottish Episcopal Communion: although it is true that the very same privilege already belongs to Archbishop McHale and to Cardinal Wiseman.

Be this as it may, I wish, after the part I have taken, to state explicitly that, if at any time it be endeavoured to convert into a question of theological compact what is one of pure civil right, I must hold myself entirely free either to propose any amendment in such a measure, for the purpose of vitally changing its character, or to oppose it altogether in Parliament.

W. E. G.

215. *To the Bishop of Moray and Ross (Eden).*

DOWNING STREET,
April 7, 1862.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR BISHOP,

I lose no time in acknowledging, however briefly, your letter of the 5th, for the question put in it admits of a speedy answer. There can, I think, be no doubt of the propriety of postponing the Bill for the removal of the disabilities, if it be intended to alter during the present year, or to take any step during the present year with a view to altering, the position of the Scottish office. For if the two operations go forward together, nothing, in my opinion, can possibly divest the transaction of the discredit of an Esau's bargain, or obviate much painful scandal and the loss of a character hitherto unstained.

'Extinctus pudor, et quâ sola
. . . . . sidera adibam
Fama prior.'

As one who would earnestly deprecate the surrender of the ewe lamb of the Episcopal Communion on any terms, I might not be sorry to see it proposed on such terms, as I am certain they would brand the proceeding with dishonour. But to maintain the credit even of that proceeding, it is, I think, absolutely necessary to disconnect it in point of time from the proposal for the removal of the disabilities.

With respect to the share taken by English Bishops in this affair, I may observe that during the last ten

or fifteen years (the composition of the body having undergone a material change) they have been found much more able to resist in Parliament than to procure the passing of a measure. I do not at this moment remember any Bill which, within that period, has passed in consequence of their advocacy.

The removal of the disabilities could not be carried against them: but their favour would by no means of itself insure success.

My last letter, I need hardly add, was addressed to your reverence, not individually, but as the person whom I understood to be, so to speak, proctor for the body. I return the enclosures.

W. E. G.

216. *To the Bishop of Argyll (Ewing).*

HAWARDEN,
April 26, 1862.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR BISHOP,

I am concerned to have received your letter; for after such an appeal I have no course open to me but to answer it with a total absence of reserve.

1. I am of opinion that the mode of handling the case of Mr. Cheyne has created an impression highly unfavourable, not in point of simple theology, but in other respects, to the Bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Communion, and that their proceedings in that case, whether in themselves right or wrong, establish certain antecedents, which cannot be left out of view in any wise consideration of steps hereafter to be taken.

2. It appears to me that no more deplorable error of judgment ever was committed, than to associate the abolition of the Scottish office with the removal of the civil disabilities of the Episcopal clergy, and that, if that association is unhappily to continue, and to take a practical form, the transaction, tried by no higher standard than that of the world, will be considered highly discreditable.

3. With respect to the abolition of the office itself, I believe that it has ever been a main object with Anglican controversialists, since the Reformation, to

describe our share in that great process as having been a process of return from Roman errors and abuses towards the system of the primitive Church. It is, I apprehend, historically beyond doubt that in its general structure the Scottish office is far more conformable than the English to the primitive liturgies; and no wonder, for the English was remodelled at a time when high and urgent reasons required a great amount of change even in form and expression, which reasons had ceased to operate when the Scotch and American offices were framed. I found myself, however, not upon my own opinion, but upon the opinion of those weighty English divines who have studied and given judgments in the Scottish office. The abolition of the Scotch office under these circumstances appears to me to abandon the whole of this ground, taken all along by the champions of the English Church, and to go far towards making the pretension to represent primitive principles untenable nay — even ridiculous.

4. I now come to still more tender ground. The whole question of the offices was considered fully at the inception of the scheme for founding Trinity College, when I think your reverence was in a difficult position. The arrangement then adopted was in no small degree deliberate and authoritative. This is a subject to which I may have occasion to revert: for the present I will only say that, if the schemes which are now receiving countenance had not then been differently treated, Trinity College would not have been brought into existence.

I have, etc.,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

217. *To the Bishop of Oxford* (*Wilberforce*).

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
June 28, 1862.

MY DEAR BISHOP OF OXFORD,

. . . I must now — for the moment is near — open a subject which I touch with the utmost pain. I understand that the Scottish office is about to be either abolished or degraded with a view to abolition;

and I know, from evidence in print — to wit, Dean Ramsay's pamphlets — that your authority and your words are pledged for this proceeding.

I am not about to presume upon any engagement or any request; but with the very deep and serious view which I take of this question, it is right I should tell you what I think, and what I intend.

In my opinion, the abandonment, degradation, or disparagement of that office would cut very deep into foundations. I look upon it as quite different from a question on which we say Aye or No, and then go home to dinner. If this thing is done, and done with your authority, all I can say is, that point is for me a new starting-point, the relations between us are new relations, I must consider my course afresh upon many matters.

I remain, with these few words,

Affectionately yours,

W. E. G.

218. *To Dean Ramsay.*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
July 3, 1862.

MY DEAR DEAN RAMSAY,

These are, as you say, very painful matters: but you know from whom the steps that cause the pain proceed.

I am at a loss to understand your speaking of peace. Of course in the proceedings you have adopted you must have calculated on giving effect to them by deprivations, on encountering right and left men who will feel it their *duty* to oppose you to all extremities, and on seeing them end in schism.

I confess I deeply regret I was not made aware of your views and intentions at the time when you induced me (under far different impressions) to take so prominent and gratuitous a part at your Church Endowment meeting last winter.

I cannot tell you to-day, as I am much pressed with business, the nature of the protestation I shall probably have to make, but it will have distinct reference to the question of good faith.

219. *To the Bishop of Brechin (Forbes).*

11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE,
July 5, 1862.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR BISHOP,

I understand that a Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Communion is to be held within a few days, and that proposals are to be made at it which, if adopted, would either abolish the Scottish Communion Office, or, by fettering its use and covering it with discredit, mark it out for abolition—that is to say, they would aim at the abandonment of the sole possession of that religious body, the single and faithful representative of its historical character, and of its ethical and theological tone.

With the general merits of such proceedings I have, at the present moment, nothing to do: but viewing them as designed to extinguish the Scottish office at a later or an earlier period, I think it my duty to state circumstances connected with the foundation of Trinity College which appear to me to bear upon the course to be pursued.

I address this statement to your reverence as being, I believe, the senior among the Scottish Bishops, except the Primus, whom I abstain from addressing on account of his state of health. I may add that no one of the present Bishops was a Bishop at the period when the college was planned, no one except the Primus when it was founded, and I may presume them unaware of the circumstances I have to state.

The first of these is that when, in the year (I think) 1840, the design of the college was formed, it was formed by persons who took an interest in the Scottish Episcopal Communion as it was, but who, if it had been a mere outpost or factory of the Church of England, still more if it had been aiming at a merely imitative character, would not have felt themselves called upon to make on its behalf efforts which were deemed by many to be of hopeless difficulty, although they were ultimately crowned with success.

The basis on which they found the Eucharistic usage of that period to be actually founded was the honourable and independent use of both the English

and the Scottish offices, with the reservation of a prerogative of dignity to the latter as being upon its own ground, but with a free recognition through the former of the important Anglican element in the composition of the Scottish Episcopal Communion.

Of this equitable arrangement they heartily approved: and I have to suggest that they had a right to regard it as permanent. The use of the English office they knew to be secured by the influence of the wealthy, and by the increasing intercourse with England; that of the Scottish appeared to be equally safe, first because it was so dear to the native and poorer members of that communion, whose feelings it seemed certain would be respected, and secondly because it was well known to them that the Bishops, with whom they had to deal, and whom for all working purposes they had to regard as the representatives of the body, prized that office, it may be said without exaggeration, at least as dearly as their lives.

From such Bishops it would have been absurd to ask pledges over and above their character and the Canons of their Church; but I state without fear of contradiction, that the steps taken and the formal documents issued at the time of publishing the design by the College of Bishops were so framed and expressed as to mark in the strongest manner the independent and distinctive character which belongs within its own sphere to every National Communion, and which had been impressed in the particular case, with peculiar sharpness, by long continual suffering.

In 1846, long before the actual opening of the college at Glenalmond, the Episcopal Synod determined on the joint use of the two offices in the college, according to the manner or upon the principle still in use.

Before the date I have last named, religious controversy had spread from England into the previously peaceful Episcopal Communion of Scotland, and those who appear now to be demanding the abolition or (so to speak) degradation of the Scottish office had already manifested much of the same intention and desire.

The minute of the Synod of Aberdeen was a solemn decision taken in view and on full consideration of

the prevailing state of sentiment; and while raising no question as to the Canons of the Church, it was virtually a new charter of the former Eucharistic usage for the Church promulgated in its central, and its only central, establishment.

Those who formed and first set in motion the design of the college, before serious controversy had begun, relied on the character of the Church and its Bishops, and afterwards, when controversy had begun, on the new charter which was thus authoritatively promulgated; and by these assurances, first moral and then positive, they were induced to make the efforts which have resulted in the existence of Trinity College.

The question I have to suggest is, how far it would be consistent with justice and good faith towards them to adopt measures which avowedly either effect or aim at the extinction of the joint use. On this question I must beg to reserve every liberty: but I have thought it more respectful at once to bring it, through your reverence, before the members of the college, as far as they may individually think fit to honour it with their notice.

It may be asked by what title I am authorized to speak for the views and ideas of those who planned the college. My answer is this: they were but two; I was one of them, and I devoted to it for a considerable time my principal labour and anxiety. I was intimately acquainted at the time with the views of the other, and I fully believe that I have given a just representation of them, though doubtless, if called upon as a witness, he would speak better for himself. The two obtained the valuable countenance of Dean Ramsay in their first address to the public: they did so because they felt that he was an admirable representative of the Anglican element in the Scottish Episcopal Communion, and because it seemed but just that that element, to which full and free scope was to be afforded, should be represented from the first. But either Dean Ramsay had not then formed the plans which he has since promulgated with respect to the Scottish office, or, if he had, they were not known to the two original promoters. Had anything of the sort been known or suspected by them, they could not honourably, and would not, have accepted his valuable assistance.

Perhaps I should rather say that their purpose never was to embark upon a sea of controversy, and that, whatever else might have happened for or against the Episcopal Communion of Scotland, the particular institution of Trinity College would not in that case have existed.

If reference is made to Dean Ramsay respecting the material statements in this letter, I feel convinced that though I am obliged to write in the main from memory, and although he has declared his views and wishes in a very different sense, he will not contradict me on those matters of fact on which I wish to rely.

W. E. G.

220. *To the Bishop of Brechin* (*Forbes*).

[PENMAENMAWR,
September (?), 1862.]

MY DEAR BISHOP OF BRECHIN,

Your packet reached me here this morning, and I return the correspondence between your reverence and Dr. Rorison.

My position is materially different from that of members by residence of the Scotch Episcopal Communion; it is that of a stranger; and on the consummation of such a measure as that which has now reached a certain stage, I should simply withdraw myself from all connection with the general working of that communion, and maintain no relations except with particular persons or institutions.

As respects the particular plan on which your reverence desires to know my sentiments, it appears to me that the cardinal point is the liberty of new congregations to adopt the Scotch office if they think fit, without let or hindrance. If this were conceded, I should not see much occasion for fighting anything else, and if this were denied, I should value no other concession. Even if peace be restored, it will, I fear, take long to restore confidence after so violent a measure (such it appears to me) as that which is now in triumphant progress; though I am glad to see your reverence has not abandoned efforts to arrest it, and though the letters of Dr. Rorison seem to promise

more than I had recently expected, for under the mixed influence of pain and shame I had ceased to entertain a hope.

To the removal of the disabilities as a measure of civil liberty I adhere. To any Bill in name or substance founded on a theological bargain between the Scottish Episcopal Communion and the English Bishops I should be opposed. . . .

I remain, with great respect,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

What I have said of a bargain would not apply to any plan leaving a free choice.

221. *To the Bishop of Brechin* (*Forbes*).

PENRHYN CASTLE,
September 15, 1862.

MY DEAR BISHOP OF BRECHIN,

I really feel that, from having ceased to be in any sense a resident in Scotland and having become a mere outlier and spectator, I have lost my *locus standi* in matters connected with the Episcopal Communion, and I admit and know that strong feelings do not adequately supply the place of a legitimate qualification.

Pray understand, therefore, that I answer the questions put to me simply because they are put, and not because I have the slightest right to be heard in a deliberative question. The one point which gave me, in my own opinion, a place in the matter seems to have been differently viewed by others.

I reply, then, that to me a compromise which in new congregations should give only the choice between the exclusive use of the one office and the alternate use of the two would not be satisfactory. Were the case reversed, and were it the English office to which it was proposed to accord this qualified and precarious admission, I should say the same. I entirely appreciate the spirit in which Dr. Rorison writes, but I think a plan like this would bear the character of being provisional: it would be a respite only; it would leave the office, so to speak, with the halter round its neck, although not yet actually 'justified.'

My opinion, which may be a very wild one, is this: that the office is a great treasure, as all particles of primitive Christian usage are, to use a feeble simile, like so much gold-dust, and that the possession of it stamped the body in which it was found with, in the first place, an ethical character, and, in the second place, with the tokens of a possible Providential mission, far exceeding in importance any of its merely local concerns, so that it may almost be said that without it the body itself sinks into a mere local aggregation of some hundred and fifty Episcopal congregations.

I look upon the abandonment of the Scottish office as disowning the past, and, in the sense I have described, as surrendering the future.

And this I state, not as challenging either argument or assent, but simply to explain any apparent rigour in the opinion I have formed on the matter in hand.

Now with regard to Dr. Rorison's second question. I would readily use any effort in my power to prevent or neutralize any hostility in Parliament to the Scotch Episcopal Communion and its claims which might be due to *any* concessions made by the majority to the feelings of the minority, however little those concessions might satisfy me or alter my own intention simply and quietly to detach myself from further intermeddling.

I must not part from Dr. Rorison's letter without saying that his conduct individually appears to be very handsome and considerate.

A word now as to Mr. Cheyne.

I think the note of mine to which he refers must have been written *before* Mr. Cheyne retracted, or disclaimed rather, what was thought to be his anathema. It appeared to me that his retractation turned the tables, and I contemplate his present condition with much grief and pain.

I received the Charge which your reverence was so good as to send me. It appeared to me to deal with the whole subject wisely, forcibly, and tenderly. There is one topic in it of which I confess my surprise that the Synod did not feel the force. It is that which deals with the question whether organic changes should be made by mere majorities. Forgive me if I say (without at all pretending that this consideration

is decisive of the point involved) that I doubt whether a lay chamber would not have been more accessible, under this particular head, to what we think reason.

222. *To the Bishop of Brechin* (*Forbes*).

October 16, 1871.

. . . Accept my best thanks for the tract you have sent me, taken from your recent Charge. Apart from this or that shade of colour and point of opinion, it is to me singularly refreshing. As I am bound to say, on the other hand, it is very rare to read an argument of this kind couched so deeply in the historical as distinguished from the polemical spirit, upon the cardinal questions relating to the Church of Rome and to the Reformation. I earnestly hope it may attract much public attention, and cannot help wishing it had appeared as part of the entire Charge, as the public is more accustomed to that kind of document, especially in the case of Bishops. The paragraph which begins in page 29 seems to me 'all gold,' and I follow with strong general sympathy what follows to the end. . . .

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